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A Discourse Study of Land Use and Land Ownership in Four Policy Fields in Uganda

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CAPITALIZING ON LAND – NEGOTIATING RESOURCES AND POLICIES

A DISCOURSE STUDY OF LAND USE AND LAND OWNERSHIP IN FOUR POLICY FIELDS IN UGANDA

BY
DAVID ROSS OLANYA

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED 2020

AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

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CV

David Ross Olanya received a Bachelor's degree from Makerere University, Uganda in 2005. He holds a Master's degree in Public Policy and Administration from the School of Global Affairs and Public Policy, The American University in Cairo, Egypt (2007). Before his enrolment to a INTERDISC PhD in the then Department of Culture and Global Studies, Aalborg University, he teaches at Gulu University, Uganda. He earned Postgraduate Certificates from Trade Policy Centre in Africa (Arusha, 2009), studied Independent PhD courses at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), Erasmus University, The Hague, Netherlands (2014). Some of his notable publications are: Is Agriculture a Generational Problem? (Nordic African Institute (NAI), 2019); Land-Water-Security Nexus (BRILL, 2017); Dams, Water and Accountability (Routledge, 2016); Governance, Aid and Institutional Traps (UTC, 2016); Will Uganda Succumb to the Resource Curse? (Elsevier, 2015); Asian Capitalism, the New Enclosures in Uganda (Routledge, 2014); and African Land Grabs (NAI, 2012). His previous research networks include: A World Social Science Fellow (France), Nordic African Fellow (Sweden), Mo Ibrahim Foundation Fellow (SOAS, London).

ENGLISH SUMMARY

This PhD dissertation provides insight into the field of policy studies, as it seeks to understand the complexity that characterizes the use and possession of land in four policy areas in Uganda: agriculture, oil and gas, hydropower and tourism. It takes the form of an extended analogy that reveals complex interactions, including the practice of negotiating resources of great importance to the current social order as described in Uganda's Vision 2040. This thesis bridges theory and institutional practice by showing contexts and interactions as constructed discursively from a multidisciplinary perspective. The dissertation consists of four articles, three of which have been published while the fourth article is under review. In addition, the dissertation contains an introduction that discusses the four articles and views them from a discourse angle.

The theoretical approach includes field theory applied to policy studies to investigate and explain the discursive representation of various actors at the micro, meso and macro levels. It is assumed that those players who have access to a certain type of capital and establish their position early in the process have a better starting point for accumulating power, thereby occupying a privileged position that ensures dominance over players entering the field later.

Methodologically, CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis), including comparative discourse analysis, is used as a tool to gain greater understanding of similarities and differences between ongoing discursive struggles. The purpose of this is to contribute to progress and problem solving in the four policy areas. Emphasis is placed on identifying the types of discursive struggles, including hegemonic discourses that occur in institutional practice as well as how they interact with other nearby policy fields within a broader spatial as well as temporal context. This is done through storylines that influence groups of actors who, through discourse coalitions, share social constructs or interpretations, thus creating hegemonic discourses.

Analytically, the four policy fields are related to the central focus of the study, namely how land tenure and use are practiced today. This context changes over time, but only to be stabilized by the discursive struggles and hegemonic discourses that occur in institutional practice. Land is more widely available for use in agriculture and tourism than is the case in the policy fields of hydropower, oil and gas, and this links up to various discursive struggles. In the field of agricultural policy, land use is constructed through a hegemonic political discourse on shareholding, while nature development and nature protection are common in the tourism policy area. In the areas of oil, gas and hydropower, the hegemonic discourse on growth and socio-economic restructuring is represented by the state field actors. Finally, each of the policy fields examined influences the other fields

both positively and negatively in a diachronic movement. The porous boundary of each field allows human actors to interact with each other. This thesis complements the more traditional approaches that categorize and analyze policy documents separately. Instead, this dissertation provides a multidisciplinary perspective that considers the examined documents as embedded in a societal structure that is constantly evolving. The potential of land capitalization and negotiation of policy is highlighted in this thesis in a space where language and discourses are mapped and ascribed the power of governance, which is seen as necessary for Uganda's development from peasant economy to middle income country in 2040.

DANSK RESUMÉ

Denne ph.d.-afhandling bidrager medøget indsigt i studier inden for forskningsfeltetpolicy-studies, idet densøger at forstå den kompleksitet der kendetegner anvendelse, besiddelse og forhandling af jordarealerinden for fire policy-områder i Uganda: landbrug, olie og gas, vandkraft og turisme. Den har form af en udvidet analogi hvor komplekse interaktioner afdækkes, herunder praksis med at forhandle om ressourcer, som har stor betydning forden nuværende sociale orden, sådan som det er beskrevet i Ugandas Vision 2040. Denne afhandling bygger bro mellem teori og institutionel praksis ved at vise sammenhænge og interaktioner ud fra et tværfagligt perspektiv. Afhandlingen består af fire artikler, hvoraf tre er publiceret mens den fjerde artikel er i review. Desuden indeholder afhandlingen en kappe, der introducerer de fire artikler og anskuer dem ud fra en diskursvinkel.

Den teoretiske tilgangomfatter hovedsageligt feltteori anvendt på policy studies med henblik på at undersøge og forklare den diskursive repræsentation af forskellige aktører på mikro-, meso- og makroniveau. Det antages, at de aktører, der har adgang til en bestemt form for kapital og etablerer deres position tidligt i forløbet, har et bedre udgangspunkt for at akkumuleremagt og derved indtage en privilegeret positionder sikrer dominans over spillere, der kommer ind på banen senere.

Metodologisk anvendes CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis), herunder komparativ diskursanalyse, som redskab til at opnå større forståelse afligheder og forskelle mellem igangværende diskursive kampe. Formålet med dette er at bidrage til fremskridt og problemløsning inden for de fire policy-områder. Der lægges vægt på at identificere hvilke typer af diskursive kampe, herunder hegemoniske diskurser, der optræder i den institutionelle praksis samt hvordan de interagerer med andre nærliggende policy-felter inden for en bredere rumlig såvel som tidslig kontekst. Dette sker gennem fortællinger (story-lines) derforbinder grupper af aktører som via diskurskoalitioner deler sociale konstruktioner eller fortolkninger, hvorved hegemoniske diskurser opstår.

Analytisk relateres de fire policy-felter med det centrale fokus i undersøgelsen, nemlig hvordan besiddelse og anvendelse af jordarealer praktiseres og forhandles i dag. Denne sammenhæng ændrer sig over tid, men kun for at blive stabiliseret af de diskursive kampe og hegemoniske diskurser der optræder i den institutionelle praksis. Jordarealerer i højere grad tilgængelige for anvendelse inden for landbrug og turisme end tilfældet er inden for policy-felterne vandkraft samt olie og gas, og dette har været forbundet med flere diskursive kampe. På det landbrugspolitiske område konstrueres arealanvendelsen gennem en hegemonisk politisk diskurs om besiddelse af andele, mens diskurser om naturudvikling og naturbeskyttelse er almindelig inden for det turismepolitiske område. På områderne olie og gas samtvandkraft er den hegemonisk dominerende diskurs om vækst og

socioøkonomisk omlægning repræsenteret af de statslige feltaktører. Afslutningsvis påvirker hvert af de undersøgte policy-felter de øvrige felter både positivt og negativt i en diakronisk bevægelse. Den porøse grænse for hvert felt gør det muligt for menneskelige aktører at påvirke hinanden indbyrdes. Denne afhandling er et supplement til de mere traditionelle tilgange der kategoriserer og analyserer policy-felter separat. I stedet anlægger denne afhandling et tværfagligt perspektiv der betragter de undersøgte dokumenter som indlejret i en samfundsstruktur der er i løbende udvikling. Potentialet i kapitalisering af jord og i forhandlinger om,hvilken politik der skal føres,belyses i denne afhandling i et rum hvor sprogets og diskursernes rolle kortlægges og tilskrives betydning som styrende institution, hvilket ses som nødvendigt for Ugandas udvikling fra subsistens-økonomi til mellem-indkomstland frem til 2040.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My PhD journey can be described by the metaphor of climbing many mountains. This has made me gain personal and professional experience to explore the discourses that sustain each field and the interaction among four policy fields in relation to the national development plan of Uganda. This journey has helped me to explore a new perspective from a discourse gaze and field theory in policy studies. First and foremost, I want to thank my principal supervisor Anne Grethe Julius Pedersen and secondary supervisor Inger Lassen. From the very beginning you have offered me critical feedback, positive critique and insightful guidance to help me understand how to climb the many mountains, for example studying the four policy fields from a discourse gaze. The flexibility in supervision, the support, the learning and the encouragement despite the limited time you had within this short time have encouraged me in doing the work. This was a very good experience in supervision and learning dialogue where I was given the opportunity to pursue my disciplinary specialization in policy studies while learning to integrate the discourse gaze from an inter-disciplinary perspective.

Special thanks go to scholars attending my pre-defence for the constructive feedback and especially on the application of field as a dynamic concept in studying the four policy fields. The idea of working with different traditions, combining field with discourse analysis, the four fields as interconnectedness, using discursive struggles at meso level, internal and external dialogue between the four policy fields and using CDA as a method to avoid overlap by introducing field theory were all a result of constructive feedback. These insights have helped me in overcoming the challenges of climbing the many mountains, which could be overcome by an interdisciplinary orientation to discover and reflect on the journey of climbing the different traditions. This has been a great learning experience of thinking, developing and using discourse not in the hard way, but in combination with other traditions.

After enrolling as a self-financed PhD student in the PhD programme Interdisciplinary Discourse Studies (InterDisc), it would not have been easy without co-financing from Aalborg University (AAU). I really appreciate the support for PhD supervision, assessment of my PhD dissertation and Departmental costs during my three months study stay from April to June 2019 in the then Department of Culture and Global Studies. Last but not least, the great thank goes to my family and friends and I believe you understand the reason for my ups and downs movement.

David Ross Olanya

May, 2020.

LIST OF PAPERS

On this list are the articles included in this dissertation along with the status of publication.

ARTICLE 1: OLANYA, D. R. (2014). Asian Capitalism, Primitive Accumulation and the New Enclosures in Uganda. *African Identities*, 12 (1): 76-93.https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2013.868672

ARTICLE 2: OLANYA, D. R. (2015). Will Uganda Succumb to Resource Curse? Critical Reflections. *Extractive Industry and Society,* 2:46-55.https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2014.09.002

ARTICLE 3: OLANYA, D.R. (2016). Dams, Water and Accountability in Uganda. In Sandstrom, E., Jagerskog, A., Oestigaard, T (Eds.). *Land and Hydro Politics in The Nile Basin*, pp. 150-165. Routledge and Earth Scan.

ARTICLE 4: OLANYA, D.R. ET AL. (UNDER REVIEW). Capitalizing on Nature: A Critical Discourse Study of Nature Policy in Murchison Falls Conservation Area of Uganda. *Journal of Critical Policy Studies*.

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CHAPTER 1. PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This PhD thesis aims to provide insights into policies and complexities of land use and land ownership in the context of national development policy of Uganda, the Uganda Vision 2040. The focus of this thesis lies on four main policy fields: agriculture, oil and gas, hydropower (water) and tourism (including nature and wildlife). These will be further elaborated in section 1.2. The present study is an extended analogy of complex interactions and practices of negotiating resources and policies related to these four policy fields as they have high stakes in the current Vision 2040. However, currently, these key policy fields are often structured in the Vision 2040 as independent of one another or at the expense of one another. Traditionally, understanding complexities has been a missing link in public policy in general (Colander and Kupers 2004). While the traditional view tends to overlook the interconnectedness between different policy fields and the tensions and conflicting interests, the aim of this PhD thesis is to investigate and uncover the interconnectedness of these four policy fields regarding issues of land use and land ownership (see figure 1). As a supplement to the more traditional approaches of categorizing and analyzing the key sectors separately and independently, this PhD thesis adds a new perspective that studies the different sectors as an embedded social system in order to identify the overlapping, specific, or conflicting elements in the policymaking process and its implementation.

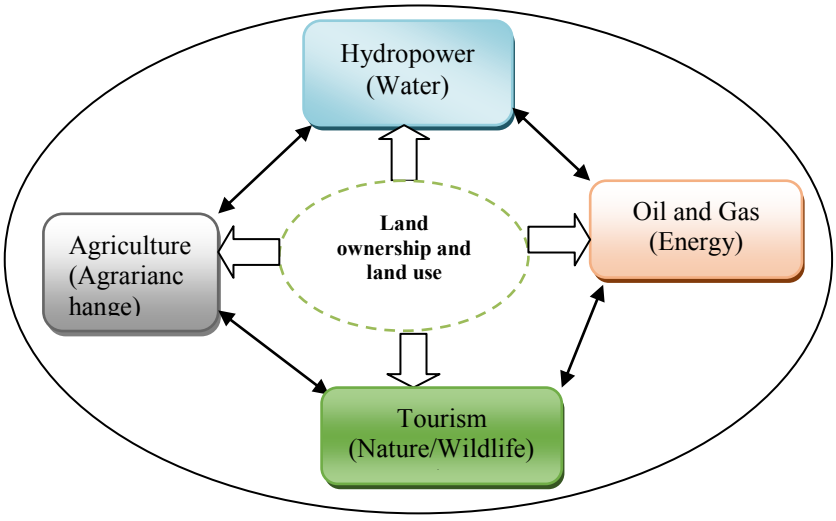
In many developing countries like Uganda, the question of, or questioning the nature of land ownership and land use, constitutes a central public policy concern. In order to deal with it, there is a need to start with understanding the perceptions and practices concerning land use and land ownership. These are relevant because the different practices of social agents, their positions, interests and priorities can either enabled or constrained the influence and impact of each sector individually and of the overall development process. In complex social systems, even the government is defined as endogenous to the system and the social agents, and these include not only government agencies, the corporate sector and their key players, but also the communities (Fligstein and McAdam 2011; 2012; Fligstein, 2013). This moves the analysis beyond the dichotomy of policy analysis models that separate the government from the market to the complex interactions in the social system.

The inviolability and status quo of resources, including land use and land ownership have so far been taken for granted by most actors in the complex social system. It is a widespread belief that the status of land use and land ownership remains unchangeable over time, and this presents a serious hidden policy problem in structuring the future. In reality, policy domains, defined as central and local government, have roles in promoting local economic development, and the market on the one hand, and the local community and the civil society, on the other hand, are continuously in for negotiation to change land use and land ownership. In

addition, these dynamics are arising from top-down solutions, whereby the government produces complex ideological effects on bottom-up-solutions, including the unstructured problems, or issues of displacement, compensation, and resettlement in order to structure a situation paving the way for resource extraction, which is necessary for the achievement of the national development goals.

These social complexities have become the defining moments of emerging struggles in public ownership versus communal or private ownership through titling 'legal' ownership versus 'illegal' ownership. In all these policy fields, the state, the market and the civil society have struggled to justify their relevance and legitimacy, while other actors such as transnational corporations have moved from a peripheral sphere into a central position in these policy fields. Moreover, multiple networks are emerging within these policy fields as global and domestic actors create partnerships with international actors. For example, in the agricultural policy field, both domestic and international companies, together with the landowners are engaged in agro-industrial development through partnership financing and capital development. Equally, this has been seen in the hydropower policy field. The state, the market, and civil society actors are involved in creating new governance modes such as collaborative arrangements and this causes new management, coordination and communication challenges. These challenges cannot only be addressed through new institutional practices, but also communication and negotiation among competing actors in the social system as a whole. The different colors presented in figure 1 are used to visualize the different sectors, but they carry no symbolic meaning.

Figure 1.1: Overview of Research Topics, Policy Domains and their Interconnectedness in Land use and Land ownership



Overall, the Uganda Vision 2040 gives limited attention to the interconnectedness and interactions of the four policy fields. This goes for the strategies pursued by the state in relation to the market and the civil society in general. In these policy fields, there are contentious politics arising from the interactions in the complex social system that shape and are shaped by increasing land values and negotiations over resources and policies. In connection with resource extraction for example, transnational corporations interact with the economy to bypass agrarian populism in the agricultural policy field. The economy (i.e. the powerful force of the monetary transactions) tends to reduce massive mobilization of the community movements against capitalist development in the agriculture and tourism policy fields.

Besides, the state has become still stronger in changing land use and land ownership. Despite a strong support for international capital by the government, some transnational actors (corporations in agriculture) have tended to avoid being identified with repressive state apparatuses to pursue bottom-up-solutions with the local communities in collaboration with the civil society. In this regard, the dynamics of land use and land ownership influences the possibility of exploitation of the extractive resources for the socio-economic development, including agricultural land, oil and gas, water resources, and tourism. Therefore, it is relevant and important to uncover the practices and alignment of both international and domestic corporations within the state, the market and the civil society, pursuing the porous boundaries between government and the market, top-down-solutions and bottom-up-solutions in order to provide new insights that could contribute to understanding the complexities and give an overview of the situation.

While alignment of specific roles of social actors has been common in political science and economics, this has been absent in international business (i.e. broadly global studies), or contemporary public policy fields that are theoretically embedded in local or historical contexts. In dealing with communities, collaborative approach literature on governance that depends upon networks dominates on institutional arrangements such as collaboration, conflict management, and guaranteeing success of extractive industry (Rhodes 1997: 53; Standfort and Stone 2008: 130). What is absent in the literature, is the governance capabilities for dealing with conflictual, dynamic interactions in extractive practices and politics or local contexts (Termeer, Wewulf, Breeman, and Stiller 2015). Yet, this conflictual dynamics is arising from shocks such as globalization (Fligstein 2012) that influences and enacts rules that frame government policies and people's lives in the complex social system. When new public ideas get proposed in the four policy fields, various actors within these fields are mobilized, others will be working to see the initiative is passed, sharing information or frustration about the implementation of new policies (Standfort and Stone 2008:131).

The purpose of this PhD thesis as a whole is threefold in the sense that it has theoretical, methodological and empirical dimensions. The empirical dimension

explores the four policy fields separately in four different papers and jointly in this introduction. The methodological dimension brings insights of comparative discourse approaches in exploring, analyzing and interpreting actors' actions and practices in the four policy fields. The theoretical dimension provides a field perspective to this context of a progressive country's vision for socio-economic transformation and industrialization. The role of discourse in shaping local agency in negotiating resources and policies in relation to land use and land ownership has received limited attention in discourse policy analysis (Hajer 1995). By adding a critical discourse perspective to the already conducted studies, it is my intention to show the discursive representation in the four policy fields, the institutional practices and the complex interactions in the broader context of the national development plan.

This purpose is to be realized through the following set of research questions:

Research Questions

The PhD project is guided by an overall research question (RQ) and three sub-research questions (RQs).

The overall research question:

How are land use and land ownership represented discursively in four different policy fields in Uganda and to what degree do these discursive representations align among each other and in relation to the national development plans of Uganda?

The sub-research questions (RQs):

RQ1: What actors and power relations can be identified in relation to issues of land use and land ownership in the four policy fields in Uganda?

RQ2: To what extent are the hegemonic discourses reproduced (or resisted) in institutional practices, who has agency and how is the agency distributed among the different actors in four policy fields?

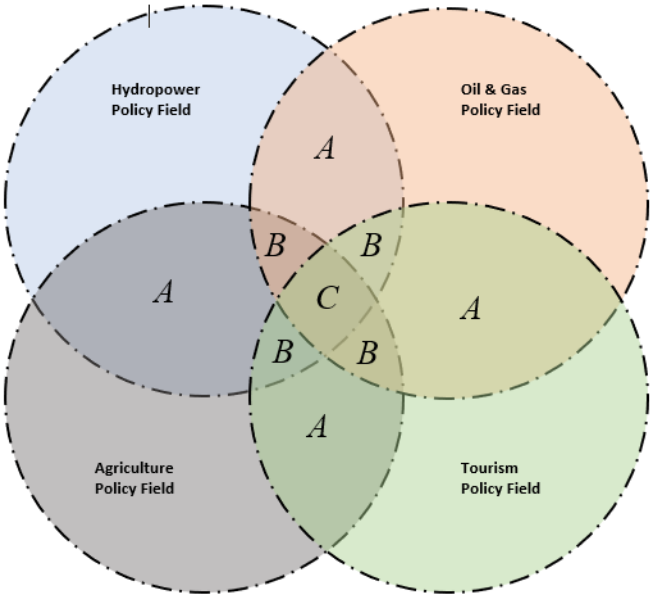
RQ3: How does change in policy field influence interactions with other proximate policy fields within the broader context of the national development plan of Uganda?

In what follows, the four policy fields, the complexity of actor relationships, and their interconnectedness are presented.

1.2 THE FOUR POLICY FIELDS

Based on the policy texts, this sub-section presents the complexity of actor relationships in the four policy fields: agriculture, oil and gas, hydropower and tourism. These fields are dynamic and interconnected both vertically and horizontally. Hierarchically, the keys actors are the central government and the local authority who exert their ability across the four policy fields. They have comparable legal and regulatory requirements that provide them with the opportunity to determine where influence of each non-state actor would be concentrated. Analyzing this complexity allows us to see their interdependencies, which are embedded in a complex social system of interconnectedness (cf. figure 1.1 above). As shown in figure 1.2 below, the boundary of each field is porous, and not a static one. While the central government favors all the four fields, social agents who want to occupy positions with agency are more motivated to either enable or constrain other actors' positions either as beneficiaries or as victims respectively.

Figure 1.2: The Complexity of Actor Relationships in the Four Policy Fields



Key Policy fields: Intra-modal perspective
A. Bi-modal perspectives
B: Tripartite modal perspectives
C: Quadruple modal perspectives

The actor relationship within the four policy fields illustrated in figure 1.2 above is labeled as intra-modal (the one way) perspective. That is, the agriculture, oil and gas, hydropower and tourism fields are in some respects/matters assumed to be independent by key actors who occupy positions in each respective field. Actors in each field compete to seek rule-based interactions and power relations that favor them from the state actors. There is a high degree of being dominated by one disciplinary perspective. I see the nature of their perspectives as motivated by intra-discipline knowledge in each field such as geology (oil and gas), ecology (tourism), science and technology studies (STS) (hydropower), agriculture (economics). Label *A* is associated with bi-modal (the two way) perspectives between agriculture and tourism, tourism and oil and gas, hydropower and oil and gas, agriculture and hydropower policy fields. Label *B* denotes tripartite (the three way) perspectives. It shows the possible complex perspectives among the three policy fields: agriculture, tourism and hydropower; tourism, oil and gas, and agriculture; and hydropower, oil and gas, and agriculture. At the center is the label *C,* which denotes the quadruple modal (the four way) perspectives between all four policy fields. It shows the complex perspectives of indivisible and the interdependent perspectives of land use and land ownership.

Unlike the sectoral perspective where each field is independent of the other fields, the policy field perspective sees each field as interdependent of each other. The internal governing units (IGUs) in each of the four policy fields do provide institutional rules and access to resources that key actors have been accumulating over time to help them maintain their field stability amidst the existence of conflicting interests within each field and in other proximate fields. To put these into context, the four policy fields have been crucial in Uganda's economy since the country gained its independence from Britain in 1962. Nowadays, these policy fields have been declared as fundamentals for achieving the national development plans of Uganda.

At the center of the four policy fields are the key actors who have agency and positions which are categorized into four groups as bracketed at the center in figure 1.1. The IGUs are state field actors that are hierarchically linked to the state field (i.e. the central government) and to the four policy fields. The key actors consist of the incumbent and the challengers. In the agriculture field, the key actors are the communities, land owners and the big commercial farmers. In the oil and gas field, there are the international oil companies (IOCs), Uganda National Oil Company (UNOC), and Petroleum Authority of Uganda (PAU). The tourism field has some actors such as Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA), Uganda Tourism Board (UTB), landowners and the private developers. The hydropower field actors are mainly those involved in the state generation and distribution companies, the international agencies, the civil society, private developers and the communities.

