The Rights of Nature in Uganda: Exploring the Emergence, Power and Transformative Quality of a 'New Wave' of Environmentalism

This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MSc Environment, Politics and Development of SOAS, University of London

School of International Development

By Matthew. W. Hopewell

Student ID: 666699

Supervisor: Grace Lara Souza

07/09/2019

Declaration:

I have read and understood the School Regulations concerning plagiarism and I undertake:

• That all material presented for examination is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part by any other person(s).

• That any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the dissertation

• That I have not incorporated in this dissertation without acknowledgement any work previously submitted by me for any other module forming part of my degree.'

I give permission for a copy of my dissertation to be held for reference, at the School's discretion.

Signed: …Matthew Hopewell

Acknowledgements:

I would like to thank Grace Lara Souza for her supervision of this dissertation. Thank you to Dennis and Fiona for their kind support during the research process, and also to everyone else who generously offered their time to be interviewed.

Table of Contents:

Abstract:

This research analyses the collective discourse of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) promoting the Rights-of-Nature (RoN) in Uganda, which have recently gained legal recognition. Findings reveal the framing of RoN by NGOs challenges anthropocentric law, claiming to protect the intrinsic value of Uganda's nature. Importantly, RoN is claimed to facilitate greater recognition of customary-ecological-governance systems, which are being revived in specific communities in western Uganda, and are understood to traditionally value the RoN through their protection of sacred-natural-sites. The NGOs' orchestrated professional strategies and cohesive vision suggests they are an 'epistemic community' which has gained agency to promote their discourse at national, regional and international levels of decision-making. The discourse risks being somewhat essentialist, and there are future uncertainties regarding RoN's implementation and enforcement. Nevertheless, this study argues NGOs assembled as an epistemic community can play a positive role in realising radical environmentalism by creating legislative instruments upon which grassroot actors may use to strengthen their claims.

Acronyms:

ABN: African Biodiversity Network

ACHPR: African Commission for Human and Peoples Rights

AFRICE: African Institute for Culture and Ecology

ANARDE: Advocates for Natural Resources and Development

CEG: Customary Ecological Governance

EJ: Environmental Justice

GoU: Government of Uganda

NAPE: National Association of Professional Environmentalists

NEA: National Environmental Act

NEMA: National Environmental Management Authority

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

OSEIA: Open Society Initiative for East Africa

RoN: Rights of Nature

1.0 Introduction

In March 2019, the Government of Uganda (GoU) revised the National Environmental Act (NEA), recognising Nature itself as having 'the right to exist, persist, maintain and regenerate its vital cycles, structure, functions and its processes in evolution' (NEA, 2019, Article 4(1)). The GoU must now legally protect RoN as Uganda plans to become an extractive-based economy (Reuters, 2018). Like other Governments, the GoU has a record of prioritising national economic growth over the local ecological integrity of highly biodiverse, and socio-economically, culturally and spiritually important ecologies (Holterman, 2014; McKenzie et al. 2017; Mawejje, 2019). Ugandan environmentalism has also been marked by a history of environmental injustice, including forcible evictions, the disrespect of indigenous knowledge and uneven distribution of socio-economic benefits (Cavanagh and Himmelfarb, 2014; Nel, 2015; Carmody and Taylor, 2016; Schrenkenberg et al. 2013). In this context, NGOs claiming ecological justice suggests the presence of a 'new wave' of environmentalism. Using discourse analysis, a closely connected network of NGOs is shown to be claiming RoN in order to create a policy environment which enables grassroot-actors to practise customary-ecological-governance (CEG) systems. This includes the protection of traditionally sacred-natural-sites which are understood to play a key role in realising food and water sovereignty. Overall, NGOs can influence institutions, people and discourse to promote alternative framings of social and ecological justice.

This study is interested in how the RoN-discourse in Uganda relates to the politics of discourse where different environmental interests, values and ways of being compete to advance particular framings of sustainability (Leach, 2015). This highlights if RoN is aimed at fundamentally confronting and transforming existing political, legal and economic structures and narratives. This is important as there is growing consensus amongst academics and

activists that in order to reconcile greater socio-ecological justice and sustainability, systemic changes are required (Temper et al. 2018; Diaz et al. 2019). Robbins (2004) highlights how the challenge, or 'hatchet', to power structures must be complemented by the construction and pursuit of an alternative, a 'seed'. Acknowledging this, transformative environmentalism confronts hegemonic power, to create democratic spaces to advance alternative emancipatory sustainabilities embedded within the knowledge, values, interests and technologies of local communities (Sterling, 2015). This study traces the transformative quality of Uganda's RoN discourse in regards to what future is envisioned, by whom and for what purpose.

