Gender & Ecological dimensions of oil Exploration in the L. Albert Region.

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Abstract

The oil industry is extractive as well as capital intensive, and it often seeks to serve the interests of those controlling the means of production at the expense of other players/stakeholders. The activities of the oil industry in Bullisa and Hoima districts in Uganda have had detrimental impacts on the livelihoods, culture and the environment of the indigenous people living within these resource rich areas. This thesis seeks to address the disharmony existing between the policy economy from, firstly, the perspective of political ecology. Secondly, I seek to address the disconnection between the needs of the economy and those of the people and the environment, as will be shown, from a gendered dimension.

Through participant observation the study was informed by findings relating to the gas flaring exercise undertaken by oil companies. This exercise showcased adverse climate implications for the environment as well as posed a health risk for the residents of Buliisa District. The study also highlights the irregularities and inefficiency surrounding the compensation for crops destroyed during seismic surveys, and similar issues regarding temporary evacuations to allow for flaring. Other findings relate to gender stereotyping of informal labor for the Oil Company, issues of land grabbing and expectations from the revenue sharing. The last chapter addresses the destruction of cultural sites and its implication on cultural and religious dimensions of the Bagungu and Bakobya. Supplementing the written material in the thesis itself is a documentary made from the area which is attached to this thesis.

The purpose of the study is to contribute to the aim of ensuring that culture, livelihoods and expectations of the indigenous people fit within the economically motivated role of the oil industry, through prioritizing the interests and concerns of the indigenous people in the oil rich area. What can be learnt from this study is that decisions should not only be taken at a political level but also relate to social and cultural dimensions, as well as be informed by notions economically just and non-exploitative and non-discriminatory policies.

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Introduction

'Oil is a new thing, we only hear that there is [it comes with] war, fighting, sunshine [prolonged dry season and high temperatures similar to those during gas flaring]... We are worried that if it [gas flames] shines our animals will die, this is our source of livelihood since we did not go to school. If oil is good, what about the problems [that come with it], for instance I cannot find a job with government, it is through my animals that I find food. We hear there is no peace in areas with oil, we shall die first from what we hear people say. W e hear people in oil rich communities experience bombs, blasting, oil spills. Now that we have oil with us, do we follow the same footsteps as others? This instills fear in us. Tullow Company exploring oil came to our place-- they took long to compensate [for crops destroyed], paid low prices for crops. [Tullow] Created a permanent murram [graded road with no tarmac] road [through somebody's land]. What is the government thinking about him? He bought land and government placed a road. It is now years without pay. Oil was found on his land, there was testing and drilling, the land was fenced. It got to two years, then three years and this person is still wondering. How is government going to pay? Government or Tullow wants to steal our land. What is in place for him? There was a woman's garden, murram was poured on her land and crops were destroyed. There are no channels for reporting [this]. Now children no longer go to school, they collect firewood for sale. Food prices have risen, so the money they compensated is little. Few yards and money reduced. They record something else and paid something different. For the person whose land the road went, he does not know why and when to be paid. The one whose land was fenced off when an oil well drilled. He does not know how much to get, nor does he access his piece of land, he has no way to feed his people. Where is he going to dig? He does not know when to be paid and how much to be paid. The Government is robbing the piece of land he bought. They found oil on my land. Since then I still don't know how much money government is to pay me for destroying my piece of land. I can't dig for my children. Out of the oil, what percentage do I have? Quote from a resident of Kijangi Village, Kisiabi parish, Buliisa sub-county. November 2011

Background to the Study.

The oil industry, like many other extractive industries, has been responsible for disrupting the livelihoods of various indigenous people living in resource rich places across the globe.

The oil industry is particularly known for mismanagement of its wastes. Other disruptions come from gas flaring, noise from the operations, illegal evictions and spills from broken pipes, among other things. Many times the profits from extracting the resource are not well managed leaving the indigenous people with much less than what they might be seen to 'deserve'. For one, the Amazon Indians in Peru and the people of the Niger delta in Nigeria have had their rivers and land polluted, which has led to death of aquatic life and crops (Hance 2009 & Amnesty International 2011). Both animals and humans have been exposed to polluted water containing oil and other toxins and as a result have developed tumors and wounds from using the contaminated water and eating fish. According to activists, in Nigeria the gas flares have caused respiratory diseases and problems with eyesight (Community Guide to environmental health 2008). And they no longer view their land as sacred since the oil industry does not appease the spirits, and it is the reason their gods left (Film: Poison fire by Lars Johansson.00:36-1:02).

As was clear in the narrative opening this thesis, taken from Kijangi Village located in Buliisa sub-county and interviewed during fieldwork in November 2011, there is a widespread sense of being marginalized and at risk due to the actions of the Ugandan government and Tullow Oil, the main oil company in the area. This is in a context where, in Uganda, actual drilling has not yet commenced and the impact is as of yet not as great as has been reported elsewhere. This does not mean, however, that what one may view as people's traditional ways of life have not been disrupted: As alluded to in the narrative, the disruptions experienced are wide-reaching and experienced at a number of levels.

In this thesis I explore these problematic interfaces between the oil company, government – local and national – and local people in the context of expectations and experiences of the oil exploration activities in Buliisa and Hoima districts. Specifically, I choose to pursue two main dimensions in this work. Firstly, I will analyze the gendered implications of a range of issues. This includes, for instance, seismic surveys on rural farmers livelihoods in Buliisa district and explore as well, for instance, the *gendered experiences* from a case study, on gas flaring at Kasamene1 well. While further developed below, such a focus on gender addresses a lacunae in much of the literature on the oil and gas industry in the Third World (Schroeder 1993 & Shubert 2005). Secondly, the gender approach will be complemented by a focus on what we may initially see as different visions and understandings of nature, ecology and human surroundings. Through an analysis of, for instance, the implications of the destruction of cultural sites and people's attitudes

towards the oil industry, I will use a *political ecology* approach to describe and analyze such conflicting understandings of the oil and gas industry.

Theoretically, the thesis will therefore seek to combine approaches from political ecology (Biersack 2006) with critical feminist anthropology (Moore 1994) in an attempt to highlight key dimensions to this development. More specifically, I will use this approach to answer the overarching and general question of the thesis: What are people's expectations and experiences of the oil exploration activities on indigenous people in Buliisa and Hoima district? And do they conform to indigenous populations experiences of marginalization elsewhere, as alluded to above in the contexts of Nigeria and Peru?

In order to examine the gendered implications of issues such as seismic surveys on rural farmers in Buliisa district and gendered experiences from Kasamene1 well gas flaring, my work will also analyze implications from the destruction of cultural sites and people's attitudes towards nature, ecology and the oil industry. Specific research questions that oriented my fieldwork and, later, the writing of this thesis include: What gendered implications and irregularities characterized the compensation process for crop destruction following the seismic exercise? To what extent did the gas flaring exercise lower people's expectations of the oil industry? What does the destruction of cultural sites imply for religious practices?

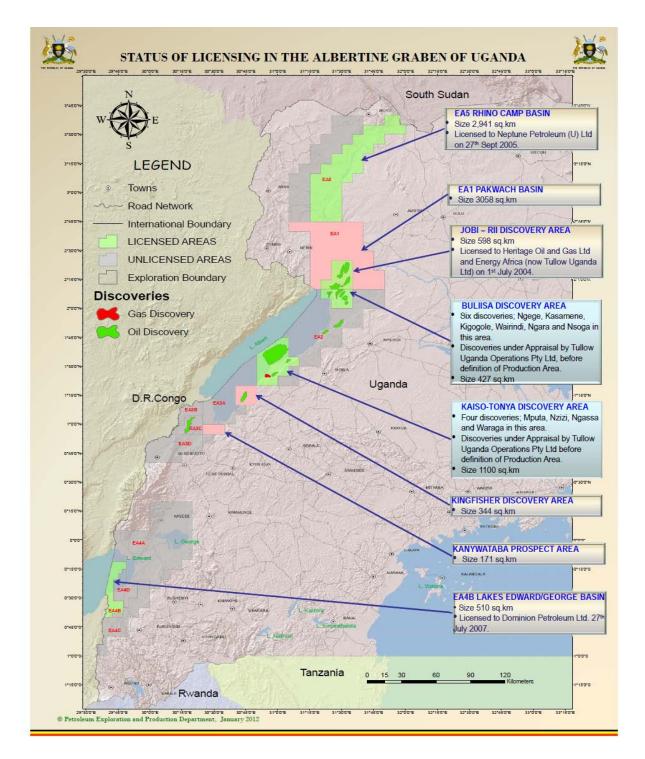
Seeking to answer these and other questions, this thesis aims to contribute to the growing field of what can be termed an anthropology of oil (Behrends et al 2011) by both providing a case study from Lake Albert, Uganda -which as an oil-rich area has hitherto been largely underanalysed – and by combining perspectives from Feminist anthropology and theorization more broadly with insights from political ecology.

The oil industry in Uganda

Historically, oil seems to have been discovered in the 1920's in the Lake Albert region by a geologist working with the colonial government in Uganda-a- Mr. E.J Wayland. He went ahead to form the first geological survey in East Africa (Imaka 2011) in 1938 when the first well was sank. The Albertine Graben, which is the western branch of the great African rift valley, in Uganda, is about 500 kilometers long with variable width which averages 45 kilometers (Minisrty of Energy and Mineral Development-Uganda.[MEMD]).

The first deep exploration well, Waki B-1, was drilled near Butiaba to a total depth of 1,200m in 1938. The well encountered zones with asphaltic oil, but no tests were carried out (MEMD). Exploration efforts were rejuvenated in 1983 with the acquisition of aeromagnetic data over the entire Graben which helped to define three sub-basins conducive for petroleum generation within the Graben; namely: Lakes Edward-George Basin in the southwest, Lake Albert Basin in the mid-west and Rhino camp Basin in the northwest (MEMD).

However the modern era of Ugandan oil exploration followed the 1991 forming of the Petroleum Exploration and Production Department (PEPD). Following this the Ugandan government, which lacked and still lacks capital and technological skills to prospect and process, entered into an agreement with Petrofina -- a Belgium-based company - to explore the entire Albert Graben. This agreement was discontinued shortly after, however, due to misunderstandings between Belgium and Congo (Imaka 2011). Heritage Gas and Oil, a Canadian-based company, drilled the first oil well in September 2002. The Albertine Graben is largely under-explored and the total area explored accounting for about only forty percent of which 2.5 billion barrels of oil are estimated. Prospecting is on-going and there is no production yet (MEMD). Since 2002 a total of 63 wells have been drilled in the Graben, out of which 57 have encountered oil and/or gas with a record success rate of over 90%. The discovered resources are estimated at over 2.5 billion barrels of stock tank oil initially in place (STOIIP), which accounts for between 700 – 800 million barrels of recoverable reserves. The gas reserves are estimated at 12 billion standard cubic feet (SCF). These reserves are expected to increase when all the discoveries to date are fully evaluated (MEMD).



Five out of 10 blocks have been marked as exploitable and have high prospects for exploration. These are Block1 in the Pakwack basin, Block 2 in the North lake Albert basin, Block 3A is the southern Lake Albert basin and 3B in the semliki basin, Block 4 in the Lake George and Lake Albert basin and Block 5 in the Rhino camp basin near Nimule (MEMD). Image is taken from www.petroleum.go.ug

Uganda and problems of governing the oil sector.

It has been extensively argued that so-called petro-states in Africa and Latin America have not necessarily translated their royalties and rents from oil into sustainable social gains. Rather, it is more likely that the vast majority of people become poorer and the states becomes more autocratic (Ross 2011). Further, it has also been argued that not only is social development stagnating but that such resources also may bring along violent conflict. Economically, the so-called Dutch disease is also likely to occur when if income from the resource is spent rather than saved or reinvested. Specifically, factors of production from other sectors are refurbished because the oil industry is over shadowing the economy while simultaneously harming economic development. This has led, for instance, Reyna and Behrends (2011:5) to claim that "Oil is black gold over which social pirates fiercely compete" while Collier (2011) associates the curse with greed and maintained civil wars. Often oil money remains in the hands of a small section of the population and is characteristic of competing governmentalities over centralised oil rents. In Uganda these might include cabinet against parliament, cultural institutions and other stakeholders including the indigenous people at the very grass roots. Explaining the complex dynamics in oil nations, Reyna and Behrends argue:

"... the fact of reciprocity between powerful national institutions and less powerful local ones reminds us that power does not invariably flow from the top, dominating the bottom, but that local, participatory institutions can have their influence". (Reyna & Behrends 2011: 17).

Reyna and Behrends have hierachised the curse into *the least cursed*, *the cursed* and the *real cursed*. And they respectively identified these as Norway, Latin America's developing petro states and African developing states. Although the statement refers to the global management/mismanagement of the oil industry, in Uganda's case, the real cursed might refer to the indigenous people in the oil rich regions. As Logan & McNeish (2012: 6) points out, there is a disequilibrium when petro states care more about setting laws on how to regulate transnational companies instead of catering for the needs of their populations.

An instance of such politics may be said to be the people of Bullisa and Bunyoro whom I found to live in uncertainty and with lowered expectations towards the oil industry and the government in general. Such lowered expectations were based on their

experiences with the oil industry in terms of, for example low compensation and the destruction of cultural sites. In addition there is considerable repression from the state regarding discussing oil related issues – also at the local level in Buliisa and Bunyoro. For instance permission has to be sought from the office of the Resident District Comissioner before calling a gathering to discuss anything relating to oil or risk arrest.

At the more macro- level, discussions on oil industry in Uganda largely exclude the plight of the indigenous people despite some members of Parliament even experiencing exclusion themselves. Responding to this, some members of Parliament and the so-called Civil Society Coalition on oil demanded for a while that the cabinet makes the so-called Production Sharing Agreements public. Their efforts did not seem to be yielding, until Parliament decided to call a special session to debate oil-related issues. The speaker of parliament however showed unwillingness to convene house to discuss oil deals (Monitor team 11th Oct Daily monitor News paper). Pressure mounted on the speaker when she was threatened with censorship, it is after this that the date was slated for 3rd October 2011(ibid).

Following the debate, a youth MP for Western region on 10th October 2011 presented a document citing Hilary Onek, the then energy minister, and Sam Kutesa, the prime minister, where they were accused of taking bribes from Eni - the Italian oil company - for their support and influence in terms of awarding oil exploration rights (Nalugo 2011). Members of parliament also grilled Amama Mbabazi, the foreign affairs minister, on oil cash while he replied that he was only answerable to the president. The president claimed bribery documents were fake but the members of parliament were willing to defend the documents outside court. The ministers were asked to resign in order to pave way for investigation, which they did not do. Parliament also established an Ad hoc committee investigating allegations of corruption in the oil sector. The vice president told parliament on 11th October 2011 that the president had ordered a probe into the allegations. The president asked the inspector general of police (IGP) to investigate the matter. The Inspector General of Police then asked authorities from Malta police who said the documents were fake. The account from which the money was said to have originated, it was claimed, did not exist. However members of parliament demanded a report informing presented (ibid).

Parliament then passed 10 resolutions relating to the oil sector on the second day of the debate, and included was putting a moratorium on executing new oil contracts and transactions until necessary laws have been passed to effect the National Oil and Gas policy. This meant a delay in Tullow's proposed sale of stakes. Tullow is an oil and Gas company licensed to operate in Bullisa and Hoima districts. They also proposed that laws be tabled in parliament within 30 days. Government was asked to withhold consent to a pending transaction between Tullow Oil, Total and CNOOC until capital gains tax, which was supposed to be paid in advance by Tullow, was to be assessed by Uganda Revenue Authority. And that a report to that effect be made to parliament. Parliament also demanded that the government produces all agreements it has executed with all companies in the oil industry, including the memorandum of understanding executed between Uganda Revenue Authority and Tullow Oil in March 2011. Further, parliament also demanded a review of all production sharing agreements already executed for the purposes of harmonizing them with the law and that an account for expenditure made from oil revenues and a moratorium be placed on any further expenditure. However, ministers asked that all resolutions be sidelined since parliament decisions were not binding. And that they should first be studied in a special cabinet meeting and considered where necessary (Mugerwa 2011).