The agriculture policy field (agrarian change)

The policy field of agriculture is dominated by the productionist perspective that views land as a factor of production as well as a commodity. It is currently attracting the multiple interests of both the state and non-state actors who demand for changing land use and land ownership that favor the inclusion of commercial/business interests in agriculture. The change in agricultural land use is crucial for socio-economic transformation of the state field, although the constitution as a legal document recognizes that "Land belongs to the People" (Government of Uganda (GoU) 1995). Since land belongs to the people, this means recognition of the communal land ownership, or the multiple tenure systems. According to the state actors' discursive representation, only 20 percent of landholding in Uganda is registered, while 80 percent is held under customary tenure systems, and this is not enough to facilitate development. The dominant logics in the agriculture policy field demands for the systematic enrolling of land registration and survey of the entire country, and this has to be completed by 2040 (NPA 2013: 2). The state field actors show agency in aiming at incorporating land markets (i.e. purchase, rent and leases) through the zoning laws and within minimum distortion. That is, "in case of customary land holding or in cases where people holding land under other tenure systems are unwilling to sell, massive sensitization programmes and negotiations will be promoted under the auspices of Government or other mutually trusted organizations or persons to ensure that interests of all parties are duly protected" (National Planning Authority (NPA) 2013: 83). The state field actors, especially the central government want to implement land reforms that facilitate faster acquisition of land for planned development and agricultural commercialization. Land experts (surveyors) problematize agricultural land in terms of multiple structural challenges, including: low agricultural productivity (Muvawala 2017). However, they overlook the interconnectedness, or interdependencies with other proximate policy fields. The presence of land disputes hinders the development of land rents from the available large track of land.

Land experts pursue progressive land markets and promote the change of land use in order attract investments in commercial agriculture. The changes in land use can negatively or positively affect the security of tenure, property valuation, land use and individual property rights, and increasing agricultural productivity for the land owners. The presence of multiple claims, including freehold, leasehold, *mailo*, and customary land ownership constrains interests of dominant actors such as government and corporate organizations who advocate for land titling in the public sphere. Titling aims at securing property rights, increasing access to capital; royalty payment, including compensation for land use and resettlement of those who are displaced; promoting land market; creating certainty and stability and easy identification of the individual during the time of compensation (Muvawala 2017). The state and investors problematize the agricultural field as being dominated by smallholders' food and industrial crops, and would prefer the field to be transformed

into agro-processing complex. This field employs over 65.5 percent of the population and contributes up to 21 percent of the Gross Domestic Product. As a result, the agriculture policy field has had to be mechanized and transformed into a productive commodity value chain (NPA 2013: 45).

The oil and gas (energy) policy field

This field is expected to produce 3.5 billion barrels of oil and gas in the nearby future, given the increasing rate of exploration activities going on (NPA 2013: 47). The state field actors (UNOC and PAU) see this field as having the potentials for employment, economic growth, revenue to support other sectoral infrastructure and human resources, appropriate technology, and governance. State actors have a high stake on promoting peace and stability in order to attract IOCs to invest in the sector while at the same time balancing their power relations with the climatic change and sustainability interests conflicting with the national context, which is driven mainly by revenue in order to achieve the different political, economic and geopolitical interests. The presence of IOCs such as Total (France), Tullow (UK) and CNOOC (China) is very central to the state field because of the resources (capital and technology) they bring into the oil and gas sector. This gives the field more power over other proximate fields such as the agriculture and tourism policy fields, which leads to conflicting interest among the state field actors. It competes with the existing land use and ownership in agriculture and tourism policy fields. This is because each sector is assumed to be independent of each other. This field has a high stake within the state field to the extent it dominates over tourism activities and the conservation of ecological sites inside protected areas. This has led to discursive struggles within the state field actors over environmental values versus the economy, or economic growth. The tourism field is contested by the increasing use of seismic surveys, which could lead to flaring and greenhouse emissions, production wells and oil blow out, and possibly increase the incidence of human-wildlife conflict. This has also attracted an emergent organic movement such as the civil society who campaign against oil and gas exploration and exploitation inside protected areas, in addition to questioning the independent role of Uganda's National Environment Management Authority (NEMA). The state field actors, together with the IOCs have formed very powerful alliances in attracting investment in this field, and are ready to compensate and involuntarily resettle those whose interests are affected by the development in oil and gas sector in general.

The hydropower (water) policy field

The state actors have made proliferations of hydropower plants a top priority in achieving the Uganda Vision 2040. Therefore, this field plays an important role in spurring industrial and domestic consumption through generation and distribution of hydro power. In short, this field has got high stakes in political priority (Trotter and Maconachie 2018: 62). The agency is associated with a populist strategy to

demonstrate the political commitment to the energy sector, although a deliberative consultation was made prior to the launch. At the same time it is anchored on problematizing the past government order as corrupt, poorly governed, and this has attributed to poor economic performance, inequality and underdevelopment. As a 'pro-poor' political strategy it is based on modernization of the energy sector which is assumed to be the main force behind the country's development (Trotter and Maconachie 2018: 63). The claim being made in this policy field shows that Uganda Vision 2040 targets infrastructure in the next 25 years. Specifically, hydropower generation, increasing access and consumption are translated from the Uganda vision 2040 through increasing the electricity consumption rate from 75 to 3,668 kwh per capita (See table 1, p point 10).

In order to achieve this goal, the country needs to add over 400,000 new connections every year until 2040. At the moment, only 10 percent of these connections are rural connections, and 90 percent of the population living in rural areas are unelectrified (Trotter and Maconachie 2018: 85). The state field actors have developed alliances with the non-state actors such as private developers in the construction of small hydropower plants to add independent suppliers of electricity to the national grid. This has induced competition in tourism sites such as waterfalls (Ayago, Karuma, and Murchison Falls) in protected areas as well as introduced tension points in land use and land ownership between the hydropower policy field and the tourism policy field. This has overlooked the interest and the contribution by the tourism (wildlife/nature) field. This may be explained by the fact that Vision 2040 is based on predictive annual growth moving from only 6.5 percent to 7.5 percent between 2016 and 2025 (NPA 2013). Increasing the installed generative capacity and the distribution involves the alliances at multiple energy sources, including nuclear, solar, thermal, biomass, hydro and geothermal industries (NPA 2013). As this is assumed to follow a linear approach of input-outcome model in mainstream policy without identifying the tension points regarding competing land use and land ownership in the promise of meeting United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) alleviating energy poverty (Trotter and Maconachie 2018). The hydropower policy field will have to compete with the oil and gas policy field's water abstraction project (exploiting water from Lake Albert for uses in oil and gas industry) in the coming years when the production of oil and gas starts. Fresh water is planned to provide the material value in other proximate policy fields such as in agricultural intensification (irrigation and livestock) industry.

The tourism (wildlife/nature) policy field

The tourism policy field is assumed to contribute to the Vision 2040 through preserving the environment or natural resources despite the high stake in social, economic and political contradictions surrounding the demand for changing land use and land ownership in agricultural and oil and gas policy fields respectively. The NPA (2013) text showed that this field contributes to only 14 percent of

employment and 11.4 percent of the Gross Domestic Product. Under Vision 2040, this specific policy field is planned to be interconnected to the hydropower policy field despite the renewed interest in an infrastructural development project in which the country aims to be among the top five tourist attractions in Africa. However, the future of the wildlife policy conflicts with the infrastructural development in agricultural, oil and gas, and hydropower policy fields. The extension and intensification of agricultural land, infrastructural development such as oil and gas infrastructure and hydropower will automatically constrain the future of protected areas. Moreover, the wildlife policy field diversifying tourist products: art and craft; heritage; cultural center; canopy walk; wilderness camp site; and other touristic activities could be affected negatively by the recent proliferations of infrastructural developments, especially in the oil and gas as well as hydropower policy fields. All these elements affect negatively the mainstream policy idea of competitiveness. The wildlife field earned USD 662 in 2011 and is projected to earn USD 12 billion in 2040. Based on this projection, the corporate UWA is to replace UTB to generate its own money to reduce pressure on the national budget. In short, the government will have to secure and protect all tourist attraction sites and destinations in order to ensure the integrity and eliminate wildlife disputes through putting in place more strong regulatory policy frameworks (NPA 2013). As per the constitution, government or local government shall hold in trust natural lakes, wetlands, forest reserves, game reserves, national parks and any other land to be reserved for ecological and touristic purposes for the common good of all its citizens. Government puts in mechanisms to ensure that district borders are secured and any disputes addressed (Muvawala 2017).

1.3 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This PhD thesis is article-based, and the articles constitute the main body. Three of the articles were publishedin 2014, 2015, 2016 and the fourth article is under review in the Journal of Critical Policy Studies. Each of the articles is presented to represent the interconnectedness in the four policy fields.

Chapter 1 shows the interconnectedness in the four policy fields. It shows the social complexity in land use and land ownership and the emerging discursive struggles therein. It provides overview of research topics, policy domains and land ownership.

Chapter 2 introduces the context and policy problems as more complex, dynamic and non-linear than often assumed in the social order of the Uganda Vision 2040. It describes the complexity and contradictions in the four policy fields to constitute policy problems in relation to land use and land ownership.

Chapter 3 explores different disciplinary understandings of field theory from an interdisciplinary perspective. It outlines the theoretical development in field theory in order to answer the overall research question of the thesis. It shows the relevance of field theory to the thesis and policy field in general.

Chapter 4 explores the research paradigm, discourse and introduces Comparative Discourse Analysis as a new addition to Critical Discourse Analysis in explaining the interconnectedness and interactions of the four policy fields through the interpretative lens of knowing reality in an inter-disciplinary approach.

Chapter 5 provides a review of the articles on the four fields: the agriculture field, oil and gas field, the hydropower field, and the tourism policy field. It presents each of these articles which were written independent of each other.

Chapter 6 bridges a gap in the four articles that were written independent of each other, by adding a discourse perspective on power struggles and dominant hegemonic discourses in the so-called policy fields.

Chapter 7 gives a concluding section of a brief summary of the findings of the dissertation as whole by answering the research questions. Indeed, it reinstates the central theme about the interconnectedness across the four policy fields: agriculture, oil and gas, hydropower and tourism. Each of these four policy fields have dynamics of land use and land ownership that gloss over to other fields.

CHAPTER 2. CONTEXT AND POLICY PROBLEMS

2.1 POLICY CONTEXT

In 2007, the Ugandan government approved a development plan called Uganda Vision 2040 which aims to provide new development pathways and strategies. As a result, Uganda's policy framing has moved away from seeing the market and government as distinct separate entities to a policy framing where both market and government occupy a central role in the economy. This policy frame has also been shifted away from a welfare policy or 'war on poverty' to policy planning in the productive sector of the economy in order to foster socio-economic transformation (see Colander and Kupers 2004; Fischer and Forester 1993). This socio-economic transformation needs questioning of social issues away from a limited practitioner's perspective in the mainstream policy analysis (macro) to institutional (meso) analysis (Fischer 2003). The guiding principles inscribed in Uganda Vision 2040 (NPA 2013: 10-13) are very complex with multiple overlapping themes. These include themes such as: (1) ownership and seeking "the wholehearted support of all stakeholders" to the National Development Plan (NDP) and its implementation (p. 10); (2) political will, i.e. "strong backing from the political leadership at all levels" (p. 10); (3) good governance described as "the positive exercise of authority" which is "characterized by citizen transformation and participation in governance, control of corruption, political stability, and respect for the rule of law" (pp. 10f); (4) ensuring resource availability for the implemention of the planned programmes (p. 11); (5) balanced development both in terms of encouraging "the harnessing of key opportunities by strengtheneing the necessary fundamentals" so that "the country's targeted growth will not hinge on a few sectors" and in terms of regional equitability "ensuring that all regions of the country benefit from growth of the national economy by equitably using national resources, better infrastructure and other development projects to realize higher investments levels required to flight poverty, promote social equity and harmony" (p.11); (6) behavioral change both in public infrastructure and citizens: "The people will need to adopt a new attitude to public property, assets, amenities and the environment and be patriotic to their country" and "start appreciating hard work, discipline, time management and patriotism" (pp. 11f.); (7) planning linkages in "all ministries, departments and autonomous, semi-autonomous entities" to "realign their development priorities with the Vision" (p. 12); (8) sustainable and equitable development in terms of "preserving the environment" and reducing "discrimination against the female sex", "access to basic needs such as education, health services, food, housing and the equitable distribution of incomes among all citizens shall be promoted" (p. 12), and (9) effective implementation, monitoring and evaluation mechanism "for measureing and reporting progress towards the planned objectives and related targets" (p. 13).

Some of the themes are contradictory, with overlapping priorities, unrealistic and unclear because they ignore relations between government, market and society's contexts in general. The notion of sustainability that aims to "promote human well-being, meeting basic needs of the poor and protecting the wellfare of the future generation, preserving environmental resources and life-support support systems, integrating economic and political development processes (Meadowcroft 2000:73) is not adequately addressed. Moreover, the characteristics of this socio-economic transformation are more complex, dynamic and non-linear than often assumed. Moreover, the policy makers are advised to avoid the quest for control, but to take account of the contingent underlying socio-economic nature of the processes (Grin, Rotmans, and Schot 2010). For example, they ignore how power relations are distributed among the different actors as well as the historically and culturally produced knowledge context and practices, safeguarding individual or group interests. In addition, there is too much emphasis on top-down solutions which seem to ignore bottom-up innovation of both communities and the market in general.

These guiding principles have been outlined in a very ambitious vision statement: “A Transformed Ugandan Society from a Peasant to a Modern and Prosperous Country within 30 years” (NPA 2013: III). To attain Vision 2040, all development plans at all levels must follow this planning process approach in order to foster socio-economic transformation, including: labor force, minerals, oil and gas, agriculture, tourism, knowledge and ICT, industrialization, general location and trade. The government considers Vision 2040 as a choice to reorganize the previous development policies which are associated with ideological disorientation, weak private sector, untapped human resources, infrastructural dilemma, limited market, delayed industrialization, agriculture and so forth (NPA 2013: III,5). The form of economic system organization introduced through/with the Vision 2040 has adopted a quasi-market approach. The government is required to invest mainly in strategic areas while at the same time being guided by a market driven approach. In other words, the dominant actor is the private sector which is considered an engine of growth and development while government is required to pursue a facilitative (supply function) role in providing conducive, regulatory and institutional policies. Among other things, a projection of income per capita of USD 9500 in 2040. As such, the Uganda Vision 2040 is a complex system that constitutes multiple algorithmic projection of variables as illustrated in table 2.1

Table 2. 1: Baseline Status and Vision Targets (Uganda Vision 2013, 13ff.)

No.	Development Indicator	Baseline Status 2010	Target 2040
1	Per capita income	US$506	US$9,500
2	Percentage of population living below poverty	24. 5	5
3	Sectoral contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (%)		
	Agriculture	22.4	10.4
	Industry	26.4	31.4
	Services	51.2	58.2
4	Labor force in line with sectoral contribution (%)		
	Agriculture	65.6	31
	Industry	7.6	26
	Services	26.8	43
5	% share of national labor force employed	70.9	94
6	Manufactured export as	4.2	50
7	Gross capital formation as % of GDP	24.1	30
8	Saving as a % of GDP	14.5	35
9	ICT goods and services as a % of GDP	0	40
10	Electricity consumption (kWh per capita)	75	3668
11	% population with access to electricity	11	80
12	% of standard paved road to total road network	4	80
13	% of population in planned settlement		
	Urban	51	100
	Rural	0	100
14	% level of urbanization	13	60
15	Labor productivity (GDP per worker - USD)		
	Agriculture	390	6,790
	Industry	3,550	24,820
	Services	1,830	25, 513
	Total	1.017	19,770
16	Population growth	3.2	2.4
17	Forest cover (% land area)	15	24
18	Wetland cover (% of total area)	8	24
19	Corruption % index	2.5	7.1

Source: National Planning Authority (NPA) (2013)'s projection and bench marked data from various sources, pp. 13-15.

With reference to the above table, poverty is being defined as a 'wicked problem', or tame problem in the NDP. That is, the percentage of people living below poverty is perceived to be tamed from 24.5 percent in 2010 to 5 percent in 2040. This will further be explained in section 2.2. In addition, agriculture and industry are presented as an independent of one another. It is very important to describe more clearly the matches and mismatches between table 2.1 and the SDGs/ United Nations Agenda 2030. For example, Uganda Vision 2040 was launched and published before the SDGs/United Nations Agenda 2030. The development indicators mentioned above show weak sustainability dimensions as much focus is put on economic growth and less on sustainable development. Table 2.1 has very limited focus on an sustainable agenda when compared to sustainable global agenda such as no poverty, affordable and clean energy, life below water and life on land and climatic action (United Nations 2015). No mention of water (SDG - goal 6), climate change (SDG- goal 13). Despite these variations in focus both share some common key themes: energy (SDG - goal 7) (NDP, point 10), economic growth (SDG - goal 8) (NDP, point 3, 7, 8); infrastructure, industrialization and innovation (goal 9) (NDP, point 3, 12, 15), conserving for sustainable use for sustainable development (SDG - goal 14 (NDP 17, 18), sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems (SDG - goal 15) (NDP 17, 18) and the focus on implementation (SDG - goal 17) (NDP 19). In brief, both call for systemic issues of policy and institutional coherence to support the implementation, including stability through policy coordination and policy coherence, to engage multiple actors, create partnership (government- private sector, and civil society), concrete policies and action (development strategies) to contextualize resource availability for implementation, while respecting the principle of national ownership as central to SDGs. Furthermore both call for the relevance of private business activities, investment and innovation both by local and international companies.

As the producer of the development plans, the NPA makes both short term and long term plans while having a primary focus on the oil ad gas policy field: "In the earlier years of this Vision, the exploitation of the oil and gas will be crucial to spur economic growth and development in the country" (NPA 2013: 30). Moreover, the war on structuring poverty did not register significant progress in achieving specific outcomes, as the market was disembedded away from the state through the revolutionary projects of *neoliberalism and globalization*. In 2000, the country agreed on three agenda: promoting economic growth opportunity; enhanced social and economic security; and empowerment through innovative governance under the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). Ugandan economy then got integrated into global economy with a wider consensus around market-led growth which needed to be reinforced by social capital or institution: community participation, civil society, partnerships, providing trust and institutional support. A special attention has been given to property rights and security of capital, and governance processes that support market processes under the liberal development as 'neoliberal institutionalism' defined as a period characterized by 'historical high point of liberal hegemony in development. As a country, it has to struggle with complexity resulting

from liberal policy and the modes of governing the institution of the market economy, or 'top down' responses: inform (consumers), enforce (contract and the law), and compete (multiple agencies compete for contract delivery) (Graig and Porter 2006:10, 12,13,20).

The focus on poverty was replaced by a focus on the productive sector of the economy, or developmental state idea of Vision 2040. The PRSP restricted ownership to rights and responsibility (Graig and Porter 2006:79). This has generated complexities and contradictions in the four policy fields. Moreover, the experience in South Asian countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea and Thailand among many, not to mention all, has been borrowed to guide Uganda's development model regarding strategic intervention of the state (Muvawala 2017; NPA 2013). Analogies from South Asian countries' set of institutions, policies, and factors endowment were inscribed to Uganda's context. Thus, economy is at the center of the Uganda Vision 2040 and this has significant consequences for the framing and reframing of Uganda's public policy. In all the elements inscribed in Vision 2040, including: agriculture, oil and gas, tourism, minerals, trade, business, human resources, water resources, industrialization, and information communication technology business, the economy is the most fundamental driver of socio-economic activities. Other critical focus in Uganda's Vision 2040 includes infrastructure, science, technology and innovation (STEI), land use and management, urbanization, human resource, and peace, security and defense. However, the centrality of land ownership and land use during this period of transformation has so far been taken for granted in the unsettled social complex system. Moreover, achieving this Vision 2040 presents a big ambivalence on the possibilities of strategies and policy interventions. It is the rational planning which is referred to as ambivalence in these possibilities as 'harnessing the fundamentals' to achieve wholly the country's targeted growth, regional equality without pay attention to dynamics of interactions in land use and land ownership (cf. guiding principle (5) in the oil and gas development, tourism, mineral development, industrialization, agriculture, human resources and water resources, not to mention all. This complexity described above has implications in the policymaking and its implementation.

2.2 POLICY PROBLEMS

This sub section describes policy problems concerning land use and land ownership in the four policy fields. Rittel and Webber (1973) had described policy problems as 'wicked problems' whereas Levin, Cashore and Auld (2012) had expanded the description to be 'super-wicked problems' in order understand the meso-level order, especially where there is no central authority to govern the policy fields. Reflecting on the past, the concept of policy problems originated in planning and is now being used generally in policy studies (Churchman 1967; Simon 1973; Rittel and Webber 1973). Following Rittel and Webber (1973) who developed the idea of 'wicked problems' to describe a set of policy problems such as poverty and environment, which had appeared to defy the capacity of government to govern effectively, these

policy problems could no longer be addressed by assuming, as science does, that they are 'tame' or 'benign'. Rather they are wicked because they were located in the opposite, or ill-defined and malignant (Rittel and Webber 1973: 160). They were critical of social science orthodoxy and urban social issues to be plural, but are not unitarily expressed, mobilized and reconciled. That is, the contested and complex policy problems could not be tamed or domesticated through standardized rational-analytic models of planning and decision making (Head 2019:181). This is very relevant in understanding the four policy fields.

Simon (1973) however categorized policy problems as 'well-structured' or 'ill-structured'. By this, Simon took a functionalist or instrumental position. It is the ill-structured problems that provide the justification for state actors to intervene in multiple policy fields such as agriculture, or food policy, climatic change, health care policy, income inequality, obesity, or poverty and hydraulic fracturing (Peters and Tarpey 2019:219, 224; Peters 2017:393; Newman and Head 2017:421-2). Wicked problems therefore have dominated policy fields such as environment, marine and oceans, sustainability, energy, and cleaner production (Levin et al. 2012). In other words, most policy problems exhibit at least some wicked tendencies which are difficult to define, regulate, stop, explain and solve among other things (Newman and Head 2017; Peters and Tarpey 2019:236). Roberts (2000) recognizes wicked problems to constitute political conflicts over the definition of problems and the possible solutions. The policy problems dealt with in this thesis are representative of wicked policy problems facing the government of Uganda in the four policy fields: agriculture, oil and gas, hydropower and tourism. That is, the thesis problematizes the common approach in policy studies that the four policy fields are treated as independent of one another. They are super-wicked policy problems because they demand the involvement of a strong central planning authority to integrate, or coordinate interdependent activities, together with other institutions. For example, the poverty problem, which is inscribed in the Vision 2040, might be the symptom of another problem and there are also multiple explanations for the emergence of this problem (Peters and Tarpey 2019). In this thesis, I use the concept of 'wicked problems' and super-wicked problems' interchangeably in order to describe the changes in land use and land ownership. The most important element is that time is running out on the basis of capacity to solve the problem (Peters 2005: 389; Peters and Tarpey 2019:219-220).

Some scholars (Hoppe 2002:308-310; 2018; Roe 2013) further approach the issue on the basis of certain knowledge and the agreement of values, norms, and goals of policy problems. They divide policy problems into four categories: (1) structured problems (e.g. road maintenance, allocation of social housing facilities), which have a high degree of certain knowledge and consent; (2) moderately structured/end/goals problems (e.g. traffic safety) have got high agreement on relevant values and appropriate ends are not contested, but there is no agreement on the means to be used and resources to be allocated; (3) moderately structured/means problems (e.g.

abortion and voting rights) with a substantive agreement on certain knowledge, but intense disagreements about values at stake and ends to be pursued; and (4) unstructured problems (e.g. car mobility), of which both the knowledge base and the ethical support are hotly contested. Solving these problems technically is inadequate because of uncertainty about which disciplines, specialities, experts, and skills to mobilize; conflict over values abound, and many people get intensively involved.

