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“You are a widow and you will die, so why should you plant trees?”

- Intersectionality in local development activities in connection with a carbon forestry plantation in Kachung, Uganda

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Department of Urban and Rural Development
Master’s Thesis • 30 HEC
Agriculture Programme – Rural Development
Uppsala 2016

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Credits: 30 HEC

Level: Second cycle, A2E

Course title: Master’s thesis in Rural Development and Natural Resource Management

Course code: EX0777

Programme/Education: Agriculture Programme – Rural Development

Place of publication: Uppsala

Year of publication: 2016

Cover picture: Seedlings at the Green Resources nursery in Kachung

Online publication: http://stud.epsilon.slu.se

Keywords: gender, intersectionality, poverty, climate change, CDM, Uganda

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We are one people,
Our beauty knows no bounds.
We are one people,
Proud of our lineage and history.
We are one people,
We take our place in the circle of life.
We are one people created with desire
Higher than the calling many of us have accepted
We are one people,
Strong and rooted in the earth.
We are one people,
We cherish the very lives that we live.
We are one people,
Destiny is our life force.
We are one people,
Never to be broken, our spirits are our lives.

- Margaret Aduto

Acknowledgments

I’m extremely grateful to all the informants in Akwarere and Ojem in Dokolo district in Uganda. Without your helpfulness and hearty hospitality, this thesis would have been impossible.

I want to thank staff at the Dokolo District Office who helped me to reach the villages. I also want to thank staff at the Green Resources nursery who, both during and after field work, answered my questions. Three important people in the work on this thesis were our interpreters Lorna and Allan, and our driver Emmanuel. Thank you for helping us and I’m grateful for having you as new friends.

I want to thank my friend and student colleague Tove Ellingsen, who has been a support from beginning to the end of the thesis process. I also want to thanks my supervisor Flora Hajdu, for her supportive and calming help. Thank you also David Tumusiime for welcoming us to Kampala as our field supervisor.

Finally, I want to thank my family and friends for their support, and especially my love Robert. You have supported me during the whole process, always with a positive mood. Thank you!

Abstract

Carbon forestry plantations are a way to achieve statutory global emissions reductions and are also claimed to decrease deforestation. Carbon forestry is not a new system, but has greatly increased in use in recent decades. One such afforestation project, owned by a Norwegian company, is located in northern Uganda. Villages close to this plantation have been affected in different ways. The plantation is part of a local context occupied by different individuals belonging to different social categories. In the villages, various local activities are arranged by the plantation company, many in connection with tree resources, such as seedling distribution to the communities. The goal is poverty reduction in the area, but the stakeholders intended to benefit from these activities are not clearly defined.

Through ethnographic fieldwork carried out January-March 2016, this thesis examined exclusion or inclusion of villagers in the seedling distribution system. Using a participatory approach, villagers themselves articulated the social categories existing in the village. The social categories investigated were poverty and gender, which are commonly studied in the world of development policies. The theoretical concept of intersectionality was used to analyse villagers' experiences of belonging to different social categories; how these categories differed and sometimes contradicted how individuals positioned themselves; and events at the intersections between social categories.

The results showed that gender and poverty are not homogeneous social categories, but that each contains different individuals with differing backgrounds and needs. Scrutiny of how the social categories intersected with each other in the study area indicated groups, e.g. women and the poor, that were more or less excluded from the process of seedling distribution. The intersectionality lens revealed that some individual women and poor villagers were even more excluded from seedling distribution than others within those groups. When organising local development activities in villages around carbon forestry plantation, it is thus important to analyse the different social categories in the village, since a single, inflexible approach risks excluding those who really need support.

Keywords: gender, class, intersectionality, poverty, climate change, CDM, Uganda

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1 Introduction

The challenges of climate change and sustainable development have been at the top of the political agenda for the past few decades. Through the Kyoto Protocol of 1997, the majority of developed countries have committed to targeted emissions reductions. The Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) is part of the carbon market through which rich countries can buy emissions reduction quotas generated in poorer countries. The CDM projects are also intended to promote sustainable development in the host countries, which is presented as a win-win solution for countries in the global North and South. There are a variety of different CDM projects around the world. In Kachung in northern Uganda, there is one such project that has the aim of sequestering carbon in the form of forest plantation. This plantation represents an "afforestation/reforestation" project, which in practice means planting trees where there were none before. The local context discussed in this thesis is Dokolo district, Uganda, within which lies the Kachung Forest Reserve that today hosts a carbon forestry plantation, owned by a Norwegian company named Green Resources (GR) (Lyons & Westoby, 2014). Around the plantation there are many villages. In the course of this work, I visited two of these villages where various activities have been introduced in order to decrease deforestation and reduce climate change by planting trees. For the Kachung project, one stated important aim is to reduce poverty in areas around the plantation. This is designed to be achieved by organising local development activities, such as distributing tree seedlings to the villagers. However, the role of forestry in contributing to sustainable livelihoods and poverty alleviation has been highly debated (Scoones, 2015).

The distribution of (pine) seedlings in the villages is driven by the GR forestry company and is based on a "one-size-fits-all" approach. However, people in the villages are living under different conditions, in different social categories, which leads to varying outcomes from their encounters with local development activities. The components of social categories are often intertwined with each other and therefore cannot be investigated separately. In this thesis, using intersectionality as a framework in different ways, I investigated the social categories of poverty and gender and how these intersect with each other. The local development activities organised by GR do not take the diversity of villagers into account, which excludes individuals from the activities. I examined the case of individuals who are both poor and female, who constitute a social group that is less able to benefit from provision of seedlings as a local development activity. The process relating to seedling distribution is surrounded by different factors, such as access to information, access to land and attitudes, that result in people from different categories being included or excluded from the activity. I examined whether this diversity in social categories affected the possibilities for poor, female individuals to receive seedlings. By looking *within* and *between* the different social categories, I sought to build a picture of a more inclusive system regarding local development activities.

This thesis forms part of a research project at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences.

1.1 Aim and research questions

The overall aim of this thesis was to investigate villagers' and individuals' own perceptions of the categories of poverty and gender, in order to understand how different social categories affect possibilities to access the benefits from carbon forestry plantation.

The research questions investigated were:

How is poverty defined by the villagers'?

What poverty categories do the villagers see and are these heterogeneous?

How is heterogeneity articulated by "women"?

Which different factors affect women´s and poor people´s access to seedlings?

2 Methodology and method

The thesis is based on a qualitative field study I conducted in Uganda between 23 January and 10 March 2016, together with another student from the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (Tove Ellingsen). We had two different approaches and inputs for our research, but used the same methods. We organised the community mapping and wealth ranking together, but conducted interviews separately. Since we spent a lot of time in the villages, we also held informal conversations with the villagers. In addition, we had a meeting with GR, which was represented by six field office staff. Few people in the villages were employed by GR. However, a majority of the informants had experiences, both positive and negative, in connection with the plantation.

Prior to the interviews and community and wealth mapping, I explained where I came from, my degree, the university and the research subject. During all activities, I assured the informants that their names would not be included in the thesis and that full anonymity would be applied. By using mixed methods (community mapping, wealth ranking and interviews) I gathered empirical material from a household perspective, informed by the participants on wealth ranking, and also from individual perspectives, through personal interviews and focus group interviews.

2.1 Selection of subject, informants and place

I chose to focus on how different social categories in the villages intersected with each other and how that affected their possibilities to be included or excluded from the process of seedling distribution. The two most important cross-cutting axes I included in the analysis were poverty and gender. Ethnicity was not included, because all the respondents were of the same ethnic background (Lango tribe). Since informants did not always know their exact age, I had to estimate it in some cases with the help of the interpreter. Many of the informants were older, the majority being in the middle-aged or old category, which was 30-60 years old.

An important role in people's lives is access to land, which is a gendered question. During the field work, informants expressed different opinions about access, ownership and control of land that were connected to gender and poverty level. As access to land is one criterion for planting pine seedlings, it is an important topic to analyse from the perspective of women's and poor people's access to land. Hence, the main focus in this thesis was on women and people categorised as poor. Choosing women does not mean excluding men, as both women and men are included in the social categories of gender and poverty. However, since the group of women and the subgroups within that category expressed exclusion regarding seedling distribution, the focus came to be on women.

The field work was conducted in two different villages. The names of these villages and the informants' identities are kept anonymous through coding with fictitious names, which is common in research (Robson, 2011). Thus hereafter in the thesis the two

villages are referred to by the fictive names Arwakere and Ojem. When presenting the informants, English names are used, based on alphabetical order.

My student colleague and I wanted to find two villages with both positive and negative experiences and different knowledge about the carbon forestry plantation, in order to get a broader picture of the context. Since the GR field office in Kachung is a central location for activities (for example, collecting seedlings and employment), I also wanted to find villages at different distances from the GR field office.

The process of finding the villages took about one week. First, we went to the District Office and the two sub-county offices to introduce ourselves and to obtain a letter of introduction to give to LC1 in the villages. In each village there is a chairman of the local council, also called the LC1. This person, usually a man, acts as the smallest unit of governance at the village level. We visited seven different villages and organised informal meetings to discuss the villagers' experience of the plantation. Before the meetings, we established three different criteria to guide our village selection process:

- Positive and negative experiences of the plantation
- A village with both female-headed households and male-headed households
- Two villages with different geographical positions (different distance to the highway and the office at the plantation)

As my colleague and I wanted to work together in the same villages, it was important that the criteria fitted both of our research processes. When identifying informants, I used the map for finding different poverty categories, as is further discussed in the next section. I had a good relationship with the LC1s in the two villages. Both were important key informants (Bernard, 2011), since they understand the information I needed and were glad to provide it or obtain it for me.

2.2 Participatory mapping and ranking

In both villages, participatory mapping was performed as a group activity. Participatory methods are useful in gaining access to people's perceptions and experiences of their own situation and context (Jacobson, 2013), but also to engage the communities about the research. The LC1 of each village made an announcement during a church service to inform about our community mapping meeting. We had planned that the mapping and wealth ranking activity would take the whole afternoon. One Sunday we had our first activity in the trading centre in the village of Arwakere. Villagers drew a map of the village, with the aid of the interpreter, and indicated all the households. It was mainly one person who held the pencils in different colours and the rest of the participants pointed out their opinions of what should be included in the map. These items included farm land, wetlands, churches, schools, health centres, distance to the highway, woodlots and trade centres. At the end of the mapping process, households headed by a female were also marked with a colour. A female-headed household was defined by the villagers as a household where a woman lived alone or with children, usually as a

widow. They did not report any household where a man lived alone without a wife. In retrospect, I should have asked clearly about that type of household.

However, the mapping activity in Arwakere was not without complications, as some of the questions were considered personal and upsetting, due to the fact that the land issue is an emotional topic in the village. Many people have lost their land in connection with the plantation project, so villagers were initially suspicious about us. It was mainly one person who spread a rumour about us during the mapping activity. Even though we presented ourselves as students to the villagers, they initially thought that we were from GR or from the Ugandan government. However, everything was resolved after we described our aim and ourselves again. The negative attitude was not standard behaviour by the informants during the research process. In Ojem, the informants seemed more familiar with research process and it might have been easier for them to understand that we were students. The mapping activity went well in Ojem and there were no antagonistic feelings.

Figure 1. Community mapping in action.

One key focus of the study was to identify the definition of poverty by the villagers themselves, based on the knowledge that rural communities are heterogeneous (Carter & May, 1999). There are many different approaches to the identification of poverty, which makes it clear that there is no unique or objective way of defining poverty. (lderisch *et al*., 2003). One of these approaches is wealth ranking, which aims to allow the people themselves to articulate what poverty is for them (Chambers, 1994a, 1997). The method is widely used in participatory research and modifications have been made. We planned the wealth ranking activity with inspiration from Jacobson (2013:77-78) in a way that was more locally practical.

Because of the antagonism in Arwakere, we decided to carry out the wealth ranking with the LC1 on the day after the mapping activity. In each village, three categories were agreed upon between the interpreter and the participants/participant: poor, middle and rich. Two of several questions that we asked the participants concerned who was better off, and why, which developed a discussion. Usually, one person at a time stated an opinion regarding the different categories and the others listened, and then someone else offered their opinion. Using the community map, the participants marked dots on each household as they talked about their village and different poverty levels. Poor households were marked with one dot, middle with two dots and rich with three dots. The same procedure was performed with the LC1 in Arwakere. The process went well and there was no misunderstanding between us and the participants, or between individuals who joined in the activity. However, the whole village did not join in the mapping but rather just a few of the villagers, mostly men, which could have affected the results. An important part of the mapping and the ranking activity was to observe the process and who and how the participants were active in different ways. I observed differences between women and men at this stage, mainly during the activity. Women tended to sit in the background on banana leaves, while the men were active around the table. The following notes were taken during our first village mapping activity:

We arrived at Ojem around 11 am. We had already talked with the chairman to mobilise people for our community mapping and wealth ranking. When we arrived, just a few men had shown up, but there was no surprise. The chairman told us that this was normal because people had just arrived back from the field. After a while, people started to arrive and were curious about our presence. It was the first time we met the people.