Further, the public procurement and disposal of public assets authority accused government of sidelining it in the initial stages of licensing oil companies. MPs and civil society have demanded transparency ensuring that the Production Sharing Agreements (PSA) are free to read. The government also bought six SU-30mk2 fighter jets at a cost of USD 744 million from Russia in May and the money was released from the National forex reserves without consent of parliament. Economists have since blamed 30.5 percent inflation on the transaction. The governor bank of Uganda mentioned that the money would be replenished with the capital gains tax from Heritage oil company after selling its stake to Tullow, but the tax gain amounted to USD 404 million and yet the purchase went for USD 744 million (Imaka 2011).

What I have sketched above in terms of Ugandan politics and spending illustrates what Gardner (2012) relates to when she accuses governments of using abundant revenues they receive from natural resources for short term gains, and not investing in long term public projects. She identifies that politicians instead focus on their future electoral chances (Gardner 2012). And such revenues explain, to some extent, the

dominant tendency of excessive government spending and wishful thinking among policy makers in resource rich countries (Logan & McNeish 2012: 12). Ross, on the other hand, relates what he sees as looting of a resource to a wider political military project were he assumes the main reason for violent conflict is economic (Logan & McNeish 2012: 11). Such purchases could be termed as rent seizing by Ross (2011) were rational political elites gain control over the right to allocate rents.

Parliament through its committee on oil asked government in October 2011 to withhold approval to the sale of the stakes to a deal worth USD 2.9 billion (Mugerwa 2011). In 2010 Tullow agreed to sell to Chinas CNOOC and Frances' Total, one third of its Uganda's stakes each for USD 2.9 billion. The president wrote to the speaker of parliament that it would undermine the credibility of government in future negotiations and would lead to costly litigation for breach of contracts. And the partnership would lead to 10 billion dollar investment to develop the oil fields. As exploration licenses for so-called block1,2 and 3A expired, Tullow oil then signed a memorandum of understanding with the government on March 15 2011 Paying USD 313 million (816.6 billion ugx). On 8th September 2010 Tullow had been asked by government to vacate the oil fields, however Energy minister Irene Rubondo said expired areas are under appraisal and the companies would continue to own them (Imaka and Kiyaga:2011). Tullows' license was renewed against parliament resolution and it went ahead to sell the stakes to CNOOC and TOTAL.

On 10th of February 2012 after the new licensing, the president addressed parliament and he had this to say on the Production Sharing Agreements (PSAs): He said that the government was entitled to loyalty on gross production when actual drilling starts. He said the government was entitled to participating interest or share of the national oil company, paid initially by the licensed oil company. Before the companies have recovered costs they will take 74 barrels out of every 100 barrels produced. And at recovery of the costs they will take 42 barrels out of 100 barrels produced. He went to say that it was just sharing barrels and did not include taxes which were 30 percent of the barrels taken, he also said it did not include loyalties which are 5-12 percent of gross production before cost recovery, it also does not include equity by the state oil company which will earn 15 percent of dividends out of the joint venture with international companies. The government benefits come to 76.2 percent. He said that the national oil company would get 15 percent of shares for the start but the government intended to negotiate for more shares in future. But currently members of parliament are experiencing a bureaucratic process to access

the production sharing agreements, the procedure involves first applying to the speaker of parliament and then indicating the pages of interest and the document is to be read only in the library at parliament (Nalugo 2013). The rest of the population has been barred from accessing the Production Sharing Agreements, while other oil producing countries like Ghana, have their PSAs posted on the Internet.

Norway has always been credited for the effective management of oil revenues by the state (Logan & McNeish). The role of the civil society and labour movements could be credited for the success in addition to transparency and good governance. And Norway's lead from being, at one stage in history, a relatively poor European country to the richest in the world, could be attributed to a well managed oil sector. This includes, setting up of a national oil fund. And oil revenues in Norway have for instance been used to set up the world's largest pension fund.

In many countries where the oil industry is mismanaged, such mismanagement is synonymous with pollution and insensitivity. As also indicated further up, there is mounting evidence that natural resources are not only bad for economic development but the environment and cultures of the people on whose land the resource sits, and hence the reason why petro states are synonymous with pollution and insensitivity to the livelihoods of the indigenous people. Usually the exploring companies do not clean up their wastes and are still not held accountable. As alluded to above in Peru and Nigeria, indigenous peoples have been repressed whenever they tried to agitate for their rights to resource ownership and justified livelihoods. Governments with non-transparent policies and weak environmental regulations are particularly likely to flare large amounts of gas (Farina 2010:7). Political complexities and lack of gas infrastructure systems drive the decision to flare (ibid). According to Logan and McNeish, such governments exploit and vastly under value natural resources, the environment and human labour, in real terms (2012: 20).

As this little vignette from Ugandan political wrangling over oil show – contrasted with the emergent critical anthropology of oil – there is an urgent need to explore also how these processes unfold empirically and on the ground. Providing such an on the ground and bottom up perspective is what this thesis aims for.

Gendering the political ecology of oil.

My thesis will be informed by theories and conceptual debates surrounding political ecology and feminism, that will analyze activities of Tullow oil and gas company and their gendered implications on the communities within oil prospecting areas. As within anthropology in general, political ecology will be viewed as a combination of two approaches- political economy and human ecology (Pena: 1999). I use this optic in order to highlight what I identify as existentially insecure livelihoods of indigenous populations in areas were oil exploration activities are taking place. The theory is central to highlighting issues of ecological Marxism and anthropocentricism in empirical contexts where state-led development is challenged by the discourse of environmentalism and sustainable livelihoods (Baviskar 1997).

A focus on political ecology in the empirical context in question assumes importance as what may be seen as political economy arguably ignores the ecological conditions in which humans exist, especially the plight of the indigenous populations whose livelihoods are greatly interfered with. In this, says Escobar (1999), political economy sides with post-structuralists and post-modernists who believe that there is nothing natural about nature and that there is no nature outside history. He goes on to argue that these have leaned on politics and science for easy articulation of the discipline while ignoring more complex cultural aspects. Escobar defines political ecology as a discipline concerned with new ways of weaving together the biophysical, the cultural and the technoeconomic for the production of other types of social nature – specifically organic and capitalist nature regimes. In other words, he argues that the state should not commodify nature at the expense of the innate environment and people's livelihoods. This is because, as borrowed from Bateson (2009), ecosystems have human beings in them. Hence, nature's chain should be valued and protected especially with regard to the relationship between human culture and nature, a point also underlined by Strange (2000: 2).

At the most general level my study highlights oil and gas exploration unfolds at the expense of the relationships people have with their biophysical environments. Put differently, I emphasize how people's local systems of meaning and functions have been affected by the activities of the oil company in various significant ways. Insights from political economy informs my analysis of the ways in which interaction between peoples and places has been interfered with by activities of an oil industry not concerned with first

setting procedures on how to minimise the implications of its activities ignoring people's natural and social institutions. My study cites the destruction of Cultural sites and of crops during seismic surveys and how experiences such as gas flaring shaped people's attitudes towards the oil industry.

Political ecology is an approach that grew out of dependency theory and the world systems theory, and it is no wonder that petro-states contribute essential inputs to the global economy yet largely remain under-developed and politically unstable with a sizable majority of people living on less than a dollar a day (Logan & McNeish 2012: 10). The theory also approaches nature more broadly, as described by Escobar, above, in three ways: As second nature, social nature or humanised nature the later resulting from human action constraining the environment. A key tenet within political ecology is also being explicitly critical towards the capitalist mode of production for causing an ecological crisis (Strange 2000).

The oil industry, which in this case is an environment industry, clearly illustrates how nature's identity is turned out of its innate form, or first nature where it was originally governed by natural elements and ecological processes and thereafter being turned into something artificialised through human conceptualisation, activities and regulations, termed as after nature (Escobar 1999; Biersack 2006). Just like a child is socialised, nature in such an analytical optic is being tamed (Strathern 1980). This different way of seeing and practicing nature is also referred to as reinvented or hybrid nature (Escobar 1999). Escobar refers to anti-essentialist ecology as the crisis of nature's identity: As nature's biological diversity has been artificialized and it has ceased being understood in essential terms. Political ecology in general and its diverse ways in which one might anthropologically conceive nature, also relates to notions such as bioimperialism and biodemocracy as terminologies helpful in defining the relation between the state or governance and extractive industries.

Oil is a rare and scarce resource that fuels capitalist enterprise. It is on high demand and during its mining there is a tendency to forget that humans are closely linked to nature and depend on her for all the basic requirements of life. The oil industry is dependent on oil as a natural resource, as well as being high tech. In this case, nature has been moulded to serve various needs. As Strathern (1980) points out, Lévi-Strauss in his 1966

book *The savage mind,* already argued that science might be the highest form of totemism, given that culture is created and nature is given.

However, there is also a global or developmental dimension to these issues: As pointed out by Gupta (2003), international trade may be said to transmit ecological costs of over-consumption by the north to others (Gupta 2003) within a highly politicised system of global capitalism. Such commodification of resources within global capitalist trade also illustrates a condition where nature has been reduced to resources for the gratification of human needs or discrete categories/units of exchange (Shantz 2005). Tsing is quoted to have identified that capitalism, science and politics all depend on global connections. In other words it is an opportunity to participate in the global stream of humanity at the expense of our own genealogy of commitments and claims (Tsing 2005) where indigenous people from resource rich areas are dragged into this trade as weak players because they are not conversant and are less competent. This disconnected engagement is at times labeled 'vulture capitalism' since there has always been friction when the local meets the global. The oil and natural gas are vital for this study because the world's most important sources of energy and are is constant demand.

In this situation oil as a resource has not been left in its innate form, it will be drilled and refined hence defined as second, social or humanised nature by the state for economic purposes. In this way nature is not only repressed but the way in which oil becomes second nature impacts greatly other social cultural institutions and processes.

Importantly for the case under study in this thesis and the perspective adopted here, such a focus on different natures and the relation to emergent oil industry areas has a clear but often under-analysed gendered dimension: As women are frequently culturally tied to nature through their social and biological roles, such oppression constitutes what I will term 'gendered nature'. Given this dimension, and informed by the ethnographical material, there is arguably a need to expand the notion of political ecology to also include such a 'gendered nature'. Specifically, this is also informed by the empirical observation that the implications of environmental degradation impacts most on women and that they are still largely marginalised from development benefits and decision making. Ortner (2006) identifies how women's biological role accords her less prestige and hence an intermediate position between culture and nature. Ruether Rosemary identifies that women's liberation and natures are a joint project, because according to Warren Karen,

whatever man may do to nature, he may also do to woman (Tong 2009). Because men's roles involve destroying like hunting and felling trees, they see themselves as having dominion over nature, and this includes women who have been naturalised since they do not only bare children but grow crops as well. And hence the insensitivity to women's well being is reflected in wider aspects as in through policy. And here, again, I will later on un the thesis draw attention to the crop compensation exercise whose inefficiencies might have had something to do with most of the crops being women's.

While I demonstrate this perspective throughout the thesis, the importance of analyzing the gendered nature aspect might initially be exemplified by the shortcomings of the so -called 'Compensation for crop destruction' programme, which zeros down on women. During this process through out 2011, the women were not consulted but only notified of what was most likely to happen to their crops through meetings mainly attended by men. Partly as women have excessive workloads and lack time for this, they do not take part in formal decision making in spaces were men are. No farmers were consulted when the pricing list for crops was being made. And so complaints of crops being accorded less money arose. Crop evaluation was delayed and crops dried up in the gardens, and since the majority of the primary school drop outs were women (a fact under girded by survey data gathered as part of this study – see appendices), the figures were easily manipulated and some gardens omitted when it came to payment. The worst of this was the fact that since women most often till on what is formally 'men's' land, the proceeds from farming often go to the men, so the compensation money was also often handed to the man or at least he made decisions over how it was to be spent. So, I specifically relate delayed and inadequate compensation to cultural and historical disadvantages accorded to women and a few other poor men.

Agreeing with Carolyn Merchant (2009) that the domination of nature is the domination of a patriarchal capitalism in her book *The death of Nature*, it is clear from my fieldwork conducted in Uganda that the oil industry is gender insensitive and organized in a way that excludes women. Women are normally not recruited to work in the gender stereotyped labour force, that is characteristic of drilling, driving, seismic activities, road construction and building. The slots for women are mainly in catering and hospitality where their gender is also under-represented. Critically, while one may argue that the orientations of Marxism and radical feminism gave way to a postmodern critique within anthropology, nonetheless cultural institutions and capitalism remain key to subordinating women. It is for this reason

that insights from Marxist feminists remain crucial in acknowledging distortions on gender relations by a capitalist patriarchal state which also happens to be the most important institutional player in gender politics (Connell 2009 :121). There is no doubt the employment policy is gender biased.

As early as 1974, Sherry Ortner emphasises that female is to male as nature is to culture where nature and women are both subdued and exploited (see also Tong 2008: 242). As the oil company prepares to drill oil out of its innate state from its natural habitat, the exploration activities have interfered with cultural norms and roles during temporary evacuations. As we will develop further below when gas was flared at Kasamene, about 52 families living within a radius of 300 meters proximity to the well, were evacuated for 10 days. Women's roles of finding food, cooking, fetching water and collecting firewood, and many other roles were distorted.

Women do most of the care giving work like nursing the sick and taking care of young ones, they also partake in unpaid domestic work. Women are always victims of ecological crises since they are less mobile and more likely to use natural products directly while Human centred environmentalists claim that humans not only disrespect nature when they sacrifice the earth for their own interests but also harm themselves when they harm the environment. Environmental problems are seen by governments as only obstructing capital accumulation hence posing indifference between capitalism and ecological values (Biersack 2006). The above statement is the very inspiration for my work. The state is not very sensitive to environmental degradation suffered by communities living in these oil producing regions. The assertion that humans make culture and can therefore stand outside their own nature (Strathern 1980), has led to vulnerability in livelihoods and people's cultures, since culture is the human mode of adaptation. Oil is none renewable; it is on high demand yet can never be replaced.

Ortner (2006) identifies that women everywhere are associated with nature and giving birth. Their reproductive role confines them to the domestic sphere, to the immediate vicinity of the home and this to an extent explains why they go by men's expectations of the oil industry. H.L.Moore finds it important to look at how economics, kinship and ritual are experienced and structured through gender rather than how gender is experienced and structured through culture (1988.9).

Fieldwork: Methodology, Ethics and Challenges.

I conducted an ethnographic research and tried to immerse myself within the discovery area in Hoima district, and in Buliisa discovery communities in Kaiso Tonya area in Buliisa district. These are located in Exploration Area/ Block 2, on the map showing the exploration blocks. My fieldwork went from July to December 2011, lasting about six months. During this time i tried to become one of the people i studied but of course maintaining the position of objective outsider, when i chose what to use as my field notes or findings from my subjective insiders. Being a participant observer meant i had to study how people felt and thought in their own language in their unique communities (Sluka & Robben 2007). So i studied ideas, opinions and world views by simply living with the people. Doing what they did and interacting a lot or i might put it as Sluka does, becoming one of the people you want to study. My fieldwork mainly involved verbal narratives. Deploying a humanistic approach, I highlight and I am sensitive to suffering, and advocate for improved wellbeing and secured livelihoods for informants -- as reflected in the text and the film. Reflexivity comes in when I try to analyze my work and evaluate my findings, from a gendered perspective.