At some point, given the mismatch, public policy makers are always accused of solving the wrong problem, which may result into protracted controversies (Schon and Rein 1994). This wrong problem solution approach spreads from one policy field to another and the governing of this process becomes central to moving away from unstructured problems to structured problems through (inter) organizational policymaking and implementation (Hoppe 2018:393). To sum up, policy problems can either be tame or wicked problems (Rittel and Webber 1973), (the existence of 'high ground' where problems are of great technical interest but of limited social importance dominate, or where messy, confusing problems defy technical solutions (Rosenhead 1996:119). Rosenhead further argues that wicked problems are problems of the 'swamps', where there is greater significance than those relatively tame problems. The process of problem structuring is a problematic situation which is characterized by: multiple actors, different perspectives, partially conflicting interests, significant intangibles, perplexing uncertainties (Rosenhead 2006:759). This is relevant in understanding the fields as embedded in swamp conditions.

In the four policy fields, actors are positioned to think of knowing the solution in the different fields. The dominant model of policy analysis has to be extended beyond this economic model, as projected in Vision 2040, to timing as a precondition, how it works, and the huge structures of ideological effects on each policy field. By adopting a STEI oriented approach, the qualitative behaviors are left out of the analysis in general. One has to pay attention to the society in terms of the limits to growth (Meadows, Randers, and Meadows 1972; 2004). Yet, Rostow (1991) thought society evolves through a number of predetermined stages as illustrated in figure 3 below:

Figure 3.1: A Linear Stage of a Modernizing Society

Along these lines, changes take place as linear, starting from capital accumulation to infrastructure, a position that is well known in development planning. However, the focus in this PhD thesis is non-linearity and partial equilibrium, where the final outcome depends on the path chosen, given that the path may be difficult to change over time because we live in a complex world (Cowan et al. 1999:709).

CHAPTER 3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: FROM FIELD THEORY TO STRATEGIC ACTION FIELDS

This chapter presents the theoretical contributions that are relevant for this PhD thesis. It integrates three different contributions to field theory to illuminate the overall question of this thesis: *how are land use and land ownership represented discursively in four different policy fields and to what degree do these discursive representations align among each other and in relation to the national development plans?* The integration of field theory is applied to the actual policy problems (cf. chapter 2) in this thesis from an interdisciplinary perspective. The integration of field theory moves from Kurt Lewin via Pierre Bourdieu to Neil Fligstein and Doug MacAdam's Strategic Action Theory which are categorized to answer micro, meso and macro level interactions respectively. The aim here is to blend field theory and critical policy studies together in order to illuminate on how field actors (both state and non-state actors) discursively construct solutions to policy problems. The following section traces the origin and the relevance of an inter-disciplinary perspective in the context of critical policy studies in the four policy fields.

3.1 AN INTER-DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE

Lasswell's (1951) pioneered contribution in policy science envisioned policy enterprise to bridge policy research, policymaking and the ordinary citizens during a period of transition to industrial society, the rise of big government and corporate capitalism. The aim is to show Lasswell's policy science as: (1) a multidisciplinary approach; (2) a problem oriented or contextualizing approach; and (3) an explicitly normative orientation. It is this multi-disciplinary focus that accommodates the field of political science, sociology, anthropology, psychology, statistics and math, and perhaps physical and natural sciences. This multiplicity in perspectives was expanded in Kingdon's (1984) Multiple-Streams Framework (MSF) of the agenda setting in a single context of the United States. This PhD thesis views the agenda setting from an inter-disciplinary perspective in studying the four policy fields and providing a deeper attention to interpretation. Moreover, policy controversies cannot be resolved by social science alone as it may provide information that is in opposition to different sponsors of competing frames (Colander and Kupers 2004). As such, what is developed in one discipline can be applied to another discipline since each discipline lies between order and disorder, or non-linear dynamics (Cowan, Pines and Meltzer 1999: 709). Here, I adopt the concept of migration between disciplines, or theoretical generalization in social science since the search for laws governing the social world has been abandoned on an assumption based on non-linearity (Cowan et al. 1999: 709).

Nowdays, most policy analytic projects still struggle to take up Lasswell's bold idea, including post-empiricists such as Fischer (2003), Fischer and Forester (1993). Lasswell contributed to policy science during the 1960s and 1970s when the discipline was becoming more technocratic compared to democratic lines. By focusing on empirical and practical issues, the original promise was abandoned. In Uganda, this was taken up by the rise of populist governments that pursued populist projects to reduce on the percentage of population living below poverty (see table 2.1, point 2). The ultimate aim is to separate facts from values. For instance, if politics cannot fit into the themes of Vision 2040, then politics is the problem. As a result, policy science remains tied up in the political process agenda setting, and its legislative formulation. Each group struggles to interpret a piece of legislation in light of the one that is favorable to their own interest, and the content evolves through an endless negotiation between those of interested parties (Fischer 2003: 8). All these analogies are relevant to the dynamic of interactions which are ongoing and producing changes in land use and land ownership. This thesis extends the idea of an interdisciplinary orientation in explaining the interconnectedness and the complex interactions across the four policy fields. Borrowing from political science's concept of vertical, or horizontal relationship, this has been useful in the field of institutional and organizational studies. It also promotes the study of inter-governmental relationships, particularly in boundary demarcation between legal and regulatory issues (Sandfort and Stone 2008: 131-132). This supplements the original focus in the field of policy studies in order to generate ideas for agenda setting (Kingdon 1984; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993). In this policy domain, that is, the central and local level interactions across policy fields allow us to see how the state and non-state actors struggle discursively to solve policy problems (Salamon 2005; Standfort and Stone 2008: 144; Stone and Standfort 2009). Most importantly, policy domains promote a broad range of policy comparisons, or cross-sectoral comparisons (Rhodes and Marsh 1992).

Besides political science, sociology offers concepts of societal sectors and organizational fields, which help to define a government, private sector and so forth, in addition to outlining the emerging issues to be solved, or addressed (DiMaggio 1988; 1991; Scott and Meyer 1991). Scott and Meyer (1991) defined societal sectors as "a collection of organizations operating in the same domain ... together with those organizations that critically influence the performance of the focal organization" (p.117). This implies that societal sectors have both horizontal and vertical linkages within the wider context, or the institutional environment (Burstein 1991). Recently, the concept of network has emerged to be relevant in explaining the existence of horizontal relations in policy fields (Klijn 1997; Klijn and Koppenjan 2000). In this situation, sociology pays attention to interests in organizational setting, the mobilization and resources, including the unfolding events (Stone and Sandfort 2009: 1058). Here, each actor draws resources from one another, while at the same time promoting interrelationships and negotiations. Furthermore, inter-organization relations arise from the practice of structuration, that

is, an increase in interactions, the emerging patterns of domination and coalitions for the purpose of a common enterprise (Stone and Startfort 2009). DiMaggio (1988; 1991) however defined structuration in terms of action and individual agency in interaction with others as well as acknowledging others. Giddens (1984) however emphasizes structures as dialectical, that is, to be constraining and enabling. I apply structuration to study the increasing interactions between fields and actors' negotiation which make the formation of hegemonic both at micro, meso and macro levels possible.

A further aspect to consider under sociology is the specific emphasis on micro, meso and macro levels. At macro level, organizations and institutions are vertically connected at a national scope. This policy context draws on elements of political systems, including specific sectors (e.g. environment, energy), or the organization of the state such as legislative acts, or regulations (Laumann and Knoke 1987). At meso level, there are organizations and (inter)-organizations, or societal sectors that structure human action, or the interaction. *At micro level,* it is the individual actors and the choice they make through social skill, that is, the ability to analyze fields and persuade others to take collective action within fields or construct new ones. In other words, the social skill is closely associated with action of institutional entrepreneurs - or policy networks (Stone and Sandfort 2009:1057). It is such policy networks that align both the state and non-state actors across the four policy fields. This is proven by the existence of interdependencies, each having their own goals, and the existence of relations that are more or less lasting in nature (Klijn 1997; Klijn and Koppenjan 2000). It is important to note that this network has been assumed to be static, but it changes over time in terms of contract and policy mandates (Isett and Provan 2005). At this micro level, skilled social actors are associated with what Giddens (1984) called skilled performances. Therefore, this defines actors' ability to analyze a given field situation and then persuade others to pursue the same collective action, including cooperation, agenda setting, brokering, bargaining, compromising and so forth (Stone and Sandfort 2009: 1061). Therefore, the reproduction of any field depends on the skilled social actors in dominant organizations, or under turbulent conditions, or institutional entrepreneurs (DiMaggio 1988; Fligstein 2001).

Moving away from unstructured to structured problems involve both technical and political aspects of interactions (Funke 1991; Peters 2017:387; Peters and Tarpey; 2019:392). In this thesis, what is visible as symptoms is not the same in each field, but the neglect of politics creates a tension point which is found in more than one policy field. Thus, this constitutes the problem of ambivalence (Bauman 1991), a situation where partnership is becoming a social ordering, widely distributed discursively to conceal realities. This frame can be a boundary, a picture that fixes our attention and tells us what to disregard, or to demarcate what is inside and outside (Hajer and Laws 2006:89). This frame can make sense and describe a move from diffuse worries to actionable points (Peirce 1992). In policy fields,

complexities are systems that are located in different parts which are informed, or ordered (Cowan et al. 1999:1). Each policy field constitutes what Cowan et al. (1999:2) called a 'living organization' with many independent parts which are interconnecting, interacting, and reproducing functions which are truly complex, self-governing and adaptive systems. This 'living organization' may have local rules, including the invention of symbols, language, culture, communication and evolving behavior of collective social units or spatial/temporal structures.

Schon and Rein (1994) consider framing as 'a way of selecting, organizing, interpreting and making sense of a complex reality to provide guideposts for knowing, analyzing, persuading and acting' (p.146). This is where rhetoric of multiple actors are useful in the debate about what works when designing for problem solving (Bacchi 2009; 2015; Bacchi and Goodwin 2016; Peters 2005). In agenda setting, policy problems are represented independently, and this gives rooms for policy entrepreneurs to identify and process issues onto some active agenda within a particular political system (Peters 2005:352-53; 355-65; Peters and Tarpey 2019:185). Besides, there are coping strategies of being: competitive (i.e. power is dispersed, but contested), collaborative (i.e. power is dispersed, but not contested), and authoritative (i.e. power is not dispersed) (Roberts 2010).

The message here is that planning for social change is never solved, but revolved as political problems, or policy problems (McConnell 2018:166). This simplifies the difficulty in moving problems from unstructured to structured situations. This requires a questioning habitus of policy design elements by using concepts such as problematicity, which is defined as question-answer connection in presenting a problem (Hope 2018:386-7; Turnbull 2013:xi). This relates to Lasswell's ideas about a policy-orientated approach, or Turnbull (2013) who proposed questioning for change, including who are the actors involved in political and policy debates, their divergent and competing values, their worldviews and beliefs that explain the existence of plurality, policy belief systems, attitudes and practices. This questioning shapes substantive problems and content of the policy process (Turnbull 2002:7). The following section introduces social order from a more theoretically informed perspective, that is, the field theory to explain the discursive representation at micro, meso and macro levels in policy studies.

3.2 FIELD THEORY

Here, I trace the origin of field theory and its relevance to this thesis. I will outline the dynamic nature of the concepts (time and position) and their relevance to this thesis, in the four policy fields. First, field theory is useful in explaining the position and interaction of human agency. Second, it is useful in analyzing how the activities of actors are regulated, or how institutions interact. However, the limitation of adopting field theory in an interdisciplinary perspective shall be overcome by adopting an integrative approach to field theory.

3.2.1 KURT LEWIN'S FIELD THEORY

Field theory in social science was first central to the original contribution of Kurt Lewin's work, who viewed social situation as space [a life] (Lewin and Lorsch 1939:401; Bucshe and Cooke 2012:490). Lewin's field theory was developed from the discipline of physics as early as the 1920s and argued for a social situation to be viewed as a space in the discipline of psychology or gestalt psychology in general. Lewin drew two important things for this thesis: time and positions, referring to them as 'life phase' (Lewin 1943). The 'life space' relates to the activity of mapping out the totality and complexity of field in which behavior takes place (Back 1992). Here, the concept of 'field' relates to a person's 'life space' (Lewin 1951). The 'life space' is relevant to this thesis because it took a constructivist perspective on individuals and groups.[1] Lewin's psychological approach is relevant to this PhD thesis in motivating the thinking related to the influence of external forces on each policy field (see Miles 2012). Field consists of what Lewin called a 'force field' that restrains actors in the four policy fields and allows us to look at each as a whole (Lewin 1943). Lewin was strongly influenced by Ernst Cassirer's attempt to establish physics as a 'paradigm science' (Danzifger 2000:341), that is, applying constructivist methods (Busche and Cooke 2012:412). What is relevant to this thesis is the independent force on each policy field and the change aspect of it (Busche and Cooke 2012:410). Lewin's field theory is based on constructivist methods where meaning of any concept is derived from its relationship to other concepts (Lewin, 1942:64).

In the 1970s, Rummel (1975) added two additional elements to Lewin's field theory: (1) a focus on a person's subjective perspective, and (2) incorporating a whole that is subjectively relevant to an individual's intentions. The shortcoming in Lewin's field theory is that it focuses on the individual as the unit of analysis and less on institutional (meso) analysis, which is the focus of policy fields in this PhD thesis (see Figure 2). In this thesis, I borrow from Lewin's diagrammatical, or topological sense to place people or institutions in respect of their positions and interactions with others in the same field (Back 1992; Miles 2012). Diagrams were applied to the discipline of psychology for those who wanted innovation in representing real world problems, or study social issues (Back 1992). The problem can be of political, social, and moral relevance, or in the context of a relevant social issue. This

[1]"Life space' according to Lewin may include the psychological environment, perceptual environment, psychological field, and *force field*. What is most preferred was the life space and force field. I combine Lewin's life phase which was extended by Back's life space to understand the four policy fields in terms of space in general. That is, space means field space to reflect a particular time and positions of actors that always vary across time in the four policy fields.

incorporates the humanistic and value-oriented research, which is useful when it is taken from an inter-disciplinary perspective to study policy problems as an academic laboratory while observing policy problems in their natural conditions in social science (Bargal, Gold and Lewin 1992:4). The four policy fields are considered an arena for action of forces, or specific interactions where the domain of policy field is represented by diagrams - which refer to the unit of extension in space and time. The different outlooks can be extended by visualizing the complex relationship, or what Lewin called "bathhub" (i.e. oval representation of the life space). In this thesis, the aim is to promote conceptual thinking about policy problems through diagrams (cf. figure 1.1). The whole field becomes a real person in real situations (Back 1992:56). Typology, understood as boundary, direction, steps, or force in guiding theoretical discussions, represents diagrams or interconnectedness (Back 1992: 56,58). From here, the concept of position and policy choices can be useful in interpreting policy field. In this thesis, the Lewin's (1943) 'force field' is applied to explain what restrains actors to take on others in the context of intra-modal perspective (the one way) across the four policy fields as shown in the analysis of simple complexity configuration in section 6.1.3. In other words, field is defined as a whole - consisting of independent actors whose activities constitute the whole. It is also useful in showing diagrammatical representation of actors' interactions within the same field as shown in figure 1.1 (see Back 1992, Miles 2012). Furthermore, the representation of policy problem (problem stream) as humanistic intervention is based on the observation of problem in their natural conditions (Bargal et al 1992). The shortcoming of the individual as the unit of analysis is overcome by integrating Pierre Bourdieu's field theory in the next section.

3.2.2 PIERRE BOURDIEU'S FIELD THEORY

This thesis discusses Bourdieu's field theory in explaining and interpreting actor's agency in four policy fields. Bourdieu's concept of *social space* is very important in investigating human activity or agency. This social space involves interactions, transactions and events occurrence (Bourdieu 2005:148). Bourdieu called this social space, *field*. This field is both a battlefield and a field of knowledge. This analogy of field is a football field, where the ball is being played. Borrowing from the discipline of physics (i.e. magnetic force) (Thomson 2008:68), every field is assumed to have a boundary site where the game is played, and where a set of positions are marked in predetermined places with specific rules which players must follow, together with basic skills. In this field, it is the actual physical condition that has an effect on what players can do, including how the game can be played. Bourdieu referred to this as *social life game,* consisting of positions which are occupied by social agents (people or institutions). This field is also shaped by habitus, or conditions of the field.

Field, capital and habitus are all together inter-dependent and constructed with none of them in a primary, dominant or causal position. In terms of capital, social agents who are in the field have high stakes in terms of accumulating the four forms of

capital: (1) economic capital (money and assets); (2) cultural capital (e.g. forms of knowledge, taste, aesthetic and cultural preferences, language, narrative and voice); (3) social capital (networks and affiliations, and cultural heritage) and (4) symbolic capital (Thomson 2008:69). Those who begin to play in the field with a particular form of capital are better off from the beginning, accumulating more advantage than others. Unlike Lewin's force field, Bourdieu's social space operates semi-autonomously. In other words, each field has its own distinctive 'logic of practice' (Thomson 2008:70). Moreover, the social field is not fixed, and the history of its shape can be traced, including the operations and knowledge that maintain it, or adapt it. A group of actors may occupy more than one social field at a time. Bourdieu called this the *field of power,* which consists of multiple social fields, including economic field, organization/bureaucratic field, political field and so on.

A social field is influenced by the field of power. A *force field* as in the discipline of physics illustrates the forces exerted by one object on another. Borrowing from this physics metaphor, a field could be made up of opposing forces (chiasmatic) (Thomson 2008:71). For example, cultural and economic capital operate in two hierarchical poles in a social field, working like a magnetic field, in which each position is determined by relationships to the two poles. Bourdieu (1988:270) argued that each pole can be figuratively plotted. One axis as an economic capital and the other pole as cultural capital. At one point, economic capital dominates over cultural capital and on the other point, cultural capital also dominates, but both have the same advantage in the *field of power*. Unlike the physical force field where there is a hard boundary, the social field may be characterized by site struggle about its borders and the value of its capitals (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 104). In this field, positions as industrial and commercial heads, ministry directors, and so on are an indication of relative power within a particular field (Bourdieu 1996:264-72).

Bourdieu's field of power is made up of multiple fields with several strategies at once (Bourdieu 2005:271). Therefore, these large fields could be divided into subfields, and each subfield has its own internal logics, rules and regularities and moving from the large field to the subfields (Thomson 2008:73). However, subfields are not a level playing field. Some subfields are more dominant to the extent they determine activity in other fields. As argued by Bourdieu, Passeron and de Saint Marin (1994:114), all activities in the cultural field were determined by the economic field. Moreover, a change in society can be imposed by *field of power* such as globalization, de-institutionalization and the imposition of neo-liberal policies which now play out the lives of the poor and those who are now struggling against them (Bourdieu 1999). Alternatively, a field is profoundly hierarchized, with dominant social agents and institutions having considerable power to determine what is happening within it, but there is still agency and change (Thomson 2008:73). Even when there is a possibility of "free play" in the fields, events in the adjacent fields and external to the fields (demographics change, new technologies, global

crises, natural disaster and so forth) may produce change within these fields. The notion of field could be associated with a 'system':

> A field is a game devoid of inventor and much more fluid and complex than any game one might ever design ... to see fully everything that separates the concept of field and system one must put them to work and compare them via the empirical objects they produce (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:104).

For those applying field theory in research, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) outlined three steps which could be used in the investigation: (1) analyzing the positions in the field vis-a-vis the field of power; (2) mapping out the objective structures of relations between the positions occupied by social agents or institutions who compete for legitimate forms of specific authority of which this field is a site; and (3) analysis of habitus of social agents, in other words the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalizing a determinate type of social and economic conditions within a specific field in more or less favorable opportunity to become actualized (p. 104-5). For example, Zakaria's work (2016) applies habitus and field to study trusting among farmers and traders in Ghana. Field is assumed to be characterized by struggles of agents, groups or institutions over field positions regarding the forms of capital valued in the field. The study was aimed at identifying: the struggles and the roles of agents and relations, the temporal perspective while bringing in historical conditions of development. Asking question such as what is said and what is not said, what is taken for granted and how is disagreement/agreement identified. Social field consists of the rules of the game and positions of agents, which determine practice (strategy) such as investing - in economic capital, social capital and cultural capital. Influence in the field depends on the amount of capital available to agents in the field (Zakaria 2016: 71-73). In this thesis, the agents are embedded in a myriad of interactions both on specific conditions and contexts that constitute discursive struggles, which are analyzed in section 6.1.1 in this thesis.

However, there are also some shortcomings associated with Bourdieu's field theory. Thomson (2008) summarized them as: (1) the problem of borders as often "fuzzy" and contested. This makes drawing the line of the boundary problematic; (2) the problem of too many fields. These are: the field of power, the broad field under consideration, the specific field, and social agents in the field as a field in themselves. Using the example of housing, there are the field of power, the economic field, the housing field, and the field of the firm; (3) the problem of change in the field. It dwells much on the reproductive aspects of fields through historicity and not their changeability. In other words, Bourdieu theorized fields as antagonistic, as sites of struggle; and (4) the problem of inter-field connections. Given the fact that some fields are dominant and others subordinate, it is not clear how this domination is materially enacted.

Field is one part of a trio of major theoretical tools, in addition to *habitus* and *capital*. Field was not developed as a grand theory, but as a means of translating practical problems into concrete empirical operations. Again, field work is not done in the library, but literally in the *field*. Since this PhD thesis adds the perspective of a discourse gaze, the essential task of social science is to produce a *'new gaze'* that moves beyond everyday social science research in order to grasp the relational principles underlying the empirical world through a conversion of thought, or what (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:251) called 'mental revolution'. Maton (2018) extended Bourdieu's work "beyond the field theory we know" to Legitimatization Code Theory, but this is not the focus of this thesis. The aim was to help in realizing Bourdieu's vision of field theory. Notwithstanding the shortcomings of Bourdieu's field theory including drawing the boundary lines in the football field metaphor, much focus in the existing research is on the reproduction aspects of fields rather than changeability and inadequacy in explaining how domination materializes. For this purpose Neil Fligstein's strategic action field theory could be very useful.

3.2.3 NEIL FLIGSTEIN AND DOUG MCADAM'S STRATEGIC ACTION FIELDS

Strategic Action Fields (SAFs) is very useful in explaining change and stability in policy fields. It provides a way to understand coalitions or hierarchies on the basis of meso social order, and also shows how external fields influence field stability and change via multiple observations over a relatively longer period of time - not in terms of continuity, but on intervals of successful events. In addition, it allows us to understand how actors cooperate, or make things get done as well as the interactions between different groups. It further views competition and cooperation as fundamental in theorizing the interconnectedness between fields. As such, the different policy fields can be categorized into one concept, the strategic action fields in relations to broader environment, which is full of contestation, episodes, or contestation in the different fields. Similarly, the stability of fields are shaped by events outside the fields in which they are embedded. Thus, change within arises from ongoing interactions, or "contest for positioning" between incumbents and the challengers. This creates the opportunity for the existence of a new social space, the moments in which "all aspects of the field are up for grabs," therefore, attracting skilled actors to forge new identities, coalitions and hierarchies in order to alter power relations within the field, or other governing authorities (Fligstein and McAdam 2012: 83, 84, 85).