Both women and men were represented in the meeting. Men greeted us with a handshake and the women genuflected while they greeted us. The women sat down together on banana leaves in the background, while the men sat down on chairs around a table where the mapping was organised. We presented ourselves and described the activity. The women sat in the background and talked, while the men were active in the mapping and the ranking. We recorded who was more active than others, which was a useful observation.

It was problematic that the women did not join the mapping or ranking activity. In Arwakere, there was one woman who at least expressed a view once. My colleague and I tried to include the women in the ranking, but were unsuccessful. As those who participated and spoke were only men, the voice of the women and of other groups in the society was not included. The challenge in participatory methods is to identify people who are not empowered and include them in the process (Chambers, 1994b). This was a weakness in the present research, as the results from the wealth ranking and mapping may represent just one perspective from the group of males in the villages. In retrospect, we should have organised several wealth ranking activities with women and men separately (Gillham, 2000; Bernard, 2011).

However, comparing the results from the wealth ranking activities in both villages against the material obtained in individual interviews revealed a correlation between the

data. By asking the informants about wealth during interviews and discussing with the interpreter, we confirmed the overall validity of the results.

2.3 Interviews

The field study included different types of interviews, e.g. informal interviews as part of the observation process, semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews. The semi-structured interviews were organised as a set of guiding questions which were developed in advance based on research issues (Bryman, 2012). The order of the questions was mostly followed, though they were open in the sense that follow-up questions were posed when answers needed further clarification (Kvale, 2007). In all, 36 interviews were conducted with villagers and the LC1s from the two villages. At the end of the field study we conducted one interview with GR, the forestry company. During that interview, six representatives from the field office participated.

The purpose of the semi-structured interviews in the villages was to examine people's own description of wealth, how they obtained their livelihoods and their experiences of the plantation project. Selection of these households was made based on results from the community mapping and wealth ranking. The aim was to interview informants from the three wealth groups and both from female- and male-headed households.

The adult in the household who had the overall responsibility was interviewed in each household. On two occasions a husband and wife joined the interview. The interviews were recorded on mobile phones and the informants were always asked if they agreed to be recorded before the interview started. There was a great difference between the informants, as some were less talkative while others were not comfortable about expressing personal views. I realised quite quickly that it was not easy to hold a discussion, since the majority of the informants appeared to want clear questions to answer. The interview guide was therefore reorganised a couple of times.

Focus group methodology was applied on six occasions, three in each village. Focus group interviews involve informal discussions among a group of 6-8 selected individuals. By creating focus groups with participants from similar social categories, the goal was to avoid dominant people governing the discussion (Bernard, 2011). Hence, the focus group interviews were performed separately with women and men and with people from the different poverty categories. The interpreter was the moderator, which felt natural since they knew the language and the culture. However, while we emphasised that the aim of the focus group work was for the participants to discuss issues, there was little discussion. The sessions ended up, more or less, as interviews with 6-8 people. Therefore, we focused more on the individual interviews since the focus group did not produce the desired result of a group interaction between members of a poverty category. However, the focus group interviews still contributed to the material with different perspectives on the questions and non-verbal communication between the participants, for example who was verbally active and who was not (McLafferty, 2004).

2.4 Observations and field notes

We commuted from the nearby town of Lira to the field sites on 4-5 days a week during the six-week study period. Each trip to and from Lira was important for me, since it gave me the chance to get some perspective on my field work. I also saw patterns and differences between people's lives in town and in rural areas, which contributed to relevant reflections. For example, there were differences in clothes and transport equipment. Since Lira is an important place for business in the area, even for some informants in the field, it was a good experience to stay there. However, since I did not spend time with the villagers during the evenings, I probably missed observations that could have been of value for my research.

We recorded observations during all activities that we joined: during interviews, church ceremonies on Sundays and meetings, while I was accompanying women in their agricultural work and when we joined a celebration for sisterhood (Figure 2).

Figure 2. A sisterhood celebration. Gifts such as goats, pots, brushes and food are given. Pine plantation in the background.

A sisterhood celebration is arranged when a friend of a woman in the village comes for a visit. The visiting friend brings her sisters (friends) and the women eat, pray and dance together. The guests bring gifts such as goats, brushes, clay pots, food and other items of value. Observation of the ceremony provided a picture of which assets are valuable for the women, since according to the informants, gifts are the most precious items you usually have.

After the interviews, we gave gifts (salt and soap) to the informants, which was very popular amongst the informants and they wanted to give us gifts as well. Some had the possibility to give us a hen, and others brought some tamarind fruit from the wild

tamarind tree near their household. This was an observation that formed part of my analysis. We had the possibility to explore the field and see, taste, touch, hear and smell everything around us, which is an important part of observational research (Kaijser & Öhlander, 1999).

2.5 Limitations faced during field work

The research was based on an ethnographic approach, where I wanted to understand the people's everyday life, and this brought advantages and disadvantages for the study. During the field work, social standards in the local context did not apply to me (Ryen, 2004). Being an ethnic and cultural outsider presented both advantages and disadvantages for the study; I arrived in the field with an external perspective, which helped me to notice things that someone from within the culture might not have noticed, but it also increased the risk of misunderstandings (Bernard, 2011). When performing the research, I needed to analyse myself from the local context and reflect on my own standpoint and social location. Some previous research has failed to recognise the importance of acknowledging e.g. the effects of local power relations or the effects of the researcher's own background (Kapoor, 2002; Pain, 2004). My political and cultural context differed in many ways from that of the informants, and this affected my choice of subject and what I deduced from the empirical results. While I stayed in the field during the whole day, I went back to Lira at night, which made it impossible for me to fully experience the local culture. It is also important to be aware of the West's geopolitical advantages over countries like Uganda. This might lead local people to behave as if they accept our behavior and actions as outsiders, rather than because our actions really are accepted. Seeing through this is thus important for fully understanding the local context (Jackson, 2011). That 'outsiders' views are not refuted locally does not mean that the ideas are accepted as truths. (*ibid*.). During the research, I always reflected on my own background and was critical of my own reflections.

Villagers were used to meet people from agencies (such as non-government organisations, NGOs) and other institutions. Hence, we needed to be very clear that we were students and could not directly help them with assets etc. However, it is important to remember that the interviewer and the informant may have different aims for an arrangement such as interviews.

Another aspect which affected the research both positively and negatively was the season in which we did the field work. It was during the dry season, when women's working day in the field starts early (6 am) and ends around 10-11 am because of the heat. This made it easy for me to find the women for interview, as they were usually back home after working in the morning. The dry season is also a time when people do not have very much to do on the farm, except wait for the rains to begin. The soil was hard as stone, since it had not rained since the beginning of December, which made their work difficult. However, the dry season also brings the "drink season". I sometimes found it difficult to judge whether the informant had been drinking alcohol or not, which was a part of the ethical perspective in the research.

Another limitation is the question of time span. I spent less time in the field than ethnographic work often demands, although there are examples of shorter ethnographic field work (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). I spent a total of six weeks in the field, all of which were during the dry season. A longer period of visiting the villages would probably have resulted in more valid interpretations. Hence, it should be borne in mind that the field observations were made under a short period of time, which made it difficult to identify long-term patterns.

Lastly, I would like to mention the language barriers. I did not speak the local language, which created a barrier between me and the informants. Still, I learned some opening greeting and farewells in the local language, which led to some hearty laughs from the informants. I also tried to learn all the informants' names. Without the interpreter, the research would have been impossible to complete.

2.6 Working with an interpreter

In Uganda, there are around 30 languages; in Dokolo district they speak Lwo. Only a few of the informants knew English, and therefore it was the interpreter who made the whole research process possible. In our case the interpreter also knew the community from previous interpretation work with other Swedish researchers, and helped us to understand the cultural differences. Working with an interpreter brings risks, such as them misunderstanding what the informants are telling us or failing to translate everything. Translating from Lwo to English may also have changed the meaning, which could affect the empirical material (Ryen, 2003). By showing our research questions and starting the field work with a pilot interview, we tested our questions, which reduced the risk of misunderstanding between the researcher and the interpreter (*ibid.*)

My relationship with the interpreter worked out well. During informal discussions, and even after and before interviews, the informants had discussions and small-talk with the interpreter. Even though I asked the interpreters to translate as much as possible and describe the value of small-talk and informal discussions, they often forgot to include that in their translation.

2.7 Analysing the empirical material

During my field study, I gathered a lot of material: handwritten notes from my field work, a field diary, transcribed interviews, observations and pictures. This material played an important role for the research, since it helped me to remember the empirical data, experiences and feelings. On the way back to Lira, I went through my notes and rewrote them on the computer. Both during field work and when commuting, I also questioned my reflections and the patterns that I saw.

Based on the material collected during wealth ranking, informants for interviews were chosen. The focus was to find informants from different wealth groups and different

sexes. Table 1 shows how the interviews were distributed in different categories. Since women didn't participated in the same amount as men during wealth ranking, I interviewed more women then men. The interviews with both women and men provided information on the diversity and complexity of categorisation of individuals, and the diversity in the group of women. To understand the social relationship, mainly between women, I joined meetings with the groups but also during domestic work when women gathered. This gave me an insight into *how* the women cooperated with each other and *where* the women performed decision making

Table 1. The distribution of interviews in different categories.

Gender	**Man in MHH**	**Women in MHH**	**Women in FHH**
Wealth group/			
Rich	3	2	0
Middle	5	4	3
Poor	6	6	7

After gathering the empirical material, I listened carefully once again to all interviews and wrote down the interpreted responses. I then created a list of *repeating idea*s based on informant's experiences (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). I organised these ideas into larger groups that expressed a common theme: for example, *heterogeneity in poverty categories* or *access to information regarding seedlings.* With the help of a theoretical framework taken from the literature, I started to theorise in a new and creative way. At the end of the presentation of findings there is a section with the heading *Intersectional analysis of constraints to accessing seedlings* (section 5.4). That section is dependent on what was revealed by analysis of the rest of the findings.

Regarding validity, reliability and generalisation I asked myself: Have I measured what I intended to measure? Are my results reliable? Is generalisation of the results possible? (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2009:278). The findings are based on informants' experiences, but by giving a credible picture of their stories I created a reliable account. As a researcher, I needed to be conscious about the reflexivity in the meeting with the informants. The boundary between subject and object is dissolved in meetings with people, which prompted me to question myself and the culture I come from (Ehn & Klein, 2007).

3. Theoretical framework

In this thesis, I used intersectionality as a framework for analysing different social categories and how they intersect with each other. This chapter examines in depth the literature regarding intersectionality. Social categories that are highlighted in this thesis (gender and poverty level) are represented and the homogeneity of these social categories is questioned.

3.1 Intersectionality

During recent decades, gender studies have moved away from a focus on gender as a dichotomous category to reconsideration of differences between women. From the identification of differences, a new framework has appeared, namely that of intersectionality (Ludvig, 2006). Intersectionality focuses on the process between the different social categories in which power relations are constructed (Lykke, 2005) and underlines that these intersect with each other (Ludvig, 2006). Categories such as gender, class, ethnicity and other relevant categories assume the perspective of having equal importance and the notion that one category can be primary is rejected (Hancock, 2007). Different social categories demonstrate the existence of "axes of difference" that cannot be separated, rather than creating an exhaustive list. Intersectionality is built on an image of a crossroads, which provides a picture of how differences intersect with a specific practice or location.

Historically, the term intersectionality was coined by Crenshaw (1989) in research about violence against women of colour. Race, class and gender as a trilogy of discrimination were the basis of her research. Crenshaw articulated the multidimensional experiences of black women and the fact that intersectional experiences are greater than the sum of racism and sexism. Failure to reflect on the interaction between different categories means that those suffering under multi-dimensional repressions end up being excluded. Hence, intersectionality as an analytical approach is essential to understand why and how black women are subordinated in many contexts (Crenshaw, 1993).

Intersectionality is based on the idea that groups are not homogeneous, but contain a constantly changing diversity within, for example the group of "women", as there are differences between each individual member (Ludvig, 2006; Hancock, 2007). Crenshaw stressed that "ignoring differences *within* groups contributes to tension *among* groups" (1993:1242) and argued the importance of investigating the intersections both *between* and *within* categories. However, there is no way for a person to be wholly in any of these categories (class, gender, race etc.) (Haraway, 1988). Other scholars view categories as misleading and as ignoring the diversity and heterogeneity of experiences. McCall explains that "the standard groups are homogenized as a point of contrast, the social group that is the subject of analysis is presented in its detail and complexity, even though in the end some generalizations about the groups must be made" (2005:1783).