The subcounties within exploration area2 that I visited included Kitahura, Kijangi, Nyapeya, Buliisa Town Council, Kigoya, Kizitya, Buseruka, Ngwedo, Avogera, and Hoima municipality. I interacted with the Bagungu and some Alur, who are the indigenous occupants of Buliisa district. I also interacted with the Bakobya (a clan amongst the Banyoro in Hoima district), who are the indigenous occupants of Buseruka and Kaiso Tonya. I also realised that the indigenous people make more claims to entitlements from the oil industry. Many of my respondents belonged to fishing communities, and landing sites have attracted traders from all over the region including fishermen from the Democratic Republic of Congo due to the porous border, and a few traders from Kenya and Rwanda. The fishing villages also have very many Alurs who migrated from both Uganda and Congo. They live inland as well but they seem to appreciate that it is not their indigenous and ancestral home. And so do not have as many expectations as the indigenous people.

During my fieldwork i tried to take part in the social and cultural reality of the people of Buliisa. The most challenging was taking part in the women's unending roles: Planting, weeding, harvesting, processing harvested food marketing and nurturing children. Unlike

the men, the women had fewer opinions regarding the oil industry. They also had less hope than their male counterparts that any development would trickle down to them. Much of the work was so laborious that it left little time for wishful thinking. I also realized that women's esteem is destroyed from childhood, this is reflected in the way the girl children are raised. Because the girl children are socialized differently from the male children, and it could also explain why the women were not highly opinionated. I primarily lived with a female headed household in Buliisa. My host was either in her late forties or early fifties, she had five children in total. She preferred not to discuss the first two children because they were grown and had lived with their own families. These two did not share the same father as the other three. She was more concerned about raising tuition for her two last school going daughters. She was worried that she was aging and would soon be too weak to till the land to support her children in school. She seemed more stigmatized about her husband abandoning the family with no clear reason, and remarrying. This I later realized was a common phenomenon with men relocating to landing sites and starting new families while abandoning their old families.

We shared the same hut in the 'gardens', away from home even after her daughter returned from school. I realized she treated me just like her child and often joked by introducing me as her daughter in law, which many believed before she later told them who I really was. She showed me what to do most times but often sympathized because the work was tough, and she could tell I was performing most of the tasks for the very first time because I was learning from scratch. She was shocked I could not cook the famous 'ndwa' (mingled cassava flour) at my age. I assumed a role as daughter with her and worked with her, cultivated and harvested cassava, maize, beans and sweet potatoes. The garden houses had other three women from different villages convening at the same place to tend to their gardens. They at times assisted each other when they returned from their gardens, with peeling heaps of cassava, or carrying sacks of fermented cassava to dry so they can market some and as well as grind some at the mill into flour for home consumption. Originally the women pounded the cassava and sieved out the flour, but the introduction of grinding mills replaced this and simplified work. My host brewed alcohol to supplement her income when she was not at the garden houses. And this was the time i took the opportunity to interact with the rest of the community. I used snow ball method to sample my respondents and it is the reason i moved from village to another. Were i would gradually make friends with individuals and families. And tried to revisit them several times

so we could get accustomed to each other and importantly that they would open up, this was important because at the end of the fieldwork, i had to film them and they would only relax before the camera and act real after they were comfortable with me. Many people seemed to almost trust me immediately after knowing my ancestral roots. They instantly did not mind me being a mix of a Langi and a Mukonjo. But i suppose if i were a Muganda, Munyoro, Munyankole or Alur i would find problems with winning the people's trust reflecting-long time historical differences and cultural biases.

The film attached in the appendix forms part of this thesis. The clips were taken with informed consent from the participants recorded. Informants embraced the filming as an opportunity to voice their concerns to the larger public and were more than willing to share their experiences. There were also several respondents that declined being filmed and these were not filmed nor quoted. Concerning anonymity, i have not mentioned my respondent's names and blurred photos from the field. I never tape recorded without prior permission, to protect them and ensure their privacy as well. Much of my data was collected qualitatively principally through participant observation through first person accounts, during the six months I spent in the field. This enabled me to document indigenous peoples' lives and articulate their social realities. Well as the method aided me in understanding hidden details of what people believe which cannot be retrieved from what they say, i conducted very many informal interviews as well for past accounts. Through simple random sampling, I stratified my sample involving equal numbers of 212 men and women. The survey had both structured and open ended questions. I also read publications and news letters from the African Institute for Energy Governance. considered direct observation as a method for data collection through filming, and through taking photographs as a passive observer. I have presented my data as narratives, case studies and frequency tables for the structured part of the survey in the appendix. I always explain what i was doing and sought consent before recording filming or just dialoging. Even when i visited the market on market days, or ate out in local restaurants and did my hair in various saloons.

Challenges

If i had followed the 'right' procedures i would never have accessed the field. Whoever was researching on oil related issues followed a particular bureaucratic procedure of first Presenting a research proposal to the National council of higher education, which is forwarded to the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development that recommends the researcher to the district authorities or the oil company. It seemed like a more humble way of barring researchers from conducting research on oil. And a way of barring 'bad' publicity from the media. When i got to the field i presented a letter from my supervisor to the Resident District Commissioner. The letter explained my intention and research agenda. Towards the end, when intending to film the compensation exercise i thought i had sought the right procedures and had been granted permission from the local leaders but a Tullow official asked me to leave or else they would call re enforcement, yet there were already five armed guards and policemen. I and my research assistant were framed as wrong people and we were treated impolitely, we had to leave immediately. The Tullow oil officials and the local leaders (who sympathized), asked us to meet the residents either before or after the exercise. When we went to the last village that had not yet been compensated, they mobilised villagers not to speak to us. We were trailed and interrogated by secret security, we risked possible detention by the police. Another government employed security officer also tried to issue threats and they generally tried to intimate me but luckily i was leaving the field soon. My research assistant's house was broken into after i left. In kaiso Tonya a film i captured of a primary school being constructed was deleted. The supervisor at the construction site was suggesting that the porter i interviewed got dismissed. They asked me to present documentation from Tullow oil and gas company and the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development before i proceeded, even after i had sought permission from two local council leaders and was actually moving with one at the time. All Local Council leaders were asked to identify strangers and ask for authorisation, so i was used to this and always followed the right procedures. I was also cautioned by close friends against eating anywhere because the community is found of poisoning people they are suspicious of.

The District Security Officer was also labelled an outsider in the community. After he was convinced that i was not researching on oil, he began giving me tips on how to survive, and he said because he feared being poisoned, he prepared his food by himself, and advised me to do the same. There was a saying that the Resident District

Commissioner, who is appointed by the president, was bewitched, and could till people's gardens in the night, and that she had been denied a transfer when she requested for one. She is infamously associated with instructing arrests of oil activists and locals that lack pit latrines. So she intensified her salvation (Pentecostal Christian) and prayed every evening outside her house.

CHAPTER ONE

Gas Flaring

'Our bodies might have already been burnt by the fire'.

"... They totally disorganized us, they have no respect. When they think they must construct a road passing through our land they don't ask for permission. When they think there is a well here they tell you to move and don't think of compensation for land. If am to plant another mango tree where would I put it. I am to construct another house, where would I graze my animals... when the exercise commenced, those with in a radius of 300 meters were the ones evacuated. So much noise, light was too much. Most of the people might be blind though we pretend to be seeing. People from Congo were calling us and asking wether we are still alive. I raised an argument with a white man called Bura, I was trying to find out why the light was so much. Smoke was so much. We were warned that once flaring starts, no rain water should be tapped. What guarantee is there that there wouldn't be smoke within 300 meters. He (Bura) said the candles we use are more dangerous than the smoke from flaring. He answered, 'why do you look there?' How can an eye control a ray? When it comes to such things I am bitter. I want to ask the energy minister why these people have over looked us. If the smoke from candles was more dangerous, why hasn't government warned us against using candles [flame burning from paraffin in tin with a wick]. There was so much light, we don't know the future side effects in 5-10 years. Environmentalists have never organized a meeting to educate us, Tullow originally used to come without local leaders. Tullow performed but government did not. We told Tullow that if you do not come with government officials we shall not allow you. Planes flying very low, our animals were affected, running everywhere. We could not see or breathe properly. We could not sleep comfortably in the house...' Resident of Kakindo village Buliisa district. September 2011.

This chapter elaborates on the environmental impacts of flaring on the people of Buliisa and furthermore looks into the temporary evacuation process of families within the 300 meter radius from kasamene 1 well, where the gas was flared. It also looks into the

aftermath of the flaring. A main objective in this chapter is to attempt to convey the experiences of local informants and authorities in this regard. The accounts are on the basis of the July 2009 gas flaring exercise. Analyzing flaring is crucial for several reasons: Firstly, it threatened the livelihoods directly through the radiating heat and side effects from the smoke and particles. Secondly, it also imprinted a general negative attitude in the minds of the indigenous people towards the oil and gas extraction in the area. Concretely flaring took place at Kasamene 1 and Kigogole oil wells and, most complaints came from the flaring that took place at Kasamene 1 well. The main complaints were raising environmental temperatures, excessive smoke, loud noise and light, few evacuations from the small radius around the oil well.

The argument could be made that the health and livelihood of the Bagungu was not prioritized, as there are alternatives to flaring but these were not considered. Instead decisions followed the forces of production which aim at maximizing profits. Flaring took place at the expense of the environment, the health risk for the occupants of this region and constraints on women's social roles. The later aspects, pertaining women's roles, underlined that not only was the eecological equilibrium distorted but flaring had gendered implications for the household economy, especially concerning decisions about spending the money from the compensation.

Incinerating expectations. 'We are pretending to see but we are blind.'

Worldwide, flaring represents about 1.2 percent of the global carbon dioxide emissions- estimated at 350-400 million metric tons annually from primary hydro carbon sources of coal oil and gas (Farina 2010 21). Several other toxic chemicals, like sulfur, are emitted as well, and the release of such toxic chemicals was provided by informants as the reason why people of Buliisa were prevented from tapping rain water for domestic use during the flaring exercise. Unlike Nigeria and Peru where the flaring has taken place for over five decades and caused many health related problems, it was the first time for gases to get flared in Buliisa. Popular experiences from people around the wells include fears that their eye sight had been destroyed by the intense light and that the heat had destroyed their normal bodily functioning. Many also firmly believe that their health will deteriorate with time and that this state of poor health will manifest more in future. To me, the entire community complained of excessive heat especially during the night. Men,

children and old women walked with their chests bare. Some claim to have slept outside because the heat was unbearable in the houses in the night. One of the informants, who lived about three kilometers, from Kasamene well had this to say:

"..my body was on fire yet the flaring activity took place far away, we felt the impact. There was too much heat, it was too bad, it got worse in the night, we would sit outside the house."

Residents described the smoke as thick and black and, the noise so excessive that it scared their domestic animals and birds. These were left behind and unattended to by the families temporarily evacuated. One of the local leaders of the area near the well is quoted below:

"...We were very affected, people were moved. You were told you were going to be given 300,000 UGX (Per day) and you were asked to leave, without considering that you have cows, you have domestic animals and birds. And in case you did not have else-where to go [like stay at a relative's], you would rent. Were you expected to sleep with domestic animals? Definitely no. But people left due to the ignorance and the government insisting that they had to move... Our animals were affected because they were left behind. Chicken and young plants that had just been planted and needed watering were left behind. You were not allowed to return until the official day and there was no watering of these plants.."

Other locals claimed that rain water smelt oil and plastic utensils washed with that water also smelt oil. The heat from the fire raised environmental temperatures and made their homeland almost unbearable to live. Two other informants expressed that:

'....there was a lot was sound. People some five kilometers from the scene could hear the sound. The light was also very bright' **Resident of Kakindo Buliisa Town Council.**October 2011

'The oil that was burnt at Kasamene affected us adversely. We in Kibumbura walked half naked because the whole body was on fire. Rain water smelt oil, it smelt in our cups as well. The clothes we hanged out smelt oil.' Informal business owner in Ngwedo trading centre. November 2011

The adverse effects from the exercise and other dynamics emanating from the flaring partly explains why 56 percent of the respondents from my survey believed they will be forced to leave their land with time, and were uncertain of how they were going to cope with similar environment changes if the same occurred in future. The people speculate that when actual drilling begins, the temperatures will raise to a level too high for crop cultivation and animal rearing and that the land will ultimately be inhabitable. At the political level, these fears may very well be argued to be real because these issues have not been addressed.

Temporary Evacuations and Compensation

'Displaced families where compensated [and were asked] to go hire [a place in a lodge] to sleep. Women had many children and babies. In addition goats, hens, cows to be left behind. The house remains behind, no one to come and slash, you return to find bush. In the lodge you have to devise ways of finding food to feed the children. How will you cook for the family? How will you bathe the children? 2.4 million UGX was given for displacement. The money was handed to the husband. [Handed] to the woman only where there was no man. At first we were told it would just cost four days, we were given 300.000 UGX, but it went upto 10 days. They said they were going to pay only for the four days. Later people complained then they adjusted to six days. Because of ignorance and poverty some took the amount for six days. Some saw 1.8 million for 6 days as a lot of money. [the amount was] advanced to 1.2 million UGX, on top of the 600.000 UGX. Others resisted and they agreed to adjust to 8 days. Which was 2.4 million UGX. They first advanced 600.000 UGX for 2 days before flaring. All families initially resisted. They compensated for the homes and not the individual members. Man wife children grandchildren, they did not consider this, someone with few family members benefits equally [it was the same for] those with or without animals and birds. I go to a certain village, rent a small room with no kraal to keep my animals and birds, they were suffering. Young plants we normally water were not being watered. We were not allowed to return to our homes until the 10 days elapsed, not even to collect food. The animals roamed freely. The district leaders and LC5 were not in support of the payment for the 6 extra days. The government is not sincere. NEMA normally comes [a long] with these leaders, we don't know what they discuss before coming. The government is not sincere...Others continued pestering until they agreed to pay for 8 days.10 days 24 hours [equates] 20 days'.)Quote from a woman who was temporarily evacuated).

Before the flaring, the National Environment Management Authority (NEMA) recommended temporary evacuations for families living within a 300 meter radius from Kasemene-1 well according to informants. However the residents complained that it should have been at least a 2 kilometer radius since the conditions were almost unbearable for those families close to the flaring point that were left behind, some suggested as many as 5 kilometers. Regardless of distance, many said, however that the entire Buliisa was affected. Everybody i spoke to said they had never experienced such heat before in their life time, despite Buliisa being one the hottest districts in Uganda with temperatures soaring up to 38 degrees Celsius. A general complaint was that they could not see nor breathe well. As the heat and smoke seemed to affect almost everybody, evacuating the few did not make a big difference.