SAFs further account for change and stability despite the presence of conflict and competition, and this promotes the importance of power and interest within the material existential consideration. This simplifies the analysis of different groups to be categorized at three levels: incumbents, challengers and the IGUs as shown in

the analysis chapter, section 6..1.1. To be brief, incumbents are the more powerful and dominant actors, who shape their own field according to their own interests and enjoy a privileged position accordingly. Challengers are relatively less powerful or subordinate groups in the field, who either conform to the prevailing order or reshape the field by articulating "an alternative vision in the field and their position in it" (Fligstein and McAdam 2011: 6). The governance unit in the field serves the purpose of reproducing the dominant logic, and they are not only state structures external to the field, but they are state bodies and organizations (Fligstein and McAdam 2012).

This helps us to know the key actors who vie for control of the emerging field, their alternative conception of the field they represent, the resources - material, political, ideological these actors bring to the new field. Again, it is imperative to know who prevail over the discursive field struggles and by what means (why), including the state field actors (See section 1.2). Fields also have dynamic conditions that shape the process of field formation: (1) the emergent mobilization, (2) social skills which are necessary for resettlement through forging and winning coalition or seeking state alliances, (3) state facilitation, (4) and IGUs. Field instability often comes from external sources, including: (1) invasion by outside groups, (2) change in the proximate field due to innovative action; and (3) macro events the broader field (Fligstein and McAdam 2012: 100). After categorization to know the actors, their action and the power relations in the different fields, it is important to talk about the impact of state fields on power relations in non-state fields. In other words, the relationship between the state and non-state actors is not one way. During a crisis, the non state fields have recourse to appeal to state actors to help restore stability and order in their field, especially the incumbents to help restore status quo. As a new state field may emerge, the state becomes an arbitrator of the rules in society for the non-state actors, providing security and enforcing the law. While the survival of non state fields depends to a considerable degree on the state fields, state fields also depend on non state fields, especially on key economic fields that influence the nation's economy (Fligstein and McAdam 2012: 69, 70, 71, 75).

SAFs further draw on the interaction and intersection between organizational theory and social movement theory (Fligstein and McAdam 2011; 2012). In the process, there are discursive struggles in each policy field in terms of structuration in order to create, or stabilize the field of interactions. This theory seeks to promote an understanding of agency and their institutions. Each agency is positioned in multiple ways, both in time and space (Giddens 1984: 281-282). Turning to the social movement theory by organizational theorists may provide an understanding of the emergence and change (i.e. the role of actors in promoting change). It further shows how the relatively powerless actors come to mobilize and organize fields. It is the efforts for collective action that motivate actors to vie for strategic advantage in and

through interactions with other groups to constitute *meso-order*, or 'strategic action fields'. Here, actors interact with knowledge of other actors who share a common understanding about the purpose of the field. These collective actors could be clans, social movements, state and non-state actors. At meso level, the constructed order includes: sectors, organizational fields, policy domains, networks, and market (Fligstein and McAdam 2011: 3).

To illustrate this further, SAFs have some key elements, including : (1) strategic action fields itself, (2) incumbents, challengers, and governance units, (3) social skills, (4) the broader field environment, (5) exogenous shocks, field ruptures, and the onset of contention, (6) episodes of contention, and (7) settlement (Flingstein and McAdam 2011). Here, SAFs are socially constructed arenas within which actors with varying resource endowments vie for advantage (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Martin 2003; Flingstein and McAdam 2011). Membership in these fields is based far more on subjective 'standing' than objective criteria. The boundaries of SAFs are not fixed but changeable, depending on the definition of the situation and the issues at stake. Conflict could define a new field, probable unit or any opposed legislation. Fields are constructed in a situational basis where shifting collections of actors come to define new issues and concerns as salient. This constructed order is described as 'institutional logics'.

To describe this further, IGUs are organizations or associations within the state field, whose responsibility is to ensure stability and order. They work with the external environment in which a particular field is embedded, including formulating laws that regulate the new fields, lobbying on behalf of the incumbents, and probably orienting to internal and external functions. IGUs serve five major internal functions: (1) administering the field member functions, (2) providing field information, and sometimes external to audiences; (3) providing regulation to ensure conformity to the rules by monitoring behavior of members; (4) enforcement or sanctioning those who have violated the rules; and (5) accrediting field membership or monitoring and controlling access to the field. In short, IGUs are state field actors (Fligstein and McAdam 2012:78). The IGUs have power to determine the incumbents and challengers in the four policy fields.

Another important element in SAFs, is the social skills which are necessary to understand how people create and sustain social practices. Social skills are defined as "the ability to induce cooperation by appealing to and helping to create shared meanings and collective identities" (Fligstein and McAdam 2012: 46). Therefore skilled social actors must understand how the sets of actors in their group view multiple conception of interest and identity and how those in external groups do as well. This helps to help people together to engage in competition cooperation and collaborative action, including agenda setting as well as creating new identity to structure interactions with those within and across different groups. Moreover, social skills are not equally between the different groups of actors positioned in the four

policy fields. In terms of the broader fields, fields have relations with other fields which are made up of individual people, groups, organizations, or nation-states, and whose relations may be characterized as uncoordinated, hierarchical or dependent, and reciprocal or interdependent. In other words, field consists of power relations between two or more fields as dependent and interdependent In the field, there was multiple observations over a relatively longer period of time. This observation was not based on continuity, but on intervals.

In the policy fields, there are four aspects of meanings that underlie SAFs: (1) there is diffuse understanding of what is going on in the field – that is, *what is at stake* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Here actors in a settled policy field would share a consensus as to what is going on; (2) there is a set of actors in the field who possess more or less power; (3) there is a set of shared understanding about the rules in the fields; (4) there is an interpretative frame that individual and collective strategic actors bring to make sense of what others are doing (Flingstein and McAdam 2011:4). In each policy field, social actors at meso level interact with knowledge of one another under a set of common understandings about the purpose of their own SAF, bearing in mind that these entities are similar, but discrete. In each SAF, there are collective actors, including social groups or agents such as clanships or particular communities, social movements, and government systems, or sectors (Flingstein and McAdam 2011: 3).

In other words, each SAF actor will be trying to proactively stabilize their fields according to their interests. In contrast to Fligstein and McAdam (2011; 2012), who look at each SAFs as a separate entity, this PhD project considers the four SAFs to be linked to one another. There are few or limited contributions that relate one SAF to other SAFs in which structuration is embedded (Fligstein and McAdam 2011; 2012; Ozen and Ozen 2011). Whereas Fligstein and McAdam (2011; 2012) defined SAFs both as a single or a broader field that may be either emergent, organized and stable, or organized and unstable (Fligstein and McAdam 2011), this PhD project defines SAFs in terms of broader fields such as sectors which are fundamental for socio-economic transformation laid down in the Uganda Vision 2040. These sectors (SAFs) interact (e.g. large social, political or economic fields) among themselves upon which the outcome may be enabling some social agents to one's advantage while at the same time constraining others. Such interactions are more complex and non-linear than expected in the economic targets projected for 2040 where some activities produce positive feedback while others may not (Cairney 2012). In chapter 4, the discourse gaze is introduced, particularly comparative discourse analysis, which has been lacking in discourse policy studies in general.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

This section discusses research paradigms, discourse as method and introduces Comparative Discourse Analysis as a supplement to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This research paradigm focuses on specific questions of what is reality and how is one to know what is reality.

4.1 RESEARCH PARADIGMS: ONTOLOGY, EPISTEMOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY

This sub-section attempts to answer the ontological question: *what is reality?*, the epistemological question: *what can we know about reality?*and the methodological question: *how can we establish valid statements about this reality?*

4.1.1 THE ONTOLOGICAL QUESTION

In answering the ontological question of *what is reality* I draw on a critical constructivist perspective according to which knowledge is socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann 1991, Dewey 1938, Gouldner 1979, Merton 1942). Starting with Merton's (1942) notion of 'organized skepticism',[2] the idea is that research must be critical on the so-called taken for granted issues such as land use and land ownership in the four policy fields. That is, the stand point is that one needs not to take side, but to position oneself outside the black box while having a critical lens on the issue being investigated.

The four policy fields are complex, therefore, achieving the socio-economic transformation must embrace their messiness, uncertainty and the disturbed environment (Dewey 1938:109). These fields are in a state of tension at an actual point where a possibility in one policy field is the restoration of a tendency in another policy field as well as the displacement in a third policy field. The tension in each policy field is both an internal and an external development, which are in flux, or contingent. Attaining an integral relation among the different policy fields depends upon establishing connection with another external or distant policy field. To put this point differently, in the different policy fields, there will be tension points that will continue because of the existence of activities and the multiple actors who are positioned across these fields (see Dewey 1938:23-24). The multiple actors, the environment, and interactions are considered as interdependent variables in the four policy fields. In this context, language plays a significant role in this cultural environment, or language as cultural institution constitutes many other institutions which are taken for granted in policy studies. Language has agency through which

[2] Organized Skeptism is one of the four principles of scientific ethos which promotes democratic order. The other principles are Communism, Universality, Disinterestedness.

other institutions' habits are transmitted, and it constitutes both forms and contents of all activities as well as having its own distinctive structure which is capable of abstraction as a form (Dewey 1938:45).

Language connects each policy field to the other proximate fields, thus, knowledge in the field is socially constructed, and this calls for a careful and critical discourse study approach. That is, promoting a culture where everything in principle is open for investigation in order to achieve a 'better argument' (Gouldner 1979). Again, this concerns the relationship between human thought and social context (Berger and Luckmann 1991:16). In this thesis, actors across the four policy fields have human thought to engage in human activity, that is, human knowledge is ordered by the society (economy). This mechanism has to be investigated, understood and interpreted in terms of the degree of closeness and remoteness, both spatially and temporary (Berger and Luckmann 1991:36). In other words, s*ocial order* does not arise from natural things, but as products of human activity that has to be understood in terms of its emergence, maintenance, habitualization and transmission to institutions. For example, policy fields can be habitualized, and this changes interactions in different policy fields. Using the metaphor of an institution of hunting, Berger and Luckmann (1991:84) presents knowledge as objectified or objective (science of hunting) that relates to the reality of the hunting economy. This knowledge is transmitted to the next group that learns about it as objective truth by means of socialization and internalization as subjective reality. This knowledge has power to shape an individual, or produces a specific person as a hunter, and this identity as a hunter has meaning. To put this concretely, all social phenomena are constructions produced historically through human activity, and no society is totally taken for granted as ideologically vested interest (Berger and Luckmann 1991:123).

In positioning the four policy fields as socially constructed reality, this PhD thesis is rooted in critical discourse analysis (CDA)'s critique of the taken for granted social order, in this case,the socio-economic transformation from a peasant economy to a middle income economy. It follows that the policy plan that guides this process is constituted as discursive strategy, national regulations, political coalition, and policy strategy to achieve progress and problem solving. But this is not to view all discourses as constitutive, but to see meanings as contingent (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002:178; Laclau and Mouffe 1985). Following Laclau (1990:31-6), social relations in four fields can be associated with these properties: contingency, historicity, power and the primacy of politics. This reinstates the ontological argument that (social) reality is socially constructed (Marcus and Fischer 1986; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Jorgensen and Phillips 2002). This thesis argues that there are multiple realities, that is, socially constructed realities instead of a single reality, governed by immutable natural laws (Hajer and Versteeg 2005:176). Instead, discourse focuses on investigating 'how the discourses, which structure the activities of social agents, are produced, how they function, and they are changed' (Howarth 1995:115). This is relevant in explaining the construction of social reality in the four policy fields as

contingent, that is, in the process of fixing up social order in land use and land ownership; some meanings will be automatically excluded, and this opens up the space for discursive struggles over meanings across the four policy fields. In the mainstream policy analyses that consider reality in an objectivist tradition, the political which is a complex reality in these fields could be eliminated in the design of public policy intervention. To put it differently, the masking of power constitutes the discursive activity through institutional practices (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002:179, 185).

In this thesis, there are multiple realities which are socially constructed through discursive representation of land use and land ownership in the four policy fields. In other words, these multiple realities are socially constructed both discursively (language) and non-discursively in the economic and political imagination. In avoiding the notion of criticizing everything, the basic ideological critique is that people's views are not always in line with reality, thus, discourse can be more or less ideological. Discourses can give a distorted representation of reality (misrepresentation), and this helps to contribute to maintenance of relations of domination in societies, especially when ideology is represented as reality. This allows us to contribute to public knowledge that could not be produced by the people at their own disposal in everyday practice (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:32-33). Discourse analysis in social science, and in particular the policy studies as a sub-field of specialization has received little attention. This has been observed in the role discourse (critical) has in producing knowledge that promotes social change, or in producing an ideological critique or knowledge about the world that is in opposition to or even going beyond people's understanding. This PhD thesis is positioned within the social constructivist perspective, a situation in which knowledge is historically and culturally specific and can be linked through reflexivity (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002:185).

4.1.2 THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL QUESTION

In answering the epistemological question: *what can we know about this reality?*or in other words, what is the so-called taken for granted dynamics in land use and land ownership in the four policy fields which have different actors who are negotiating resources and policies. I position myself by 'stepping outside' each policy field while at the same time looking at whatever is happening within each policy field and also in the proximate policy fields to gain an outward perspective of the center (cf. figure 1.2). At the same time doing reflexive work from a critical lens and looking at the ongoing debate in more or less complex interactions, I adopt an interpretative lens, through an inter-disciplinary approach. Flyvbjerg (2001) stresses the role of 'critical' case studies as a means to develop meaningful knowledge of the social world, although he has little interest in the discourse gaze, referring to discourse as occupying a secondary position in the field (Flyvbjerg 2001:134-5). Reinstating Foucault's discourse analysis, Flyvbjerg sees discourses as both an instrument of

power and its effects, but also an obstacle, a point of resistance or a starting point for counter-posing strategies. That is, discourses transfer and produce power. Flyvbjerg's work (1998) was devoted to power, using the example of planning in Aalborg as an empirical study. In this context of the four policy fields, I focus on critical observation of social reality, the historical and social structure, where some discourses are temporal and the taken for granted is a necessary interest for further investigation.

The emphasis in the presence thesis is on a discourse gaze, particularly a comparative discourse analysis of the ongoing discursive struggles and their variations across the four policy fields. In this interpretative lens, I follow the 'logics of critical explanation' (Glynos and Howarth 2007:8) and Bernstein's (1989) suggestion that discourses allow us to extract other meanings from an ongoing debate, not only in terms of foregrounding (abstraction), but also in the line of course translation that allows for a distance from empirical materials, transforming through re-description while being loyal to empirical texts as well as the limiting interpretation (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002:189). Being aware of the research context of a developing country (Uganda), where peripheral countryside context dominates in terms of natural resource availability, an interpretative lens on land use and land ownership is important in relations to the interest of the national government that has high stakes in achieving Vision 2040.

Using the above strategies to theorize a distance between the subject of the study and the position of being an investigator provided an epistemological basis for this thesis. Following Bhaskar (1986), critical realism is to accept an epistemic relativism from which all discourses stem from a particular position in social life. That is, discourse constitutes the economy and the economy constitutes the social representations of reality. There are good representations of reality outside discourse/language. Bhaskar's position is shared by scholars such as Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) who agreed that there is materialism which comes into the picture. That is, social reality may lie outside discourse at the macro, meso and micro levels. What we read can be true, but is rather a contingent representation of reality (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002:198 &200).

In terms of context, knowledge becomes more objective when produced within a particular historical and cultural context. That is, knowledge has a weak objectivity when it does not take into consideration its own cultural and historical conditions of possibility (Harding 1991). Again, Harding (1996) introduced the concept of *situated knowledge* to account for and accept the idea that all knowledge is historically contingent, but knowledge is partial, and is often produced in the context of a particular worldview. In order to meet the requirement of a good research practice, transparency of the scientific texts is necessary because texts do something about the world, rather than describe it. By showing transparency and producing coherent arguments, at a basic/principle level some knowledge could be better than

other knowledge. This is due to the fact that knowledge is historically and culturally specific, and therefore contingent. It is this contingency at the basic level that provides an opening for continued discussion. At a grounded, concrete level, emphasis is put on the representation of one reality at the expense of other realities. It is important that critical research combines both the principle and the grounded, concrete level which views critique as a position open for discussion (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002: 202, 205). In this PhD thesis, Vision 2040 could be a 'political myth' unless it is related to the contingency of a different interpretative lens.

4.1.3 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS A METHOD

In answering the methodological question: *how can we establish valid statements about this reality*? I use discourse analysis as a method to understand and explain the complex interactions in the four policy fields. Discourse analysis can be understood both as a theory and a method. In this thesis, the focus is on discourse as method. Discourse as linguistic practices can be defined as "a system of statements which construct an object (Parker 1992: 5). Burr's work (1995) defined it as "a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events" (Burr, 1995: 48). I am however concerned with the discursive effects of power relations in the four policy fields. I follow Foucault's notion that power affects and conditions the practices of discourses in productive ways such as regulating interactions across these fields at micro, meso, and macro levels.

At macro-level (social practices), Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1993, 1995, 2003, 2010, 2013) as one of the leading founders and contributors to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is useful in analyzing macro interactions such as the national development plan. Fairclough's CDA approach identifies actors and their semantic process, analyzing the relationship between discourse and socio-economic development, structure and cultural practices which are partly both linguistic and non-linguistic (Fairclough 2013; Fairclough and Wodak 1997:271). The approach further helps us to understand how texts are created (produced) and consumed in the four policy fields, including the identity of the text producers and their social relations. This includes the marketization aspects of discourse (Fairclough 1993), analyzing contexts, the creation of subjects and agents who are in different groups' positions, and are struggling discursively (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002:61). Fairclough's macro-based analyses reject any attempt to put largely, or impose strict methodological rigor to CDA in general (see Chouliaraki and Fairclough 2010; Phillips and Oswick 2012:460). Instead, analyses should focus on stronger conceptual links between discourse, power and other critical 'moments' and the politics that come in later. Therefore, discourse encourages a porous methodology, making space for a novel, interdisciplinary research design (Phillips and Oswick 2012:1214). Through this approach, it is possible to identify how structure can either enable or constrain social agents or actors across the four policy fields. Therefore, discourse as texts, discursive practices and social practice across these fields may

not necessarily be the same (Fairclough 1989; 1995). This calls for an interdisciplinary analysis of relations between discursive practices and social practices, and through contextualization: the relationship between discursive practice and its order of discourse with a focus on the role of network of discourses. That is, the distribution and the regulation across texts as well as the mapping of non-discursive, social and cultural structure that constitute the wider context of discursive practice (Fairclough 1992:237). Furthermore, text analysis asks the question of who sets the agenda (interactional control), the social construction of identity through language and the use of metaphors (Fairclough 1992:190). Despite the earlier critical stance on CDA (Widdowson 1995), CDA has been useful in explaining both interpretative and explanatory work to overcome its subjective nature (Carvalho 2008:162).

At meso-level (institutional practices), Hajer (1993; 1995; 2003, 2006) pioneered the concept of hegemonic discourses to analyze how agency is often embedded in hegemonic discourses which are formed among actors who are engaged in particular domains, and a coalition of loose, fluid networks held together not by beliefs or interests, but by storylines (Hajer 1995:15). In hegemonic discourses, storylines are analytical tools in discursive framing, for example, in the four policy fields. The text producers are multiple, including government, the private developers and the civil society. Texts and documents produced by actors allow us to understand the discourses of the different groups. They further allow room for identification of opposing discursive frames and shaping of understanding, meaning and debates, and assess their resonance and power.

At the micro level analysis (text and text analysis), the focus is on the individuals or groups and their discursive struggles, asking questions such as 'who did what', and 'when' and 'who said what' and 'when' (Maguire and Hardy 2009) over an extended period of time. The aim is to identify meaning-making in the four policy fields: (a) who the main field members were and their respective positions against other actors within the same field, (b) the field frames that identify the main organizing principle, and (c) salient contentious issues (Ferns and Amaeshi 2017:10). The analysis at individual level can be possible when we relate them to the storylines of the particular groups they refer to, and this is possible through the integration of the role of institutional entrepreneurs across the four policy fields.

4.2 COMPARATIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: TEXT AND POLICY TEXT ANALYSIS

In answering the interpretative agenda, this thesis uses comparative discourse analysis to supplement the contribution by CDA to policy studies. I cluster discourse analysis at macro-level (social practices), meso level (institutional practices) and micro level (text and text analysis). The following presents prior studies in different contexts, but they provide a foundation for this thesis.

4.2.1 BUILDING ON PRIOR STUDIES

There is a growing interest in the research field of comparative discourse analysis. I review previous studies in terms of their specific, or research fields in order to validate the claims in this thesis. In the field of enviromental politics/policy making processes, Hajer's pioneering work (1993) systematically defined the role of discourse by using a metaphor of 'acid rain' in the Netherlands and United Kingdom. Hajer (1995) defines discourse as a "specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories that are produced and reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities" (Hajer 1995:44). As such, many actors see a problem in their own way and attempt to persuade others to believe the same using the three sub-concepts of discourse: 'metaphor', 'storyline' and 'discourse coalition'. When it comes to the use of the notion of metaphor, this stands for something else. For example, using acid rain to simplify the complex chemical process of industrial air pollution and environmental impact (i.e. dying trees and killing fisheries). The aim was to communicate to those outside science-policy interface, 'the society', or the general public to understand the complexity that is embedded in environmental politics and policy processes. Most importantly, the use of metaphor is to allow us to the discursive deliberation through a storyline - "defined as a contested statement summarizing complex issues"(Hajer 1995:61). In other words, a storyline empowers those who do not possess a complete technical knowledge to engage in policy discussions with a simpler metaphoric term (Huitema 2003: 40). Hajer'snotion of hegemonic discourse coalitions (1993) and the notion of advocacy coalitions (Sabatier and Weible 2007), however, share common understanding through the interpretative lens of policy framing and storyline. This thesis further incorporates idea of actor coalitions, or 'advocacy coalitions' (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993) to institutional theory of policy entrepreneurs (cf. chapter 3) that take the advantage of many opportunities in the four policy fields, thus, generating groups of actors who are ready to participate in hegemonic discourse coalition that is, "a group of actors that, in the context of an identifiable set of practices, share the usage of a particular set of storylines over a particular period of time" (Hajer 1995:70). Hajer reinstated the use of discourse to examine the argumentative structure in texts (written or spoken statements) (Hajer 2006:66). In short, hegemonic discourses can be defined at three levels: (1) a set of storylines (2) the actors who utter these storylines and (3) the practices in which discursive activity is based. Actors are united through this shared discourse, through storylines and the discursive construction of reality which becomes an important source of power when discourse hegemony is achieved, and, thus, the institutionalization is to attain substantive authority (Hajer 1995).

In the academic field of energy studies, there is an increasing body of research on discourse coalitions. First, Rennkamp, Haunss, Wongsa, Ortega, and Casamadrid (2017) compare energy sector domestic coalitions in Mexico, South Africa and Thailand by combining both discourse networks and discourse coalitions. They use

policy documents and interviews to compare the competing networks which are visible through hegemonic discourses - the groups of actors who share a social construct or interpretation. They found that discursive interactions exist between actors who reveal various positions and use their specific arguments to advance their respective claims either to support or oppose renewable energy (p. 26). They found that actors are connected to one another. Directly, actors are connected to one another if discursive relationships of different actors have the same arguments or make claims, and indirectly when discourse coalition identifies actors who are indirectly connected in supporting or opposing energy development. They conclude that support for energy development depends on domestic coalitions, and there is also a strong linkage between environmental and economic considerations. Second, Leung, Burke, Perl and Cui (2018) explore the effects of peak oil discourse in two distinct cities of high density and low density in Hong Kong and Brisbane respectively. They categorized the discourse groups into those who believe that peak oil is likely to happen soon - and those who have no strong view. They integrated Hajer's hegemonic discourses with Kingdon's MSF - through the process of coupling (see Winkle and Leipold 2016), where MSF viewed oil peak as problem streams, and the possible solution for problem as policy streams. The oil peak storyline in Hong Kong was largely utilized by academics and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as actors providing knowledge to users. Price is seen as a normal fluctuation in the market, but not a structural dependency risk. However, the oil peak storyline in Brisbane became institutionalized in the early 2000s to the extent that the government provided funding to coordinate advocacy for the reduction of cars use. Brisbane's actors were functioning as a discourse coalition, having high connectivity compared to low receptivity in Hong Kong. Here, the use of storyline varies on the local conditions depending on the social and political contexts. Third, Lang (2018) compares the prospects for sustainable energy futures in two main global cities of Hong Kong and Vancouver, and found that the concept of sustainability was viewed as contingent on social and political arrangements rather than easily assumed by the markets, or government regulations.