Since Crenshaw formulated the term intersectionality, the concept has been elaborated upon in different ways. McCall's theoretical reflection upon intersectionality is represented in three different approaches; *anti-categorical* complexity, *intra-categorical* complexity and *inter-categorical* complexity. All three approaches are defined by their positioning towards categories. The first approach, *anti-categorical*, is based on a methodology that deconstructs categories and was born in the 1980s, when analytical categories were simultaneously launched as valid. The anti-categorical approach has more or less a mission to deconstruct normative categories that do not fit in the social reality (McCall, 2005; Gressgård, 2008). The *intracategorical approach*, sometimes associated with the *anticategorical approach*, does not reject categories fully as in the anti-categorical approach. Instead, categories are used to define the subject of analysis and the structural dynamics present in the lives of the subjects. The objective is to make visible group dynamics that are invisible when viewing a group as homogeneous. The last approach, *intercategorical complexity*, is based on the fact that there is a relationship of inequality between existing social groups. By using this approach, researchers can treat gender and poverty levels as "anchor" points, but still be aware of the points as not static. According to McCall (2005:1785), "the concern is with the nature of the relationships among social groups and, importantly, how they are changing, rather than with the definition or representation per se".

In this thesis, I investigated the findings using *intercategorical* and *intracategorical approaches*. Intracategorical approach was used when investigating the heterogeneity within the categories of "poor" and "women". The intercateogircal approach was used when I investigated how the categories intersect, for example for individuals who fit in both categories. Categories are used as anchors because the informants articulated categories which formed my research process. I used these different categories to look at how they interacted in shaping subjective experiences and articulating the dynamics that subjects experience, in order to see whether they governed access to resources and options regarding seedling distribution in the specific case example. Since the findings were intended to develop and inspire the process toward a more equitable and inclusive approach regarding seedling distribution, an *anticategorical* approach could not be the main framework for analysis because of problems in achieving political change (McCall, 2005). However, the intersectional analyses did not wholly ignore the *anticategorical* approach, as it is an important part of the development of intersectionality as a theory where categories are questioned.

However, intersectionality has been criticised because of the confusion concerning what the concept actually means and how to apply it in research. Discussions have been raised about whether intersectionality should be conceptual of crossroads, axis differences or as a dynamic process (Davis, 2008). Ironically, feminist scholars today would still all agree that intersectionality is essential for feminist theory (*ibid*.). However, there are weaknesses of intersectionality in empirical analysis, for example the impossible task of identifying all markers of differences (McCall, 2005; Ludvig, 2006). It is difficult to analyse the full scope of categories in a society, but it is important to be aware of the dynamics that are fixed – gendered stereotypes that have been frozen – and dimensions

that are left out (Chant, 2010). However, the mission of feminist theorisation is not to end confusion once and for all, but instead to open the way for a critical analysis of divisions and inequalities (Butler, 2004; Davis, 2008). Analysing multiple categories is challenging, however: "one of the most salient challenges for the intersectional researcher is how to manage the complexity of an intersectional analysis" (Bishwakarma *et al*., 2007:5).

Through the lens of intersectionality, I hoped to highlight ignored and excluded groups in relation to local development, or at least to open the minds of those engaging in developing projects with the rural poor. Individual experiences play an essential role in intersectionality and in this thesis. However, I first needed to specify what poverty and gender really mean. As Klinger (2003) puts it: "It makes no sense to hint at the superimposing and intersecting aspect of class, gender and race in the worlds of individuals experience without being able to specify how and by what means class, race and gender are constituted as social categories" (Klinger, 2003:25, transl. by Knapp, 2005). Hence, in the next section I describe poverty and gender as social categories.

3.2 Gender and feminisation of poverty

Gender is a socially constructed system of different classifications that describe masculinity and femininity to people. This concept of classifications has a link to the "doing gender" theory, which refers to the ways people express their behaviour in everyday life with gendered symbolic behaviour (West & Zimmermann, 1987). However, social constructions of gender are not always the same when comparing different contexts and different historical perspectives. Some cultures recognise only two genders (male and female), while other cultures recognize several more genders, including transgender etc. In this thesis the focus is on the genders of women and men, since only these were represented when talking with the informants in their local context.

It is easy to view men and women as easily identifiable groups where individuals in the group have same interest (Cornwall, 2001), a simple dichotomy that needs further clarification. Instead of seeing gender in terms of complexities and multidimensionalities, it is quite common in a global context to treat gender as a binary phenomenon that affects only women. This is problematic, since it is usually linked to a discourse in which gender differences are represented via an image of ideal masculinity and femininity, e.g. a dichotomous representation of women as carers and men as breadwinners (Chant, 2010), or of women as impulsive and men as pragmatic (Arora-Jonsson, 2013). Such characterisations give a one-dimensional picture of women and men, and are used as justification for action (Davids & van Driel, 2001; Arora-Jonsson, 2013).

Poverty for the group of "women" has many dimensions that intersect with each other. Gendered norms and values, number of assets, work and responsibility make experience of poverty a gendered one (Chant, 2010). According to Chant, the assertion that women

make up 70 per cent of the poor is anecdotal rather than empirically or statistically rigorous. It is usually coupled with what she considers the deeply problematic assertion about the "feminization of poverty". The feminisation of poverty has been used for explaining the differences between women and men regarding poverty in a given context. Scholars have shown that the gap between women and men regarding poverty has increased during recent decades (Murdiyarso, 2005). This approach produces and reproduces the perception that women, especially from female-headed households, tend to be poorer than men. Criticism has been made of this approach, mainly regarding female-headed households as the poorest of the poor (Maderios & Costa, 2008; Chant, 2010). Measuring poverty among female-headed households is a gender-related problem, but it is not the same as examining poverty among women. The term 'feminisation' has become a way to describe poverty alleviation as a case of gender equality, instead of poverty as a gendered experience (Jackson, 1996:491). According to Arora-Jonsson (2011), this can lead to the opposite effect of making gender invisible in debates about, for example, climate change, since it assumes that we know the problem – the vulnerability of women. That author also highlights the problem of not addressing the unequal power dynamics that lead to gendered and poverty challenges in the first place. However, feminisation of poverty has been useful for access to information for women, and in the same time has simplified the way we look at poverty and gender (Chant, 2010).

Nevertheless, women who fall into poverty have far fewer chances to increase their standard of living. However, to argue that a rising number of female-headed households is consistently linked to a rising poverty rate is to simplify the reality. Poverty is not just a question of income, as mentioned, but a massive restriction of *choices* and *options* that could improve women's lives (Rodenberg, 2004). The term has a strong connection to empowerment, which is fundamentally about power. Power in turn is about possibilities and options, but it is also power that makes it possible for a person to have courage to do things they never thought themselves capable of. It is also a part of social relationship which could lead to positive changes in a person's life, but also a negative force which constrains freedom. It could be experiences through institutions (rules of game) and discourses (what is thinkable, visible and doable). The actors – people – reproducing or transforming these structures and relations are often unconscious of the effect (Eyben *et al*., 2008). Access to land is one example of "rules of the game" which is reproduced and could affect people's possibilities to move out of poverty.

Experiences of gender are highly complex and fluid, affected by different socio-cultural factors and different circumstances occurring in women's and men's lives. In the next section I investigate another complex term, poverty.

3.3 Understanding poverty

"Poverty" is experienced in different ways throughout society, as are the social relations which create it and tolerate its effects (Bauman, 1998). Hence, poverty is not homogeneous or universal. A local categorisation of poverty, as presented in this thesis,

brings a nuanced picture of different poverty levels in a local context. This challenges the normative categories imposed by international and national agencies. By applying normative categories, policies use poverty as identical clusters, geographically and economically (Green & Hulme, 2005).

International and national commitments to poverty reduction have increased during recent decades. One of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDG) of the United Nations (UN) has the target to "halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day". In 2015, 193 of the world's countries adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), one of which is to "end poverty in all its forms everywhere" by 2030. The MDG target has been met in Uganda (UNDP, 2015) . However, the goals encourage the conceptualisation of the poor as a single homogeneous group with the primary problem of low income (Green & Hulme, 2005). Meeting the objective of reducing poverty by looking at market forces as the solution is an approach which can help many poor people. However, there has been criticism of the approach as it does not meet the needs of poor people as a heterogeneous group and neglects those whose poverty is more problematic (*ibid.*).

Internationally, the best known poverty calculation tool is the World Bank's *poverty line*, which is currently set at US$1.90 per day (The World Bank, 2016). In the world today, there are about 700 million people living under the poverty line (*ibid.*). One criticism of such poverty measures is the lack of engagement with social, cultural, political and personal factors that surround poor people (Coates, 2010). The poverty line as a tool has also been criticised for viewing the poor as a homogeneous group (Hickey & Bracking, 2005). Another criticism is that the design of the poverty line is a level that ensures that all poor people are "*deserving*", where those considered have the same values and attitudes as the non-poor (Hossain & Moore, 2001). Socially marginalised groups have been viewed as outsiders and framed as undeserving of support for centuries (Brady & Burton, 2016). The "deserving poor" is part of the notion that "honest and hardworking" poor people deserve help, while poor people who e.g. drink or do not take care of themselves can be neglected as the undeserving poor. Those poor people who are ignored in different societies may include widows, the elderly and disabled people (Hajdu, 2006; Brady & Burton, 2016). The attitude towards these people is often articulated as them being "lazy", in other words, poverty is blamed on the poor people themselves (*ibid*.) Criticism regarding the 'deserving' conceptualisation has highlighted that it undermines the social fabric and excludes many vulnerable people, and is shaped by gender and other social inequalities. It proposes a one-sided relationship between the private company or state and the individual receiver. However, it pays little attention to what individuals can contribute to society, despite having a lack of assets, an approach which emphasises what poor people owe a society, but does not take into account what the society owes them (Brady & Burton, 2016).

Measuring poverty brings questions such as: Who is poor and who is not? and What is included in the term poverty, and what is not? Poverty is described in a variety of ways depending on whether the severity or the longevity of the poverty is in focus. One

example of severity is the difference between "*poor-but-coping*" and "*very poor*", which focuses on how the household is coping (Hickey & Bracking, 2005). Other terms describe poverty in a time perspective. One example is *chronic poverty*, which is an international term for people who lack assets or possibilities to exercise a political voice. It also focuses on those who stay poor in a long-term perspective (Hickey & Bracking, 2005). Kabeer (2005) describes the way out of poverty as a gradual movement in each household. For example, people start with raising small stocks of animals and then move to larger livestock herds. However, people often lose assets and live in a balance between different parts of the progression in a dynamic interplay that changes over time (Scoones, 2015). When looking at assets in connection with poverty, we should view these assets not only as a resource that helps people to build their livelihood, but also as a way "that gives them the capability to be and act" (Bebbington 1999:2022). This includes both social and political resources to which people have access (Scoones, 2015).

Many other possible aspects of poverty measurement have been raised. In the 1990s, Chambers introduced a multiple dimension of poverty. He included aspects of poverty that were excluded in the frame of economic resources. He also developed two possible strategies for understanding poverty, through the eyes of professionals (i.e. scientists) or poor people themselves (Chambers, 1988). This thesis, by using participatory methods, was based on the perceptions of the poor themselves.

In the study villages, the local culture is an important factor when trying to understand the local context regarding both poverty and gender. In this thesis, behaviours and frames in the communities were analysed. These included values and patterns of learned behaviour, for example women doing the domestic work, coping strategies and shaping attitudes (Hulme & Shepard, 2003). Custom is another concept that is linked to morals and opinions (Otto, 2013) and was considered in this thesis when looking at access to assets such as seedlings. A custom is a set of habits, attitudes and opinions in a society which is inherited from the past (Schlicht, 2001). For example, beer drinking is a social interaction and a social process and has important cultural value in many African villages (McAllister, 2003). Schlicht (2001) divided culture into non-formalised parts (habits, conventions, moral attitudes) and formalised parts (formalised law, religious organisations). In this thesis, both parts of culture were encountered, but in particular non-formalised culture, for example regarding attitudes. However, when investigating different categories, it is important to avoid describing poor people as a group with specific values, norms and behaviours that lock them into their position (*culture of poverty*). This generalisation has been used by several scholars to explain poverty as a result of poor people's behaviour (Lin & Harris, 2008). Others call it a myth that distracts from focusing on "fixing" the poor instead of investigating the conditions surrounding the cycle of poverty (Gorski, 2008).