Another dimension was the duration of the flaring: Residents told me it was meant to last four days, but it went up to ten days, this implied to my informants that there would be an increase in the amount that was be compensated. The residents were told that they would receive 300.000 UGX [Uganda Shillings] per day, to last four days, they were advanced 600.000 UGX for two days, prior to evacuation. This was meant to help them find alternative accommodation, feed and also cater for the inconveniences. On returning after the ten days, they were added another 600.000 UGX to amount to payment for only 4 days which the residents protested by rejecting the money. The payment was then increased to six days in total, some accepted while the others continued protesting. Until they got paid 2.4 Million UGX for eight days that the money was accepted. Two days were not catered for. The locals claim that both day and night were regarded as one day yet the flairing took place during the day and night [locally a day is from 7:00 am to 6:00 pm], and so the payment per day should have been doubled. Some people argued that the family sizes differed, some families were big and extended while others were small, but they all received the same amount as a household regardless of the members. Those with or without animals were considered as the same. They accuse their community leaders of side lining them. The district leaders and the Local Council 5 chairperson were not in

support of the extra pay. Another respondent from the gas flared oil well who was not only discontented with the flaring but also with the road leading to the well, he had this to say:

'If there was an option, and that this oil was transferable, I would transfer it from this open land to a national park. We are being disorganized, we get enemies when we tell them what they are doing in wrong. Parliament says they already started taking the fuel long ago. Whoever was born by a woman will one time die. Whoever was born will one time die. Even if I talked the truth, even if I died after speaking the truth I would have died a man. I will one time tell you that what you were doing was wrong. [For instance this was]It was a path [but] now [it is] a road, [which] we have not been compensated for. Who needs the road? We can do without their road .We can't engage lawyers because we are ignorant and poor. [A]Court suit might take a year, spend a lot of money following the case, moving up and down...'

Household Gender Dimensions

As noted above, the money was often handed to the male head, and even when it was handed to the woman, my findings suggest that the men dominated most of the decisions on how it was to be spent. The household is often treated as a socio economic unit in which all members strive for a common end (Geisler 1993) and in this case the household head, who is usually the male, is assumed to be the overall decision maker in charge of all redistribution of family income. The household has also been regarded as a potential arena for subordination of women and that the women usually have no say when it comes to making decisions over family income and property. Women's roles, responsibilities, and access to and control over resources (Levy 1999) influence these decisions greatly. And their decision making power is often unrecognized or rather unwelcome with regard to managing family finances.

In this way, the dislocation affected both genders adversely in terms of their relationship to nature and the environment: Yet it was the wife that was responsible for finding food in order to feed the many children and toddlers. Cooking for the family and bathing children in a lodge was difficult, the lodges were full and some had to reside with relatives. There were no kitchens to cook, neither gardens from which to pick food nor

many settings defining women's environments. The men's role of herding was also interfered with. The men were concerned about the noise and smoke affecting their animals, the animals was also scared by planes flying low. This caused some animals and birds to run about and some got lost, and were recovered weeks later. During this time the animals roamed freely because there was no way one would rent with animals. The animals were left behind and nobody was allowed to go check on them or else they got caned by security men. Government decisions were backed by brutal force. The needs of the authorities did not accommodate the needs of the locals hence the insensitivity.



Animals resting by the lake shore in the Buliisa were they usually find their way without a herdsman to drink water. Smaller animals like sheep, goats and chicken are significant for ritual practices. Photo by author.

As they could not return to check on their animals, water young plants nor collect firewood many feared returning to find bush around their houses because there was nobody to slash. They were only informed that there would be a lot of smoke and noise but were not told that the light would be almost blinding, nor of the excessive heat. How were they supposed to know the radiant heat intensity per square meter at ground level, the smoke opacity or toxic emissions? They were neither cautioned against using rain water tapped from roofs, and indeed the water was greenish and smelt oil. According to a government employer I interviewed, the flaring was to ensure that the pressure gradients indicating oil in the drilled well were not deceptive and that the reservoirs had oil. He also divulged that the people were relocated because of excessive heat and that they attempted to ameliorate the situation thought the use of a so called evergreen burner that pumps vast amounts of oxygen to support burning with less smoke. Flaring was stopped after the government found other ways of testing oil. Today the oil is combusted in steel mills, clay and cement companies' furnaces. In that way it is also tested.

To borrow from Rappaport on his 1960s writing on the Thembaga people and their ecological ritual, he refers to culture as prevailing techniques by which human populations maintain themselves in habitats and where ecological populations are threatened by adverse climatic conditions. Different peoples adopt differently to various climates and their bodily functions and ways of life suit such environments. For instance, Bullisa is already arid -- a key reason privileging nomadism in the area. It is also the reason they have gardens towards the escarpments were the soil is more fertile and the climate more conducive for agriculture. These livelihood practices were threatened during the flaring days when the temperatures rose to almost unbearable levels.

Changed perceptions and uncertainities

'Will Tullow give us a better place once we are evicted?'

After flaring, the locals were faced with uncertainties. They feared being displaced from their land as has been the case before-many recalling having been made to leave their land to eradicate sleeping sickness in the 1920s. Also, memories are strong regarding the so-called gazetting part of their land as a conservation area. It is also clear that they draw their imaginations from the temporary evacuations of some families during gas flaring. Many locals do not know if the government will build apartments for them elsewhere or if they will be given cash. They are not sure if life will be the same again and worry for their fishing activity and a place to rear their animals. Many believe that once drilling commences, there will be a lot of heat similar to what they experienced during gas flaring. This, they say, will render the land inhabitable. They believe that the high temperatures will cause famine and that their animals will die. These reasons were justification for fears of being evicted, by 56 per cent of the respondents in the survey. The Bagungu had experienced a deadly famine that caused relocation during the colonial days and they think it might have a repeat. What puzzles them most is where and how they will be resettled. There are imaginations of a pipeline that will explode, burn and kill people. They also think that the land will be covered in oil which they believe is very poisonous. They have heard of wars in oil rich countries and fear for the same. They imagine that their land is floating on oil and after drilling there will an empty vacuum that will cause earthquakes. They fear that the air will be polluted with smoke and could get consumed by a fire any time. A few fear that the fish will die during on shore drilling. They are also angry

that they see trucks leaving with oil from Kasamene1 oil well were the flaring took place, and yet nothing is being returned to the community. Their hospital is still in a sorrow state. All this is evident that there is a big communication gap. Radio programes informing Bagungu about their rights in relation to the oil industry were banned and one has to seek permission to call an oil gathering (any meeting to discuss oil related issues). The Bagungu claim the president stopped them from discussing oil, and so fear that they might get arrested.

The gas flaring exercise exposed the unequal power relations between the grassroot people and the policy makers. It also exposed their vulnerability to any detrimental outcomes from the activities of the oil industry. Their fears became real after the exercise and it was after this activity that they developed the attitude that the oil belonged to Government of the oil company. The exercise made Buliisa unsuitable for human existence and it showed that women easily fall victim of catastrophes because of their limited decision making positions, and their gender-Related roles especially child nurturing and food provision. Gas flaring even though out lawed was conducted without prioritizing the welfare and well being of the people of Buliisa.

CHAPTER TWO

Science, modes of production and local dynamics.

This chapter shows how the expansion of capitalist economic activities in the area under study have adversely interfered with its ecological equilibrium. In particular, land related issues resulting from seismic surveys is seen to be mainly responsible-for the interference with farming and ownership. For instance when crops were destroyed during so-called seismic activities, farmers were barred from accessing their gardens for three months before crop evaluation. And yet the garden is where they access food. Due to weight of the vehicles passing through the area the land was also compressed and became difficult to till: The crops planted there after on compressed land were retarded and looked nutrient deficient because they were yellowish. This distorted the human-environment interaction to the point of preventing human interaction with their natural environments in order to meet their needs. This chapter also highlights injustices of globalisation, borrowing from Eric Wolf's neo-marxist ideology Aletta Biersack identifies that the workers of the world lived for the most part in Third World nations and on the periphery of the world system while the capitalist owners of the means of production lived in the First World, the core of the world system (2006: 3). This is reflected in the cheap labour recruited for the seismic activities and construction for corporate social responsibility, through sub contracted companies. I will also to some extent relate to the issue of land grabbing in this chapter which may be seen in this context.

Seismic activities.

In order to identify the exact position to drill a well, strategic positioning is required for effectiveness. Seismic activities are conducted to ensure a high percentage of drilling success. During the process heavy trucks are driven all over the place with big vibrators and geophones, used to hear reflected sound. At times explosives are used and the sound that bounces back from the rocks is processed as data transmitted into 3D picture. Tullow Oil and Gas company sub contracted Chinese BGP International Uganda, to conduct their second seismic operations involving 3D surveys from Kasemene to Kigogole in Buliisa district. The exercise took place in late 2010 to early 2011.

The surveying crew indiscriminately conducted their operations all over the land regardless people's gardens, grave yards, homesteads or cultural grounds. Heavy tracks were driven over this area, destroying everything in their paths. The 3 D seismic survey lasted 10

months in Buliisa district. A tractor like vehicle called a mulcher slashed vegetation to clear way for other support vehicles to pass. The other vehicles included pickup tracks mounted with small drilling rigs, tractors assisted by compressors and other vehicles transporting staff and transmitting signals. These were driven thousands of kilometers in the thickets and bushes of Buliisa district and many times driven through gardens that were cultivated with crop.

During the seismic activities, dynamite was exploded at shot points to facilitate signal reading for identification of potential hydro carbon tracks where an oil well could be located. Mini drilling rigs were then used to drill 6 metres deep were 1 kg of dynamite was exploded. In areas were the soil is hard 3metres are dug and half a kilogram of dynamite is used. Safest distance for exploding is measured using the Peak Particle velocity measurements, shot points from Homesteads were located 50 meters away, 100 meters from schools and 200 meters from water sources and river banks. Despite such specifications from a geologist, there were complaints of house walls cracking as a result of the sound and tremor from the explosions. Being that most houses are made of mud and wattle. The noise from the explosions according to informants, scared away animals and it was said caused a woman to miscarry. An informant claimed that the chicken were not laying eggs. Most of my informants for this chapter were males who had previously been employed during the seismic activities.

For the seismic exercise, it was only males that were employed to lay the cables, drive trucks and perform other tasks. The work was stereotyped as masculine because it involved carrying heavy cables for long distances under the scorching sun. Other gender stereotyped jobs included construction work like building schools as part of the social corporate responsibility. And constructing roads mainly to access the wells. The jobs might be seasonal at times short lived but paying in terms of the employees earning a salary and gaining expertise for possible future jobs. Some employees complained of low pay especially in comparison with expatriate workers offering the same role.





Male employees carrying transmitter cables through the bush during the seismic surveys Source. And all male employees undertaking a fire fighting training course by BGP. Source BGP Crew 8638D visitor guide.



All male employees constructing a primary school in Kaiso Tonya through a company subcontracted by Tullow. September 2011 Photographed by author.

Security of tenure.

It was alleged that the rich Bagungu were conniving with geologists and buying communal land from 'self proclaimed owners' (Land is usually customarily owned and it belongs to the clan), at give away prices, and that they were strategically buying in areas marked with a high likelihood that they would locate an oil well. People of Buliisa have witnessed the rich attempting to buy land from peasants at give away prices. Accusations have been directed to geologists for identifying potential areas were a well is likely to be sank and alerting the rich to purchase of that land. I was alleged that the intention was to get compensation from the oil companies in future. This sparked off bitter disagreements from residents, who chased away surveyors. Aggravating the conflict was that the buyers of this land belonged to different political factions with ancestral and political roots (Beero and Omoja). The agitators who were basically male youths, based their reasons for halting the purchase of land on the fact that the sellers had no right to sell off the land owned by communities. It is said that some peasants selling their personal plots were lied to and convinced that they were to be evicted under all circumstances, by government without any compensation, and would rather sell their land at cheap prices, other than losing land and also walking away with no pay. The rich were buying land at give away prices making many landless. The rich were spreading propaganda to the poor, claiming that whoever had land within the radius of an oil well was going to be evicted without compensation. And were only left with an option of selling it or losing it without and compensation given.

According to an official from Buliisa district lands office, whom I interviewed it was the Local leaders that asked the president to intervene. He said that Buliisa District lands office received a Residential Letter, advising the district on how to handle arising land issues. Key in that letter was that the sub-county land committee should be transparent, and should display notice of hearing 14 days before any land transactions take place, so that whoever has complaints regarding the ownership of the land, could bring it up. He presented this as an Opportunity for the public to debate the sell and purchase of that particular land. He also added that every rightful owner of land was free to sell land at whichever prices they choose to set. It seems to be commonly known among my informants that the rate of selling land is very high among the Alur who are considered immigrants even though they first arrived over four decades ago. The Alur acquired idle land, they did not buy it, land that had no owners and no occupancy. They are the major sellers of land, and have been stereotyped as being interested in easy/quick money.

Further, they are often branded preferring to live in isolation and when surrounded by indigenous people, they become uncomfortable and migrate. They are fond of selling land and relocating to another place where they will find free land.

In this complex context of ethnopolitics, land speculation and land grabbing, there are many contentious isues occasioned by the transformed value of land given oil dynamics in Buliisa, for instance, adjudication is one lacking problem that could address land titling and women's secured ownership and access to land, this will reduce land wrangles, secure rightful compensation and ensure utilization of the land in an adequate way by women. Also critical is the fact that land on which roads leading to the oil wells were constructed has not been compensated. Also the land on which the wells are located has not been compensated. These roads at times went through people's gardens, some homesteads had to be relocated and in this situation compensation was only for the property and not the land. Indviduals have mentioned that officials from the government claim land belonged to the government and no individuals.

Nevertheless the prices of land are sky rocketing. For instance, before the discovery of oil in the area, a plot of land in Buliisa town was less than a million Ugandan shillings but it now ranges between 3-6 million UGX. But it has been fore seen that when actual drilling of oil begins, there will be greater challenges on land usage, which will most likely be affected by pollution from oil spillages.

A key dimension, often overlooked when analyzing more ecological, social and political dimensions of contexts such as mine, are the gender-related misunderstandings and oppressions that are likely to arise from land-related issues or prospects for relocation. As earlier mentioned, land is communally owned especially by clans and villages both organizational forms headed by men. Further some pieces of land are owned by entire parishes while-some of the land is supposed to be taken by district land boards but it is still being used by peasants who are not aware it belongs to the district and are only having access. Some pieces are owned by individuals especially in Ngwedo sub-county. As mentioned before the land towards and above the escarpment is in a fertile area meant for crop -cultivation, while that in the rift valley is reserved for animal rearing. People living in the rift valley walk or ride several kilometres to access their gardens, many of who are women.

Survey findings.

There is no land titling in much of Buliisa, no communal land associations, and communal land has not been registered according to clans. In the case females Inherit land, which is very rare, they generally get smaller plots, than men, the rationale being that the shares are not equal because people have taken it for granted that women will marry into another family. Individuals evicted who were evicted from sites on which oil wells are located were compensated for the property destroyed and relocation, however many demand that a percentage of the oil revenue should go to owners of the land were the wells are located-a claim disregarded by the oil company.

Generally, what is expressed by my informants is a fear of being evicted at a certain one time. This is also reflected in my survey (see Appendix I) where 56 per cent of the population feared that they would get evicted from their land in the near future. They further cited spillage, soil pollution, desertification, wars, influx of job seekers among other reasons underlying their fears. The fears are so real that residents are afraid of constructing permanent houses in the area. Further from my survey 5 per cent of the population rated the performance of Tullow oil as excellent, 37 per cent as Good, 21 percent as fair, 33 percent as poor and 4 per cent were in the do not know category. More males than women rated Tullow as good because they had benefitted from the jobs created while the women had suffered crop destruction and were not offered jobs. Majority of the 4 per cent that did not know how to rate Tullow were women because they were ignorant of the companies activities and had most probably not benefitted. The attitudes towards the company are quite balanced, in a sense that the bad and good do not outweigh the other. What has been commonly cited is that most of the jobs are not meant for women. Another claim is that Tullow officials demanded bribes from job seekers and if they could not afford they took their initial salary to meet the amount. They have complained that the employment is seasonal and that the vacancies are few, they think that the most important vacancies are occupied by foreigners and not them. Another often heard complaint is that they don't give people lifts when they meet them walking-a general attitude expressing an inimical attitude towards the local community and relational ideals of reciprocity and assistance.