In social movement research, Howarth (2005) studied the formation of social movements in Britain and South Africa. Howarth combined the use of both case studies and a comparative method in establishing the conditions under which certain practices emerge and develop, as well as identifying the presence or absence of certain factors in the constitutions and reproduction of particular phenomena (Howarth 2005: 317, 329, 332). For comparative research to be successful, there are two conditions: specify the problems and the questions to be addressed; (2) the historical context and the concrete description of the problem solving and interpretation of particular cases. The motivation must be to find out why some projects are more hegemonic while others are not, using maximum variations present or absent in the phenomena; the interplay between universality and particularities, necessities and contingency, and the projection of ideals into phenomena. Howarth follows Laclau's work on social relations (1990:31-6):

contingency, historicity, power and the primary of politics. Howarth focuses on talks and text in context - the problem driven approach akin to Foucault's technique of problematization, that is, beginning with a set of pressing political and ethical problems in the present, before seeking to analyze the historical and structural conditions which gave rise to them, while furnishing the means for their critique and transgression (Howarth 2005:318; Foucault 1985:11-12). On problematization, the focus is to describe the rules that condition the elements of a particular discourse (i.e. objects, subjects, concepts, and strategies).

In a study of water resources management in a single country context, Kurki, Takala, and Vinnari (2016) extend Hajer's (1995) concept of discourse coalitions via knowledge coalitions (van Buuren and Edelenbos 2004) to study a new ground water project in Finland. They argue that storyline "creates, maintains and transforms discursive order by positioning subjects and structures" (p.139). They focus on the formation of storylines and hegemonic discourses and complement their analysis with the idea of knowledge coalitions. A knowledge coalition case study was developed around three actors who are involved in the discourse of transport industry resulting in what is called 'knowledge fight' (knowledge that exists in parallel and opposite, very important, but not recognized) after comparing mainland transport, inland shipping coalition and the environmental coalitions (van Buuren and Edelenbos 2004:294). Kurki et al. (2016:1321-22) presented four storylines: environmental changes, health risk, water stress and local rights. These storylines formed two clashing discourse coalitions: environmental discourse (environmental change, water risk, health risk) and regional policy discourses (water risk and local rights).

In the academic field of education and development policies, Pini and Gorostiaga (2008) explore similarities and differences between political statements from a number of governments and agencies in the context of late capitalism. Extending Fairclough's (2010; 2003) work on texts analysis on globalization, higher education and medical discourses, they provided the opportunity to extend the analysis of key texts in discourse analysis to comparative discourse analysis. Therefore, critical analysis of documents located in their context of production relates to specific historical moments. Similarly, Ahl and Nelson (2014) compare the positioning of women entrepreneurs through entrepreneurship policy over two decades (1989-2012) in Sweden and the United States using Foucault's discourse analysis. They analyzed the discourse on women's entrepreneurship in policy documents. The findings were presented comparatively: Sweden is a social democratic welfare state regime with an extensive family policy system while the United States relies on the market mechanisms to create welfare for the population supplemented by government interventions. Furthermore, the United States system tends to push women with family responsibilities into entrepreneurship whereas the Swedish system holds women in employment (Ahl and Nelson 2008:5).

In the field of political discourse studies, Carmel (1999) examines appropriate roles for family and labor market policies. Carmel focused on identifying the different ways in which appropriate roles for state, market and family can be conceptualized in the political and policy discussions, and output over time before and after Germany unification. Carmel studied political party and parliamentary documents of the two largest parties: the Christian Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party over a ten-year period. The textual analysis was combined with a contextual analysis of institutional and socio-economic framework to identify which discourses were articulated (p.142). This was a qualitative cross-national research, that is, a case study to explore the varying meanings of concepts in national contexts as part of comparison. In contextualizing, or integrating empirical and theoretical analysis, two types of structural discourses were identified. A 'consensus structural' discourse which was shared between the two political parties and a 'competitive structural' discourse which was identified among those who were concerned with the identity of their parties (p.147). Similarly, Edwards' analysis (2012) into the development of British National Party (BNP) political discourse in the 2005 and 2010 manifestos (Edwards 2012: 247) justifies the importance of language as causal mechanism to appeal to the wider electorate base in which 'in-group' categories were conceptualized, including nationhood that invokes inclusivity, even when nationhood could be kept within the BNP for identity purpose, but also as a divisive strategy, including elements such as 'British', 'white', 'human', 'native' and 'indigenous.' These studies compared policies in one or more countries through integration of CDA.This thesis focuses on a single country through cross-sectoral comparisons which has received little attention in policy studies. The following subsection presents contexts and concepts of comparative discourse analysis.

4.2.2 DOING COMPARATIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN THE FOUR POLICY FIELDS

The aim is to expand critical discourse analysis via comparative discourse analysis into policy studies. In this thesis, the storyline concept functions as a way of mapping actors and their positions as shown in the next steps taken.

Step 1: diagrammatical construct of the four analytical dimensions. Here, the focus is on the contexts and concepts, which I designated as policy fields: *agriculture, oil and gas, hydropower and tourism*. I consider these fields to be central to the production of discourse as discursive struggles and hegemonic discourses in institutional practices. In doing so, I focus on clustering a set of storylines, including the actors who utter the different storylines. This is possible by integrating field theory into policy studies. In addition, the data for analysis is not taken only as representational (in content), but also as productive: "practices which systematically form the object which they speak" (Foucault 1972:49). Therefore, land use and land ownership constitute the object which is upheld by discursive struggles and later on

achieve hegemonic discourses in land use and land ownership for granted, which are identified as texts (written or spoken).

Step 2: Contextualizing critical discourse moments. Here, the purpose is to have a contextualized perception of change in land use and land ownership in each policy field. The change is contextualized mainly on the basis of the legal documents, starting with the agricultural and tourism policy fields that were pioneered fields to contribute to Uganda's economic growth and development. The aim is to collect policy documents over decades in order to discuss the multiple reality in land use and land ownership in order to recognize what is found in one policy field and not in another, or what is not found in all fields. This is to recollect the past discursive struggles in order to understand the nature of present discursive struggles. Reflecting on policy history is not to focus on what happened at some point in the past, but about how something came to be what it is today. That is, the move of particular actors at a specific moment in time (Pierson 2005). It can be a period where specific happening may challenge the established position, but this may be rare (Carvalho 2008; Gamson 1992).

Step 3:Analysis of discursive struggles, or strategies. As it will be shown in chapter 5, the published articles were written without a discourse gaze. Here, I put more emphasis on the ongoing struggles over meanings of land use and land ownership, and paying attention to the mechanisms through which meanings are produced, maintained, or contested within a particular policy field over time. I categorize the actors in the discursive struggles as state and non-state actors.

Step 4: Analysis of complex interactions across the four policy fields. Each of the policy fieldsis treated to be interacting and negotiating changes in land use and land ownership with other proximate fields. But, a comparative discourse analysis is possible to show variations regarding the nature of interactions and their dynamics across the four policy fields. Here, hegemonic discourses between the specific policy field and in relation to the national development plans are analyzed along the continuum of being low or high on the exclusivity and endurance. Each of these fields constitutes a case study of comparative discourse analysis. That is, the application of discourse analysis in a comparative study: the discursive practice (what is included, what is excluded, or what is not said), and the institutional practices - the examination of how institutional discourses change over time through a longitudinal study of policy documents, including the change in assumptions on exclusivity and endurance over decades. In each policy field, an attempt was made to avoid the tendency of looking at each four policy fields as separate and distinct (see figure 1.2). To overcome the temporal boundary of each policy field, the comparative discourse analysis focuses on the interactions both vertically (cf. figure 6.1 and horizontally (cf. 6.2). The following sub-section provides an overview of key policy texts and other texts that guided in the analysis.

4.3 OVERVIEW OF THE DATA

4.3. 1 TEXT SELECTION

The aim is to add a contribution on critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1989, 1995, Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999) from a comparative discourse analysis perspective. The use of discourse refers to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part, the process of which a text is a product, and the process of interpretation, for which text is a resource (Fairclough 1989: 24). Both the process of production and interpretation are socially constructed - thus, the analysis of text is the only part of critical discourse analysis besides the economy. This includes social conditions and interpretation of texts. In terms of comparison, I rely on the identification of discourse elements/contents, or themes in the key texts and policy texts. The data sources included: legal texts, financial reports, and other documents provided by the state and non-state actors across the four articles mentioned in chapter 5. The choice of these texts was based on the research questions and themethods being used, that is, CDA in a comparative perspective. Furthermore, the context of problem solving texts is further considered since CDA bears more relevant on change in societal contexts representing voices of the state and non-state actors who were embedded in these fields as incumbents, internal governing units, and the challengers. The key text is the Uganda Vision 2040 authored by the key state actor - the NPA (chapter 2) and other relevant supportive texts are further illustrated in *Appendix A*. The number of policy fields (n=4) was chosen purposively because of their perceived contribution to the current national development plan by state and non-state actors. In addition to the overview of data sources in Appendix A, the following subsections outline some of the most central categories of data sources used in the thesis.

4.3. 2 FINANCIAL REPORTS

In the tourism policy, the data selected for the discursive practice relied mainly on the role of texts, their producers, and their consumption or utilization. The first category of text comprises annual financial reports produced by the former IGU, the Game Department issued between 1925 and 1979 were analyzed, in addition to the legal documents produced by the Government of Uganda. The third category relies on policy texts produced by the former Uganda National Parks and, the incumbent organization, the Uganda Wildlife Authority. These policy texts issued between 1993 and 2006 were analyzed in the context of article 4 which is under review (see *Appendix A*).

4.3.3 NATURALLY OCCURING DATA

In this thesis, I focus only on storylines and actors whose texts were accessible over an extended period of time. The naturally occurring data collected were based on

policy documents and texts (both written and spoken) on the basis of their natural functioning without necessarily interfering with the contexts of topics or themes being considered for investigation on a longitudinal approach. The criteria for selecting the texts were based on the research question(s) and the nature of this thesis, including: (1) the text that communicates policy, (2) the text that contains information on the motivations for the national development policy. Additional inputs included land use policy, Hansards, parliamentary reports and meeting of legislative bodies in Uganda (local and at a national level). Media reports were also used to examine the debate on land use and land ownership in the four policy fields, in order to get the societal perspective, or the 'sites of argumentation.' In the oil and gas policy field, text analysis was conducted on key policy documents, such as Uganda Vision 2040, talks (speeches) (Uganda announces oil discovery), legal documents and texts (written and spoken) produced by the government, the private corporations and the social movements. In the agricultural policy field, text analysis was conducted for an extended period of time, and from various sources, including government achieves, texts and documents (including legal document) and those produced by the private corporations and social movement (see *Appendix A*).

4.3.4 INTERVIEWS

To facilitate an understanding of the four fields, purposive sampling of texts and a few interviews (n=4) were conducted in the most recent article 4, which is under review, and all names were anonymized in the writing. This constitutes Hajer's helicopter (Hajer 2006:73) interviews with participants to gather more information across the policy domains as shown in *Appendix A*. The limitation of the thesis is overcome by the natural observation of phenomena as they occur in the four policy fields without necessarily interfering with the process of interactions between the policy fields.

4.4 DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis is mainly through reflexion and abduction, moving forth and back between field theory, methods (CDA) and empirical data. In the context of CDA, the analysis is grounded in texts (policy texts) moving between macro, meso and micro level analyses. As mentioned by Jorgensen and Phillips (2002), there are many ways of organizing and analyzing data. The first step was to begin with content analysis. The motivation was the formalization of land use and land ownership in the four policy fields. I read through the full content of the selected data with the aim of coding the main theme/contents emerging from those sentences, words, or concepts in line with the overall and sub-research questions. The second is followed by searching for the discourse being produced in the texts-which ones are included and which ones are excluded. The aim is to look for influential discourse in each of the policy fields. The third is to produce analysis in each policy field, comparing each policy against one another at different level of

interactions (cf. figure 1.2) and in relations to the hegemonic discourses. Through this process, I analyze and compare findings across the four policy fields with the aim of producing understanding on land use and land ownership as the main idea, including the discursive struggles in each policy field, the hegemonic discourses and in relationship to the national development plan. The emphasis is on similarities and differences across the four policy fields. Text and document analyses were used in the four policy fields both in printed and online materials within the broader contexts.

4.4.1 ANALYTICAL VALIDATION

The validity of information provided in the section above depends on the process of constructing codification of both written or spoken texts to aid the investigation on the basis of non-linear ways. It allows an investigator to move more rapidly and flexibly between information of various sources in order to organize text in multiple ways (Lee and Fielding 2009: 542). Since the research paradigm in this thesis is interpretative in nature, Potter (2009) suggests criteria for assessing validity in a qualitative approach, and these include: variations, details, rhetoric, accountability stake and interests, building on prior studies, and reader's evaluations. First, in terms of variations, more attention is given to the discourses about land use and land ownership with the aim of showing the discursive struggles and the hegemonic discourses in each of the four policy fields, which are investigated from a comparative approach. Second, attention was given to the detail of actors and their activities regarding land use and ownership. Actors, their interactions and outcomes of interactions are changing policies that affect land use and land ownership, asking questions on what is going on in each of the policy fields. Third, each of these fields deploys rhetorical organization of discourse (Potter 2009; Billig 1996), such as discursive construction, or argumentative case through storylines in order to understand the knowledge produced by actors in the other fields. That is, to move away from the description of object, or events to competing alternatives - land use for conservation versus land use for oil and gas, for example. Fourth, I focus to bring on the importance of those actors who have stake and interests in interactions which is similar to accountability. Fifth, building on previous studies (cf. section 4.1) I show similarities with the previous studies, the patterns and changes in the institutional contexts. I compare extreme cases in what I referred to as an intra-model perspective (one field comparison), interacting to constitute a bi-modal perspective (2 fields comparison), tripartite perspective (3 fields comparison) and quadruple perspective (4 fields comparison). A one field comparison can be associated with extreme case comparison since the activities and tasks are of extreme case formulation (Edwards 2000). The focus is to accumulate empirical findings and the analytical focus for comparison of coherence to be accountable to previous studies. I further provided confirmation of the validity of those that I studied, while taking precaution of those clashing with these basic findings (Edwards and Potter 1993) into account. Last, but not least there are the reader's

evaluations. Any claims made in this thesis are available online for readers to make their own judgement with respect to the materials (texts) available (Sacks 1992).

4.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This work is an article-based thesis. The analysis section was done with honest, transparent and accurate manner. The data and findings of the published articles were only used as necessary information for each policy field with a reference/citation to each publisher as the original source. To put it clearly, the reuse of primary materials, data, and interpretation was clearly cited or acknowledged. Detailed information about these articles are elaborated in chapter 5 of this thesis, including overview of the articles, publication decision and status of the articles. To avoid self-plagiarism, the integration of the previous articles were properly acknowledged when used in the main part of the thesis. Aware of portraying an appropriate conduct, the limited value of modifying the three published articles was put into consideration; instead this thesis only builds on from them, diffusing citations from the published articles. The three published articles (already owned by the publishers) for the article-based thesis are included in the reference. For the fourth article (under review), co-authorship statements were sought in connection with the submission of this thesis.[3] In the context of article 4, which is under review in the journal of Critical Policy Studies, texts and policy documents were collected from the library of Uganda Wildlife Authority, including the Headquarters and Murchison Falls National Library after an institutional approval from this authority to collect research related to my theme on nature development and nature conservation in and around Murchison Falls Conservation Area during the period of June to August 2017. Interviews (n=4) were conducted with a group of people who were selected purposively because of their experience and proximity to the study areas, but their identities were presented as anonymous.

[3]with reference to the Ministerial Order no. 1039 of 27th of August 2013 regarding the PhD Degree, Section 12, Article 4, statement from each author about the author's part in the shared work must be included in case the thesis is based on already published or submitted papers.

CHAPTER 5: OVERVIEW OF ARTICLES

In what follows, I briefly present a summary of theoverall aims of the four articles, their theoretical and methodological approaches, and findings. This summary includes the status of the article publication.

5.1 ARTICLE 1: OLANYA, D.R (2014). Asian Capitalism, Primitive Accumulation and the New Enclosures in Uganda, *African Identities*, 12, 1. 76-93. https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2013.868672

Article 1 was published in the 'African Identities' with an online version available. The article analyzes the scramble for farmlands and the practices of leasing productive land to agribusiness companies in Uganda. It traces the emergence of smallholder farming into a big commercial farming following the global recession on cotton commodity prices in the 1930s. The emergence of sugarcane plantation economy provided demand for huge amounts of land by the agribusiness companies. Government responded by putting in place a policy aimed at promoting smallholder farming and also politically minimized huge land alienation. That meant a maximum cap of 10,000 acres and a minimum cap of 1000 acres for agribusiness companies.

A theoretical critique was based on a crisis theory by Marx (1974) who questions the separation of people from their means of production as a starting point for conceptual entry. It argued that the legal, political and military apparatuses function to promote 'primitive accumulation' (Marx 1974) and 'accumulation by dispossession' (Harvey 2003). This leaves out the initial conditions such as displacement and evacuation policy. The clustering of enclosure policies is meant to be understood from initial conditions, and cited the initial policy agreement, the 1900 Buganda Agreement as a legal text that recognized landownership into four categories: *mailo, native freehold, leasehold, and the Crown*. These were meant to accommodate the interest of government, private corporations, and local authorities. Through cadastral survey, waste and uncultivated land were invested in the Crown land, which was divided into private and official estates respectively. Some parts of the Crownland was held 'in trust for the use and benefit of Africans' while the remaining parts were left under government control to lease as freehold to individuals and corporations. *Mailo* as private property was given in perpetuity to the notable few and this led to introduction of rent in 1908 for each acre both for resident and farming by the emerging landlords. The Metha group and Madhvani group of companies acquired land leasehold ownership using multiple strategies: (1) purchasing land from the non-Africans or white farmers; (2) leasing untenanted Crown from the government; (3) acquiring *mailo* land indirectly from African landowners; (4) exchange of freehold for *mailo* with consent of the government and (5) entering yearly agreement with the African landowners through long term lease for 49 years. When land alienation became politically unviable, out-grower schemes were introduced as an alternative in the highly populated areas at Kakira Sugar

Corporation that now gets 35 percent of its sugar from out-growers. The state maintains its shareholding below 50 percent to promote private investment in the sugarcane industry.

The global financial, food and energy crises of 2007 - 2008 renewed the interest to negotiate the acquisition of more land both in public and communal land ownerships. The interest was in agriculture and carbon restoration companies which sought for leases from the government amidst fears of displacement, the lack of consultation and inadequate compensation by both transnational and domestic activists such as Friends of the Earth Uganda and NAPE respectively. Metha's attempt to get lease of 7100 ha in the Mbira Central Forest Reserve to increase sugar production for regional demand, create jobs and employment was met by demonstration 'Mbira Crusade' in 2007 and 2011 respectively. The joint venture arrangements also proliferated between the government, private developers and the international development agencies. For example, the government, together with International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the World Bank and BIDCO Company allocated 40,000 hectares of public land for oil palm plantation in Buvuma Islands. Also, Amuru Sugar Works sought 40,000 hectares of communal land by the Madhvani group for sugarcane growing, although the project is delayed until up to today in the area where the status of the land use had changed several times from Crown land to game reserve and Controlled Hunting Area, and to public land. A cross-comparison of Metha group and Madhvani group showed that the companies had accumulated more land through a leasing system in both Crown land and freehold from government. The period between 1962 and 1975 was a period to move a single land ownership, starting with the Crown Act 1962 that converted Crown land into public land under the control of Uganda Land Commission (ULC). The 1969 Public Land Act categorized land that was neither leasehold nor freehold to be held under customary laws. The 1975 Land Decree declared all land in Uganda public land. The 1995 constitution and 1998 Land Act gave customary landownership the official recognition, along *mailo* and freehold. While freehold and leasehold have been settled to promote the interest of private sector and government respectively, customary and *mailo* have been contested up to today. The 2013 land policy aims to recognize land ownership and private, public, government, and customary land registration has to be facilitated by the government.

5.2 ARTICLE 2: OLANYA, D. R. (2015). Will Uganda Succumb to Resource Curse? Critical Reflections. *Extractive Industry and Society* 2, 46-55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2014.09.002

Article 2 was published in the 'Extractive Industry and Society' with an online version available. This article debates on the benefit from newly discovered oil and gas in Uganda to stimulate infrastructural and industrial development. Furthermore, it acknowledges the skepticism, particularly on the prudent management of oil and gas revenue given the country's vulnerability to a 'resource curse', defined in terms

of weak institutions and governance, social fragmentation, lack of political inclusiveness and opacity of Production Sharing Agreements (PSAs). It focuses on two variables of institutional quality and governing regime in the oil and gas sector in the context of socio-economic transformation.

Theoretically, article 2 extends Hirschman's (1981) staple theory of production to structure sequence of staple activities in which one thing may lead to another. This explains the interactions between the leading oil and gas sector and other sectors along the staple concepts: production, consumption and fiscal linkages. The condition of linkages promotes direct participation of the state in income streams generated by the oil and gas sector and the IOCs. The state's ability to tax must come first and this follows the ability to invest. Oil wealth becomes a blessing when it brings in new technology, promote economic growth, and must be accompanied by thepresence of quality institutions.

Alternatively, oil wealth becomes a curse when it slows down economic growth, poor investment in health and education and leads to the existence of a resource induced conflict. Comparisons were drawn from both successful and unsuccessful stories. Botswana's success story depends on quality institutions, policies and political factors. Chad's story promotes state participation in oil refinery to promote national interests. Brazil's nationalization of the oil and gas sector and creation of the state owned company, Petrobas, and the creation of an independent Petroleum Agency to manage competitive licensing. Trinidad and Tobago's local content participation policy encourages the development of local businesses and local financing, and workforce. The introduction of revenue management framework, including the Income Tax, 2013 Petroleum Act and the construction of oil refineries to promote direct influence over the decision making or to protect the interest of a sovereign state. Unsuccessful stories were drawn from Nigeria's case which was caused by political instability, violence, human rights violations and oil revenue mismanagement.

Article 2 cautions readers from rushing to an early labelling that refers to Uganda as a resource curse country; instead it encourages analysis of what government is actively doing through the national planning framework both in the short term and long term. These include looking at the policy framework linking oil revenue to infrastructural and industrial development. The article further cautions those who are assessing the resource curse needs first to understand the quality of institutions and governing capacities. The multiple elements related to the resource curse were identified, including: the absence of political coalition, persistence corruption, institutional quality, ethno-politics, land grabbing and the lack of transparency in the PSA. These are feared as a resource curse, given the presence of broken promises and the accountability mechanism, especially within health and education. This could result into social fragmentation, including the national identity and inter-ethnic tensions.