4 Background

In this section, relevant background for this thesis work is presented. This includes the situation in Uganda, with the focus on the social categories of women and poverty levels, the CDM project and the villages involved.

4.1 Uganda; gender, land and marriage

Addressing inequality between men and women in distribution of resources, such as land, is an important part of achieving sustainable development (UN Women, 2014). Women are an important part of the world of agriculture, as they "form approximately 1/2 of the world's population, perform 2/3 of the world's working hours, and generate 1/2 of the world's agricultural production" (Asiimwe, 2001:173). In Uganda, women provide 70-80 per cent of all agricultural labour and 90 per cent of all labour involving food production, but they only own a small proportion of the land (Asiimwe, 2001). Property rights are important for both the nation and the majority of households in the country, especially in rural areas where agriculture and natural resources-dependent livelihoods are the core of the economy.

Today, the most common land tenure regime in Uganda is *customary tenure*, whereby access to land is governed by the customs, rules and regulations of the community. The customary practices are predominantly patrilineal, which means that land is inherited by males within households. The customary land is regarded as the husband's property until he dies (Asiimwe, 2001; Tripp, 2004). A Land Act was enacted in 1998 to create a system of tenure, ownership and administration of land which addressed historical gender imbalances in land ownership. However, as with other historical policies regarding customary practice, the Act was not accompanied by effective strategies for implementation on local level (Bird & Espey, 2010; Asiimwe, 2001).

Women's right to land is highly complex and is affected by a variety of factors, such as land use, family composition and household structures. Gender inequality in land use, control, access and ownership are ways in which power structures intersect in the sphere of women's and men's lives, both in the community and in households. The dominance of patrilocal marriage systems (women move to their husband's village) affects the possibilities for women to gain rights over and inherit land. Daughters inherit land only in exceptional circumstances, usually when there is no suitable male heir. The patrilocal marriage system and patriarchal inheritance through the male line result in unequal rights to land, and make women highly dependent upon their husbands (Bird & Espey, 2010). During the field work, I met one woman who was involved in a polygamous relationship, but according to informants this sort of arrangement was more common in the older generation.

4.2 The CDM project

Green Resources started a commercial plantation of pines and eucalyptus in Kachung in 2006 and the plantation was certified as a CDM project in 2011. Clean Development Mechanism is part of the carbon market, which involves the buying and selling of greenhouse gas emission offsets. The Swedish Energy Agency (SEA) and GR entered into an Emissions Reduction Purchase Agreement (ERPA) whereby SEA committed to purchase the carbon emissions reductions generated from the project from 2012 until 2032 (Lyones & Westoby, 2014).

Kachung is located in a Central Forest Reserve (CFR), which is a state-owned reserve that has been used for plantation of forestry since the colonial era. The Ugandan government has not managed to maintain viable plantations in the CFRs, which has resulted in them in some cases being leased to private foreign investors, such as GR (Lyones & Westoby, 2014). The National Forestry Authority (NFA) is responsible for managing CFRs, and is also one of the actors planting pines in the Kachung area. The GR company has a licence to 2669 ha of land in Kachung, of which about 2099 ha are planted and the remainder are reserved for conservation purposes. The plantation projects lies within an area which is mainly grassland with groups of trees, interspersed by seasonal pans and wetlands.

Figure 3. Kachung plantation viewed from a guard tower.

Before the plantation was established, the land was used by people in the region for grazing animals, agriculture, firewood collection, collection of building materials and hunting. According to the CFR regulations, it is illegal to practise agriculture in the nature reserves, but historically local people have been encouraged by the state to take agricultural land in the CFRs for self-sufficiency purposes during some periods (Lyons & Westoby, 2014). From around 1990 to 2009, some of the villages in the area hosted

many refugees fleeing the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). This led to local people renting out their fields to refugees and opening new fields for themselves on reserve land. Today, the plantation has displaced agriculture and grazing as activities.

In Kachung, GR's community development initiatives include infrastruture development, contributing to building/maintaining schools, health centres and other community developments such as maintaining boreholes. They have also engaged in a project with teaching people how to build energy saving stoves (ESS), and in distributing pine seedlings to local people. Accoring to GR, forestation is one of the most efficient ways of imporving social and economic conditions for people in the rural areas (Green Resources, 2016). The tree planting activity is often highlighted in GR documents as a way to increase community engangment regarding tree growing. It is seen as a way to provide communitites with natural resources and social capital since the people who plant trees become indepentend actors in forestry practice (*ibid*). Seedling distribution aims to allow people to establish small commercial woodlots on their land. When the trees are mature, the farmer can generate an income through sale of wood products from the woodlots. Since pine seedling plantation is argued to be an important and attractive benefit for the villagers in Kachung, I have choosen to focus on access to these seedlings in my research.

4.3 An introduction to the field

The field study was based in two villages; Ojem (located in Amuda parish) and Arwakere (located in Bardyang parish). The two parishes are located in Agwata sub-county, which is part of Dokolo district. The two villages were chosen based on the criteria listed in the methods section of this thesis. The population of Dokolo district has grown rapidly from around 85 000 in 1991 to around 162 100 in 2009. Agwata sub-county is the most populated of all six sub-counties in the district, with a population of 30 361 (Ubos, 2009; Ubos, 2012). The major ethnic group in the area is the Nilotic who are of the Lango tribe, which people refer to as Langi.

The climate in Dokolo district is tropical and there are two seasons; dry and wet. The hottest months are December, January and February, while April-May and September-October are the rainy periods. The vegetation is dominated by tropical savannah (Ubos, 2009).

The main socio-economic activity in the villages is subsistence agriculture, which employs approximately 95 per cent of the population and is an important source of income (Ubos, 2009). Agricultural activities in the area include crop production, animal rearing and fish farming. The chief crops in the villages are pulses (beans, pigeon peas, tapery beans, gram and ground-nuts), oilseed crops (sunflower, simsim and soybeans), cereals (millet, maize, sorghum and rice) and root crops (cassava and sweet potato). The seeds used by the villagers are usually saved and it is rare to find villagers which purchase improved varieties. The main livestock in the area include cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, ducks and chickens (Ubos, 2009).

4.3.1 The villages

Ojem is a village of about 111 households. The population in the village is 569, and there are approximately as many women as men. The village has its own health centre and one primary school and the sub-county office is near the village centre. The village is situated around 39 km from Lira, which is a journey of 45 minutes by car. Ojem is near the highway, which is a benefit for business in the village as it makes it possible for the villagers to sell their crops or other goods to passers-by. Obote Avenue is a main road for transport from Sudan to Kenya and Tanzania, so there are a lot of opportunities for business.

The village of Arwakere has around 74 households. The population in the village is around 560 and, as in Ojem, there are as many women as men. Arwakere is situated 26 km from Lira (35 minutes by car) and is a couple of kilometres from the highway, which restricts its possibilities for business.

Both villages have boreholes and are at a similar distance from wetlands. Swamp areas play an important role for grazing animals, fishing, gathering material for house building and for cultivation of crops such as rice. Most people live in small mud huts, also called grass-thatched houses, although some have brick houses (see Chapter 5 of this thesis). Some villagers have small solar panels which generate electricity for phones or/and radio.

5 Findings

The empirical material for this thesis was collected in the villages of Ojem and Arwakere. Before deeper examination of the structures that affect access to seedlings, I first investigated the different social categories in the villages. Section 5.1 focuses on the different categories of poverty reported by the participants in the wealth ranking exercise. I then looked at the heterogeneity in the groups of women. Since the findings from the two villages were similar, the results from both are discussed together. As the plantation project is still young, the assessment of social benefits is based on the results achieved during the process to date, rather than end results.

5.1 Villagers' perspective on poverty

Heterogeneity in poverty; poverty categories

The results from the wealth ranking and the interviews are presented below. The wealth ranking (Table 2) was based on participants' own discussions during the wealth ranking activity. However, since that activity included only a few people in the village, mostly men, interview material was consulted for clarification. Both villages had the same approach when selecting different wealth categories and chose three; rich, middle and poor. As mentioned, it was more or less easy to talk about some issues, for example land, but it seemed easy for the participants to talk about poverty groups. The findings showed that the villagers had different levels of poverty, although the wealth ranking focused mainly on physical, economic assets and education as can be seen in Table 2. After the description of wealth groups, the participants were asked to categorise the household depending on the gender of the head of household (female-headed or male-headed household).

During the ranking activity, the wealth categories were the focus, while during the interviews individual perspectives and realities were the focus. It was then easier to see other assets that were important for each individual person, such as social relations. The interview results contributed to a nuanced picture of the wealth ranking results that was not obtained from Table 2. However, the table is useful for providing a general picture of the categories of poverty in the village.

Similar questions raised during the wealth ranking were asked during the interviews. It was important for the validity of the results to get a picture of individual views of poverty, as there was a lack of women that participated. The results from the interviews highlighted the differences between households in each wealth category. For example, not every person in the rich category had a motorbike, and some poor people had more than just poultry. Hence, looking at Table 2, it is important to highlight that it is heterogeneity within the different groups. However, since the results were mainly based on individuals from different households, intra-household relations were not included in my analysis.

As mentioned, physical, economic assets and education were the focus during the wealth ranking activity. First of all, the participants started to talk about land. Land is a symbol of wealth and an important factor for livelihoods. All the villagers had some land, but there were differences between the poverty groups regarding ownership of land. The poor usually did not have that much land or economic capital for renting land. The middle category owned more land and usually had possibilities to rent land, while the rich owned land and some could even rent out some land. This had a strong association with inheritance of land and the land market.

Table 2. Local categorisation of poverty groups and the typical characteristics of each group

Wealth indicator	**Wealth category**		
	Poor	**Middle**	**Rich**
Land	0-1 acre	1-4 acres	>4 acres
Livestock	Poultry	2 cattle, goats, sheep, poultry	>2 cattle, sheep, goats, pigs
Transport	No/or one bicycle	Bicycle	Bicycle, motorbike
Education	Public school	Public school	Boarding school
Kind of house	One or two grass-thatched houses	Semi-permanent house, grass-thatched houses	Permanent house
Income	Work on other´s farms, or no income	Work on other's farms, have some business	Employed (e.g. teacher, soldier, police)

One clear difference between the wealth categories was the form of housing (Table 2). People in the poor group lived in grass-thatched houses with walls made of local material; unbaked bricks, an earth floor and a roof made of grass. Grass-thatched houses for use as a kitchen were popular in the villages and in all the different wealth categories, as they are cooler in the dry season and cheap to build. However, some people in the middle category and all the people in the rich category also had permanent house structures with a cement floor, brick walls and an aluminium roof. The villagers made a distinction between two types of permanent houses; semi-permanent and permanent, with the difference being the type of bricks used. The unbaked bricks used to build semi-permanent houses fall apart more easily and are vulnerable during the rainy season. By

using baked bricks, the permanent houses had a much longer lifetime and were more expensive to build.

Some of the informants pointed out that poverty is linked to education, or rather lack of education. To have the possibility to go to boarding school, children had to live and study in other parts of the country, usually in the cities, which had a connection to wealth. In both villages, there were people with public schooling up to primary level, which is the first seven years of a child's schooling. Both primary school and secondary school are paid for by the government, but in practice pupils still need to buy materials such as pen and paper, school uniform, exercise books and may have to pay various minor fees that schools still charge. For poor families these expenses can mean that children sometimes cannot attend school. During our early field work there was a general election, which meant that no one attended school. However, a couple of weeks after the election a new term started and we saw children and young people in school uniforms leaving the rural areas in small buses to go to other destinations for education. Some children did not join the school and when we asked why we were told:

It's dry season and no harvest, so we don't have any money for school fees, new uniform, pens or anything for my children – Olivia, poor.

Education is an important asset to reduce poverty and build up resilience to shocks in poor people's lives (ODI, 2014). Other assets that are important as a buffer for shocks are land, food crops and livestock. Ownership of goats, poultry and pigs, but has a symbolic value and is an investment. For example, drought, bride price, funerals, illness etc. are shocks for which assets are needed.

Some of the informants described how bride price could affect life negatively. Bride price is a contract where material items, usually animals or money, are paid by the groom to the bride's family in exchange for the benefits they get from the bride (her labour and the children who after the marriage count as belonging to the husband's family). Bride price payments tie families together, however, research has shown that bride price can also be a factor for early marriage in poor families (especially in female-headed households), which can breed poverty in the next generation (Hague & Thiara, 2009). I met Erik, a man who lived with his wife in Ojem. He had two grown-up sons who were living in the village with their wives. In the wealth ranking, Erik's household was categorised as middle. Erik was active during the wealth ranking, but did not take protest when the rest of the group categorised his household as middle. However, during the interview he described his life as changing greatly after he had paid the bride price for his two son, and said he now should belong to the poor category:

Before the marriage I had both cattle and goats, but now I have nothing. So now we are poor, even if we have the pines – Erik, poor.