However a percentage of people appreciated services that have been brought to them through Tullow's corporate social responsibility. Tullow had given back to the community

through corporate social responsibility especially infrastructural development. Some of the things appreciated included; the construction of bore holes. Originally women walked many distances to find water at the lake, the other water sources which were also not safe enough for use. Free male circumcision as an initiative to curb HIV/AIDS is a programme the community is actively taking part in. Free condoms have also been distributed. They communities prone to HIV/AIDS are those on landing sites because of their risky sexual behavior. Originally before Tullow's operations the roads were almost impassable these roads have since been graded. However the people still claim they lack electricity, their hospital is ill equipped, they are denied jobs and that their land and crops have not been well compensated. There are needs the community should be consulted on like dams from which animals can drink so that they do not have to walk several kilometers to the lake to find water.

The fears over land and nature is not only related to titling, pollution and fears of being evicted in the future. More profoundly and reflecting a view of nature that has been irredeemably broken by the activities of Tullow the Bagungu fear that their land will sink in future as-they believe a vaccum was created during the seismic surveys when dynamite was exploded under ground. Informants widely claim that they could hear and feel the explosions under ground, and are convinced that something wrong will happen in future. They also foresee land grabbing following the so-called Balaalo incident were communal land was sold off and acquired dubiously by pastoralists who barred the Bagungu from hunting, grazing and cutting thatch from 30 square miles of land. This land was also previously used for cotton growing in Waiga and Bugana. During this incident the Balaalo raped women who went to collect firewood, they stole animals and disrupted hunting expeditions in the area (Kiiza 2012). And worse still is that they had guns and were dangerous. Even after their eviction this area is not accessible some people claim that the Balaalo have not yet left. They say it was about 630 families displaced.

The coming of the oil industry has brought with it new changes and attitudes as discussed above. The oil industry might be a threat to the environment and livelihoods of the people in these oil rich areas. And good management will most likely avert the already existing challenges from the activities of the oil companies at an early stage. Especially if activities like seismic surveys are well managed to minimise it's direct negative impacts on the the communities.

CHAPTER THREE

Crop Compensation. 'Tullow destroyed our crops'.

"...I was not happy with the payment because it did not match the magnitude of destruction. I received only 79,000(UGX) i was so let down, I was failed. I did not know were to launch a complaint nor have any authority to complain. My five acasia trees were also destroyed while I wasn't around. I informed the chairman, he recorded it. However when time for payment came, my name was missing, I lost my five trees...' Female respondent from Ngwedo cub county November 2011.

Gender and Agriculture in Uganda

It has been identified that nature is not really innate when acted upon by culture, just like culture is to nature, women have been exploited by culture. Arguably, and as alluded to in the chapters above, new developments from the oil industry simply aggrevates such exploitation. also in the case I explore in Uganda. Moreover, generally in Uganda and many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, women contribute 70-80 per cent of all agricultural labour in production and 90 per cent of all labour involving food production in Uganda (Tripp 2010). They contribute 55 percent of the labour force for land preparation, 65 percent for planting, 85-90 per cent for weeding and 95 percent for food processing (Kharono 2010). Women are generally responsible for providing for the household, therefore their access to land for food production is critical to the welfare of the entire household.

The gender division of labour amongst the Bagungu emphasises that a woman's

responsibility is to bring the household "food" *Bidyo* (cassava, potatoes, maize and so forth) while men are to bring "sauce" (beef, mutton, fish e.t.c). This gender division of responsibility necessitates that women cultivate the land to acquire such kinds of food while men fish, slaughter domestic animals, hunt or purchase "their" food. However, the division is not as clean cut as it may seem as.

Women are almost completely dependent on men for access to land. Further women who are childless, single, widowed, disabled, separated/divorced, or with only female children often have little or no recourse because they may have no access to land through a male relative (Odoko & Levine 2008). Also Uganda's Land Act does not cater for cohabiting women.

A considerable number of women in Buliisa till on their father's land, whenever they are not permitted access to their husband's land. Despite such circumstances, the husbands maintain much authority over the proceeds from the land. The 1998 Land Act, brought a system of tenure, ownership, and administration of land to redress, land administration. One provision in the Act that requires the prior written consent of both spouses in transactions involving family holdings is not fully being recognised by the Ugandan population especially when selling the family land. The Act also prohibits decisions pertaining to customary land that deny women access to, ownership of, or occupation of land (Tripp 2010). But a few rural dwellers are aware of such provisions, and carry on with patriarchal and illegal ways of governing land.

In the amendments to the Land Act made in 2000, women's rights activist and organizations lobbied a second time without success for the inclusion of a co-ownership clause into the Land Act. Chapter 227 of the most recent amendments of the Land Act attempts to protect women, it states that a spouse who is not the owner of the land can lodge a caveat on the certificate of occupancy or certificate of customary ownership of the person owning the land to indicate that any transaction involving that property requires their consent. The Land Act also defines family land as that on which the family's ordinary residence is situated, and land from which the family derives its livelihood. On this land every family member and spouse shall enjoy security of occupancy and have access. Consent must be sought from every family member prior to sale, exchange, transfer,

pledge, mortgage or lease.

However, the reality on ground is that customary practices provide limited possibilities for women to own land. In patrilineal societies, women generally do not inherit land from either their fathers or their husbands because daughters and wives marry outside the clan, and will take the land to another clan. Husbands often do not bequeath land to their wives for the same reason. They need to ensure that the land remains within the clan because they worry that the widow might sell the land to non-clan members. Or get married into another family. Female-headed households are largely excluded from access to land by customary arrangements.

'Tullow drove through their Gardens': Tullow ya labire mumisiri.

Most of the Bagungu and Alur whose crops were destroyed during the seismic surveys were women, like elsewhere in the country, women contribute 90 percent of all labour involving food production. Clearing and land preparation, planting, weeding and food processing. This figure might be higher in Buliisa since it does not matter whether the land is accessed through her husband or father, she still toils almost single handedly. Many of the crops destroyed were women's because much of planting, weeding, harvesting and processing is done by women. Several farmers were not content with the prices stipulated per crop, and there were complaints of not being consulted when drafting the pricing list for payment per plant/acres/ square metres. Farmers complained that the money was far less than what they had expected. And the payments were delayed, which interfered with their plans. For instance planting seasons were missed as they were not allowed to access their gardens prior to evaluation. And there were no harvests from the gardens were crops had been destroyed, so no food could be marketed to meet school dues for children. And when the money was received from the compensation, the husbands made decisions over how it was to be spent. The husband always took a lion's share and the wife was expected to go by that because the man is supposed to be dominant and 'authorise' the wife because he paid bride price. As seen in the quote below.

"...When I received the money I brought it and handed it to my husband. He then gave me some and retained the rest as the head of the family. There were some men that fought for the entire entire amount yet they never dig and have even forgotten were the gardens were located. They fought for the money as if it were all there's alone. And even when he got the money he did not buy the children anything, not even got better seats for the house. One woman registered her gardens in her husband's name and when the money came he took it all, they had a misunderstanding and separated. Crops were also under rated like the acasia trees' Female respondent from Buliisa Town Council August 2011 Translated from Lugungu to English

Some general impressions were that much of the money ended up in bars as it was in the hands of men, and also most of the money was spent through impulse buying from mobile shops with inflated prices, that were located next to the compensation venue. Some marriages ended into divorce and separation because the men who had never stepped into a garden wanted to own the money. Money was also rejected when a neighbor who had had a smaller portion of land destroyed earned more. Many people whose names went missing did not receive payment.

Generally the majority of my informants do not trust their leaders much and neither the subcontracted companies. They prefer working directly with Tullow. They claim that before Tullow subcontracted the compensation for the crops to another company, the payments were bigger and better. They think Tullow might have a genuine cause but it is their leaders sabotaging them and advising on low payments when never there is compensation.

"...Many people made money from the compensation, I used to dig 3-4 gardens, but this time I did not dig much because of illness, I was only compensated for 50metres, I first received 80,000 and then later 100.000. My husband wanted some and I gave him 75, 000. Men always want a share and some marriages have broken as a result of this. We were told to spend sparingly so we could buy a piece of land, buy a cow or build a house. The payment for young cassava was less yet someone targeting a particular season. Less money was unfair." Female respondent from Kisiabi Sub-county

Some farmers complained that the compensation did not put into consideration the amount used when clearing the land people where people were hired, so setting a standard price for everyone was not fair. Because women's roles are undervalued as nature is, there is a high likelyhood that the prices were low and uniform for all terrains. Among the complaints was that the evaluation exercise took place during a dry season, when many of the crops had dried and could not easily be identified. Farmers were stopped from picking any food from their gardens before the gardens were evaluated and yet the evaluers took too long, about three months to measure the destruction in yards. They claimed that they were being paid for only crops destroyed and not for the inconvenience caused, because women for instance are responsible for the everyday survival of the family. The trucks were heavy and they compressed the soil, that the cassava got rotten (staple food), the soil was also almost impossible to till especially for the women. They claimed the ground became as hard as concrete. Crops planted later did not yield well on such soil. A mature plant was priced differently, but the villagers argued that even the young crops would eventually mature so they deserved the same price. Since the payment came at a when the young crops would have already matured. Their herbal plants were not included in the list, the price for acacia tree was not good, it was regarded as a post yet it provided shelter. The tree is planted as a pole but it is expected to provide shelter as well. They also complained about the amount allocated to sisal because it is a perennial crop and can last many years in the ground, one plant can give 100 ropes per harvest and yet a rope was valued at 500 UGX. They did not consider that Cassava is harvested for upto four years. In many gardens that were mixed cropped, only one crop was considered. At times gardens were destroyed and people got to know a week later because the gardens are located 7-8 km from were people live. Distorting the local subsistence economy and causing temporary food shortages, which also meant shortages for marketing surplus food to buy other items to supplement the household food and none food necessities. Like sugar, salt, paraffin, beef etc.



Woman in Akichira village, kisomere parish, Ngwedo sub county in Buliisa district, the morning before she went to pick her compensation money December 2011.

The photo shows a heavy truck carrying a mini rig, partly destroying a cotton garden. Source: BGP Crew 8638D visitor guide



As reflected also in the quotes above the compensation given after destroying crops during seismic surveys was said to be low because the villagers believed they would have earned more if they had marketed the crops. It was also delayed because they compensated the earliest six months after destruction, other received their money a year later while in some instances there was no payment made, at all. Either because of missing names or missing gardens that were not recorded. The farmers also wondered why the crops were priced according to maturity yet they thought that these crops would eventually mature and get sold or eaten and so needed to be given the same price. They also claimed that the costs from cassava and sisal were so low since they were not annual but perennial crops and are harvested for many years. It was challenging especially that nature had been commodified in other ways. The evaluation came late and the same was with the payments. They would have harvested the crops priced as immature, since they were paid several months after the destruction. Prior to evaluation, people were not allowed to access their gardens. They were not allowed to pick food from the gardens so nothing was tampered but the evaluation took place over two months after destruction. The amount was determined by multiplying the width of the vehicle in metres and the length of the stretch it destroyed in metres by the price allocated to the crop. However farmers think the width of the vehicle was reduced from 3.7 to 2.5. Farmers majority of whom were women did not get paid at all because of missing information, those that registered several other gardens in the names of their children also claim to have missed compensation. The land was also hardened when heavy trucks were driven over it, and crops no longer yielded well.

The local council 1 chairperson was responsible for sensitizing the communities about the exercise, many people claim they were not consulted before the exercise took place. Some people claimed they got to know of their gardens` destruction two weeks later, there gardens are over six kilometres away.

When compensation came after the evaluation (by a government evaluator-stipulating the prices per crop per yard, and a private company- taking measurements of area destroyed, together with local leaders), the prices stipulated per yard per crop destroyed were imposed upon farmers. During the assessment, they were only given the number of yards and not the amount they were meant to receive. One female hoped for a high amount as a result of shire blessings or good luck, she just had no idea of even any simple estimate. Another woman from Kitahura cell expected 800.000UGX but was given an envelope containing 400.000UGX, she rejected the envelope. Similar scenarios have commonly been talked about.

The pricing lists were confidential and only unveiled to the community leaders on the 16th of September after many payments had already been made. And yet the community leaders had always demanded for this list from the start of evaluation. They argued that several other factors should also have been put into consideration and not only pricing of plants destroyed, For instance the cost of clearing a garden for cultivation which varies. A resident of Buliisa Town Council claimed that in Ngwedo sub county, clearing about quarter of an acre cost 20,000 UGX while Kilyango it cost 25,000 UGX. The soils in Ngwedo are sandy and easy to till. Every village has its own price. Some places have too many trees and tough grasses so the prices go up. Setting a standard price for all villages is not being fair, no village was consulted on incorporating the prices/effort used for clearing the land for cultivation.

Another problem arising was that the evaluation was conducted during a dry season and many crops were dry and could not be identified. Therefore farmers were not paid for all crops destroyed since the evaluating team took long to record the plants after destruction, that many plants dried up. Most gardens were destroyed when crops had not yet matured, a young plant was not valued as a mature one, yet the farmer valued both equally because they would eventually harvest from both of them .And because of heavy trucks driven over gardens, the soil got so compact and got difficult to till. One farmer claims that the soil got as compact as concrete. The crops planted on areas previously passed over by the heavy trucks are stunted and yellowish. The villagers have accused Tullow company of destroying their land and that their crops no longer grow well. They cannot not afford purchasing another fine piece of land. One woman is quoted:

`..Tullow giheneri itehe lyetu, nsi gili gitatiro na bidwo biku handa kwahi kurungi, kurira mani habi motoka bya rabyengi mipiira.`

This is translates as; 'Tullow has destroyed our soil, the land is too hard to till, crops do not grow well on portions were the trucks` tyres stepped.'

In the compensation process and according to the informant I gathered, farmers received between 150,000 and 1,000,000 Ugandan shillings, being paid out in a lump sum. And since many villagers are used to handling small amounts of money with hardly much to spend, they did not manage well, the finances that were paid in lump sum. Because men are decision makers in the home much of the money was spent according to their interests and not the women's. There is an incident were an old man bought a crate of beer emptied it and gave his animals to drink as well. The community leaders currently are running radio programmes teaching villagers on how to invest their money on tangible things. The Residence District Commissioner and Local Council leaders intend to meet communities to sensitize them on how to spend by investing the money on what will help them `tomorrow`. They want to advise them to, for instance, construct permanent houses, purchase domestic animals, avoid spending money on marriage of more wives. Mobile shop were situated next to the compensating site and they all had merchandise inflated to alarming prices.

Problems resulted also from delayed payment because it took about 6-8 month's without making payment, and the payment process only ended in December 2011. A year after the destruction. The measurements, assessments and evaluation took place in April 2011, months after the trucks had passed. Between this time, the locals were not allowed to access their gardens and suggested that they should be compensated for the inconveniences, for instance the time spent without growing crops, when the farmers were asked to stay away from their gardens prior to evaluation.

A 29 year old mother of 6 children, cultivated in two gardens. Her cassava crop was destroyed from each of the gardens. She is quoted below;

'One garden was given to me by my husband's uncle and the other I purchased together with my husband. I expected between 800.000UGX and 1.000.000UGX from the first garden 600.000UGX from the second garden'.