The institutional quality relates to revenue management both at national and local levels, and also the ability to tax the oil and gas sector. In addition, where oil and gas exist, there are multiple institutions, including the cultural institutions, with various ethnic groups, UWA and local governments. Some ethnic groups complain of marginalization by the government where their customary land rights were converted into protected areas and sugarcane plantation. Land grabbing and compensation remain contested in the oil and gas sector, and these have affected their livelihoods where oil and gas refineries are located. Lastly, the lack of transparency has been noticed in the current production and sharing agreements between the central and the IOCs, including the distribution of revenue.

The timing of the newly discovered oil and gas reserves is fundamental to Uganda's socio-economic transformation. The timing can be used to improve institutional quality and capacity. Article 2 sees oil and gas discovery as a benefit or as a curse. Developing the ability to tax the staple commodities can further be enhanced by introducing indirect taxes, contrary to Chad's experience. Participating in the oil and gas sector reduces the country's vulnerability to external conditions that may not be useful in promoting national interests.

5.3 ARTICLE 3: OLANYA, D. R. (2016). Dams, Water and Accountability in Uganda. In Sandstrom, E., Jagerskog, A., Oestigaard, T (eds) *Land and Hydro Politics in the Nile Basin*, pp. 150-165. Routledge and Earth Scan.

Article 3 was published as a book chapter, with an online version available. The chapter reviews the recent proliferations of hydropower constructions and discusses it from perspectives of state-building and accountability in Uganda. The chapter further points out that investing in the energy sector was driven by the demand to meet the aim of Uganda Vision 2040's plan to move the country from peasant economy to a middle income country. Another focus in relation to investing in the energy sector is the shifting accountability between the government, the World Bank and the civil society organizations.

Article 3 defined accountability in terms of respect to local rights and water and ecology. For analytical purposes, accountability has been divided into two parts: internal and external accountability. The economic contribution of dam construction tends to reinforce signs of political contribution to hydropower development. When the first dam was built in 1952, an agreement preceded the construction in 1949 in which negotiation was centered on balancing on internal and external accountability. To ensure external accountability, both the government, Egypt and Great Britain agreed by approving a contract jointly, although the government still had the ability to make decision that should not interfere with the interest of other partners. Dam construction focuses on technical aspects of planning rather than socio-economic impacts. Technical aspects of planning have high stakes on producing energy. Moreover, issues of displacement, dislocation, exclusion and involuntary resettlement are reduced to a matter of internal accountability, and this produces

winners and losers. What happens to these losers is not addressed adequately. Instead dam construction is associated with sustaining growth process.

Furthermore, dam construction symbolizes socio-economic transformation. This also resonates with the moral liberal reasoning regarding the role of the government in providing public good in the hydropower generation as a cornerstone in rebuilding the economy. The article calls this 'imagined' public good. The article discusses these imaginaries in the context of shifting accountability away from internal accountability to external accountability that demands multiple layers, including the World Bank, advocacy NGOs, such as Friends of the Earth and International Rivers Network that were very critical of the World Bank's funding, and the International Rivers Network works closely with the World Commission on Dams. This resulted into the introduction of Environmental Impact Assessment. The World Bank's procedures (Operational Procedure 4.01) demands that borrowers consult project-affected people. External accountability is evaluated on the basis of participation which the government argued delayed financing hydropower projects, especially the construction of the Bujagali project.

China's funding of dams in Uganda did not follow the criteria for external accountability. This simplified accountability when Exim Bank of China provided funding to the government who has awarded contract to Chinese companies (Sinohydro Corporation) and China International Water and Electric Corporation. The two projects were subjected only to internal accountability: approval by parliament in 2015. External accountability under the World Bank and civil society organizations was avoided. The government puts much emphasis on technical solutions rather than the socio-economic impacts of displacement and resettlement. In addition, Isimba Dam hydropower was also in conflict with a multi-million touristic white-water rafting on the Nile River. Transforming Vision 2040 has a high stake among the political and policy elites in the production of electricity. Funding hydropower has been mobilized from multiple sources: Exim Bank of China, the government of Uganda, and the private companies. Karuma dam, which is being constructed in Murchison Falls Conservation Area, affects the ecology and the environment.

In conclusion, the chapter highlighted the proliferations of hydropower projects in Uganda within a broader context of national-building processes that aim to transform the country from a peasant economy to middle income economy by 2040. The hydropower construction inevitably involves displacement that also attracted both internal and external activism. However, the activism was moderated by a shift to internal accountability. The accountability of Chinese funding reduced the extent of external accountability and participation of civil society and local communities.

5.4. ARTICLE 4: OLANYA D.R. ET AL. (UNDER REVIEW).

Capitalizing on Nature: A Critical Discourse Study of Nature Policy Concerning the Murchison Falls Conservation Area of Uganda. Journal of Critical Policy Studies.

Article 4 explores discursive struggles between the dominant discourses of nature development and nature conservation in the context of the Murchison Falls Conservation Area (MFCA) of Uganda. It contributes to a deeper discursive perspective on nature policy which has so far been taken for granted as a distinct, separate and well-defined field without considering its interactions with broader field of agriculture. Despite the contradictory tensions between nature conservation and the practice of capitalization, there has been fewer conflicts, and this has promoted the peaceful co-existence except for discursive struggles over means of benefits both at the nation and community level. This makes for a rather blurred picture, and these benefits are distributed along nature as source of income versus the inviolable system, institutional assemblage, participatory governance, and nature as conflictual human interactions. The article further argues that as part of the solution, nature developmenthas been adopted as a paradoxical neoliberal capitalization intervention into contextual factors such as resettlement and compensation,which are not captured in nature conservation, and this has caused discursive struggles with those living from agriculture.

Theoretically, the analytical framework is based on the concept of discourse and discourse analysis and more specifically critical discourse analysis. Discourse coalitions is used as an organizing concept in understanding discursive struggles between the two competing discourses of nature development and nature conservation. In grounding nature policy in a critical discourse analysis perspective, this article analyses discourse coalitions, critical discourse moments, power relations and agency. The most important and decisive critical moments which gave rise to discursive struggles in nature policy are analyzed. First, the changes in land use and land ownership favor the creation of a protected area. The original practice of nature development was replaced with the concept of nature conservation that promoted preservation as a first order discourse while sport hunting became a second order discourse. Sport hunting critics were warded off by the use of euphemisms to produce counter narratives to protect agricultural crops, but not for revenue consideration. Second, the outbreak of sleeping sickness and evacuation policy provided the empty space for the development of nature conservation. Third, the globalization of nature reserves in Uganda is seen as a critical moment in promoting sporting hunting as well as promoting the need to create national parks. Preservation which aims to promote tourism trade was a first order discourse whereas *game cropping* was a second order discourse to control wildlife population and ecological destruction. Wildlife cropping contributed to the national coffer through the meat industry. The national interest to promote commercial agriculture always conflicts with wildlife interests.

The findings are presented as analogies of nature development and nature conservation abstracted in four ways. First, nature as a source of income involves the elements of revenue-sharing, income generative activities, wildlife as property of government and the promotion of multiple use rights in order encourage sport hunting in agricultural land. Second, nature as an institutional assemblage involves the restructuring and rationalizing the park estates to fit into the broader aspect of capitalization of neoliberal nature development, including elements of collaboration across space and time as well as creating local institutions, and negotiation and reintroduction of wildlife corridors. Third, nature as participatory governance encourages the decentralization of land in the former game reserves and control hunting areas to the respective district council, to manage and control the land on behalf of the communities. This was intended to promote participatory governance in the buffer zone that is compatible with local economic development through education and alternative livelihoods. Fourth, nature as conflictual-interactions involves aspects of poaching, resettlement and compensation, and the need for wildlife corridors, and all these have remained contested areas in the dominant discourse of nature development.

As part of the solution, electrical fence construction is being considered as the alternative to nature development that encourages wildlife movement in agricultural land. This shows the discursive struggles between two competing discourses of nature conservation and nature development. Previous practices in nature conservation either enabled or constrained nature development in its logic on sustainable wildlife use, and these have resulted in the reintroduction of sport hunting, concessionaire, and institutional rearrangements. Discursive struggles make institutional assemblage possible at governmental level, but remains highly contested at a local level. This could be problematic to the future of MFCA, although the state enables laws, policies and legislations.

In conclusion, any further policy development will have to balance between human and wildlife interests, although it is complex, the nature field has conflictual interaction with the field of agriculture. If not, this would be met with little appreciation outside the nature reserve, although this wildlife has become solely a government property, which has received little attention in general. It further shows how socio-political structure influences power relations in nature in terms of source of income versus the inviolable system, and the hidden scripts emerging in the discourse of nature development and nature conservation.

CHAPTER 6. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

> When you have climbed a mountain looking for the highest peak, only to discover that there are higher mountains off in the distance, you will have to make it down first, before starting up the new mountain. And to reach the top of the new mountain, you will likely have to adopt new techniques and methods (Colander and Kupers 2004: 270).

This opening quote in this section is an expression of a twin metaphor that introduces a disciplinary journey in my academic career, and also to reflect on the primacy of an inter-disciplinary orientation to study the dynamics of complex interactions in the four policy fields. An inter-disciplinary analysis has become the new mountain. Moreover, the published articles were written independent of each other as previous mountains I had climbed before. These published articles were written without a discourse gaze, which works as causal mechanism in climbing the new mountain. The aim is to bridge the gap which I had in the previous mountains by adopting new techniques and methods that answer the general research questions asked in chapter 1. I use the information in the previous mountains (data behind the articles), in addition to the new texts/policy texts presented in section 1.2 and chapter 2 in climbing the new mountain.

6.1 ANALYSIS

The aim of this analysis is to investigate and uncover the interconnectedness in the four policy fields regarding land use and land ownership (see figure 1.1). As a complement to the more traditional approach of categorizing and analyzing the key sectors separately and independently, this PhD thesis adds a new perspective that studies the different sectors as an embedded social system in order to identify overlapping, specific, or conflicting elements in the policy making process and its implementation. First, I present the two main themes of land use and land ownership before engaging in the discursive struggles, the hegemonic discourses and the interactions between the fields and in relationships to the national development plan which is elaborated in chapter 2. This section deals with the sub-research questions numbered as 6.1.1, 6.1.2, and 6.1.3 in what follows.

6.1.1 ACTORS AND POWER RELATIONS IN LAND USE AND LAND OWNERSHIP IN THE FOUR POLICY FIELDS

This sub-section is concerned with answering the sub-research question regardingwhat actors and power relations can be indentified in relation to issues of land use and land ownership in the four policy field in Uganda. Here, the aim is to identify actors and power relations in terms of land use and land ownership in the

four policy fields: agriculture, oil and gas, hydropower and tourism. By using the concept of SAFs (Fligstein and McAdam 2011; 2012), it is possible to group actors in the four policy fields only into two categories: state and non-state actors, and then incorporate power relations by diving them into three groups: incumbents, challengers and the IGUs. This positioning of being incumbents or challengers keeps on changing over time. It changes over time depending on the availability of skilled social actors, resources availability, and the contribution of actors to the state fields. Here, the incumbents are the powerful groups, and have a dominant position in the fields. The challengers are the less powerful groups who conform or contest the prevailing social order across the four policy fields, and then, last but not least, the IGUs which serve the function of reproducing the dominant field logics both within and external to the field. Each of these three groups have interest and values that are interconnected via the existing land use and land ownership across these fields which are subjected to competing interest in both spatial and temporal time but only to be stabilized by discursive struggles (i.e. the power of language and discourses in governing).

Olanya's (2014) work on farming and farmlands in Uganda found that both the waste and uncultivated land were transferred into the Crown land under the control of the governor who had control to transfer land use and possession to individuals and emerging agribusiness corporations.Thus, such power relations were protected under the legal (the 1900 Buganda) agreement with the agency to promote the growth of plantation economy and smallholder farming. The powerful actors were local authorities who preferred *mailo* and native freehold land ownerships. The freehold was then extended to the local population and other private institutions,who acquired the remaining Crown land. In other words, the land possession was distributed under *mailo*, native freehold and the Crown land ownerships to the European settlers, foreign based companies, traditional authorities and the native population. For example, those who registered their land as *mailo* and native freehold had more power relations over the remaining local population and introduced ground rent.

In the previous work (Olanya 2014), I identify the incumbents as European settlers and the traditional authorities, and the challengers were the foreign-based companies and the native population. The IGU was the office of governor who had control over the nature of access to the different land use and ownerships mentioned above. In this thesis, however, the agricultural policy field is occupied by the incumbent power relations of both domestic and foreign companies, who - together with the landowners- are engaged in agro-industrial development through partnership financing and capital development. Thus, by creating a new group of actors involved in hybrid group formation the big companies share their incumbent power relations with the central government and the land owners over challengers who are the local communities. The land owners have a well-established position in the field (i.e. the physical conditions in the field of claiming leases and freeholds) by entering into a rental agreement with the agribusiness companies.

The state actors, or the central government promote cadastral practices to create and sustain land use changes and land ownership by registering their land as *mailo*, leasehold, freehold, or customary ownership. The state field actors support economic development through incumbent field actors such as agribusiness companies alongside the smallholder farmers. The contribution of incumbent large commercial farmers (both local and foreign) make them to have better access to the IGUs (central authorities) than the challengers such as the local communities.

In the agriculture policy field, the key IGUs are the central authority like ULC and the local authority such as District Land Boards, respectively. They have power to determine the status of land use and land ownership both in term of regulation and management issues. In terms of ownership, they have clustered land in Uganda to different categories of actors. For example, to the traditional authority, they have historical privileges to own land in the form of *mailo* and freehold land ownerships, whereas the rest of the remaining land were put under the control of the state actors who declared them as public land (the former Crown land). As mentioned earlier, the power relations in the field change over time due to resources availability to the incumbent agribusiness companies, who expandtheir investmentsby purchasing land indirectly from the registered *mailo* land owners, entering into yearly agreements with the land owners. The challenger group, the poor peasants who could not register their land, are dominated over by both state field IGUs and the incumbent agribusiness companies as well as registered land owners.

However, the power relations are stabilized due to discursive struggles over the need for diversity of land ownership. For example, the public land ownership was short lived following the 1995 constitution and the 1998 Land Act which brought into play the previous land ownership: *mailo*, leasehold, freehold and customary ownership into use by the different field actors. The state field actors define customary land ownership as marginal land, that is, the land that is not being utilized. The challengers, or the local communities, however, posit that this marginal land does not arise from their lack of engagement in agriculture, but from the initial conditions, including other variables such as wars, diseases, and most importantly, the previous conditions of land use. Given the high level of discursive struggles in customary and public land ownership, the incumbent agribusiness companies in the agriculture field prefer access to leasehold and freehold as compared to customary and *mailo* land ownerships because they are perceived to be embedded with contentious issues between the IGUs and the local communities.

In the previous contribution related to the oil and gas policy, it is found that this field generates very limited discursive struggles over land ownership, except for land use issues concerning compensation and resettlement of the affected communities by oil and gas infrastructural development (Olanya 2015). In this field, I identify the state field IGUs as the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development including its regulatory agencies such NEMA, PAU, UNOC and Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA). Land use and possession tend to have more to do with mineral rights of the state itself. Power relations in this field are dominated by these state

fields and their IGUs. There is little struggle because of the positive view being promoted by the state field actors on oil and gas discovery as beneficial in terms of stimulating infrastructural and industrial development. The power relations in this field are driven by the contribution of incumbent IOCs to the state fields in terms of revenue consideration, and the other non-state actors such as the communities are seen as beneficiaries from a positive view point that the field will bring to the other fields. Discursive struggles are blended as manageable in the blessing discourse that will follow a linear set of activities managed by the IGUs.

The incumbent oil and gas companies derived their power relations because the resources they command to the state field IGUs such as income streams are generated by the oil and gas field. The resources availability allows incumbent oil and gas companies to invest in new technology and promoting economic growth. Moreover, the IGUs drew analogies of successful stories elsewhere - such the state field actors' participation in oil and gas companies, licensing authority, and the promotion of local content development. For examples, UNOC promotes state participation in oil refinery in order to promote the national interests. The PAU as an independent agency promotes competitive licensing, or local content participation policy that promotes local businesses, local financing, and workforce. The challengers such as local communities and cultural authorities are incorporated as beneficiaries through investment in education and health sectors. Those whose land will be needed for the development of the oil and gas field will qualify for state compensation and alternative livelihoods.

The hydropower policy field is found to be dominated mainly by the economy and public good that are necessary for socio-economic transformation (Olanya 2016). In this thesis, I find that the field is embedded with state and non-state actors expanding on the power relations. The incumbent state actors are the electricity regulatory authorities and the energy investors who struggle discursively over multiple meanings of accountability as prerequisite for infrastructural financing. The challenging or the opposing groups that emerged were the World Bank's International Finance Corporation and World Commission on Dams, which defined accountability in terms of external accountability, a position that is intended to promote local rights, water and ecology. In contrast, the state field actors (central government) defined accountability in terms of intra-country accountability (i.e. internal) to provide access to cheap electricity and stimulating economic growth and has gained acceptance within the public domain. The resources availability provided through bilateral agreements stabilize this field through negotiations and agreements.

The nature of this field (technical thing) restricts the extent of struggles over the meaning of accountability. Therefore, the state actors enjoy a high stake on producing energy at the expense of policy problems such as displacement, dislocation, exclusion and involuntary resettlements which have been structured to be manageable during the process of socio-economic transformation. At this point,

the state field actors discursively/socially constructed the development in hydropower field on the basis of providing an 'imagined' public good that will benefit even the non-state actors. Some of the non-state actors such as Friends of the Earth and International Rivers Network were very critical of the World Bank's funding of hydropower power projects, building an alliance with international bodies such as World Commission on Dams to represent the field as a nature curse because of the limited participation and consultation with the affected communities.

In the tourism policy field, land use is being promoted for nature conservation and nature development. Despite the contradiction regarding the shared land use, this has been associated with less conflict, thus, promoting a land use that accommodates the agriculture and tourism (nature conservation, including forest and wildlife land use purposes). The dominant actors are the incumbent state field actors - the UWA and other conservation organizations demanded for the creations of national parks to promote tourism trade and nature preservation as a means to control wildlife population and ecological field stability. The challengers in the field see issues such as resettlement and compensation as policy problems. The aim is to promote nature conservation in its strict sense while being flexible to nature development institutional practices of sport hunting. That is, a practice of preserving wildlife while at the same time generating revenue that benefits both the state field actors and the non-state actors. Power relations are based on resources availability in terms of revenue-sharing, income generating activities and changed meaning of wildlife from being a common property of non-state actors such as communities to being the property of the state field actors. The discursive struggles stabilized the field through the introduction of multiple use rights that accommodate private interests in sport hunting and state field interests of reducing poaching of wildlife.

In summary, the dominant actors fall mainly within the state field actors, in particular, the IGUs operating both at national and district levels. In terms of land use across the four policy fields, the agricultural policy field has dominance in land use followed by tourism (conservation), and recently by hydropower, and oil and gas which greatly influence the nature of land use already used for agriculture and tourism. Both agriculture and tourism fields demand an extensive land use through cadastral surveying, or land use planning in order to promote land use for economic development. While land use and ownership are very dominant in agriculture and tourism policy, the extent of land use, however, is very limited in the hydropower policy field. In most cases, the area where hydropower power is located will be under the custodian of the state actors, as public land, or those occupying land for other purposes. In some cases, it is must easier for the state field actors to relocate and compensate those whose socio-economic activities are affected by hydropower project. The following section discusses the formation of storylines as discursive struggles via hegemonic discourses in institutional practices across the four policy fields.

6. 1.2 HEGEMONIC DISCOURSES IN INSTITUTIONAL PRACTICES IN THE FOUR POLICY FIELDS

This sub-section explores the sub-research question concerning to what extent the hegemonic discourses are reproduced (or resisted) in institutional practices, who has agency and how is the agency distributed among the different actors in the four policy fields. Here, the aim is to present the contexts and compare hegemonic discourses between the state and non-state actors, categorized as incumbents, IGUs and challengers as shown in figure 6.1. I use storyline as a contested statement of summarizing complex issues (Hajer 1995:61), categorizing the state and non-state fields as embedded in discursive struggles, or what others refer to as discourse conflict (Leung et al. 2018). The storyline is always shared for a specific period of time in policy framing such as: problem stream (the problem in each field), policy streams (problem solutions proposed in each policy field), and political stream (state and non-state actors' influence in each policy) (Kingdon 1984: 72, 123-4, 159; Carney and Zahariadis 2016: 90-92). This makes it possible to identify key actors and to understand the influence of storyline in the formation of hegemonic discourses between the state actors and non-state actors and the distribution of power relations across these fields, both vertically and horizontally.

Starting with the agriculture policy field, previous findings show the growth of plantation economy in Uganda to be emerging from the existence of competition between small holder farming and the big commercial farmers. This competition developed into a successful 'Kakira Sugar Work' model for an out-growers' scheme that has stabilized the land use and ownership for sugarcane growing by supplying about 35 percent of its sugarcane production (Olanya, 2014). In this thesis, I present the storyline created by the incumbents, challengers and the IGUs regarding smallholder farming and the commercial farming as hegemonic discourses in the agriculture policy field, and also, the positions of these actors within the field over an extended period of time. First, Kakira Sugar Work model has created and sustained the production of sugar through the out-grower scheme model, which was politically negotiated between the incumbent internal governing unit, the governor office which introduced it in 1928 and the agribusiness company, the Kakira Sugar which put it into practice in 1958 as an alternative to the direct alteration in land use.

The storyline is promoted through shareholding into an acceptable institutionalized practice of input financing to smallholder farmers, thus, leading to the formation of hegemonic discourses of the capitalist mode of production. It involves the integration of the available land and capital to increase the sugar production. The institutional practice changes the land use in favor of sugar production without necessarily changing the land ownership (the physical condition) in the field. This has solved what I refer to as the problem stream -the unintended consequences of land use change without negatively affecting the growth of smallholder farming model which was central in order to expand on the commodity-based economy.

This is in line with Bourdieu's field of capital (2005) where some actors with more capital will dominate over other actors, including the smallholder farmers. Therefore, this hegemonic discourse of shareholding sustains the interconnection between the agribusiness sugar companies and the smallholding farmer practice. However, this is being contested today whenever it is replicated elsewhere. For example, the discourse of shareholding that incorporated the state field actors, the incumbent sugar company (Amuru Sugar Works), and the community (challenger) did not achieve hegemonic institutional practices of integrating land, labor and capital. The policy stream was designed by the central government (internal governing unit) and the sugar company (the incumbent) to establish a sugar bio-refinery industry and a plantation on a 40,000 hectares of communal land, but could not achieve the necessary hegemonic discourse from the challengers, thus, delaying the project up to today. Alternatively, where hegemonic discourse cannot be achieved, the central government and the agribusiness companies use hierarchical authority to establish agro-process industries. For example, the central government, the development partners (the World Bank, IFAD), and the agribusiness company (BIDCO company) were able to establish an oil palm industry of 40,000 hectares of forestry land into agricultural land use in Buvuma Islands. The storyline of land grabbing from the challengers (social movement group) did not coalesce to undermine the development discourse of employment, income and economic growth in the impoverished district.

The political stream (the mobilized non-state actors against the state field actors and the incumbent company) did not provide any window of opportunity for the agribusiness company, the Metha Group who had entered into negotiation with the central government in 2007 to expand sugar production in the Central Forest Reserve. The non-state groups (the challengers) produced a strong opposition groups who contested the decision that was aimed at acquiring more land for sugarcane growing in the public land (forest reserves). They created an opposing storyline of 'land grabbing' led by both international and national groups such as Friends of the Earth and the NAPE respectively. The storyline resulted into the formation, or mobilization from both the general public and some politicians (legislatures) against the agribusiness company, the Metha Group. The opposing discourse of 'nature grab' prevented the agribusiness company from acquiring an additional 7100 hectares of land for sugar production. The development discourse promoted by the agribusiness company and the central government did not saturate to gain acceptance from the general public and some environmentalists, or eco- turn politicians in the country. That is, the discourse of employment and increasing production were made trivial during the events that took place in 2007 and 2011 respectively.