This shows the complexity in wealth ranking because of the question of participation, but also how poverty level can change because of different actions a person has to take, which affects the possibilities to compensate for shocks during the year.

To compensate for shocks, people need savings or physical and natural assets for selling (ODI, 2014). The rich category in the village showed in different ways how they could compensate for shocks, both in short-term and long-term perspectives. Planting seedlings was one long-term investment to counteract shocks. Women I met from the rich category knew about the distribution of seedlings, but were not active in the process of seedling planting. It was more likely for men and women from middle and rich categories to have received information about seedlings. This had a connection with poverty, since the people from the poor category did not meet the criteria for planting seedlings (access to land) and therefore had not been informed by the LC1. This was linked to the socio-cultural norms regarding decision-making on land, but also the process of information to women. In other words, men from the rich category knew most about the process of the plantation generally.

Bob, a retired soldier, lived with his wife and seven children, four of whom were in school and one had a diploma from university. He owned the local shop in the trading centre in the village, which was a popular place for socialising. For short-term shocks, he had his income from the business in the shop, and crops from the field to sell. According to wealth ranking and to himself, he was one of the richest people in Arwakere. For him, investing in seedlings was a good way for preparing for shocks in the future:

I never received any seedlings, so I bought instead, 436 pines. Buying seedlings is a good investment for the future. When it is hard to get money, then it will be a good source of income – Bob, rich.

This shows that rich people in the village had possibilities to invest in the long-term, while poor people did not have the assets and access to income, which made it difficult for them to invest in long-term strategies. The focus for poor people was to get enough food for the day. Another difference regarding different poverty levels was income. It was just people in the rich group who had employment with a salary. Few of the other individuals had a stable income. In the rich category, people usually worked, or had been working, as e.g. a soldier or a teacher. Poor people in the villages were also more in need of offering their labour to better-off villagers by working in their fields, and had less access to jobs with income.

The people from the poor category had problems saving to prepare for shocks. I met many poor people during the field work who were just eating dried beans and cassava because of lack of food during the dry season. Since they did not have enough land or livestock to sell anything, their only hope was for the rain to fall. The seasons in the region make it complex to measure poverty. A poor person during the dry season could experience a wealthier life after the rainy season because of higher amounts of seasonal work and greater access to food and *vice versa*, also called seasonal poverty (Chamber, 2007). Regarding the dry season, some informants talked about poverty levels and their wealth in comparison with those lacking food for the day. Sarah, who lived with her six children and her husband, described wealth by comparing herself with those struggling for subsistence:

It feels as I belong to the middle category because during the dry season other people are struggling, but I can eat as much as I need and don't experience hunger during the whole year – Sarah, middle

I also met a man who had done business in the different seasons. Colin lived with his wife and two small children in Ojem. He did not have much land or livestock, but he had some possibilities for cultivating beans between the pine seedlings in the plantation. He said that if you asked the guards (employeed who guard the plantation from fire, unauthozired etc.) at the plantation they can give you access to land for cultivation, which also brings some risks:

"I know some of the guards. You just talk to the guards at the plantation and then you get freely access to some land. /…/but if you accidently destroy a pine during the cultivating, they get so angry so they bring pesticide and kill your crops. Its happens often." Colin, middle

However, Colin was the only one I met who had got the possibilities to cultivate at the plantation. By storing the beans and other crops after the harvest, he could sell them during the dry season, when food is scarce, for a better price. The social bonds between people in the villages could help a person out of poverty, as Colin described:

I come from a poor family, but then I socialised with people in the village who gave me good advice, ideas for business, which made me develop. Today, I have some money, so poor people can come and borrow money from me – Colin, middle.

According to the wealth ranking, creating a business was something that could be achieved if you came from the middle- or rich category. Trading in food crops and other assets such as salt and soap was popular and one of the most effective ways to receive financial capital for those who did not have employment. People from the poor category generally did not have the capacity for making a business out of growing crops, since the majority of the food went to feed the family. However, even if the wealth ranking represented a picture of income from business as something for middle- and rich category, many widows from the poor category made a business of producing alcohol (*arege*), brewing (*kongoting*), brushes made of local material and clay pots.

Figure 4. Distillation of alcohol (*arege*), a popular drink for men, women and sometimes children. The picture shows the clay pots to the right.

According to the women, alcohol in different forms was one of the most important sources of income and generally it was just women who produced the alcohol. Anna, a widow who lived with three of her children, told me about the business with *kongoting* and the value of using crops for brewing:

Kongoting is the most important income for me and my family. But still I need money to get millet. But in the end I earn good money because on two baskets of millet I can earn 60 000 shillings. It's better than farming – Anna, poor.

Research in Uganda shows that businesses owned by women who cross over to male-dominated sectors are three times more profitable tha firms owned by women in the traditional female sector. This is connected to long-lasting norms in society (World Bank, 2014) and shows another angle of the situation for women. According to the women, since they did not have education and possibilities to get a job in town, this was the best way to acquire money.

However, poverty in connection with assets was just one way to articulate poverty in the villages. During interviews, some informants highlighted age in connection with poverty. Patricia, a woman with a husband and two children, found it difficult to talk about wealth as different categories. Instead, she described wealth as a matter of age:

When you are young you are wealthy, and when you are old life becomes tougher/…/ I'm [not completely] *poor because I'm still young* – Patricia, poor.

Olivia made interesting observations regarding the wealth categories and articulated being rich in terms of economic capital, being middle in terms of physical capital and being poor in terms of age (dwindling human capital):

The rich ones are those with a business, the middle class is those who have some animals and land, the poor is usually those who are old – Olivia, poor.

However, some informants described being rich as something that comes with age if you have the possibilities to send your children to higher education. When they have a stable income, they help their parents back home in the village. Colin said that:

People that are rich, usually old people, have the money to send their kids to school, who then can help their parents in a long term – Colin, middle

A couple of informants talked about poor people as those who did not have the health to work on their own land or that of others. I met two women with disabilities, both of whom were widows. They found it hard to work on their own plots or on other farms. Maria, who was poor with a small amount of land and no livestock since an outbreak killed all her poultry, described the effect of her disabilities:

As I have problem with my knee since I was a child, I can't walk to the meetings or have the strength to help others at the farmland – Maria, poor.

This shows the heterogeneity in how people described and experienced poverty in the villages. During wealth ranking, the categorisation of poverty was quite simplified. The interviews showed more complexity regarding categories. When simplifying categories of poverty by using categories, perspectives can be lost. In this case, the age perspective on poverty was not included in the wealth ranking. Social life emerged as complex and overflowing with fluid determinations of both subjects and structures, which showed that categories are not fixed. Some focused on poverty categories regarding economic and physical assets, other focused on age or possibilities for obtaining food during the whole year. Another important factor was of course the season in which the field work was performed. The perspective on poverty was thus not fixed, which could change the informants' perspective and belonging to category. Still, the category articulated by the informants and the wealth ranking was new in the sense of being named and defined based upon the original dimension of the master category, in this case "poor people".

5.2 Women's experiences; but which women?

The theme of this section is different women as subjects and the differences in the group of women that I met. As in the questioning of heterogeneity regarding poverty, there is also heterogeneity in the term women. During the wealth ranking, I asked the participants if there were different types of households in the village. They confirmed that there were, describing two types; female-headed households (FHH) and male-headed households (MHH). The the FHH were described as households where widows and divorced women lived. The participants in the wealth ranking exercise marked on the map which of the households were FHH and which poverty level each household had.

Table 3 shows the data from the wealth ranking activity in the villages. Social groups that were more likely to be assigned to the poor category were divorced or widowed

women, those with chronic health problems and those with no or a small amount of land. The women in FHH were mainly widows, one was divorced. The results showed that there was no FHH in the rich category.

Table 3. Numbers of female-headed households (FHH) and male-headed households (MHH) in the villages of Ojem and Arwakere

Village	**Wealth category**		
Ojem	Poor	Middle	Rich
FHH	14	4	0
MHH	40	40	11
Arwakere			
FHH	10	2	0
MHH	30	32	2

In development literature, FHH are described as more vulnerable to land issues and are popularly identified as the "poorest of the poor" (Chant, 2009). However, some FHH in the present work were identified as being in the middle category during wealth ranking (Table 2). The wealth ranking results also showed that a majority of FHH were poor, although during interviews some women from FHH classified themselves in categories that differed from their wealth ranking categorisation. However, the women did not participate in the wealth ranking activity, which could be the reason for differences in the results.

During interviews, the women from FHH tended to describe their life in comparison with the life they had before heading the household. For some, life had changed in a positive way, including greater control of household income and assets and self-determination. For example, Frida had been a widow for 14 years and lived with four children. When her husband died, she started to work at the GR plantation. She expressed a feeling of empowerment since she got more control over the household than before:

Those days when my husband was alive I wasn't a part of the business in the family, but when he died I had to participate in the business and work for GR to support the children. So I would say that I got some small money to support the family/.../When the husband was still alive, he just brought the money to the household and had power over everything. I was not a part of the household business/…/I feel much more empowered nowadays because I need to take care of all the business – Frida, *middle.*

Anna lived alone with three children. She owned just a small plot of land, and had the help of another widow who worked on her garden for free and received food in exchange for her help. Anna described the situation for widows, and how they socialise and help each other:

My life has improved since my husband died, the same with other widows because we help each other. There is no FHH in this village that are so poor, because we have at least something. We are all in the same level of wealth because we stay together and are very social and share everything with each other – Anna, middle.

Both Anna and Frida were categorised as poor during the wealth ranking, although during interview they said that they felt like they were in the middle category. As mentioned, this could be a question of misrepresentation during the wealth ranking. Another factor could be the fact that the wealth ranking mainly focused on assets. Since widows and divorced women in the villages generally had less land and livestock, they were automatically categorised as poor. During interviews with the two women they described how social capital, such networking with other women, improved their lives. As Frida reported, she felt more empowered comparing her life as a wife with that as a widow, and therefore in the middle category. The majority of the widows articulated the value of their social network with other widows in same situation as themselves. They organise saving and farming groups together and exchange both inspiration and information with each other.

To be head of a household as a woman could also be a decision. Kamilla lived alone in a small grass-thatched house that she had borrowed since she got divorced about eight months previously. She was the only woman I met that had divorced her husband and she described the situation and the importance of being fertile as a woman. It is always the woman who is assumed to be at fault if a couple cannot have children:

Life was very hard after we got married because of the issues about children. I didn't have any authority because I couldn't produce children/…/my husband was always drunk and awake during the nights and shouted and hit me. Now I'm settled in my mind, I know that I will survive with no one that stresses me. Before, my husband decided everything and took decisions, that was also why I wanted to divorce. Everything goes slow, but I have peace – Kamilla, poor.

This also shows that poverty for women does not necessarily refer to assets, but instead a connection between *choices* and *options* (Rodenberg, 2004:13). This is the opposite to the global understanding of a rising number of FHH being linked to rising poverty rates. The case of Kamilla shows that one woman's decision to maintain a household of her own can be a personal decision.

However, women do not always have the power to choose. According to Kamilla, it was easy for her to sue for divorce, compared with a woman with children:

I didn't have any children so the clan thought it was okay, if I had children the clan would tell me to stay at the same place as the husband, even if we were divorced, but maybe in a separate house. That's why some people don't get divorced – Kamilla, poor.

However, not all women from FHH were satisfied with their current situation, mainly because of the loss of a source of income, and some missed their husbands emotionally. As Betty said:

We used to struggle together when my husband was alive, but now I must struggle alone – Betty, poor.

Some women stated that it was better before, because their husband could send them money when they worked. Clara was a widow who lived with four grandchildren who were orphans. Her husband died in the beginning of 1990 after many years as a policeman. It is common for men with employment, especially as soldiers and police, to work in other districts and come home during holidays or weekends. Since Clara's husband died, her life has been harder:

Life is so hard, when my husband lived it was easier because he sent money back to me. He worked as a policeman – Clara, poor.

I also talked with women from MHH in both villages. When I asked them about their lives and their experiences of being a woman in the village, some of these women told me about the marriage with their husbands. The women I met from MHH had all married into the village. Johanna had been married to her husband for over 30 years. She described the arrangement of the marriage as one between the husband and the relatives:

The relative to the husband chooses the girl for the boy, they choose a woman who has the courage to be a good woman in the household/.../Everything is arranged between the boy and the relatives/.../I was just 16 years old when I came to this village so I didn't go to school – Johanna, rich.