She did not complain about the amount she received. She was not present during the assessment because she had just given birth by caesarian. (some women complain of returning to dig before their backs have fully recovered from child birth because they cant stand seeing their children going hungry). Her crops were damaged in April 2011 and she received the pay in October 2011. This delay distorted her plans of hiring labourers to clear land for the next season. She could not dig since had been operated upon. With the money she had planned to construct a semi permanent house, buy a cow and cater for the basic needs of her children, especially purchasing them clothes. She bought the clothes, and bought timber that was delivered to the construction site. Her husband kept asking her for how much she had spent and how much she is left with. He also kept demanding money for also constructing a semi-permanent house, repairing his bicycle and other needs. She is quoted:

'He does not stop asking. Whenever he asks for money for alcohol and I don't give him, he batters me. This time he beat me and took my money from were I had hidden it. It is the fourth time I am divorcing and going back to my parents' place but my parents tell me to return to my children. Whenever my husband returns drunk I sleep in the bush or at the neighbors for fear of being beaten badly. The last time he beat me, I spent a night in the bush, beaten by mosquitoes'.

Some farmers had planned that during the harvest time the crops would be sold for money to raise school fees. As the crops could not be harvested and sold, this created a situation with no money for school fees. The trucks were heavy and they destroyed the cassava which got rotten because the trucks were heavy ,they compacted the soil that rain water could not sink and caused crops to get stunted.

As in many other areas of Uganda, cassava here is also a staple food people depend on daily. The exercise covered vast areas, the trucks were driven through all corners, but only evaluated crops were compensated. Trees, grass and forests were not evaluated. Misunderstandings also arose from measurements, farmers accused those measuring for manipulating figures. And paying them less. Some local people rejected the money

especially on realizing that their neighbors with smaller chunks of destroyed land received more money.

The villagers are lined up under scorching sun to get compensated. On getting the money they rush straight to buy mechanize from mobile shops who sell at inflated prices, a jerrycan of 3000 can go to 5000 UGX. Some return home empty handed without a single coin as a result of impulse buying. Many villagers were not used to handling such a lump sum in one go.

Some marriages broke, there was also news reported that a woman was speared to death by her husband who did not want to share the compensation money with her yet the woman had cultivated the land and grown the crops single handedly, the man was a drunkard and wanted to spend it in the bar. Some men are said to carry a heap of money to the bar, while others paid school fees bought domestic utensils, clothes, bicycles, animals, malwa (local brew) etc

The sub contracted Company officially ended its seismic activities on 15th sept 2011 began in Aug 2010 recruited men in Dec 2010. When the land is destroyed it is not compensated because they say the land belongs to government. The compensation was delayed and the money was little. Medicinal plants were not compensated because they were considered wild. Payment was always delayed, at times as long as after a year. The payments being made in September 2011, were for crops that were destroyed in early January 2011 and late November 2010. One community member mentioned this in September 2011.

'They are only paying today what about all that time they spent with out paying what would the people have been eating?' A woman in Kisiabi sub county November 2011.

Many farmers were expecting so much more than what they received. The figures on the assessment form was different from those figures on the payment form. Some people signed on behalf of others who were not around so they were not sure of how much they were supposed to earn. Some farmers suggested that the evaluators should have uprooted the cassava to see how many tubers are underground before stipulating the price. Most people were no given the amount they were to earn during the assessment, some only knew they had gotten measured and nothing more. They did not know the amount to be paid nor the figures in terms of yards or metres measured. Women

deprivation of information was because of how culture has constructed them to be less mobile and occupied my so many demanding household roles. Most meetings were mainly attended by men and in this way women lacked adequate information. Women spent much of their time away in the gardens, they also do not listen much to radio, they are most of the time cooking, washing or listening to family disputes and domestic violence. Whenever a woman tried to assert herself in decision making positions, she is reminded that after all she is a mere woman. In this way women's views and opinions are increasingly suppressed because they are not allowed to publicly express their opinions. Women not usually speak at gatherings with men, and they go by the men's opinion even when they do not agree to them.

Crops are not grown in much of the land in Buliisa because of animals that usually graze without a pastoralist – they graze along the lake shores during the dry season. In this process women's work is devalued and derecognised mirroring to some extent nature's work and productivity, ultimately causing an ecological crisis. At the level of political economy, the devaluing of subsistence economies, as Shiva (1996) refers to, is undertaken largely by the distortion of livelihoods produced by capitalist projects such as the oil exploration in the area under study.

CHAPTER FOUR

Revenue sharing and benefits: This oil is located on our land.

If am not happy with the kingdom of Bunyoro. What hurts me most is being under Bunyoro, it shows we are not yet independent. Lugungu as a language is very different, even our economic activities, we are called Banyoro because we are not independent. During the Balaalo wrangles the kingdom did not help, I have never seen the king helping us, no voice from the kingdom. The Balaalo passed through Masindi. Banyoro underlook Bagungu, they look at Bagungu as inferior. If I had the capacity I would have been the first person to revolt. If I had supporters I would stage a serious revolution. How can they construct a tarmac road that stopped in Hoima or Masindi. If they get money from Bugungu they will just develop Hoima and Masindi. There is no building or shrine for the king they, underlook us they think we are inferior. The Kingdom has a plan to build Hoima and Masindi not Buliisa. They look at our languege as if it is not meant to be spoken by human beings. Just like there are Baganda, Basoga and Banyoro we are Bagungu. Each district should cater for a different tribe, Buliisa for Bagungu because we clearly understand each other. We would rather have a chiefdom if we can't get a kingdom. Finding jobs beyond the boundary becomes a problem.'

A male youth of about 27 years from a fishing village near Buliisa Town Council. November 2011

Scholars like Vogt (2012) have written on the importance of ethnic power sharing as crucial for political management of resource wealth in Africa and in order to decrease the potential for conflict. Oil-related problems are common in countries with many ethnicities, especially when some are considered dominant in relation to the others. As expressed by many of my informants most Bagungu think the oil belongs to government, to the president or to the exploring companies. They also do have claims of entitlement since the oil is located on their land. Many of these attitudes were reshaped after experiencing flaring, and them not being consulted when the oil company conducts destructive activities on their land. The questions central to this debate are; Whose oil is it? And who is fully entitled to benefit from it? These difficult questions are also reflected in the quote belowtypical of how my informants related to these issues:

'As a mugungu on my land, i need to be paid much more than a Motoro or Munyoro who is far away. The problem is: the person to die is the one living here, the percentage of (assigned to a) mugungu should be higher than anyone else. (It is claimed)Oil is for the whole Uganda (national resource) not for Bagungu but the Bagungu looked after oil.

'Muntu alinda Mezi a nywa mezi: Whoever is custodian of water drinks water.

Now we who have been here and need a greater percentage (of the revenues) than others. You ask us to leave here, where do we go if there are spills? Who dies first? In case of war, who will suffer more? That is why we deserve a greater percentage. The person on which oil well was built on land (on whose land an oil well was built) should take a bigger percentage than any other person. I don't see how we are to benefit from oil. Government should educate people about oil, it is new. We are educated know (if we are educated we get to know), teach us and tell us that oil will not bring anything or it will so that we are also happy. I understand other nations have problems, sunshine, and oil spills all that brings death. We at all time where is our future. How do we benefit from that oil.

We do not know how many drums of oil are under ground, it is those educated that know. I do not know how much (many) litres are drilled a day. Weather 1 million or what? How shall we know that?

How shall we know what is under ground. We were told so many drums of oil were taken, we did not know they had taken this oil, we were told they took, if they hadn't told they took if they hadn't told us we would not have known. We need to first be informed before. We need to first be educated what good is in oil. And how the owners shall benefit. People want us to sell our land for 1 million, then he will sell it at a higher price. If my children are starving I ask to be killed. We hear through radio that all nations with oil have problems. Shall we be part of oil states were oil is a curse or be among states where oil is a blessing or is it in a curse? All radio stations (kbc bbc) we hear a place attacked.. women do not over listen to radio because they are occupied with a lot of duties, digging, fetching water, washing, firewood collection, cooking, looking for food...' Respondent from kihura cell December 2011.

The Bagungu constitute a population of less than 40.000 people. Many times the Bagungu have been mistaken for Banyoro. They might belong to Bunyoro kingdom but they are very a different people. For instance they fish and herd on a large scale, which the Banyoro do not do. They qualify to be termed a minority group, and have encountered many challenges because of their small numbers and unique nature. They speak a language that not everyone seems to understand, not even those with whom they have coexisted for

close to a century. According to history, the Bagungu have been evacuated more than once from their area. And now they are faced with a more eminent challenge of the oil industry, which has already began distorting the livelihood and culture of the Bagungu.

Despite people's low expectation from the oil industry, they still hope as well as demand that a proportion of the revenue from the oil goes to the region or kingdom.

The Bunyoro kingdom has for long spear headed this, claiming that the land where the blocks are located belongs to the kingdom. Arguing that the kingdom has suffered much underdevelopment, they cite bad roads and high illiteracy rates and urgent issues to address. The Resource management Bill is being prepared by the ministry of finance planning and economic development, and will soon be tabled in parliament. This bill among other thing describes how the oil revenue will be apportioned. It is likely that the revenues will be managed by the local government. However peasants on whose land oil wells were drilled insist that they want a percentage of the revenue. They claimed that they were compensated for the buildings but not land. When they complained, they were told that the land belonged to the government.

As reflected in the opening quote of this chapter some Bagungu distance themselves from Bunyoro kingdom claiming that even though they have a similar naming system, they speak a different language. And are looked down upon by the Banyoro who claim their language is not worth being spoken by human beings. So they want autonomy.

The people of Buliisa also expect more revenue allocated to them because it is them that will suffer the brunt of spillages and relocation. They also expect to be prioritized when recruiting labourers. Indeed two youths were recruited from each village to work during the seismic surveys, however all recruited were male. They said that the work involved carrying transmitter cables for long distances under the sun. The job so hectic and required men, because it involved walking over eight kilometers a day through the bush carrying cables weighing over twenty kilograms. The women however claimed that they dug year in and year out without assistance from the men, and why was it that when it came to salaried work, women were considered as weak. A neighboring Kasamene1 well complained that even simple work like sweeping and weeding the camps were oil company employees live and the areas were the oil wells are located, was given to men.

The Bagungu do not feature in the oil debates nor do they feature in the oil and gas policy. Their role as key stakeholders has not been made central nor recognized as it should be. No mugungu in my survey seems to really know what the production sharing agreements are, only a handful have a completely vague idea. However it is them that have experienced effects from gas flaring, they have suffered delayed and low payments from compensation following destruction of crops while conducting seismic surveys. It is their cultural sites that have been distorted and their land being consumed by grabbers, their gardens consumed with no compensation by roads leading to wells, and lost land in areas were oil wells have been dug. Their voice is camouflaged under the demands from Bunyoro kingdom on revenue sharing and not necessarily the ongoing challenges. Since majority of the population is illiterate or semi literate their experiences and aspirations are as narrow as what they. They don't see what other people are seeing. They only have short sighted imaginations. Oil exploration is so new to them and the industry very technical, many just await what they will see and keep hoping that all goes well. Many residents in Buliisa consider themselves powerless and vulnerable especially that they have not gone to school and so cannot articulate themselves well and are also not formally employed so they lack a descent income.

The Bagungu have had a history of displacement and evacuation having left and returned more than twice. These evacuations have been interpreted by the Bagungu as attempts to displace them off their landⁱ. In 1901 there was an outbreak of sleeping sickness. During these colonial times in 1905 the government evacuated Bagungu to kiryandongo in kitara because the disease had claimed many lives. The colonial government had wanted to demarcate their land as a national park, it was therefore reluctant on returning them. And this is the reason why the Bagungu believed the tsetse flies were introduced by the colonial government to wipe them out so that their land is gazzated as a park. Some Bagungu did not go to Kiryandongo but opted for Congo, Panyamur and Panyagoro. They returned in 1920 with the help of Yubu Katongole Kyamukatuka who was a representative with the Bunyoro Kingdom Council and who advocated for their return. He of, course, met resistance from the colonial government and kingdom, and he was put to task to prove that the disease had been wiped out. Which he did.

Another incident took place in 1955 when the Bunyoro Kingdom Council sat and passed a resolution to evacuate Bagungu to Kimengo. Again it is the Bagungu's representative to council Daniel Wairindi who mobilized a few other Bagungu and wrote a letter to the governor stating why they shouldn't be evacuated. Their most prominent claim was that they contribute a lot of taxes from their fishing activities and therefore deserved to stay. The letter was delivered by hand in fear of sabotage, this again worked for them. The Bagungu are believed to have been colonised by the Banyoro, they took on the Banyoro names but not the languege. It was from the Bagungu that warriors and guards for Bunyoro kingdom were recruited. Their major activities include hunting, fishing and herding, they were known for salt mining at Kibiro. Today Bagungu children are taught in Lunyoro at lower primary school because the curriculum is developed in Lunyoro and have been grouped as Banyoro. There is an advocacy group against this. The Bagungu currently occupy Buliisa Sub County, Butiaba, Ngwedo, Kigwera and Buliisa Town Council. But previously they occupied Labong, Pajeu, Padiri, Kisomere, Kasinyi, Uligi and Kilyangu, places now gazetted as Murchison falls national park. The discovery of oil on their land has set in reminders of their past and vulnerability, it has brought in new fears of being displaced.

The residents of Buliisa are also not aware of how much will accrue in revenues once production states, nor how much development the money can bring them. An activist for good governance from Buliisa demanded that they are apportioned a good percentage. He took an example from what takes place when a buffalo is hunted down. He says that even before they go hunting, the already know what part to give the owner of the spear. He says that it should be the case with the oil revenues where the percentage to be given the Bagungu should be known. The bill on revenue sharing has not yet been tabled before parliament but it is likely that the percentage will go to the regional local governments. Some land owners are pushing that they too should be given a percentage from the revenues. Many Bagungu are uncertain whether the money would trickle down to them if it went through Bunyoro Kitara Kingdom. They accuse the kingdom of standing by them when they were invaded by the Balaalo, they claim they fought the battle single handily. They don't trust that the kingdom wishes them well, they cite the incidence of the road to Hoima and Masindi being tarmacked while that to Buliisa being neglected, which they look at as deliberate. They also accuse the king of not visiting Buliisa and using money donated

to the king by government to build a museum yet there are more eminent cultural issues in Buliisa that that money could have been directed to.

According to Edwin Ardener (1989: 127-133) dominant groups in society generally maintains control over various forms of expression. Even where expression is inhibited by the fact that women do not speak the same language as the dominant group, women are objects of marital exchange. The Banyoro silence the Bagungu, the Bagungu further silence their women. National Oil and Gas Policy recommends sharing revenues between the central and local governments. The Resource management Bill is being prepared my the MFPED(Ministry if Finance Planning and Economic Development), it is in the public domain for discussion and will soon be tabled before parliament, the government is finalizing a communication strategy that will cover the communication gaps associated with oil. However it is not clear how residents of Buliisa are to benefit from the resource. The expression below is a way one youth demands to know their stake in the industry and particularly the percentage of revenue they are to earn.

'Niba kugenda ubaba ku higa. Mbakita kisolo orundi nka mpeta bulimuntu aba yegiri kihinga kya kutwaala mukumaliira aleke bata lwanira bi hinga mpeta gya kaba kikwire baba begire mukama isumu aba yegiri kihinga kya ku twala. Namukama kitimba daba yegire. Natutiri aba yegiri kihinga kya ku twala nasongiri daba yegiri kyamwe.'

Translated as:

When going to hunt and you do not have a spear, you hire or borrow from an elder. If you kill an animal using his spear the owner of the spear has a portion to be given, which is not negotiable. The one who carries the meat, the owner of the knife or panga already knows the part they are to take to avoid conflict.

The Bagungu demand that they know the portion of the oil revenues they are entitled to because they believe they are important stakeholders. In Kityanga cell along the lake shores people, were stopped from putting up permanent structures and because of that there are speculations that there will be a plane field. Or that government might evacuate people and would not want to compensate highly for those with permanent structures. There is uncertainty about the future and about the oil as well, as in the quote below.