In the oil and gas field, the actors are both state and non-state field actors, including the incumbent IOCs are external to the state fields. The state actors and the oil companies use storylines, such as new petro-state and revenue benefits to induce ideological effects on investment in infrastructure and industrial development. The category of storylines present the oil and gas policy field as a blessing because of the revenue consideration. The non-state field actors however see themselves in another

storyline category that associates oil and gas field as a resource curse. They concentrate on problem stream by representing the field discursively to be associated with the existence of weak institutions and governance, the lack of political coalitions and the fear of exclusion of the non-state actors from the overall benefit. Furthermore, they perceive that unintended consequences will lead to slow economic growth, corruption, conflict, and the poor accountability mechanisms by state field actors and the IOCs. To some extent, the discursive representation of the field temporarily agrees on the importance of innovation and quality institutions as preconditions by both the state and non-state actors.

The state field actors and the IOCs see the field as being a huge window of opportunity, and went on to revisit the existing laws and policies that promote a direct participation of the state in the field. For example, the state field actors privilege policy streams that promotes doing business transactions with the IOCs in order to raise easy tax revenue instead of promoting domestic companies who might be internally connected with those within the political stream. The storyline of a blessing discourse is illustrated along the following cause-effect line.

Blessing Discourse → *New technology* → *Economic growth* → *Quality institutions*

This blessing discourse formation is presented as part of a political stream aimed at ensuring the presence of a quality institutions that will constrain errant state field actors and incumbent IOCs and their associates engaging in the resource curse discourse. A blessing discourse stabilizes this field through the storyline that the presence of natural resources generates development, but this depends on the direct participation of the state field actors to manage resource politics and the structure of ownership to promote local content requirements, balancing construction activities and institutional capacity. As a result, it prompts the creation of founding the state IGUs such as UNOC and PAU to protect the central government interest and property rights as well to constrain the political decisions that might positively affect the activities on the IOCs.

As challengers of the blessing discourse, the non-state actors' curse discourse has to be out-maneuvered within the state field through a hierarchical authority structure of the central and local governments. The problem stream issues such as social fragmentation, identity, land rights and ethnic-claims against the state field actors have been placed under the political stream where state field actors can manage through compensation and resettlement as illustrated along the curse discourse.

Curse discourse → *political coalitions* → *corruption* → *weak institution* → *ethno-politics and oil expectations* → *involuntary land acquisition and compensation* → *lack of transparency in the oil production sharing agreements*

In the hydropower policy field, the storyline of internal accountability shapes the nature of interactions between the state field actors, who have cemented their interests with hydropower companies through institutional practice of a joint approval of contract, or agreement. The storyline of the economy and the provision of public good prevail in this hydropower field, including energy, growth and access to cheap electricity, which have gained more acceptance within the state field actors and the general public. It is also important to note that the nature of hydropower is dominated by expert knowledge (epistemic), or technical (techne) matter rather than being social in nature (phronesis). As such the state field enjoys a high stake on producing energy at the expense of policy problems such as displacement, dislocation, exclusion and involuntary resettlements which can be structured to be manageable in sustainable socio-economic transformation. State field actors justify their interventions on the basis of socially constructing energy production through the construction of more energy generation plants in the form of an 'imagined' public good that will produce more benefit to the general population and industrial development policy.

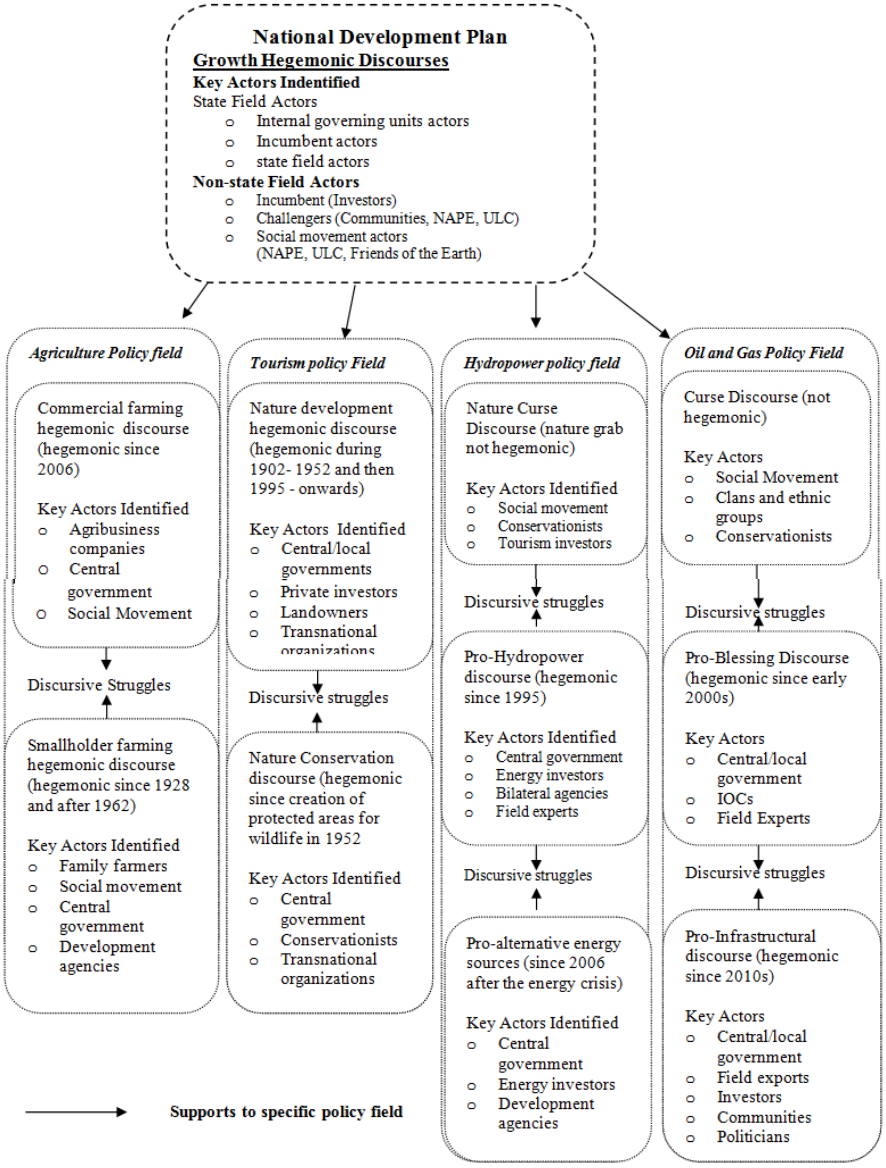
However, the social movement groups' storyline hints on defining accountability in terms local rights, water and ecology. The key challengers in this field are the non-state actors such as the Friends of the Earth and International Rivers Network groups who are very critical of the World Bank's funding to the government of Uganda, forming a strong alliance with the World Commission on Dams. This global alliance of groups were unsuccessful in questioning the decision of the central government and the hydropower companies, which have secured institutional practice of funding through bilateral arrangement. The motivation is that a borrowing country like Uganda must meet the World Bank's operational minimum standard to consult with the communities, who are affected by the hydropower project. In short, internal accountability is more acceptable in a technical field rather than the social issues which are raised by the non-state actors.

The tourism policy field is even more complex like the agriculture policy field. Both fields need an extensive land use coverage. Here, it was much easier to create a storyline on nature development that promotes the peaceful co-existence of land use both for agriculture and tourism (Olanya et al. Under Review). The hegemonic discourses have been successful in creating a storyline that promotes a peaceful co-existence between wildlife and socio-economic activities of those who reside at the boundary of park estate as part of the solutions to promote a compatible land use. Yet, the paradox of such capitalizing on nature has also generated an intense discursive struggle over means of benefits within the state field actors and the non-state actors. In the agriculture field, the local community that resides in the nearby area to a protected area see resettlement and compensation as policy problems. In other words, the discursive struggles in nature development are mainly reflected along the storyline of changing agriculture land use in favor of nature conservation.

In practice, the hegemonic discourses have sustained the interests of park management and the local communities. For park authority, the storyline of nature conservation has not been totally excluded in the practice of nature development, but nature development itself needs to accommodate the previous practices of nature conservation while at the same rallying support from the international development agencies and the local communities. For example, the practice of nature conservation tends to restrict the activity of nature development such as sport hunting basically to preserve wildlife while nature development at the same time generates revenue to the state authority, private investors and the community in general. The internal dynamics in the agriculture field are likely to have generated the opportunity for the change in land use for nature conservation while at the same time being embedded into the current institutional practices of nature development.

Through the storyline of benefit sharing in terms of revenue and income generating activities, the meaning of wildlife was also changed from being a common property of the communities in the agriculture land use to being a property of the central government in order to support the institutional practices in nature development. To put this differently, the change in meaning was necessary from the park management perspective, a precondition for introducing multiple use rights in the agriculture land use. The aim was to reintroduce sport hunting in the agriculture land use area, while at the same time reducing illegal wildlife activities such as poaching in the agriculture policy field. This is in line Bourdieu's force field which held that nature conservation may continue to be integrated in the new field of nature development during this transition. In other words, a concept may occupy more than one social field. The state field actors see resettlement and compensation as political streams which cannot be structured in nature conservation, but this could be possible in nature development practice of benefit sharing between the park authority and the local communities. Even field actors may be occupying more than one social field at a time, that is, the economic field, organization/bureaucratic field, political fields and so forth (Bourdieu, 1988: 270; Bourdieu and Wacquant1992: 104). See figure 6.1. for an overview.

Figure 6.1 Hegemonic Discourse Formation in the Four Policy Fields



The following section explores the complex interactions among policy fields and in relation to the national development plans. It presents analysis of interactions between two or more policy fields based on the integration of field theory into the complexity configurations.

6.1.3 INTERACTIONS AMONG POLICY FIELDS AND IN RELATIONS TO THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS OF UGANDA

This sub-section deals with the sub-research question about how change in a policy field influences interactions with other proximate policy fields within the broader context of the national development plan of Uganda. The aim is to show the interconnectedness in land use and land ownership which constitutes a central policy problem that has to be addressed as already illustrated in figure 1.1. I analyze the interactions among the four policy fields by developing higher level concepts through abduction between two or more fields. I introduce two key process oriented concepts of *exclusivity* and *endurance,* or in combination. According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, *exclusivity* is the quality of being limited to a particular person, group, or area. It is a practice of excluding or not admitting other things (Merriam-Webster, n.d). *Endurance* denotes the ability to do something difficult for a long period of time, or the quality of continuing for a long period of time (Merriam-Webster, n.d).

Both exclusivity and endurance are useful concepts which I introduce to understand the nature of interaction in each policy over an extended period of time. In a theoretical perspective, *exclusivity* defines the extent to which a single core concept is used to describe the phenomenon being studied whereas endurance defines the extent to which several concepts are used to describe a phenomenon being studied as stable and unstable, or changing (Ofori-Dankwa, 2001: 419). Lewin's diagrammatical work (1943) represents a field as a whole. That is, one large field represents many independent fields which constitute one bigger field (a whole). In analogy, the whole is what I refer to here as the policy fields: *agriculture, oil and gas, hydropower and tourism.* Each of these sub-policy fields constitutes one large policy field denoting the four configurations (cf. figure 6.2).

First, a simple complexity configuration relates to the agriculture policy field (cf. figure 1.1). Here, change in land use and land ownership is always external to the field due to the increasing demand by the proximate fields. The social construction of land use and land ownership is mainly dominated by field disciplinary orientation, while paying little attention to the dynamics of interaction coming from neighboring fields. A simple complexity configuration is a space which is dominated by specific disciplinary orientation. Here, Lewin's field forces (1951) are internal to the field, the space. In other words, a field only adjusts internally as a whole to external influences, without explicitly interacting with other fields, and instead justifies the meaning of land use and land ownership in their field in relations to other proximate fields. In case of any change, then this has to be seen in terms of the position within their disciplinary interest and the policy choices which are only intentional, but not strategic.

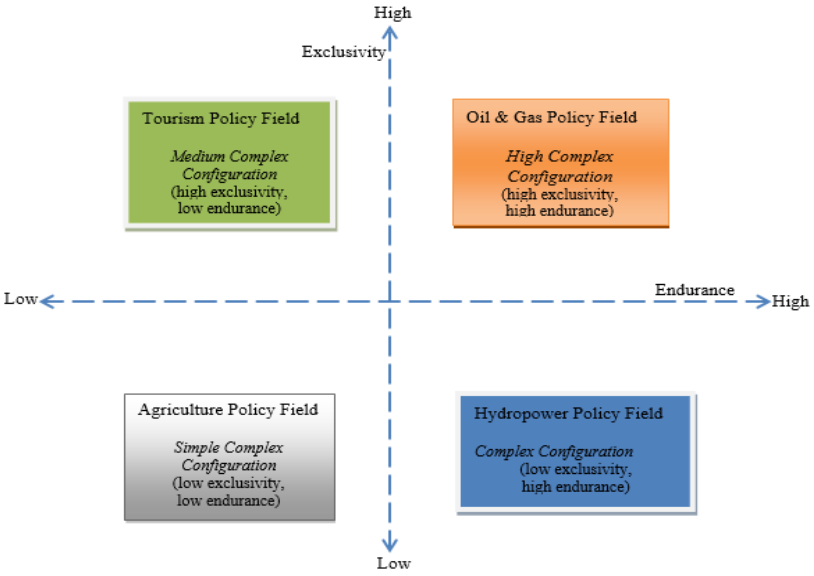
Such a field is associated with simple complexity because there is a low degree of exclusivity and low degree of endurance regarding the meaning of land use and land ownership, namely: agriculture where landuse could only be used for productive purpose, or commodity production. Any change within the field must only promote the *productionist discourse*, including land registration, or titling in public, or private land. The incidence of a low endurance is wrongly associated with low productivity, promoting land disputes that hinder the development land sales to increase commodity production. The co-existence of smallholder and the agribusiness companies, or corporation is discursively contested towards agro-industrial processing complex. Both the state and non-state actors privilege this field because it employs the majority of the population compared to other fields, but alsocalls for a mechanized farming to develop a strong commodity value chain.

Second, the medium complexity configuration relates to the tourism policy field. As mentioned earlier, it interacts with agriculture because both needs extensive land use, hence low degree of endurance in the two fields. A common project that is possible between these two fields is nature development which involves the practice of forming community wildlife associations and sport hunting. This is in line with Bourdieu's social space (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) where a field is shaped by semi-autonomous actors, interacting, transacting and creating the occurrence of events which are also shaped by habitus (i.e. the condition of the field) and capital that interact interdependently; hence, the two fields are interdependent, but depending on the actual condition in the field - land use and land ownership. Here, tourism – with an earlier possession of capital - takes advantage over agriculture, although some actors promote nature development. Hence, medium complexity relates to site struggles about borders and values in the field.

Third, the hydropower policy field is associated with *high complexity configuration*, defined as the extent of the degree of low exclusivity and high endurance. In this case, when tourism, agriculture and hydropower can interact in the force field, this will be divided as sub fields, but not equally labelled for every field. A field with economic capital will take advantage of the other. For example, the hydropower field will determine whatever will happen in the field of agriculture and tourism, and this has been observed in the construction of Karuma and Ayago hydropower dams within the Murchison Conservation Area. The tourism field will have to endure the existence of dam in the nearby future.

Fourth, the oil and gas policy field is associated with *very high complexity configuration*, defined as the extent of the degree of high exclusivity and high endurance. The oil and gas policy relates to the national development plans, fundamentally on the core of the socio-economic transformation given the timing of oil and gas discovery, and the economic contribution to the overall financing of the infrastructural and development in the country. This has changed the proximate fields of tourism and agriculture. The nature of land use and land ownership are very unstable, or subjected to change, and is becoming very difficult to understand. The figure below shows the complexity of interactions among the four policy fields.

Figure 6.2: The complexity of interactions among the four policy fields



The agricultural field occupies the lower left corner, where there is low endurance and low exclusivity. The activities of different actors in the proximate fields influence the existing land use and land ownership in the field. Thus, the field interactions with other policy fields constitute a simple complex configuration. The field endures change coming from other fields, and also accommodates other field policy interests. This constituteslow endurance and low exclusivity respectively. The tourism policy field occupies the upper left corner where conservation knowledge and values tend to exclude agriculture, oil and gas and hydropower policy fields. Here, it is placed under medium complex configuration of interactions with other fields. Hence, it has high exclusivity and low endurance. It only exhibits low endurance for nature development nature and conservation which are promoted together in the agriculture field. On the lower left, we find the hydropower field which has high endurance and low exclusivity in relation to other fields. Rather, it focuses on low exclusivity to provide public goods (electricity) to a wide range of policy fields. It seeks to compensate those in agriculture and tourism to give way for field establishment. It also complements the tourism field through technology tourism. For example, co-existing in the national parks and along the touristic areas means low exclusivity. Therefore, this is a high complexity configuration because of high endurance and low exclusivity. On the upper right corner is the oil and gas field which is associated with high exclusivity and high endurance. This field combines both medium and high complexity configuration. It receives lot of support from the IGUs which consider the field in both technical and economic terms.

6. 2 DISCUSSION

In this section, I discuss general and specific themes such as: the nature of dependence and interdependence of each policy field and their interactions (i.e. vertical and horizontal), integrating the concept of endurance and exclusivity into field theory, and the issue of capitalizing on land as a critical stance on interconnectedness across the four policy fields. In terms of the nature of dependence and interdependence of each field and their interactions, I argue that these four policy fields will not be equally interacting in the context of the existing social order, the Vision 2040. Instead, some fields will be more dominating than others. For example, the oil and gas field enjoys high exclusivity and endurance in the economy because of its access to the mineral rights of the state fields compared to agriculture and tourism which claim only the surface rights. This is because of the hierarchical governing put in place by the central government, but the state IGUs and the incumbent actors, the resources available to each field might not be same across the four policy fields. This is in line with Bourdieu's force field (2005: 148) that states that each field is not equally labelled. I uncover the interconnectedness between these fields as dynamic, and changing over time by discursive struggles in which the different social agents struggle for appropriation of land use and ownership, but only to be stabilized through hegemonic discourses in institutional practices. In these fields, the hegemonic discourses over time also become dynamic, and this leads to further complexities by changing the positions of social agents and in the floating meaning of land use and land ownership. This emerges and/or is replaced by new competing discourses. For example, the renewed interest in commercial farming and its productionist discourse and the resilient family farming in the agriculture field. Similarly, reintroduction of sport hunting as a horizontal interaction is being promoted through community wildlife association in the agriculture policy field and sustained under the hegemonic discourse of nature development. The oil and gas policy field has been stabilized through the discursive representation of the innovative/blessing discourses using hierarchical governance.

Not not all changes in these fields arise from the state and non-state actors who are interacting both vertically and horizontally. The aim is to understand the reproduction of unintended consequences of actors' enabling institutional practices (Weik 2015; 2019). I introduce the concept of endurance to understand the field much better by blending Berger and Luckmann's social construction (1984), Bourdieu's social field generative mechanism (1990) and Fligstein and McAdam's action field (2011, 2012). Field interactions across policy fields have been taken for granted by the state and non-state actors in land use and land ownership. Each policy field tends to endure other fields over time and continues to stabilize through discursive struggles which balance hegemonic discourses coming from the neighboring fields, thus, leading to new institutional practices. The field theory considers field actors' interactions, but not policy fields' interactions that can be explained better by field events and the endurance aspects of complex interactions. Bhaskar's generative mechanism (1986) produces social reality in these fields.

While I agree with the mainstream policy analysis that a policy problem which is unstructured can be 'tame', it might be too deterministic. Instead, policy analysis can be understood as 'manageable' when we integrate Kingdon's multiple stream framework (1984): problem stream, policy stream and political stream with field theory as well as critical discourse analysis with an added version of a comparative approach. Here, the problem stream, policy stream and political stream are linked up together in the policy fields. In the problem stream, discursive struggles play an important role in relation to the political stream (Fairclough 2013). As discussed in chapter 2, the problem stream constitutes wicked problems (Webber 19973) due to poverty and slow growth. To problematize the policy fields at meso level, I use 'super-wicked' (Levin et al. 2012) because it is difficult for the state field actors to manage effectively. For example, in the agriculture and tourism policy fields land use and land ownership is highly contested because of the multiple meanings assigned by the different state and non-state actors, thus, constituting a super-wicked problem that involves many collective action groups which may defy the capacity of state field actors to manage effectively.

Whereas Hoppe's policy problem (2002; 2018) and Roe's management challenges (2013) are very useful in understanding policy problem, I extend the policy problem into problem stream in the four policy fields along knowledge and value-based orientation which can be categorized further on these four dimensions of policy problems: structured problem (the extent of certainty knowledge and consensus), moderately structured/end/goal problem (high agreement on relevant values, but appropriate ends are not contested), moderately structured/mean problem (substantive agreement on certain knowledge, but intense disagreement about values at stakes and end to be pursued) and unstructured problem (both knowledge and values are highly contested). First, the agriculture field is a structured problem stream because of the existing hegemonic discourses of promoting smallholder farming progression to agro-industrial, or commercial farming. There is knowledge certainty and consensus on the relevance of smallholder and commercial farming.

Second, the tourism field is a moderately structured/end/goal policy stream because it has an agreement on the co-existence of nature development and nature conservation. The presence of discursive struggles has been less conflictual and has promoted the co-existence between the tourism and agriculture fields. Third, the hydropower field is a moderately structured/mean policy stream with substantive agreement on technical knowledge certainty, but intense disagreement about values at stake and ends to be pursued in the tourism field is discursively contested by ecologists/conservationists for the construction of additional hydropower plants inside protected areas. Fourth, the oil and gas field is an unstructured problem stream, and the field is embedded in contested knowledge and ethical values. Indeed, solving the problem is technically difficult, particularly in tourism and agriculture fields. The oil and gas policy field resonates with Rosenhead's metaphor of a swamp (1996) which defines the significance of the field rather than the tame

problem. As such, the significance of the field attract multiple actors, perspectives, conflicting interests, and perplexing uncertainty.

In the political stream, the four policy fields have to be transformed from negative hegemonic discourses that weaken private sector and infrastructural development. Here, language plays a further role in understanding the ongoing negotiation of meaning in land use and land ownership within the wider context in which the fields are embedded. The state field discourse is that all these fields contribute to push the country from a peasant economy to a middle income country on the basis of industrialization, infrastructural development, and improving social development indicators. It is in land ownership where discursive struggles emerge during the implementation of one policy which in turn will influence another field. Furthermore, these contested knowledge and values can be understood using a political stream that accommodates the culture of being critical in order to achieve a better socio-economic transformation. I question the complex interactions between the economy and the social and verse versa, the ethical (value) dilemmas regarding the activities of the state field actors who are concerned with the primacy of achieving growth and a competitive economy. In the political stream, the ethical considerations are at high stakes as government continues to procure huge investments across these fields which generates value dilemmas and conflictual interactions among two or more policy fields (Birkholm 2013).[4]

In addition, the policy stream relates to the *episteme* and *techne* in the production, implementation and interpretation. In order to show the choice of action taken in each policy field, I emphasize the relevance of *phronesis* in terms of reflexivity on competition (interest) and conflicting values. First, competition presents ethical dilemmas as each policy field is competing for their pie in land use and land ownership. For example, the tourism policy field is facing competition from the highly privileged oil and gas and hydropower policy fields in the Murchison Falls Conservation Area such as game viewing in the Delta area which is an 'ecological site' Ramsar Site. Second, there are incompatible environmental interests and values between the policy fields. The oil and gas and hydropower policy fields are driven by the core value of the economy or economic growth, and this differs significantly from the core value of nature preservation in the tourism policy field. Using science technology such as seismic survey during oil and gas exploration produces both intended and unintended consequences such as flaring and greenhouse emissions, production wells and oil blow out, and possibly increasing the incidence of human-wildlife conflict in the unknown future.