According to some women I met, it was common for their husband to be the one who got the information and attended the meetings in the community. Some got secondary information from their husband, and some did not get any information at all. There were differences when it came to expression of decision making in the family. As mentioned, some women from FHH felt more empowered after their husband passed away and some less empowered. Women from MHH usually said that the husband decided what they should invest in, if they had some capital for investment:

My husband always decides, over everything, but when he has done business he always gives me some money. Then I buy things that are missing in the household. – Patricia, poor.

Other said that they decided everything together in the household:

The husband decided over the business, but we do the gardening together, and we decide together what we should invest in – Rose, middle

Some of the women wanted to have more power in their household, but the majority seemed to feel comfortable in their roles. Some women described their duties and role in the family as “women are women and men are men”, and found it hard to answer why they had these different gender roles. Their role was not to be questioned, which showed the discourse that is part of the non-formalised culture; women and men have different positions in the society, structured by customs (Schlicht, 2001).

The women, both from FHH and MHH, expressed different lived realities. This shows that it is complex, if not impossible, to talk about women as a group. Regarding the group of women from FHH, they expressed a multidimensional pattern that makes it hard to objectify female-headed households as the poorest of the poor.

In the next section I investigate seedling distribution. The social categories, poverty levels and gender, that were considered were used as a frame for analysing how different social categories are affected. The heterogeneity of the categories was also borne in mind.

5.3 Factors affecting access to seedlings

During the interviews, a majority of the informants informed me about the seedlings. Walking around in the village, pine woodlots were a common sight. This section of the thesis analyses how social relationships between villagers affected women’s and poor people’s inclusion or exclusion in seedling distribution.

5.3.1 Accessing seedlings and information about the seedlings

The seedling distribution is performed locally, based on information from GR. There was confusion among women in both villages about the company that ran the plantation. Some of them said that they had heard about a forest company, but others referred to the government or central forest reserve (CFR). This could be a sign that the plantation was not an important part of the women’s life, but it could also be a misunderstanding, a phenomenon that is not new according to research regarding carbon projects (Leach & Scoones, 2015).

According to the villagers, there are different ways to obtain seedlings: free from GR or other actors, bought from different actors, or raised from bought seed. The system of seedling distribution from GR was the same in both Ojem and Arwakere. The LC1 was responsible for informing the villagers about the process of getting seedlings, usually by visiting each household or during Sundays in church, but also through personal initiatives from villagers who showed an interest. The LC1 wrote down the names of people who had land and were interested in planting seedlings and then gave these names to GR. After that, individuals were responsible for collecting their seedlings from the GR field office.

Figure 5. Tree plantation owned by a man from rich category in the village of Arwakere.

Some informants described the process of buying seedlings. They usually go to Lira, or near the highway, to buy their seedlings. The villagers who had bought seedlings were from the middle or rich category, which shows that it is easier to earn money if one already has money. Bob, an old man, described his investments:

I have got seedlings twice from GR, together I got around 800 seedlings. I have also bought some seedlings from GR, around 300 seedlings. It's an investment for me in the future, I'll sell them as timber. There are few people who have planted as big an amount of pines as I've done in this village – Bob, rich.

Not all those belonging to the rich group planted seedlings, even if they had the possibilities to get seedlings and had received information about the seedlings. David, a retired teacher, said:

I'm not in a hurry to get seedlings, I have a lot of land that is fertile for food crops, so I can support my family. I have also saved money from back when I was working as a teacher. But I will get seedlings, they're easy to buy and it's a good investment – David, rich.

This shows that some individuals in the rich category also made a choice not to plant trees even if they had economic capital for buying seedlings.

Figure 6. Woman showing her garden with seedling plantation from seeds to pines. On the skyline, the Kachung plantation can be seen.

5.3.1.1 Community and Green Resources meetings

One important space for information about seedlings and other activities regarding GR work was community meetings, but also meetings arranged by GR. The purpose of the community meetings arranged by GR was to:

discuss issues that the communities are facing; what ways GR can assist communities tackle problems (and the limitatons of what GR can do); explanining the new grievance management plan; and discussion of regulations and laws associated with the activities within the forest reserve where GR operated, and some of its communities live"- (Green Resources, 2015:21).

However, even if GR arranged meetings, it was not always clear which actor gave out seedlings and when the meetings would take place. According to many women, it was hard to get seedlings and the process was unclear. As Gabriella, a widow, remarked:

If we get the information about meeting we can join the meetings, but we never get the information. It's the chairman who is responsible for mobilising the community. I think he has failed to inform about the seedlings, but generally he has good leadership – Gabriella, poor.

According to many women, they did not participate in meetings, mainly because the men went to the meetings and it was not necessary for them both to attend. Sometimes they attended the meetings, but were not active participants. Even those who had lived in the village for a couple of years, or the majority of their life, sometimes did not know about any meetings:

Since I was married into this village, 6 years ago, I haven't heard about community meetings. I think my husband sometimes goes to the meetings – Patricia, poor.

Bella had lived 10 years in the village with her husband, but still did not know anything about meetings, seedlings or GR:

I come from another village, so I don't know so much about this village. I don't know anything about GR, never heard about them and I know nothing about the pines –Bella, middle.

Every sub-county usually has a female leader who has the responsibility for raising the opinion of women from villages at the sub-county level. Eva was one of these and she lived in Ojem. According to her, women were generally not active or interested in joining the overall meetings that were held in the village:

Most of the women don't have any interest in going to the meetings, especially when they come back from the garden. They are just interested in the domestic work, instead of going to meetings. Some of the women, if their husband is represented in the meeting, they just want the men to be there and give them the feedback – Eva, middle.

This is highly related to the customary activities regarding the gendered roles. Women are generally responsible for the domestic work, plus the gardening, which takes a lot of time.

There were a few women who said that they participated in the meetings. However, those who had the possibilities to participate in the meetings told me that they felt comfortable expressing their opinion. During the wealth ranking, Johanna was the only woman who showed an interest in participating, even if she spoke just once during a misunderstanding about the community mapping in Akwerere. Her husband is a teacher and worked in another sub-county. His income was the most important source of household livelihood. Since he was away a lot, she felt that she needed to be the voice of the family. As Johanna said in conversation with me:

If there is a meeting women are free to participate, if you raise your hand they pick you. If you are not contributing in the meetings you are not included in the decision-making. And if you don't raise your hand you can never change your life – Johanna, rich.

According to GR staff and the LC1 in both villages, women generally did not attend the meetings. According to GR, the meetings that they arrange with the help of the LC1 in the villages are open for *everyone* to attend, but few participate:

The meetings are open, so if the villagers want to attend they can. But we can't force them/…/ The number of people who attend varies. Maybe if we have training, like last year with the stove project, people come. Otherwise, few people do come to the meetings – Miriam, CRO (Community Relations Officer)

Even if the meetings are intended for everyone, some of the women from FHH said that they had problems attending meetings because they are alone and the only one active in the household. Clara, who lived alone with orphaned grandchildren, discussed the fact

that the duties in the household take much time. The animals must be grazed and other work tasks need to be done, which made it hard for her to attend meetings:

I heard about a meeting once and I was thinking of going, but I arrived too late. As I'm alone in this household I need to graze the animals and take care of other tasks. I was so close to attending! – Clara, poor.

Denise was one of few women that I met who was from a rich family, according to the wealth ranking. People talked about Denise and her husband's household as the richest in the village when they compared themselves to the rest of the village. However, even though the family had four acres of land where they planted seedlings, the largest woodlot plantation in the village, Denise was not part of the process. She said that "it's a man thing":

I don't know anything about the process around the seedlings, my husband knows better/…/ The tree plantation at our garden, it's a man thing. The only thing I know is that they give some seedlings to people. I don't know when the meeting is where you get information about the seedlings, and I'm not sure if he (the husband) goes to those meetings – Denise, rich.

Thus while Denise came from a wealthy family with a large number of seedlings compared with the other households in the village, she did not have information about the seedlings. This shows that knowledge regarding seedlings was not affected by the poverty class, but mainly by norms regarding women's and men's duties.

5.3.1.2 Drinking and socialising

During one of the focus groups, the women discussed the lack of information about the process of receiving seedlings. One conclusion was that women and men socialise in different ways and separate from each other, and therefore have different *spaces* for information. As mentioned, women socialise when they are doing the domestic work (fetching water, firewood, cooking etc.), which takes much time depending on the season. The women talked about the value of meeting during the day when performing their domestic duties. During the focus group interviews, I met some women socialising while they peeled groundnuts, a task that is part of the domestic work. They helped each other with their different domestic duties, but also exchanged information and helped each other with good advice.

During the focus group interviews, the women discussed openly about being an outsider in a patrilineal society. The information about seedlings had a connection to social ties that weave in and out of male society. According to the women, one important space for men's socialising is drinking *kongoting*, the local brew, during the afternoon when they meet up outside the trading centre. This activity is associated with men in the villages, and differentiates insiders from outsiders. As Hanna confirmed:

It's easier for men to get information about the seedlings and work opportunities than for us women. When the men meet each other and socialise, they share information with each other. The chairman can then pass on the information. For example, when we got

seedlings, my husband just heard that they were giving people seedlings one night near the trading centre. He didn't have any information before, his name was not even on a list – Hanna, middle

Figure 7. Women socialising while peeling groundnuts.

Drinking alcohol seemed to be a big part of people's lives in both villages, as in other parts of Uganda (e.g. Khadiagala, 2001; Otto, 2013). People talked about producing and drinking the different types of alcohol in the villages. Drinking was mentioned several times during interviews as a common activity in the village. According to the informants, for some people it is an everyday activity, but usually they drink during events such as Christmas and Easter. The LC1 in Ojem said that during the political campaign in the villages in relation to the elections, some politicians give alcohol for free in the villages in "exchange" for votes. The LC1 reported that alcohol consumption is also higher in the dry season because the villagers do not have as much to do on their farm. Alcohol was drunk by women and men, and sometimes children, but according to the women it is more common for men to drink *kongoting* because they do not have much work to do during the afternoon. Clara described it thus:

We (women) need to work with domestic duties. Who would otherwise take care of the children, fetch water or collect firewood? – Clara, poor.

5.3.1.3 Church

Church played an important role in both women's and men's lives and was an important source of information in the villages. The LC1 in both Ojem and Arwakere confirmed that one good way to inform a majority of the villagers was to make an announcement in church. The LC1 in both villages used this method to announce when GR had a meeting in the village, and when the meeting for distribution for seedlings would take

place. However, several informants said that they did not go to church every Sunday. This was mainly because of norms around clothes, which meant that being poor and having no nice clothes to wear could prevent people from going to church. In a conversation with Lena, she told me about the norms regarding clothes in church:

You need to have nice clothes and be clean when you go to church. But as a poor person sometimes it's hard for me to wear clean clothes, and then I don't go to church – Lena, poor.

Since detergent and other assets for having nice and clean clothes cost money, as do the clothes themselves, poor people did not necessarily have access to "nice clothes" for church. This was mainly connected to poverty, not gender.

5.3.2 Accessing enough land to plant seedlings

Even for those who had information about seedlings, lack of land sometimes prevented them from planting them. Overall in the villages, as mentioned, there was a lack of land. Land is an important and central resource for life in the villages and has many important functions. Villagers use their land for cultivating cash and food crops, grazing animals, and access to firewood, but it has also an important socio-cultural role, as it is inherited by the next generation.

One of the criteria for planting seedling is access to land. There was a strong connection between land ownership and wealth in the villages. According to the wealth categorisation (Table 2), only people in the middle and rich categories owned or were able to rent a greater amount of land . People in the middle category had less land than the rich, and the poor usually had a small plot of land. This was reflected in the informants that had access to seedlings. Just a few of villagers from the poor category had planted pines, according to both the LC1 and the informants. The LC1 in Ojem said:

One of the reasons that people don't plant trees is because of the lack of land. They need land for grazing the animals or planting crops, so there is not space for planting trees – LC1, middle.

Some villagers that had access to pine seedlings had started to intercrop pines and food crops. Planting cassava between the pines was popular. However, it was difficult for some to arrange woodlots as a long-term investment. As pines grow fast, it is soon difficult to intercrop pines and food crops, as they take much space. This means that just having some land is not enough for planting seedlings. People who receive seedlings need to have enough land to plant crops on plots when the pines are fully grown. This excluded many of the poor who had a small amount of land. Carl, who had shown interest in seedlings, described the situation as follows:

When the pines have grown up, you can't cultivate it anymore so you need enough land so you still can grow food – Carl, poor.