RoN is focused upon because proponents frame it as a legal tool to confront and transform anthropocentric environmental governance (Cullinan, 2011). This is to recognise the intrinsic value of nature rather than protecting nature once valued as a 'natural capital' with utility for particular visions of human socio-economic 'development' (Ito and Montini, 2019). Such ideas stem from the philosopher and cultural historian Thomas Berry, who presented an Earth jurisprudence whereby 'every living being has rights that are derived from existence itself' (Berry, 2011:228). RoN recognises Earth as an interdependent more-than-human community in which humans are trustees with duties and responsibilities to respect nature to ensure ecological stability and support human wellbeing (Thiong'O, 2011). Proponents claim RoN as a means to realise greater recognition of non-dualist indigenous peoples' cosmologies and CEG-systems which recognise interconnectedness of nature and society (Hosken, 2011; Rafi, 2017). Within the philosophy of Earth jurisprudence, the CEG-systems of indigenous peoples and rural communities are understood to have maintained an intimacy with local ecologies, therefore best understand the character and ways of respecting RoN (Mason, 2011). Accordingly, RoN has transformational potential, engaging with both power and culture (Rodriguez et al. 2017).

This study examines why RoN has been claimed in Uganda, and how proponents gained the agency to see RoN legally recognised. It suggests the presence of an epistemic community, a multi-actor network sharing professional norms and policy-goals creating a cohesiveness which allows them to influence governmental and non-governmental decision-making processes (Cross, 2013). The epistemic community shares the vision of Earth jurisprudence and is connected to grassroot EJ-struggles in Uganda's western oil-affected Albertine Graben, and to regional and global policy-making through the involvement of transnational actors. Similar to Wild et al. (2010), they understand protecting indigenous peoples' sacred-natural-sites can enable greater food sovereignty, cultural integrity and biodiversity conservation effectiveness. Recognition of RoN has been formalised through an orchestrated advocacy strategy which ensures each actors' professionalism complements the shared aims. Some actors work at the grassroots level to revitalise and document CEG-systems as evidence for other actors engaged with international and regional decision-makers to influence policies which support national-level claims.

The RoN-advocacy discourse in Uganda views environmental change as best embedded in local histories and identities, and is less interested in short-term replicable models for change. The concern for epistemic justice and critique of market-based and exclusionary conservation presents a more radical alternative to Uganda's technoscientific and apolitical environmental norms. The network uses imaginative strategies with indigenous peoples to revive customary knowledge and value-systems. Additionally, advocates engage with national and transnational institutions to create policies which offer grassroot actors' greater ability to claim rights in the future. This indicates how the RoN-networks relates to both reformist and radical environmental strategies (Dryzek, 2013). The RoN is therefore not strictly radically transformative in itself. Rather, it facilitates citizen-led green transformations by building the capacity of local communities to claim cultural-rights and construct counter-discourses of environmental governance, supported by the creation of legislative instruments such as RoN.

2.0 Theory

This section outlines:

1) The importance of recognising how EJ is multi-dimensional and connected to politics of knowledge and discourse.

2) How a transformative approach to EJ recognises citizens can increase their agency to impact upon hegemonic power, thus re-centring grassroot actors as agents of change.

3) How non-local actors may assemble around socio-environmental issues which has implications for EJ-struggles.

2.1 Environmental Justice:

Examining how the distribution of ecological goods and services may disproportionately affect certain social groups is a central line of inquiry within political-ecology (Watts and Peet, 2004). Communities are heterogenous, and increasing resource scarcity and degradation will thus disproportionately burden certain social groups (Robbins, 2012). Robbins's (2012) 'environmental conflict' thesis explains such unevenness depends on how divisions of labour and power inequalities affect the relationship between one's livelihood and general wellbeing, and ecological functioning and natural-resource access and use arrangements. Political-ecologists highlight how gender, class and ethnically specific property-rights arrangements and labour divisions result in differential material dependencies on specific ecologies, explaining why environmental changes caused by the social-metabolisms (the input and out flows of energy and resources) of industrialised societies create winners and losers (Bullard, 1994; Martinez-Alier, 2014; Robbins, 2012). Depending on the extent of environment harm,

EJ movements may emerge. This includes struggles whereby non-self-identifying environmentalists become 'ecologized,' resisting resource enclosure or extraction frontiers to sustain their socio-economic attachments with the environment: 'environmentalism of the poor' (Martinez-Alier, 2002). Subsequently, struggles for social justice may also realise greater ecological justice (Taylor, 2000).