'Ma kuta Ga gyendiri, gaa tullow.'

Translated as

This oil has already been taken by Tullow.

Other insecurities are reflected in the quote below.

'...Much as we live here we have been denied (deprived), our children have been denied the opportunity of taking part in the oil industry. Students studying on oil are from Ankole, going to Malaysia. At kigumba cooperative college you must be a munyankole. It (oil) might get exhausted before we benefit from it. They are taking oil but saying that oil cannot be used in aeroplanes, taking it to kasese. They are going to sell that oil. What about the percentage to the local people, sub county village district. How shall we benefit or at least construct health centres. We don't know the percentage we are supposed to earn, even the kingdom does not know. Most Banyoro are ignorant and backward. Livestock will die farming will not easily be practiced.' A respondent from Kigwera sub county.

Colonised by the Banyoro, Bagungu took on pet names. Today in Uganda, Lower primary school children from primary 1 to primary 3 are taught in their local languages. However the Bagungu are being taught in Lunyoro and the reason is because the ministry of education lacks text books and references written in Lugungu and that most officials in the education office are Banyoro and hence opposed to the Bagungu studying in their own language.

Many families in Buliisa allow their animals to wander by themselves without herds men. They at times find their way to and from the lake, when the grass is good during the rainy season, they are left at the lake and picked in the evening. These animals that lead themselves to the lake have a path they follow, when people construct houses or gazzate an area for oil activities, they are blocking these paths. However villages that are distant from the lake have a problem finding water for their animals, and constructing valley dams has not been prioritized by the oil company. And when the animals walk the whole day to the lake, the sick ones could die, milk yield goes down and one gets a cup and a half instead of four, the sun becomes a problem to them. The people also expect Tullow to provide a dip because spraying is not as effective because no part is left untouched. In

the past some places were strictly for grazing like Buliisa, Wanseko and Waiga, while others for cultivation so as to reduced the possibility of crop destruction as the animals graze or find their way to the lake, today the animals have increased and some people are fencing off their crops, or keep on stand by to chase away any animals coming. Animals are very important they are sold used for dowry and at times used as sacrifices for rituals. The noise from explosives and drilling scare out animals some animals try to run out of the kraal. We are also afraid that when they start pulling oil (drilling), the land will dry up, there will be no food for our animals. In future our goats and cows might die because they will have nothing to eat. It is most likely that the owners of the animals will not be compensated when they loose them yet the animals were their source of income, it is also probable that the owners will not be earning from the oil (Industry)

A general problem in these contexts is that multinational oil companies do not employ indigenes. The companies as well as national governments are therefore often popularly seen as trying to deprive the locals of their wealth. A case in point is, oil refineries in Nigeria which are located in the north, with no technical explanation from government. Boards and agencies managing Nigeria's oil are either in the capital or far away from the oil producing region.

These actions are also related to insensitivity to local culture-a stance which reinforces other issues to ignite tension, non-respect for the local population's sacred institutions and lands identified as sacred. Social problems such as defilement of young women with the influx of foreign oil workers are also problematic. The victims are below the age of consent both legally and customarily, closely linked is irresponsible fathering by the oil workers(Alao:2007:177) For instance the dwindling of fish stocks in Lake Albert is being blamed on the destruction of a cultural ground for the Bayaga community that had been used to consult the spirits for a big fish catches. This place was demolished following the oil exploration. The people relate the low catch to unhappy spirits and also the burning of flames from the oil wells on the lake (Ssebuyira 2011)

CHAPTER FIVE

Cultural sites: Our Sacred grounds were destroyed.

Munyoro spiritual leader of the Bakobya clan, complaining about the destruction of a sacred cultural site during the drilling of Ngasa 2 Oil well by Tullow Oil and Gas company, without his consent. December 2011. Translated from Lunyoro to English. As extracted from the film MAKUTA, viewing from 2 minutes 49 seconds to 23 minutes 3 seconds.

I am Sadiq Ngasirwaki, from Kaiso, my spirits are Ijumuka and wamara, I was deeply saddened by the coming of Tullow people, I am in charge of all the spiritual things here but they did not consult me. Not even endeavour to reach me, when they began drilling their oil, yet I live very close. They just sought permission from the local leaders (chairman) and carried on with their business. But despite their efforts, they will never find oil until they first seek my permission, i the owner of this land, here in Kaiso. And even though they discovered oil, they will not be able to drill it because this land is sacred...We got to a point of writing them (Tullow officials) a letter referring to culture issues, we were disregarded, I think we wrote about three times. Tullow undermined us, they always never replied. They undermined us and considered what we were doing as being senseless. I was compelled to go to the king, the king said we needed to defend our culture and work hard for its preservation and that Tullow officials needed to respect our cultural heritage and seek our permission if they are to acquire what they are looking for. They even destroyed things belonging to us at the site, the small house they found was put down. They began sleeping and drinking in the cultural site. Even that place were there is an MTN mast, they went and continued destroying our things, they dug holes, our things have been destroyed and there is nothing to do, their destruction is the reason that has brought suffering here in Kaiso, fish is scarce, people are dying day and night, if we the cultural leaders start investigating we realize that it stems from destroying our sacred cultural things that bring such problems here, you find people drowning and this or the other happening, people drowning frequently because our ancestral gods that have existed time immemorial are bringing

such. We have failed to adore the spirits, but they still exist, they come contact us but they do not have a place to stay, because their original place is were the oil people came and constructed, drilled wells without consulting us. And in that house were spirits were, it was put to the ground, artifacts destroyed, some were carried away. So they appear to us indicating that they still exist but have no place to stay. The second house we constructed was also thrown away. They are close, they contact me frequently, every week I can be contacted thrice of even four times because they are not steady, they have nowhere to stay. If the Tullow officials had only agreed to sit with me at a round table, they contact me and know what I do, then I would find a place to relocate my cultural things and I would also show them were they should work. They have disregarded us. The king asked us to put our complaint in writing so he could see what to do. Yet along that route we had points were we performed rituals. They even constructed a road to their well, yet that is were we gradually conducted rituals, progressively until we got to that point were the house was located. There is a first fig tree, and the second, this is the place the spirits kept resting, step by step from the first tree until they returned to their home house. All those things along the path were destroyed when the road was constructed. I want them to put my things on one side and their road should pass on the other. We had many small pots, baskets with money that no one would ever pick from. We do not know were the people of Tullow took these things. Their machines kept breaking down, it took them six months to drill that well. There was a day I was picked and taken from here to a barracks, were there was a soldier with mental problems, I was called and asked to take away the sprits disturbing his head. He used to guard that place were oil was discovered, sleeping in that cultural place. When my kin heard that I was going to do that they gave me a call stopping me. And asked me to tell the soldiers to take him to Tullow people for cure because they are the cause, they did not consult first. I am told he died as they took him to hospital in Kampala. I have strong conviction from our culture, as it was from the beginning, as our ancestors believed, from my devotion, from what the spirits communicate to me, that no oil will be discovered nor taken out of that well. They drilled and covered the hole, I don't know whether there is or isn't oil... Importantly, I am appealing to the president, to the minister and to the king, to put more effort in addressing this. Whites have interfered with our culture, they have invaded our culture, they should spare our culture and not interfere, if they have business to conduct on our land they should first go through us. We also want and appreciate development stemming from oil, and we are not sabotaging government programmes, but we want them to go through us so we can explain to them how things

worked from way back. So we he can know were to start. Do not go through the chairman because he is not the right person. When these whites get to the chairmen, they are bribed, and given a go ahead, leaving us in poverty and suffering, people dying, we cannot find hippos to eat. We cannot evoke the spirits, they come is dreams telling us to find them a resting place so they can help us. The whites come here and destroy our culture, yet we Ugandans cannot go to their place to destroy theirs. They come claiming they have money, we do not doubt they have money, we also need money, but they should not destroy our cultural heritage. Whites are well off in their country but we are not here. We want this tabled with them so we can discuss and see what compromise we get to, because I am not acting as an individual I am only a leader representing the clan. I will call other representatives to value the destroyed items. And also discuss the cost of relocating these artifacts. Some representatives are as far as Toro. At times you are directed by the spirits to find people as far as Tanzania. At times other unknown people are revealed in form of dreams to come and complete the performance of a ritual. They identify the person, describe appearance and social identification. Backcloth used here is gotten from Buganda, and for any rituals Backcloth is needed. You need a hollow coin which is rare, some items can only be found in Kampala. I have a strong conviction and I am not sabotaging government programmes but as long as there is no understanding between cultural demands from the spirits and Tullow, there will never be oil drilled. I have strong faith in what I believe.

Reflecting the concerns strongly expressed in the above quote, this chapter addresses the destruction of cultural sites during seismic activities and during drilling of wells. It shows the attachment people have to these grounds, and why these places are considered sacred. It also shows the insensitivity of the oil industry when they destroyed these grounds even after mapping had taken place, as well as their unwillingness to following rituals to relocate these places. The cultural leaders of these various sites have blamed catastrophes occurring, as, a result of the destruction of cultural sites because they lack proper places to perform rituals and avert disasters, and that the gods still need to be appeased. Well as the government is only interested in the oil, the locals value certain grounds as sacred because they add a lot of meaning to their live and well being.

The mismatch in the interaction between local communities and the larger regional or international networks, is what Gardner (2012) has termed as discordant development. Bateson (2006) identifies ecosystems as having humans beings in them and that society ceases to be pristine when capitalism is at work. It is evident that the oil industry has weakened the human environment interaction, because human spiritual life is linked to social nature. The destruction of cultural sites has placed constraints on social processes because nature is shaped into social reality since nature is a cultural construction.

Enju yembandwa yomuchwezi: Religious sites.

Cultural sites are religious sites, religion does not only explain the physical world but answers big questions as well, Clifford views religion as offering a structure of meaning in life (Thomas 2011). Durkheim views religion as a source of social cohesion through the sharing of beliefs, interaction and social control. According to John Mbiti (1991), African religion is a way of life. This probably explains the importance attached to these sites. Each clan amongst the Bagungu and Banyoro has a cultural site were rituals are performed by clan members. Each clan has a super natural being that is consulted when ever a clan members seek spiritual intervention. Some of these super natural beings are only found at particular sites. And so the destruction of these sites distorts the spiritual lives of the indigenous people in the affected places especially when they cannot conduct rituals. These sites have particular persons responsible for performing rituals (Mubandwa), they too have names and super natural beings specific to the site (Mbandwa). For instance, Buliisa has Nyambogo site with Buswa as its Mbandwa, Songi nya bibiri belongs to Tundulu site. The site destroyed as in the quote above was in Kaiso Tonya, it belonged to the Bakobya clan its leader is Ngasirwa Sadiq and the spirits contacted are ljumuka and Wamara.

Interaction and interpretation of Nature.

Cultural sites have names and specific locations. There exist beliefs surrounding these places, for instance, according to a spiritual leader in Buliisa, if one went very early or at mid-day, there is a high likelyhood that they will encounter something strange. For instance one would find a large snake, or would fall incase they tried to spear an animal.

There is a likelyhood that one would pick a scent of food cooking or find a spirit in form of a person, and usually something bad follows (encountering such is considered a bad omen). Cultural sites belong to clans. And among other things, they conduct rituals to prevent deaths while giving birth. Provide blessings when going to fish and hunt, and ensure crops germinate. Incase one falls sick they will require okubandwa. When lightening strikes a tree or house embandwa netongo (angered spirits), one then needs to perform rituals and sacrifice animals. In a situation were fire wood is collected from a cultural site one might fall sick and might not recover even when taken to hospital. Whenever a snake with two heads is met, whoever meets it does not mention it to anyone because it brings sickness and embandwa. It is claimed that two people from Tullow got mentally disturbed and their machines stopped working when they tampered with a cultural site. At Ngasa2 oil well, a brother to the spiritual leader said:

'They measure and see oil is there but the dig and go beyond without finding oil. Because they are not collaborating with people of cultural sites. So they have to pull out their machines.'

At cultural sites rituals are performed so that the bodies of the dead (those that have drowned) are found. These places viewed as cultural sites are considered very sacred that mysterious things occur. People are not supposed to visit these places very early mornings or at noon. If these rules are breached one could fall very ill and even die unless the right spirit is revoked.

There are several clans in Buliisa and Buseruka in Hoima, which implies many sites as well as these are generally clan-based. Anybody else that is new to the community would mistake a cultural site for a thicket. In the film attached to the thesis, at 54 minutes 10 seconds to 1 hour 21 seconds, the cultural site for the Mutemura is shown as an illustration of what other sites look like. It necessitated that cultural leaders be contacted prior to the seismic activities so as to map the area. The leaders were contacted prior to the seismic exercise and the cultural sites were mapped so they could not be destroyed by the mulcher and other vehicles. On the centrally the cultural leaders in Buliisa were disappointed when the surveyors destroyed the very sites they had mapped, one of the cultural leaders is very disappointed, and does not want to be involved again in the mapping nor dialogue with Tullow company officials because he says what they did could

cause death. These sites are used to avert castrophies like prolonged dry seasons, mosquito invasion, illnesses affecting children, children being eaten by crocodiles when they go swimming.

If the vegetation and sacred objects are not well maintained within the cultural sites, then those catastrophes will befall. Cultural sites are places were blessing are sought and sacrifices made for the non human beings that manifest themselves in form of wind or speak through somebody possessed. These spirits since way back were aroused before going to hunt dangerous animals like hippos and buffaloes or to fish, so that they did not encounter any problems. The hunters or fishermen are spat on and they go with blessings, this also applied for traders, and those seeking a bumper harvest. At the cultural sites, one should not cut a twig nor a cut a tree. When cultural sites are disturbed diseases attack crops, strong winds from the lake blow off houses and trees, for instance a boat was blown, lifted and placed on top of a house in Wanseko. Crops are also attacked by diseases, at cultural sites spiritualists spend 2-3 days sending away illnesses disturbing the community. When boats sink in the lake it is attributed to not appearing the spirits with the right offerings as forefathers did. During the ritual, songs are sung until wind comes to one person who starts shaking and talking. I was told that somebody just doesn't just out of the blue own 100 cows, spirits have to first be appeased. It is the same with women giving birth to twins. From the film, 52 minutes 28 seconds to 54 minutes 4 seconds, the pot with two outlets is mentioned, it belongs to embandwa of Nyina Barongo (mother of twins). This particular spirit is responsible for fertility and is appeased so that there can be multiple births in women and domestic animals. Part of the ritual is that a particular woman seeking blessings is identified and spat on for blessings, the pot is also deeped in water which is given to animals so they can reproduce.

Traditional leaders vowed to have nothing to do with Tullow unless they followed the list of cultural sites, villages and their leaders, that they were given. Because cultural sites were distorted, game rangers get lost in the national park, boats capsize and crops are diseased they claim. This is testified to by other people in Buliisa.

There are also strict rules that are normally imposed on how people relate to nature. For instance no one is supposed to cut a bush nor any vegetation. It is an unwritten rule that everybody is supposed to know were a cultural site is located so they can avoid tampering with it. Because not even a twig is supposed to be removed from this area. The teams

conducting the seismic operations neglected these rules as well and went through with their machines. The Tullow team also constructed roads through people's plots of land. A geophysicist working with the government claimed that they hosted several talk shows to address the local people's concerns, however he says that the same questions are repeatedly asked again. From the destruction of mapped cultural sites, it is evident that the government officials and the oil company did not value the meaning attached to the indigenous peoples world. Neither did they value the dialogue they involved the indigenous people into. Because usually the a meeting is convened by the local council leaders and officials from Tullow inform the communities of any activities to be conducted within a village. The local people claim that these meetings are not consultative and neither is the true extent of the impact of such activities explained.