Access to land and control over land differed depending on gender. Generally, buying or selling land is difficult for the women. Some of the widows I talked to described their

land as their husband's land, even though the husband had passed away. As mentioned earlier in the thesis, land ownership is determined by kinship and marital rights, which normalises the fact that males own the land, although the Land Act was intended to address the gender imbalance in land ownership. This, in combination with cultures and norms regarding male kins owning the land, made it harder for women to receive pine seedlings. The LC1 in Arwakere confirmed this:

The list consists mostly of men, because here the man is the head of the household. They are the one taking the decision to plant trees. Some few female-headed households have also put their name on the list. But very few of them have shown interest. The problem is lack of land, few of those women own land/.../ in this region, when your husband dies, as a widow you must divide the land among the children and often you have many children. You may find that a widow is left with only one garden and even it may not be enough if it is divided many times – LC1, middle

A majority of the women said that they felt that they had power to decide what they would plant on their land, but when it came to ownership it was a man or clan "issue". Ida, who lived in a polygamous relationship, felt that she had possibilities to decide what sort of crops to plant. Her husband had another wife in another village, so he did not have the time to control the land, but when it came to trading in land she had no say:

I have some control over the land, I can decide what to plant, but when it comes to selling land I have no authority to decide, it's my husband who has the control/.../there's nothing I can say about it – Ida, poor.

Frida told me about her situation regarding land as a widow. She was living on "her husband's" land, as she called it, and wanted to plant seedlings. She had shown interested in receiving seedlings once. She had contact with GR directly, as she worked for them. Even though they said that she would receive seedlings, someone else took her seedlings. She had heard about seedling distribution in the village, but received no information from the LC1. According to her, the LC1 never asked her if she was interested in planting seedlings:

A couple of years ago, when I was supposed to get seedlings, someone had taken them before I arrived at the office. The LC1 has never asked me if I want seedlings, and I don't know the process of seedlings either/…/I don't have that much land but I want to have some seedlings – Frida, middle

However, land was still a problem for Frida, because traditionally the land is supposed to be given to her sons when they are mature:

I have two plots of land, one is 1 acre and the other one is smaller. Soon I'll give the majority of the land to my sons, there is no option for me – Frida, middle.

As mentioned, the clan in the villages has the power regarding provision of land. If a woman does not have children to pass land to, the land may be taken back to the clan. Some of the widows told me about the clan and their power to grab their land. Maria described her situation regarding land thus:

When my husband still was alive, we had more land. But when he died his relatives took the land except one plot. They saw me as weak with no support, so they grabbed the land. I was just a lonely woman, so I couldn't have the land/…/ I tried to reclaim the land with no success. The clan just said no and the clan leader has more power than the chief (LC1)" – Maria, poor.

Nora was never married to the man she lived with and when he died his family took all the land from her. She lived a couple of years with no land, but when her father died she got some land from him. However, as the male kin had authority to grab the land, her brother took the land she had been given by her father. She described the positive aspects of socio-cultural traditions such as bride price, which helped her when she did not have any land:

I got some land from my father when he died, but my brother took it and sold it to another person. He had the authority to do that/…/One of my daughters was married, so I took the bride price and sold it to buy land – Nora, poor.

This shows the problems of access to land both regarding the group of poor but also women living alone without a husband. In next section I go deeper into attitudes as a factor for exclusion regarding seedlings.

5.3.3 Negative attitudes as a preventative factor

5.3.3.1 Against women

Another factor that made it difficult for women from FHH to receive seedlings was the attitude towards women's responsibility for growing trees. As mentioned before, in households with a male head, it is usually the man who takes action regarding the issue of land, and therefore planting seedlings. Both women and men talked about women as a group with *no interest* when it came to planting trees. According to the LC1 in Akwerere, few women had shown an interest regarding seedlings. However, women I talked to generally wanted seedlings after they had been informed about the possibility by me. Even if the land issue was problematic, they seemed to be interested. As Anna, a widow, confirmed:

It´s difficult for a woman to get them (seedlings) because the men think women can´t manage to cultivate the seedlings. But we women want seedlings too – Anna, middle.

Another factor that some informants referred to regarding receiving seedlings was lack of *individual* interest. According to the LCI in Ojem, a person needs to show individual interest, otherwise their name will not be on the list. However, this interest is expected to be shown in specific ways, such as through participatiion in the meetings where villagers are informed about the seedlings and where the list of people that meet the criteria for getting seedlings is created. Women and men showed interest in different ways, which make 'showing individual interest' a gender coded act. LC1 only highlighted the certain ways and spaces for showing interest (meetings), and these were connected to the space where mainly men articulated their individual interest.

There were a few widows who had pines in their garden, but Elsa was the only one who had received seedlings by herself. A few had got seedlings when their husband was still alive. Elsa was an old woman, but was still active on the farm and rented some land for cultivating rice. As a widow, she was solely responsible for the income in her family. She had been given seedlings from GR a couple of times. Elsa confirmed that there was a negative attitude to widows regarding tree planting. She reported that some men in the village said:

"You are a widow and you will die, so why should you plant trees?"

She described this comment as *a negative attitude, ignorance.*– Elsa, middle.

During wealth ranking, Elsa was one of the few widows who was in the middle category and she confirmed that ranking in interview. According to the LC1, she was one of the few widows who had shown an individual interest in planting seedlings. Elsa described herself as a hardworking woman, and thanked God for that. According to her, the only way to get seedlings was to be active and show interest:

Everything is about the interest. You need to show interest, then you get seedlings. I went to his (LC1) home, I told him that I wanted seedlings and he put my name on the list/…/I am a hardworking person. That's why my home looks like this (gestures to her permanent nice house). I have it better than some women that have their husband alive – Elsa, middle.

As mentioned, women were generally not active in the meetings and were regarded as not showing interest in seedlings. The tree and the land issue were regarded as a question for men, more or less consistently by the villagers. Talking about differences in interest in seedlings between the genders became a way to make unequal gender relations something natural. The women needed to show their interest in seedlings and it also seemed to be important for them to be hardworking. Elsa presented herself as a person who was more hardworking and ambitious than the other widows in the village:

Everything is about the individual person. A lot of the other widows drink and then they say: I'm a widow so I can't do this and that – Elsa, middle.

Social structures and norms regarding tree growing resulted in a conception that women were not interested in seedlings as men. Elsa also articulated a negative attitude regarding alcohol and laziness, which is discussed in the next section.

5.3.3.2 Against poor people

According to some informants, villagers who are poor are usually lazy, mainly in relation to land cultivation and work duties generally. The informants from the middle and rich categories tended to blame poverty on the poor themselves (which is a common coping mechanism for dealing with having to experience other people's poverty up close as discussed in section 3.3). Ofelia said to me that the reason why people are poor is because they are lazy and have a bad attitude to work. According to some informants, laziness prevents poor people from improving their life:

Poor people are lazy and don´t like to work and then it´s difficult to improve their life. They don´t cultivate their own farmland. It´s laziness that keeps them poor. Hard work can improve people's lives – Ofelia, middle.

As mentioned before, alcohol plays a big part in village people's lives. However, even though it was not just people from the poor category who drink alcohol in the villages, some informants made a connection between poverty and drinking:

The poor people just drink too much instead of paying the school fees or investing in other assets – Colin, middle,

Research has shown a link between alcoholism and poverty, mainly because of the economic resources used for drinking instead of other investments (Lawson *et al*., 2006), which would make more sense in poor people's lives. However, alcholoism could also be seen as a result of poverty and hopelessness.

5.4 Intersectional analysis of constraints to accessing seedlings

Planting seedlings is one of the most important local development activities around the plantation from the company's point of view (interview with GR field staff). However, there are various factors affecting the possibilities for individuals to get access to seedlings. This section examines the problem of designing local development activities to assist target villagers who would theoretically benefit from either a gender-targeted or poverty-targeted focus, but in reality benefit from *neither* (Hancock, 2007). To explore these groups, I used intersectionality as a framework for understanding the intersection *between* and *within* the social categories of gender and poverty. I also reflected upon the anticategorical approach, since it is important to emphasise that the categories designed are a simplification of the reality and this is not known in advance (McCall, 2005).

The aim of the analysis was to determine the importance of studying the intersection of different social categories in different ways, not only one social category (Rigoni, 2012). To make the analysis clearer, I chose to define two groups to analyse; poor and women (Table 4). This because of the findings showing that women and people in the poor category had the highest constraints regarding access to seedlings. The category of women had two subgroups, MHH and FHH, to highlight the diversity in the group of women in analysis with a more intra-categorical approach. Those categories are produced, experienced, reproduced and resisted in the everyday life in the villages.

According to the informants, the main factors that affect people's possibilities for accessing seedlings are *information* and access to *land*. Since the informants also articulated *attitudes* to the two social categories, those were also part of the analysis.

Table 4. Different factors affecting access to seedlings and the constraints faced by people in the various gender and poverty categories

Factors that affect access to seedlings	**Women**		**'Poor'**
	in MHH	**in FHH**	
Information	Lack of information about the meetings Less chances of going to meetings as the man is supposed to attend	Lack of information about the meetings Less time to go to meetings after doing everything in the household	Less time to join meetings/ socialising due to having to work more in others' fields, sometimes no clothes to go to church
Land	Generally little decision-making power over land	Generally less land and less authority over land	Have less land than other wealth categories in the villages
Attitudes	According to some women, seedlings "is a man thing"	Villagers' negative attitude regarding women planting seedlings	Attitudes from villagers: "poor are lazy, hence fail to improve their lives" "just work on other farms instead of their own land" "drinking too much"

Analysing how the two genders experienced things differently in an *intercategorical* approach showed that men and women did not experience access to seedlings in the same way. By looking at the intersection between gender and poverty levels, a range of different groups was incorporated in the analysis. Those groups were affected in different ways regarding access to seedlings.

Women, mainly from FHH, reported exclusion from the process regarding seedlings due to their role as head of the household and the constraints that come with that role for women. This group of women generally had less land than those in MHH and less

authority over land, which affected their livelihood. It was problematic regarding time and energy to attend meetings, since much of their time was taken up by domestic work and farming. Access to information about meetings and seedlings and access to land were two important factors in gaining access to seedlings. The attitude that women as a group were not interested in seedlings affected their possibilities to get information about the seedlings. However, women's exclusion regarding information about seedlings did not differ between poverty levels. Even women from rich households usually did not go to meetings where decisions regarding seedlings were taken, because the husband went instead. However, many of the women felt that they got the information from the husbands as a secondary source. Some informants from MHH said that the seedling distribution and planting were a "man thing". We do not know if the results of tree planting will benefit the women in the households that have tree plantations, since the project is new. Since no intra-household investigation was made, different poverty levels within the household were not analysed.

Belonging to the poor category in the village also contributed to constraints regarding seedlings. Looking at Table 2, the poor had less access to assets such as livestock and land, which affected their possibilities to develop their livelihood. The constraint regarding school was also a factor that affected poverty level and possibilities for poverty alleviation. The main factor in not planting seedlings was a lack of land. Still, where was also a pattern of lack of information in poor people's lives. Undoubtedly, there are social and cultural constraints that define the situation for social categories excluded from seedling distribution, for instance attitudes and false prejudices. The perception of poor people as lazy and not taking care of their small amount of land and instead working on other's farms (Table 4) could contribute to the lack of possibilities for those people to benefit from seedling distribution.

People's experiences provided examples of how intersectionality is articulated in between categories. In the case of Clara, a widow from the poor category with a lack of land and four grandchildren to take care of, she did not have the time to attend meetings since her domestic work took all her time. Hence, she had a lack of information regarding seedlings. She also felt that her life had not improved after her husband died because of the lack of income in the household. As she was poor, she did not have economic capital for buying seedlings, and perhaps perceived bad attitudes directed at her both as a woman and poor. She can be compared with Bob, who had a greater amount of land, got access to information both during meetings and during *kongoting* gatherings and had economic capital for buying seedlings, which resulted in another experience of the seedling distribution. Or David, the ex-teacher who had a good amount of land, a grant from his work as a teacher, information about seedlings and chose not to plant seedlings. These individual experiences were the result of the intersectionality of poverty and gender, which affected the everyday life of each informant. The categories are reproduced for different reasons. For example, the non-formalised customs and stereotypical picture of the woman as the carer and the man as the breadwinner affect the gender structures. The findings also confirmed that women, especially from FHH, felt that other villagers did not trust them to cultivate trees and

therefore felt excluded from the process regarding seedlings. Cross-cutting with other social categories such as poverty helped us to find other categories which were excluded, for example, Clara who had an identity of woman and poor.