A materialist perspective on ecological distribution conflicts helps highlight the politicisation of environmental change, but it is limited. Procedural justice is critical in allowing different actors to present their views on environmental change and ensure benefit-sharing agreements meet their interests (Martin, 2017). However, within decision-making processes, participants may be tokenistic and experience pressure to 'assimilate to dominant discourses of nature and society,' thus marginalising alternative knowledge (Martin et al. 2013: 122). Procedural justice cannot be delivered unless there is acknowledgment of alternative environmental languages of valuation, to arrange locally-appropriate conditions for informed and balanced dialogue (Rodriguez et al. 2017; Martinez-Alier, 2009). One should therefore remain critical of participation and recognise how environmental injustice stems from an interconnection between the distribution of uneven environmental harms, inequitable procedural justice and the misrecognition of culture difference (Schlosberg, 2004).

The misrecognition of alternative environmental meanings may derive from certain framings of environmental sustainability and justice receiving an authoritative position (Escobar, 1998; Leach, 2015). As Robbins (2012:208) states, 'often concepts and constructions of community and nature…propel or suppress conflict.' He suggests environmental discourse is politically loaded, whereby some social constructions of nature and society receive their authority through its appeal to dominant narratives (ibid). For example, ecosystem-services, biodiversity and carbon-credits are contemporary constructions of nature as a series of independent

components which can be priced and managed accordingly (Escobar, 1998). This portrays a technoscientific and apolitical discourse, one which appeals to the dominant capitalist 'eco-modernisation' theory by offering new avenues to commoditise nature and maintain capital accumulation, whilst mitigating against further ecological degradation caused by capital accumulation processes (ibid; Büscher and Fletcher, 2015). Eco-modernisation discourse has fuelled new 'green-grabs', with conservation frontiers spreading into new spaces, squeezing local communities between changing land-use and property-rights regimes for both conservation and industrialisation, whereby only some within heterogenous communities can access benefits (Scoones et al. 2013; Igoe, 2014). Frequently, the result is (re)produced inequities both within the local communities and their relation to distant industrial socio-metabolisms (Martinez-Alier et al. 2010; Carmody and Taylor, 2016).

Political-ecology highlights how framings of nature and society which complement dominant interests and concerns will gain greater political support, and thus power to naturalise an idea as 'truth' (Sullivan, 2006). This (re)creates a discursive hegemony. In turn, specific material realities emerge in which local complexities are overlooked, reducing exploration into new ways to promote more innovative, locally appropriate adaptations to climate and ecological change (Smith and Ely, 2015). People may then become subjects of environmental conflicts to defend one's identification with local ecologies, associated with livelihoods or cultural-spiritual interests, norms and values (Robbins, 2012). This highlights how material outcomes relate to non-material subjectivities and explains how EJ-struggles also concern the misrecognition of alternative languages of valuation (Martinez-Alier, 2014). Overall, examining how nature-society relations are framed and by whom highlights the politics between discourses, and helps reveal the structural causes of, and responses to, epistemic injustice, inequitable participation and the uneven distribution of environmental harm (Dryzek, 2013; Martin, 2017).

2.2 Transformations:

Not all EJ-struggles stand in opposition to dominant political-economic structures and narratives (Avci, 2017; Jaiswal; 2018). Nevertheless, grassroot EJ-struggles often 'support and aid radical transformation processes' (Temper et al. 2018:760). Referring to Robbins's (2004) 'hatchet' and 'seed' analogy, it is important to understand how the experience and discourse of EJ may shape the way an alternative (seed) is imagined, and how it can motivate or be guided by the challenge. Neglecting how seeds are formulated would fail to reveal how hegemonic powers affect the way in which people perceive a seed as realistic, or whether people are truly satisfied with the outcome of a struggle. A conflict may be seemingly resolved when there is more equitable distribution of environmental benefits. However, a 'benefit' is subjective. Closer inspection may find certain social groups assimilated dominant discourses, accepting conditions which clash with their interests, norms and values (Rodriguez et al. 2017). This highlights how conflict resolution may be framed as a successful mutually-beneficial outcome according to the dominant narrative, but in reality, cultural-power asymmetries persist (ibid).