At an analytical level, one may claim that the broad domain of religion in relation to nature enables humans control events and processes in their environments that are beyond their control. Further, and still according to Rappaport (1968) religious dynamics contributes to suppress anxiety, dispel fear and provide a sense of over all security in relation to the environment. Cultural sites assume importance in this regard as these are sacred grounds were different clans and people go to consult spirits-also in matters relating to the use of nature and agricultural, pastoralist or hunting practices. Each clan owns a cultural site and specific spirits are contacted according to one's clan.

The disregard the oil companies had for such sensibilities comes on top of the fact that the Ugandan state has refused to recognize tribal rights to their cultural site. A case in point is the so-called Ngasa2 oil well. This is located in the area that has for centuries been the cultural site for the Bakobya-a clan amongst the Banyoro. At the time of fieldwork, this site was headed by Ngasurwa-a reknown *mubandwa*, he is disgruntled with the government and officials of Tullow oil and Gas company for not consulting him before destroying his shrine. Ngasirwa, however insists that oil will never be discovered from that well unless the proper rituals of relocating the site are performed.

The impact on his site were great: During the drilling of this well, sacred artifacts were destroyed, some included pots and coins. They further threw away the thatch house of worship and, the point were the well is located originally had a natural sacred spring that is now destroyed.

The case of Ngasurwa serves to illustrate how the actions of the oil companies have impoverished both the spiritual lives of the people and economic life of the leader who earned an income from his job. More generally, as Baviskar (1997) has noted, the destruction of the cultural site also demystify rituals and taboos that seek to control and manage nature. And sacred norms held by individuals, communities and historical traditions. These sites are significant is averting calamity from society and are considered sacred, no body is supposed to fetch firewood from them or even break a twig from a cultural site. But here was heavy machinery cutting down vegetation that had been preserved for centuries. They conducted rituals and offered sacrifices whenever there was so much sun shine, disease, dangerous winds on the lake, low fish stock, few births...but even when these areas were mapped they still got destroyed. Both men and women consulted these sites.

Even after disrupting the ritual and spiritual activities, no evident efforts have been made to address the existing problem in terns of relocating the sites and compensating for artifacts lost. And there are not clear channels to seek redress. Many of the calamities befalling are linked to the destruction of the cultural sites. Therefore the needs of the community are not considered priority over the oil to get extracted

Conclusion

Prioritising the needs of the community, especially those surrounding the oil wells, should be incorporated in all decisions made and policies drafted, for better governance of the oil industry. It is also important that gender is mainstreamed as well. If I borrow from Escobar (1998), the world should be redefined and reconstructed from the perspective of the multiple cultural and ecological practices that continue to exist among communities in these areas. In other words, the oil company and the government of Uganda should not simply pursue economic goals at the expense of local social realities which are more fulfilling relations between humans and their natural and social environments. Further, as I have shown in this thesis, supplemented by the material in the film, relations between the many communities in the area and nature is complex, rich and is characterized by a reciprocal rather than an extractive relation.

Even when actual drilling of oil has not yet commenced, the indigenous people living in the oil rich regions have experienced air pollution and disruption of their livelihoods due to the lack of sensitivity from the government and Tullow oil and Gas company - in particular towards the livelihoods and culture of the people in Buliisa and Parts of Hoima district. Just as environmental ecology refers to interaction and interdependence among soil, air and water, the peasants, political ecology also refers to the interactive interdependence among spheres - the individual, the community, the natural world, and the national society (Anderson 1994: 6). Political ecology focuses on the local without overlooking the global connections and dimensions impacting particular sites and local worlds. The gas flaring was, in this view, not only an ecological crisis but a socio-cultural and psychological one in the sense that it traumatized and stressed the inhabitants of the region. The crops destroyed mainly affected the women and this for granted attitude is closely related to the devaluing of nature. Generally the oil activities distorted nature and people's livelihoods, again the impact being felt most by women. By pointing out various forms of inter-relations between nature and women in the context of oil exploration and its adverse impacts, I hope to have underlined a central claim of this thesis: That ethnographic studies of oil-rich areas using a political ecology approach need to be more sensitive towards gendered dimensions and effects of the transformations, crises and upheavals inherent to oil exploration. In this thesis I have attempted to capture this gendered dimension of political ecology through the term 'gendered nature'.

As referred to at several times throughout the thesis, the appendix also consists of a film with additional ethnographic information supporting my argument. It supplements my findings and provides a more realistic picture of what unfolds on the ground. The film is attached to this thesis on a CD.

Appendix

Appendix A:Survey

Who does the oil belong to?

	Female	Male	Total	Percentage
Indigenous people	13	9	22	10
Government	44	62	106	50
Oil company/ Tullow	26	14	40	19
Other	22	21	43	11

What percentage of Oil revenue do you expect to receive from the Government?

How do you rate the performance of Tullow oil company?

	Female	Male	Total	Percentage
Excellent	5	5	10	5
Good	30	48	78	37
Fair	17	28	45	21

Poor		46	24	70	33
Other/I	don't	8	1	9	4
know					

Have you heard about the production sharing agreements between the oil producing companies and the government of Uganda

	Female	Male	Total	Percentage
Yes	13	22	35	17
No	93	84	177	83
Do not know/				
Not sure				

Will you get evicted once oil production commences

	Female	Male	Total	Percentage
Yes	57	61	118	56
No	29	55	84	40
Do not know/ Not sure	20	10	30	4

Level of schooling

	Female	Male	Total	Percentage
No schooling	23	06	29	14
Primary school	58	39	97	46

drop out				
Secondary school drop out	22	54	76	36
Tertiary education	03	02	5	2
University graduate	00	03	3	1

Age

years	Female	Male	Total	Percentage
Below 18	02	02	4	2
18-29	53	58	111	52
30-39	22	21	43	20
40-49	07	14	21	10
50-59	05	02	7	3
60 -69	05	07	12	6
70-79	10	02	12	6
80 and above	02	00	2	1

Appendix B: Maps letters

Heritage oil and Gas Itd explored block 1 (fifty per cent), 3A (fifty percent), sold fifty percent stake to Tullow oil at a cost of 1.5 billion US dollars. And paid the Uganda government tax gains amounting to 1.34 million dollars. Neptune Petroleum explored Block5 (a hundred percent). Dominion Petroleum Ltd block 4B (a hundred percent). Tullow was licenced on 1st July 2004 to explore block 2 (a hundred percent), Block 1 (Fifty percent), block 3A (fifty per cent). Tullow sold part of her shares to China National Offshore company Limited CNOOC for one third interest at 1.467 billion dollars, will operate in Kanywataba prospect

area and king fisher field. And Total SA of France for another one third stake. Licensing for other blocks has not yet taken place. There will be competitive bidding and the petroleum Management Legislation has been enacted.

Appendix C : oil wells drilled

ACTS SHEET FOR WELLS DRILLED IN THE ALBERTINE GRABEN AS OF NOVEMBER 2011

D .	WELL	Explor	Operator	Well Type	Year	Hydrocarbon Indicators
	NAME	ation			Drilled	l e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e
		Area				
	WAKI B-1	EA 2	African and Europear Investment Company	Exploration	1938	Oil shows
	TURACO- 1	EA 3C	Heritage Oil and Gas Ltd	Exploration	2002	Gas shows
	TURACO- 2	EA 3C	Heritage Oil and Gas Ltd	Exploration	2003	Oil and Gas shows
	TURACO-	EA 3C	Heritage Oil and Gas Ltd	Appraisal	2004	Oil and Gas shows
	MPUTA-1	EA 2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2005	Oil and Gas shows
	WARAGA- 1	EA 2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2006	Oil and Gas shows
	MPUTA-2	EA 2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2006	Oil shows
	KAJUBIRI ZI-1	EA 3A	Heritage Oil and Gas Ltd	Exploration	2006	Oil and Gas Shows
	NZIZI-1	EA 2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2006	Oil and Gas Shows
)	ZI-1A		Heritage Oil and Gas Ltd	Exploration		Oil and Gas Shows
	KAJUBIRI ZI-1B	EA 3A	Heritage Oil and Gas Ltd	Exploration	2007	No Shows
2	NZIZI-2	EA 2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2007	Gas Shows

3	MPUTA-3	EA 2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2007	Oil and gas shows
1	MPUTA-4	EA 2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2007	Oil and gas shows
5	NGASSA-1	EA 2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2007	Gas shows
5	TAITAI-1	EA 2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2008	Oil shows
7	TAITAI-1A	EA 2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2008	Oil shows
	Kajubiri ZI-2	EA 3	Heritage Oil and Gas Ltd	Appraisal	2008	Oil shows
9	NGEGE-1	EA 2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2008	Oil and Gas shows
)	KARUKA-1	EA 2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2008	Oil and Gas shows
	KASAMEN E-1	EA 2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2008	Oil and Gas shows

No.	WELL NAME	Exploration Area	Operator	Well Type	Year Drilled	Hydrocarbo
						Indicators
22	KASAMENE-1A	EA 2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2008	Oil and Gas
23	KIGOGOLE-1	EA 2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2008	Oil and Gas
24	NGIRI-1	EA1	Heritage Oil and Gas Ltd	Exploration	2008	Oil and Gas
25	KAJUBIRIZI-3	EA3A	Heritage Oil and Gas Ltd	Appraisal	2008	Oil and Gas
26	KAJUBIRIZI-3A	EA3A	Heritage Oil and Gas Ltd	Appraisal	2008	Oil and Gas
27	JOBI-1	EA1	Heritage Oil and Gas Ltd	Exploration	2008	Oil and Gas
28	RII-1	EA1	Heritage Oil and Gas Ltd	Exploration	2008	Oil and Gas
29	MPUTA-5	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2009	Oil and Gas
30	KARUKA -2	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2009	Oil shows
31	NGASSA-2	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2009	Oil shows
32	NSOGA-1	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2009	Oil shows
33	AWAKA-1	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2009	No oil or ga
34	ITI-1	EA 5	Neptune Petroleum (Uganda) Ltd	Exploration	2009	No oil or ga

35	KIGOGOLE-3	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2009	Oil shows
36	WAHRINDI-1	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2009	Oil shows
37	NGARA-1	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2009	Oil and Gas
38	KASAMENE-2	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2010	Oil and Gas
39	AVIVI-1	EA2	Neptune Petroleum	Exploration	2010	No oil or ga
1			(Uganda) Ltd			
40	KASAMENE-3	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2010	Oil and Gas
41	KASAMENE-3A	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2010	Oil and Gas
42	NZIZI-3	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2010	Oil and Gas
43	NSOGA - 5	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2010	Oil shows
No.	WELL NAME	Exploration Area	Operator	Well Type	Year Drilled	Hydrocarbo
44	NGIRI-2	EA1	Heritage Oil and	Appraisal	2010	Oil and Gas
			Gas Ltd			
45	NGAJI-1	EA4B	Dominion	Exploration	2010	No Shows
46	KIGOGOLE-5	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2010	Oil shows
47	MPYO-1	EA1	Heritage Oil and	Exploration	2010	Oil shows
			Gas Ltd			
48	KIGOGOLE-2	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2010	Oil shows
49	KIGOGOLE-4	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2010	Oil shows
50	NSOGA-2	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2010	Oil shows
51	NSOGA-2A	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2011	Oil shows
52	KIGOGOLE-6	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2011	Oil shows
53	KIGOGOLE-6A	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2011	Oil shows
54	NGEGE-2	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2011	Oil shows
55	NGEGE-2A	EA2	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2011	Oil shows
56	JOBI-EAST-1	EA1	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2011	Oil & gas S
57	MPYO-3	EA1	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2011	Oil Shows
58	JOBI-2	EA1	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2011	Oil shows
59	JOBI-2A	EA1	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2011	Oil shows
60	GUNYA-1	EA1	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Exploration	2011	Oil shows
61	JOBI-EAST-5	EA1	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2011	No oil or ga
62	JOBI-EAST-5A	EA1	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2011	No oil or ga
63	JOBI-EAST-2	EA1	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2011	Oil shows
64	JOBI-EAST-2A	EA1	Tullow Oil Pty Ltd	Appraisal	2011	Oil shows

 $\underline{http://www.petroleum.go.ug/uploads/Wells\%20Fact\%20Sheet\%20November\%2011.pdf}$

Appendix D: LIST OF CLANS IN BULIISA

CLANS TOTEMS what is unique about each of these clans and totems.

- 1. Bakobya any bird or animal with red and black spots (ntimba)
- 2. Bakibiro Ngabi (buck)
- 3. Badogimo Nte ntimba
- 4. Basimo Nkoko ntimba
- 5. Babyasi Nyangi
- 6. Bamwooro Ngabi
- 7. Basambu ichuhi
- 8. Basyiabi Ntimba
- 9. Bajangi Ntimba
- 10. Babukwwa elephant
- 11. Batyanga buffalo
- 12. Basansya Bisangalamusansi(plant spice)
- 13. Bahamba bisoga(plant)
- 14. Balyambwa Ntabi (plant)
- 15. Basengya cock with feather around the feet

(nkoko gili na byoza mumagulu)

- 16. Balere Nyangi
- 17. Bacubu Ntuha
- 18. Baranzi Ntimba
- 19. Babito Ngabi
- 20. Bachwa Mparaki
- 21. Batera leopard
- 22. Balima a beat using a bead
- 23. Balukula Ntimba
- 24. Bawogo buffalo
- 25. Bawentu Ntimba
- 26. Balimati
- 27. Baswanira Mbumbula
- 28. Bakungi ntimba

- 29. Bakana Ntantai(small fish)
- 30. Bakindwa monkey
- 31. Basiri musihira missi (plant)
- 32. Babwongo Ngabi
- 33. Bazira
- 34. Baliba leopard
- 35. Bawenzwa hippo
- 36. Basingo leopard
- 37. Bairyansi Mushihira missi
- 38. Basunga
- 39. Bakorwe Ntimba
- 40. Batema Ntimba
- 41. Bakerwa millet
- 42. Bakyenamu kazubi (black aquatc bird)
- 43. Banyebela monkey
- 44. Bahukwa elephant
- 45. Basonga grass hoppers
- 46. Bakoizi Ntimba
- 47. Baligire kikolo (paparus mat)
- 48. Batusa skin (kikuta)
- 49. Baboopi Malekyo (rain water trapped from grass thatched house)
- 50. Bahezi Sagalamusasi
- 51. Bachwenzi
- 52. Badira Nte Ntimba
- 53. Balokoli busubi bunylokoli
- 54. Baranzi Ntimba
- 55. Babaala
- 56. Bazazi
- 57. Bagongo
- 58. Babaabi Ntimba
- 59. Basibaa
- 60. Bagaya
- 61. Bahamba Bisonga

Appendix E: SEISMIC DATA

The first seismic data was acquired in 1998 in Exploration area 3 (Currently unlicensed as EA3B,Cand D) and since then a total of 5,972.2 line km of 2D seismic data and 1,608 square km of 3D seismic data has been acquired over the Graben.

Summary According to Exploration Areas

EA5 - 357 line Km of 2D seismic

EA1 - 1066 line Km of 2D Seismic data

EA2 - 3435 line km of 2D seismic data and 866 square Km of 3D Seismic data

EA3A - 794 line km of 2D seismic data and 350 square Km of 3D Seismic data

EA3B, C, and D - 170 line Km of 2D Seismic Data and 390 square Km of 3D Seismic data

More than 25 seismic surveys have been undertaken on and offshore over different areas in the Albertine Graben

http://www.petroleum.go.ug/page.php?k=enpseismic

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