However, although broad poverty and gender structures of inequalities have an impact, they do not determine the complex structures in day-to-day life for individuals of the category studied (McCall, 2005). Clara, Bob and David were three individuals with specific backgrounds and needs. Hence, looking at diversity and differences within the group cannot be avoided (*ibid.*). While this analysis of subjects' background and stories was not detailed, the intersectional framework provided insights into the factors contributing to their situation regarding access to seedlings.

Analysing these "provisional" categories and problematising by single-issues thinking brought some risks, as the findings also showed differences within the categories. Analysing the results in a more *intracategorical* approach produced a more diversified picture of categories. Individual experience may differ significantly for different subgroups in the same category (McCall, 2005). The groups of women and men have a diversity, which means that the analysis of "groups" simplifies people's realities. Using an intra-categorical approach showed people whose identity crossed the boundaries of traditionally constructed groups (McCall, 2005). Edith, a widow who was positioned in the middle category according to herself and the wealth ranking activity, had other experiences as a widow in a FHH than, for example, Clara. Edith was, according to herself, an ambitious woman who had enough land and felt that she could get information regarding seedling distribution. She had the possibility to meet the criteria governing access to seedlings: She had shown interest in seedlings, had enough land and had the strength to work hard. Even if she did not join the *kongoting* meetings, she acquired information and had good contact with the LC1, who gave her the opportunity to be on the list of people interesting in planting seedlings.

Another example of individuals who crossed the boundaries of the constructed group, in this case in the village, were Anna and Frida. Both of these were widows living alone with their children and were categorised as poor during wealth ranking, but during interview they indicated that they belonged to the middle category, mainly because of their social network, but also their feeling of having power as head of the household. Their experiences show the problem in talking about FHH as vulnerable or virtuous, or as a group of people that are not interested in planting seedlings. By investigating the master categories of poverty and women, as was done in this thesis, a divergence in the social categories was revealed. This shows the importance of problematising the meanings and boundaries of social categories (Lutz *et al*., 2011), such as whether FHH are included in the category of "women" or the shifting boundaries on who fit into the category of "poor". These social categories have different possibilities to benefit from local development activities depending on which categories they belong to.

Since the individual experience has such a wide diversity, at least comparing the different individuals studied here, a relevant question is whether there are any categories at all. As mentioned before, the category of gender could be much more than just women

and men. As shown in the findings, poverty has a range of different expressions. Based on the *anticategorical* approach described by McCall (2005), the application of categories simplifies the social reality which constructs categories of inequality. In this thesis, the categories were articulated mainly by men who participated in the wealth ranking. Hence, I want to highlight that the image of poor and women was constructed by us as viewers in the same way that we created categories. Therefore, these categories do not necessarily correspond to how the individuals categorised positioned themselves in reality.

By analysis using the three different approaches, different methods for investigating intersectionality became visible. This shows how social categories intersect with each other, but also the heterogeneity in each group and which people fall outside the master categories. Women and the poor are heterogeneous groups of individuals, which makes it impossible to view them as one group with the same needs and backgrounds. Building sustainable development using a gender lens is important, but it is still important to ask the question of who we really help when focusing on the "group" of women or the group of "poor".

In the next section, women's groups as a way to achieve a more inclusive process regarding seedlings are investigated. This also exemplifies the importance of applying intersectionality as a lens while collaborating with the group.

5.5 Women's saving/farming groups – a potential entry point for women to access seedlings?

As mentioned, women and men in the villages had different ways of socialising and building up social relationships, as they had different duties and organised themselves in different ways, usually in connection with domestic work but also within their groups. Participating in saving or/and farming groups was popular in the villages, and was a common activity in the majority of the women's lives. These groups added several values for the women: discussions on themes in their reality, their problems, daily life, a space for free expression.

One of the groups I had most contact with was a savings group with only female members. A majority of the members were widows, but two had husbands. The group was also a place for business between the women. Once a week, one of the women in the group made millet porridge with tamarind, and the other women paid her a small amount of money. This system rotated in the group, so that each member could earn some extra money. They also helped each other during funerals with accommodation, cooking etc. Funerals are usually a big event lasting a couple of days, so women need each other's help then.

The farming groups were organised as a rotating scheme where the women hosted it in their garden two times a week. The villagers told me about these farming groups, but I did not have the possibility to meet them or join them. However, early one morning I met Anna and accompanied her to her farm land. We passed farm land on the way and

then Anna pointed at the women and said, “that’s a farming group”. Since the sun had started to rise and we could already feel the heat coming, we did not have time to talk to them. Anna, had joined a farming group and told me that it was very effective:

When we work together for one day, we can achieve the same as you do alone in one week – Anna, middle.

According to Hickey & Bracking (2005), groups such as women’s groups are more effective representatives of the poor than those established to create public goods. Instead of professional NGOs offering a solution of social movement and representation for the poorest group, cases have shown that groups could play an important role in the social movement that could support external agencies (*ibid.*). One way to achieve groups that represent the poorest and issues of poverty is to use the right-based approach: “working for rights from the grassroots” (Mitilin & Patel, 2005:3). This approach is associated with pro-poor development and the agency of the poor, with a strong focus on development based on equal rights of all citizens (*ibid.*).

However, there are doubts regarding this way of achieving social movement by “grassroots” groups. The group needs to have an identity-based focus and a clear picture of “justice” in and between the members of the group. Focusing on groups and their agency raises concerns, since it could exclude and disadvantage the very poor. This is because poor people often lack possibilities to claim their rights (Hickey & Bracking, 2005). So the question is who should lead and who will benefit from the group, and whether the group excludes people who really need to share the benefit. According to the group I met and the informants, there were some criteria for joining and obtaining benefits from the groups in the villages. In the savings group, of course, it was important to have some money to invest in the group. According to the informants, as long a person could contribute a little amount of money, they could join. However, the group also imposed the criterion that a woman needed to be married into the village to join, which excluded some women.

I meet some women who were not included in the groups. Maria, a widow, was one of them and said that she worked alone on her farm land and could not join any of the farming groups since she had physical problems:

I struggle alone on the farm land because I can’t join the farming groups, or saving group/…/ I have a knee problem since I was a child, which brings physical problems for me – Maria, poor.

The criteria for joining the group created an exclusionary force that some of the women could not overcome. The risk is that “the poorest of the poor”, who often have disabilities and lack social status and networks, are excluded. Organising development activities that include women’s groups could be one way to reach women who feel excluded from the current activities. There are two main concerns with this, first the problem of who represents the groups and second the problem of social inclusion/exclusion in the group. Hence, looking at cross-cutting axes of social differentiation is important in understanding the power structure that shapes the groups.

This could also help a company such as Green Resources to work with groups without only reaching an elite group, which has been the case in e.g. the world of certification agencies (Taylor *et al*., 2005; Arora-Jonsson & Elias, 2016).

6 Concluding discussion

The aim of this thesis was to examine how different social categories, such as gender and poverty level, affect possibilities to access the benefits from a carbon forestry plantation. Here, I summarise the findings and what they can mean for future local development activities in the area.

6.1 Including a focus on gender and poverty in local development activities

Ojem and Arwakere are both villages that involve social complexity, which affects people from different social categories in different ways. Since the Green Resources company has expressed the aim of reducing poverty, it is first important to ask what poverty is and who articulates the frame. The first finding discussed is the definition of poverty by the villagers themselves, which resulted in three different poverty levels; poor, middle and rich. The main focus of the discussion during the wealth ranking activity was on physical assets, but the interviews revealed a diversity in measuring and experiences of poverty. This shows the difficulty in measuring poverty mainly from a perspective of a master category of poverty and the popular system of the poverty line. Some informants articulated poverty in other terms than possession of assets, for example in terms of age, which is an important factor that could be included in further research.

The heterogeneity in the social categories was also revealed in the investigation of the "group" of women. Women articulated their experiences as women in different ways, but a majority of them described their typical responsibility regarding domestic work and taking care of the children. Regarding property rights, many women felt that they had problems of access to and control over land, as the relatives or the clan had the power when it came to buying and selling land. When organising local development activities, it is important to take property rights into consideration, especially in the local context. Even if women can own land in a purely legal sense, cultural and social norms can affect their possibilities to access land in different ways.

As mentioned, social categories in the villages intersected with each other. For example, a *woman* could experience her life as *poor*, but could also be part of structures of norms and cultures in relation to *gender*. This affected that person's possibilities to access seedlings, and probably other local development activities. At the same time, the categories were not homogeneous, since the findings also showed a diversity in each category. For example, from the poverty point of view and according to the wealth ranking, a majority of women from female-headed households tended to be poor. During interviews, however, some of the widows present did not agree with the results from the wealth ranking and felt that they belonged to the middle category. Some valued the social network with other women, not just material values as highlighted in the wealth ranking activity. Other said that they felt more powerful as head of the household, which made them feel more wealthy. Women from male-headed households described a system where the men in the family usually had more information and power

over assets such as land. However, more intra-household research could indicate a more complex structure of power regarding poverty and gender at household level.

As mentioned, women and the poor were not homogeneous groups, but rather varied groups of individuals with different experiences and needs. Arranging local development activities based on a one-size-fits-all approach may fail to deal with this social complexity. When focusing on women in development activities, individuals that are taken for granted as being included in the "group of women" are automatically excluded. Individuals experience constraints by not belonging to the master categories of women and poor. The findings from this thesis could help to deconstruct the categories of *poverty* and *gender* and show the diversity of the master categories. This would free individuals and social groups from the normative fixed hegemonic order, which could achieve more complex and inclusive action regarding local development activities. However, it may be much too complex to fully ignore the current system of classification, which is difficult to avoid in political aims. Hence, organising local development activities that seek individuals who are excluded from the activities because of their belonging to social categories that intersect, mainly women and poor, would hopefully make a more equitable and inclusive process regarding seedling distribution.

One example of group collaboration was the savings and farming groups, which many individuals in the villages joined, not least the women. However, it is important to see these groups as smaller units in the greater unit of the community. The groups contain different individuals and power structures, which of course affects each person's ability to benefit from the groups. The groups I met during the field work included women and poor people who did not benefit from seedling distribution. This group is one of many that, with the help of GR, could feel more included in the process regarding seedlings.

As mentioned, intersectionality as a framework is full of complexity, but my main goal in this thesis was not to end the confusion but instead open a process of discovery and awareness that the world around us, and around the plantation in Kachung, is more complicated then we could have expected. What is needed is tools informed by intersectionality theory, but also further development of intersectionality as a theory and a rethinking of the representation and participation of individuals in the projects. I hope that my reflections can inspire work to create a more inclusive process regarding seedling distribution and act as a source of inspiration for other researchers in the area, both regarding how social categories and power structures intersect in results of climate change and in projects that aim to reduce climate change.

7. Recommendations

Below, I make some suggestions regarding future local development activities. These recommendations derive from my findings on how the process of local development activities could be rendered more inclusive. The informants' answers and, in particular, their own opinions regarding what is crucial to reform, according to their own experiences, were helpful in this regard.

One relevant question is whether a tree plantation close to the villages is a relevant activity for reducing poverty. One risk is that the local development activities fit into the discourse of the Western perspective of afforestation as the right way to reduce climate change and do not include local voices when planning local development activities. Many informants mentioned lack of land as a result of the plantation, regardless of their poverty level. However, the findings showed that people from the richer category and men benefited most from seedling distribution, because of the criteria of land ownership and access to information. As mentioned, including gender and poverty and how these categories intersect with each other would help GR reach people who need to develop their livelihoods and improve poverty alleviation. However, the government also has an important role regarding local development and poverty alleviation, which of course is important to acknowledge.

When organising meetings, it is important not just to accept that people may not attend, but to ask why this is the case. As mentioned in this thesis, some groups within the villages do not go to meetings because of different factors. During interviews, GR field staff highlighted the importance of always communicating with the LC1 when making contact with the villages. However, investigating also other channels of distributing information in the villages is highly recommended. This could be done in cooperation with the LC1. It is important to see women as being as responsible and as capable as men of planting seedlings, without losing track of the power relations involved. People's participation, legitimacy and knowledge are key issues. This of course includes individuals that fall in the gap between social categories.

Lastly, I would recommend looking into the option of working with existing groups on a local level. In the villages, different groups could help to form a more inclusive system regarding seedling distribution and other local development activities. Savings group and farming groups are two such examples. A majority of the women I met joined a savings group with only female members. Working with these groups could be an effective way of including women in seedling plantation. However, it is important to view the group in its social complexity. There is a risk that the collaboration will not reach those who most need support.

Overall, it is important to consider other approaches than the current one regarding seedling distribution and other local development activities, in order to ensure that all members in the villages are able to empower themselves. In doing so, it is important not just to focus on the experience of the less powerful in the society, but also to investigate the basis of the privilege and power structures that shape the society.

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