Alternatively, a transformations approach to EJ-struggles views power and culture as central considerations when envisioning greater justice and sustainability (Rodriguez et al. 2017). Analytically, a transformation approach critically engages with environmental conflict, exploring how it relates to discourse, people, and institutions, including who gets to define conflict resolution (ibid; Leach, 2015). This approach recognises injustice is the first step towards sustainable futures: conflict is productive, potentially materialising immediate transformational change or helping develop the power to impact upon hegemony (Della Porta, 2008; Sterling, 2015). As Temper et al. (2018:753) suggest, EJ-struggles 'often inspires the quest for more localized and democratic forms of governing resources and commons and leads to new practices and alternative forms of provisioning and production.' A transformation approach is more visibly in opposition to dominant power structures, and

represents a commitment to realising justice through imaginative alternatives embedded within local interests and value-systems, not limited to technical, rational, or pragmatic thinking (ibid). This requires looking beyond the short-term 'episodes' in which conflict occurs, revitalising deeper histories 'to ensure that long terms strategies to transform conflicts are rooted in peoples' own history and identities,' empathising the importance of epistemic justice (Rodriquez et al. 2017:12). A transformation approach subsequently embraces the multi-dimensionality of EJ, and represents what Dryzek (2013) may classify an 'imaginative-radical' environmentalism, challenging hegemony and thinking beyond the prosaic and pragmatic.

Given questions of power are central to a transformations approach to EJ, it is important to understand how hegemonic 'power over' and agency to materialise alternatives is conceptualised within related literature. Hegemonic power is understood by referring to Lukes's (2005) and Gaventa's (2006) power-cube. This framework describes how 'power over' manifests in three forms: visible, hidden and invisible. 'Visible' or structural power refers to public institutional, legal and political-economic decision-making structures. 'Hidden' power is concerned with bias or exclusion within decision-making processes (Rodriguez et al. 2017). 'Invisible' power is more complex, concerning Gramsci's (1971) understanding of hegemony whereby elites dominate the means of resistance through control of the cultural arena through tools such as education and the media. Therefore, resistance strategies are less revolutionary, helping to hold dominant structures to account, thus maintaining their legitimacy (ibid). Invisible power thus refers to the internalisation of feeling powerless, and connects with the other forms of power (Lukes, 2005).

EJ transformations literature also refers to scholars including Veneklassen and Miller (2002) who are concerned with how social movements may gain agency to impact upon the forms of hegemony through 'power with' and 'power within'. Agency, or 'power to,' refers to how actors

define problems and mobilise the resources and knowledge to meet their goals (Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004 in Rodriguez et al. 2017). 'Power with' is agency developed through collective action and 'power within' relates to constructing alternative narratives and a strong sense of self and place (ibid). The ability to mobilise these sources of agency determines the capability to challenge institutional structures, networks and culture which are creating the situations of domination (ibid). These different forms of power present a framework in which to understand the agency of transformational change (Rodriquez et al. 2017).

2.3 Assemblages:

As Rodriguez et al. (2017) suggest, the ability to impact upon the forms of dominant powers relates to how supported an alternative is by multiple different actors who can collectively provide a diversity of resources, generate new knowledge to bring clarity to pre-assumptions, ensure greater recognition of customary decision-making processes and increase the representation of alternatives within policy-making institutions. Gupta (2013) describes how a successful environmental social movement should comprise of a grassroots base, interaction between different networks and gain support from institutions to influence policy-making. Here, the aim is to maintain an active citizen base without being co-opted when formalising alternatives (ibid). Leach and Scoones (2015) emphasise how such movements need to clearly articulate shared values and identities and link to broader issues which should be voiced from local to global levels. Therefore, whilst EJ-struggles are embedded in the grassroots, a wide support network can be beneficial for EJ-struggles as they face structural constraints (Smith and Ely, 2015).

Support networks may stem from the formation of multi-actor assemblages or coalitions which converge around a common concern for particular socio-ecological change (Kumar, 2014). An assemblage represents a union of diverse and often competing environmental

values and interests (ibid). The knowledge, resources and degree of connection to other assemblages at different scales depends on who joins the network (ibid). Subsequently, there are many different context-specific factors which influence the character and internal power-dynamics of an assemblage, and thus it's stability and flexibility (ibid). The nature of the 'translocal' assemblage thus impacts an alternative's 'power with' and 'within' (Gerber et al. 2009; Bebbington et al. 2008).