[4]Following the writing of Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics, ethical dilemmas can be categorized into five distinct intellectual virtues: episteme, techne, phronesis, nous and sofia. The *episteme* demonstrates the scientific truths, or seeking to prove the unchanging and the universal. *Techne* emphasizes the application of certain, acquired knowledge in the making of a designed piece of craft (or art).

Third, welfare value improvement is the core value of the state field actors who are driven by the economy discourse. That is, fundamental opportunities that must be exploited for the benefit of national development. The quest for the revenue is to trade off the negative consequences arising from compulsory land acquisitions, mitigation measures, infrastructural development, employment and development financing. Fourth, social mobility values which is the core value of state field actors and considered as a catalyst for socio-economic development (employment, raw materials, export and new investment). Fifth, business ethical values which is the core value of both domestic and IOCs who practice voluntary compliance to enviromental standards instead of regulatory compliance, and the intended consequences in the tourism policy field is believed to be offset through corporate social responsbility in the affected communities. Sixth, core community values concern issues of social justice in the areas of claims against land rights violation, compensation and resettlement, and impacts of oil and gas, and hydropower field on their historical/cultural values.

Moreover, the policy stream is seen on the basis of the available expert knowledge in hydropower and oil and gas which are shaped by the dominant hierarchical mode of governing between the state field actors (internal governing units) and investors in infrastructure (incumbents). In a field such as agriculture and tourism, the presence of hegemonic discourses have produced horizontal interactions between smallholder farmers and the agribusiness companies as well as nature development respectively. However, this is not the same for hydropower and oil and gas policy fields where discursive struggles have created a hierarchical governance in promoting an understanding in order to institutionalize the Vision 2040.

I argue that discourse as mechanism bridges the interactions in the four policy fields. Here, each of these fields capitalizes on land use and land ownership. I use the metaphor of capitalizing on land to denote the importance of land values to the different state and non-state actors. The concept of capitalization is used as a way to promote an understanding of the complex interactions between the different policy fields whose interests might be conflicting with one another, given the increasing values of land to the different actors. This is seen in the form of an increasing drive to codify land ownership as a precondition for the legibility of the different actors who occupy central positions in each of the four policy fields. Bourdieu's capital (2005) explains the importance of increasing land values to the different actors across the four policy fields. It further shows that economic capital determines all cultural field activities of actors, hence, the drive for titling as a precondition associated with legibility for the private sector investment in the different sectors. Furthermore, the notion of capitalizing on land depicts the long effort by both state and non-state actors to get some things out of land. The following presents a concluding section of the thesis.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS

This concluding section gives a brief summary of findings of the dissertation as a whole in answering the research questions presented in chapter 1. The central theme in this PhD thesis is about the interconnectedness across the four policy fields, referred to here as agriculture, oil and gas, hydropower and tourism. Each of these four policy fields have different groups of actors which are categorized as state field actors and non-state actors for the analytical purpose in relation to the dynamics of land use and land ownership. The dynamics of power relations in the four policy fields tend to be concentrated within state field actors to promote internal stability of institutional practices that incorporate the different interests of incumbents, IGUs and the challengers.

Land use and land ownership in the agricultural policy field are found to be represented discursively for the purpose of smallholding farmers and the big agribusiness companies, or plantation economy. The state field actors instituted a system of cadastral surveys to allow interested non-state actors to register their land ownership as *mailo*, freehold, leasehold and Crown land. The state field actors' agency was aimed at promoting commodity trade for both smallholder farming and the big plantation economy. The challenger group, that was, the poor peasants failed to register their interests under the four forms of land ownership found themselves yet in another new institutional arrangement of public land ownership that was put in place under a single IGU - the ULC that aimed at registering all lands in Uganda as leaseholds.

The discursive struggles over the need for multiple land ownership by the non-state actors changed the state field position on public land ownership through the 1995 constitution and the 1998 Land Act which restored the previous land ownership, while at the same time recognizing customary land ownership. That is, *mailo*, freehold, leasehold and customary land ownerships which are managed at the local level by the District Land Boards. It is also found that the discursive struggles between non-state actors create an innovative intervention that has brought legitimacy to the state field actors. The out-grower scheme emerged between agribusiness companies and local communities. In addition, the agriculture policy field competes for land use and land ownership of the tourism policy field during this period of socio-economic transformation.

The oil and gas field is represented discursively by the discourse of blessing and curse. This field is dominated by the state and non-state actors who are positioned discursively to follow the thinking that policy problems such as absence of political coalitions, persistent corruption, existence of weak institutions, ethno-politics, and the lack of transparency can be tamed or structured into the linear sequences of one activity leading to another. The state ability to raise revenue from the oil and gas sector is assumed to be followed by investment in social sectors. The hydropower

policy field showed much discursive struggle within the state field actors and the non-state actors in terms of the meaning of the concept of accountability with respect to local rights, water and ecology. The state field actors have got high stakes in promoting internal accountability at the expense of external accountability. In other words, the hydropower policy field makes a discursive representation of policy problems such as displacement, dislocation, exclusion and involuntary resettlement as tame problems that can be managed technically to displace the positions of the non-state actors in this field. The tame problem in this field has brought less conflict struggle internally in the field as well as the justification of hydropower projects as being manageable. The non-state actors only influence the state field during the time of financing hydropower projects in terms of minimum criteria such as consultation and participation before financial appraisals and approvals.

Similarly, the tourism policy field represents the discursive struggles between the nature development and nature development respectively. The state field has internal stability promoted by diverse institutional practices and the logic of preservation in nature conservation, although this logic of preservation has been highly contested over time by non-state actors. As a result, nature development was introduced as a way of maintaining the internal stability of the sector. It incorporated those in the agricultural policy field to see wildlife as property of the state while at the same time as a source of income and revenue to the land owners. In the policy fields of agriculture and tourism, the extent of discursive struggles is mainly dominated by the discourse of land ownership. These policy fields have closer discursive tensions within the non-state actors and seek the attention of the state field to restore institutional stability of the field. Both agriculture and tourism are associated with wicked problems because they are dominated by social processes, the multiplicity of meanings of land use and land ownerships. Furthermore, these policy fields have got many actors who are located outside the state field who promote the discourse of land rights and livelihoods of the communities.

In the four policy fields, what happens in one policy field influences interactions among the policy fields, and thereby glosses over to the other fields. It has been possible through an inter-disciplinary perspective to understand the complexities involved during this transition to middle income country. Each policy field needs to be interconnected to the social reality, that is, the context and the relations to the wider contexts. Language as an institution of social mechanism has been incorporated in the analysis and understanding of the four policy fields. It promotes the interconnectedness and the understanding of the complexity of relations of the four policy fields. Language as a social mechanism is relevant to policy studies in promoting interactions and understanding across the four policy fields.

This thesis contributes with comparative studies in a four policy fields' perspective. This involves dialogical shifts in meaning through negotiation and cooperation at meta-policy governance level. As mentioned earlier, little attention is given to show

how discourse can become structured in institutional arrangements that link language to structural dimension which is the main focus. The focus is that discourse formation in the four policy fields could be created by social agents through the governance networks without necessarily building any institutional arrangement, especially at macro level. For example, between the *state and IOCs and also the across the different departments of governments*. A dynamic network needs hegemonic discourses especially when it comes to the four policy fields that are dominant on the basis of the economy. This thesis recommends the institution of language as one aspect of policy studies in order to promote the interconnectedness and the understanding of complexities in the four policy fields. The role of language represented here as the discursive struggles is very useful in creating stability in a given policy field. The agency of the different actors is central to the argumentative turn in planning policy (Fischer and Forester 1993). This brings on board the role of communicative power in translating the potentials to an effective intervention, a strategy which has not been taken seriously into the planning of Uganda vision 2040.

Given the nature of the research questions and the methods taken, this thesis could not accommodate other aspects that could have been necessary to fully cover. As a way of overcoming the limitation that might be related to this thesis, further investigation is necessary to extend this kind of research challenges related to interconnectedness in policy fields from policy studies; i.e. the mechanism for thinking that reflects on policy studies in combination with CDA from a critical angle related to the current social order in Uganda, the Vision 2040. First, further research is needed on the participatory process that brings in the hearing of local voices in the local community in which the field is embedded such as the agriculture and tourism policy fields which by nature of the field demand more extensive land use and alteration of the existing property rights. Consequently, leading to intense discursive struggles and competition between the state and the non-state actors. Second, storytelling on the contribution on science and technological innovation in the oil and gas industry would add a wider perspective. This is associated with the increasing focus on corporate social responsibility claims of doing everything to pursue public interests, disguising their impacts on nature as storytelling organizations. Third, further research on accountability on the multi-agency level responses during the implementation of particular sectors in the Vision 2040 should be done, seeing that there is a silence regarding the current research trend that integrates the global public values from international development agencies as well as social movement to focus on how the implementation of Vision 2040 is restructuring the preexisting power relations with the local communities, the private sectors and the institutions of governing.

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APPENDIX A: OVERVIEW OF DATA SOURCES - TEXTS, TEXT PRODUCERS AND RELEVANCE

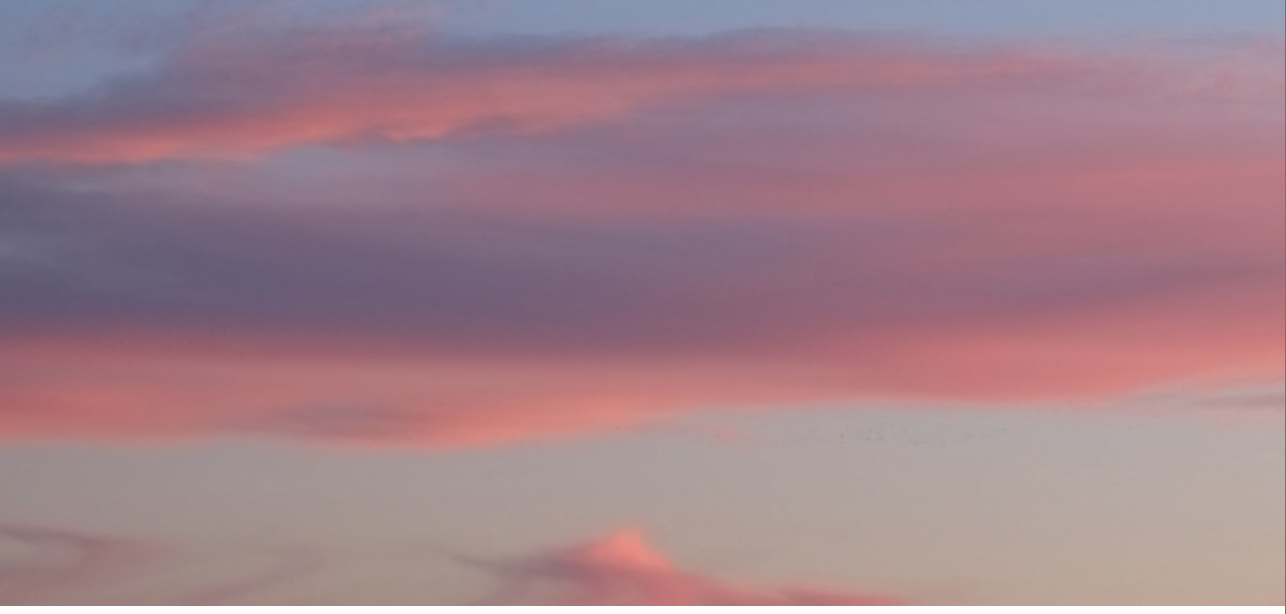
Producer(s)	Year	Texts and policy texts	Section of relevance	No. of pages
Article 1 **Olanya, D. R. (2014).** Asian Capitalism, Primitive Accumulation and the New Enclosures in Uganda. *African Identities*, 12 (1): 76-93.				
Uganda Protectorate	1934	Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa.	Land registration by foreign companies in freehold, Crown land leases.	N/A
International Bank for Reconsruction and Development	1962	Economic development of Uganda	Land use, land tenure, settlement and water development, foreign companies access to land for agricultural production.	475 pages
Becker, R and Madhvani N.J	1973	Yayant Madhvani	Industries, business history, industrial organization, merger and acquisitions. Joint ventures (public -private).	79 pages
Ahluwalia, D.P.S	1995	Politics of Sugar in Uganda	Sugar trade, foreign ownership, government policy, investments, plantation economy. Land Registration, cquisition and holding by types. Business History.	234 pages
World Rain Forest	2007	Fighting for Mbira Forest and the Final Success	Nature Reserve, sugarcane growing, biodiversity, tourism - cultural capital/values, job opportunity, tourism, community livelihood, social movement	N/A
MLHUD	2011	The Uganda National Land Policy. Final Draft	Land use and land ownership types. Land registration and changes in land tenure	61 pages
Nature Uganda	n.d	Say No to Mbira give Away	Forest's protection, enviromental values, sugarcane, sugarcane growing competing with tourism sector, social movement.	2 pages
Kakira Sugar Work	2012	Kakira Sugar	Sugar cane supply, sugar estate, out-grower scheme	N/A
Madhvani, M	2012	Amuru Sugar Work Will Bring Development to Northern Uganda	Marginal land, employment creation, out-grower scheme, livelihood, cooperation among the different parties, Kakira model.	N/A
GRAIN	2012	Land Deals	Land leases for food production by foreign companies and their governments. Agricbusiness companies and fiancial speculators.	62 pages
Friend of the Earth/National Assocation of Professional Environmental ists	2012	Land, Life and Justice: How Land Grabbing in Uganda	Public and communal lands, powerful corporate interests in carbon economy (REDD+), displacement through reforestation	20 pages
Article 2: Olanya, D. R. (2015). Will Uganda Succumb to Resource Curse? Critical Reflections. *Extractive Industry and Society,* 2:46-55.				
African Development Bank Group	2010	Domestic Resource Mobilizatiion for Poverty Reduscton in East Africa	Tax capability and corruption Tax evasion and arbitrary exception.	52 pages

Alert International	2009	Harnessing Oil for Peace and Development in Uganda.	Albertine region of Uganda, multiplicity of institutions, cultural institutions, ethnicity. History of marginalization, unregistered customary tenure.	92 pages
Gelb, A., Majerowicz, S.	2011	Oil for Uganda – or Ugandans? Can Cash Transfers Prevent Resource Curse?	Tax disputes between the government and Tullow Oil over Heritage assets transferred to Tullow Oil	28 pages
Global Witness	2010	Donor Engagement in Uganda's Oil and Gas Sector: An Agenda for Action.	Corruption, patronage, clientelism, political support and loyalty	28 pages
Inspectorate General of Government	2010	First Annual Report on Corruption Trends in Uganda. Using the Data Tracking Mechanism	Corruption, procurement, lack of supervision and issuance of false certificate.	102 pages
Mo Ibrahim Foundation	2012	Ibrahim Index of African Governnance	Overall governance performance: safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity, and human development.	N/A
Twinoburyo, E	2013	How much is Uganda's Oil Really Worth?	Recoverable oil, revenue, royalty, government share, African oil rich countries.	N/A
Uganda Land Alliance	2011	Land Grabbing and its Effects on the Communities in the Oil Rich Albertine Region of Uganda : The Case Study of Hoima, Buliisa and Amuru	Competing claims between UWA and Bunyoro Kingdom over oil field as a cultural property. The Kingdom accuses government to have taken most of the Kingdom's land into wildlife conservation, sugar plantation. Eviction without compensation. Access to resources and Livelihoods.	36 pages
National Planning Authority	2013	Uganda Vision 2040.	Per capita income, contribution by sectors, labor distribution by sectors, poverty, national development policy, infrastructural development, development indicators.	120 pages
Government of Uganda	2012	Petroleum Bill (now Petroleum Act, 2013)	Uganda National Oil Company, Petroleum Authority, local content development	142
Museveni, Y.K	2013	State of Nation Adress	Oil revenue for human capital development and infrastructural fund	N/A
Government of Uganda	2012	Public Finance Bill (Now Public Finance Act 2015)	State commercial interests, state participation, contract management and joint ventures, investments	143 pages
IOL	2006	Uganda Announces Oil Discovery	Policy orientation, oil and gas resources, poverty reduction, oil curse, oil blessing.	N/A
Article 3: Olanya, D. R. (2016). Dams, Water and Accountability in Uganda. In Sandstrom, E., Jagerskog, A., Oestigaard, T (Eds.). *Land and Hydro Politics in the Nile Basin*, pp. 150-165. Routledge and Earth Scan.				
British Embassy,	1949	Exchanges of	Hydroelectricity, joint cooperation	3

Cairo		Notes...regarding the construction of the Owen falls Dam, Uganda	in approval of plans, Uganda Electricity Board	pages
World Bank	1999	Environment Assessment, Operational Manual	Environment assessment, investments, consultation and participation of affected local community, accountability	4 pages
Linaweaver, S	2009	Catching the Boomerand: EM, the World Bank and Excessive Accountability: A case study of the Bujagali Falls Hydropower Project Uganda	1300 consultations were conducted with the interest groups, local leaders, cultural leaders for 7 years. Traditional Spirits Blocks a $ 550 Million Dam Plan in Uganda. Demand for cultural property management plan to avoid fall destruction. Social movement, international development agencies, borrowing country, accountability, hydropower construction, indigenous peoples: resettlement and environmental assessments	20 pages
Oestigaard, T.	2015	Dammed Divinities. The Water Powers at Bujagali Falls, Uganda	Accountability, local rights and ecology parameters, participation. Implementation of hydropower project	99 pages
World Commission on Dams	2000	Dams and Development	Dam types, sustainable infrastructure,	356 pages
Obbo, B	2013	Uganda's Dam Leave Affected People Behind	Social impact of displacement and resettlement. Devaluation of property right.	1 page
National Planning Authority	2013	Uganda Vision 2040.	National development policy, infrastructural development, industrialization	120 pages
Museveni, Y.K	2015	State of Nation Adress	Hydropower projects, large-scale farming projects, agro-processing industries. Run off dam technology	27 pages
Article 4: Olanya, D, R. et al. (Under Review). Capitalizing on Nature: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Nature Policy concerning the Murchison Falls Conservation Area of Uganda. Journal of Critical Policy Studies				
SPWFE	1904		Sport hunting, the introduction of gun law and the annual license for wildlife killing	293 pages
SPWFE	1905		Gun Tax was introduced to control firearms among the native population	N/A
SPWFE	1907		Opposed sport hunting and started to negotiate with government to establish nature reserves, laws, and legislations	93 pages
Uganda Protectorate	1935		Game (Preservation and Control) Ordinance created the Game Department in 1926 to promote tourism trade and native protection (protection crops)	55 pages
Uganda	1949		Elephants were described to be	77

Protectorate			everywhere, and dangerous. sport hunting was promoted in coordination with the local chiefs to resettle people who were evacuated from the sleeping sickness areas.	pages
Uganda Journal	1948	Extract from Mengo Notes	Changes in property rights from communal to Crown and then to Public land. Introduction of sport hunting in 1902 to replace native hunting parties	3 pages
Bere, R.M	1957	The National Park Idea: How to Interest the African Public	A park as an area placed under public control and a boundary clearly determined by competent legislative body for enjoyment as well as prohibition of hunting. It contribute to the preservation and to the national economy.	6 pages
Bindernagel, J.A	1968	*Game Cropping in Uga*nda.	Wildlife cropping and its contribution to the national coffer and the meat industry. It was used as mean to balance the ecological capacity of a park. The promoting of open-ranching.	200 pages
Wheater, R. J	1971	Problems of Control Fires in Uganda National Parks	Too much availability of elephants that destroy ecological systems. Human settlement predating park areas. Poaching encouraging wildfire in protected areas.	17 pages
Game Department	1971	Annual Report	Wildlife as economic capital that contribute to socio-economic development. Utilizing game through hunting to keep the animal population in balance with their habitats.	2 pages
Game Department	1972	Annual Report	Poachers were operating in large groups wounding wildlife and the general population as well, including staff of the park	N/A
Game Department	1973	Annual Report	The challenges of poaching to the park authority. The contradiction between protection of wildlife and at the same time the demand to allocate land to agriculture. Game cropping and tourism	N/A
Game Department	1979	Annual Report	Government banned tourism trade in 1973 and sport hunting in 1979	N/A
Corson, J and Kux, M	1982	MAB Draft Environmental Profile - Uganda	Hunting parties outlawed in 1902. Introduction of Game Ordinance in 1906 which prohibited the use of spears, pitfalls, and bushfire.	N/A
Koerner, T., de Raadt, P. and	1995	The 1901 Sleeping Sickness Epidemic	Government Declared 13,000 Square kilometer on both sides of	2 pages

Maudlin, I		Revisited: A Case of Mistaken Identity.	Victoria Nile between 1907-1912 as 'sleeping sickness restricted areas'	
Wilhelmi, F	1999	The Murchison Falls Conservation Area Review of the first management plan (1992-1997).	Investment in nature to restore its productive units through initial capital finance	N/A
UWA	2003	Concept Paper for the Management of East Madi Wildlife Reserve	Revenue sharing, tripartite agreement, wildlife as property of government.	N/A
UWA	2006	Guidelines for Collaborative Management of Wildlife between Uganda Wildlife Authority and Local Government	The creation of local committee - Park Management Advisory Committee and later the community protected area institutions in collaboration with civil society organization	N/A
World Bank	2011	Protected Areas Management and Sustainable Use Project	Sustainable tourism, trade, education, environment and natural resources, financial support and boundary demarcation. Communities as beneficiaries from economic activities arising from tourism.	78 pages
Kyomukawa,	n.d	Sustainable Conservation	The integration of ex-poachers into community wildlife scouts, and developing project proposals on livelihoods.	N/A
Travers, H.,G. et al.	2017	Taking Action Against Wildlife Crime	Household poverty is longer a significant cause of poaching. People involve in poaching are better off - having access to capital, time and equipments	77 pages
Interview 1	2017	Former Legislature (Nwoya County) and chairperson, Uganda Tourism Board	Decentralization of the former public land to district council	N/A
Interview 2	2017	Former chairperson, PMAC	Local voices represented with community wildlife scouts. Peer education on behavioral change. Alternative livelihood through revenue sharing. Crop destruction. ex-poachers. Distance hunting gangs	N/A
Interview 3	2017	Focus Group Discussion Interviews	Electrical fences. Trenches. Revenue. Community Vigilant groups. Training. Buffer zone crops.	N/A
Interview 4	2017	Focus Group Discussion Interviews	Hunting parties. Evacuation. Resettlement. Protest	N/A



SUMMARY

The potential of land capitalization and negotiation of policy highlights the space where language and discourse are mapped and ascribed as the power of governing both as discursively constructed and hierarchically governed in the extractive industries. This remains the central policy problem for achieving the social order in a late capitalist economy like Uganda. The point of tensions are the complexities which have to be identified as the missing link in public policy in terms of the interconnectedness that has so far been taken for granted by the state and non-state field actors in the unsettled social complex system. The introduction of policy fields is one way of promoting critical stance in the field of policy studies to explain and interpret the complexity that characterizes the use and possession of land in the four policy areas in Uganda: agriculture, oil and gas, hydropower and tourism through the practice of negotiating resources of great importance to the current social order, the Vision 2040. Each policy field has a porous boundary which endures human actors to interact within and in other proximate fields. This thesis applies field theory to policy studies (i.e. critical policy discourse analysis) through comparative approach across the four policy fields to identify discursive struggles and hegemonic institutional practices from an inter-disciplinary perspective.

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