Within environmental assemblages, non-local activists and NGOs often join grassroot EJ-struggles to support them with technologies and trainings, and linking the resistance to higher-level actions such as direct lobbying to create a 'seed from above' (Temper et al. 2018). However, this risks essentialising local communities, overlooking historic local complexities and expecting transformations to just emerge with the right inputs (Smith and Ely, 2015; Berkhout et al. 2004). Nevertheless, there still remains the possibility external actors may engage in transformations without presenting such negative results, recognising how change should remain embedded within local identities. Transformations literature refers to 'out-scaling' rather than up-scaling, which means to avoid the top-down rigidity of attempting to replicate alternatives, and instead enable social learning to inspire others to form their own alternatives representing their local-knowledge (Temper et al. 2018). Such education and efforts to open-up inter-cultural dialogue could also help to decolonise EJ activism (Temper, 2018). This presents an opportunity to further explore how multi-actor networks may facilitate such out-scaling of transformative environmentalism.

NGO-networks may also share an 'episteme' on how to best support transformative environmentalism. Literature is mostly critical on the role of 'epistemic communities' within environmental politics. Past research suggests epistemic communities lack reflexivity and create universal 'blueprints' framed as replicable models for 'win-win' outcomes, neglecting

local complexities (De Francisco and Boelens, 2015). Such arguments come from studies into more market-based environmentalism and a transnational conservation elite (ibid; Holmes, 2011). Cross (2013) highlights how such studies see epistemic communities as influencing policy purely based on technical expertise. She claims this is reductionist, arguing it can be sharing professional knowledge, policy-goals and motivations which makes them persuasive (ibid). This interpretation allows for exploration into whether epistemic communities espousing radical claims have transformative qualities in facilitating social learning and enabling grassroot actors to resist hegemonic powers. It provides a platform to question whether epistemic communities use different reform or rebel strategies and discourses to influence change depending on the actor/audience. This helps build upon Tulet's (1998) calls to question whether environmental discourse changes depending on particular settings and audiences, and why.

3.0 Methodology

The objectives of this research are three-fold:

1) Discern the shared discourse between RoN-advocates and illustrate how radical the discourse is in relation to Uganda's key environmental conservation trends.

2) Analyse the strategies and agency of the RoN-advocacy, and if the RoN-network represents an epistemic community.

3) Assess the transformative quality of the RoN-advocacy given it is driven by non-local actors.

3.1 Methodological Framework:

Due to limited time and resources, this research employs a structured discourse analysis, based upon Dryzek's (2013) methodological frameworks to discern Uganda's RoN-discourse (Hewitt, 2009). Though stemming from a Foucauldian perspective, Dryzek (2013:22) differs from other critical analysts such as Fairclough (1995) as he posits there is no all-powerful hegemonic narrative 'conditioning not just agreement but the terms of dispute.' Rather, environmental politics is presented as multiple cooperating or competing meanings assigned to nature and society, upon which different actors converge and shape policy (ibid). Similar to Hajer (1995), the focus of the analysis is not solely on linguistics, but also social practices including cultural and professional norms (Hewitt, 2009). Although, in Foucauldian style, questions of power remain central, as discourse has power to be accepted and condition people (Dryzek, 2013). Furthermore, Dryzek acknowledges discourse relates to the material, contrasting a post-structuralist perspective where nature is a purely social construction, which

is anthropocentric and rejects material realities, such as climate change (ibid; Shoreman-Ouiment and Kopnina, 2017). Though Dryzek's (2013) analyses environmental discourse in global public-policy, this research is focused on a specific case-study, more similar to Hajer's (1995) research approach. Though offering limited representativeness, a case-study provides a detailed and multifaceted analysis of Uganda's RoN-advocacy discourse (Tellis, 1997).

The corpus for the discourse analysis includes NGO blogs, websites, news articles and grey literature including organisational policy, research and strategic reports. The corpus also includes interview transcripts. Seven interviews were conducted with five environmental organisations supporting RoN, interviewed in Kampala (July, 2019) and over Skype (May, 2019). Following Hajer's (1995) advice, initial desk-based research helped map out key stakeholders who were then contacted for an interview. 'Helicopter interviews' were also conducted with three Ugandan NGO's working on national parks and community-based conservation to gain an 'overview from different perspectives' (ibid:73). Interviews will be referenced in text by interviewee's organisation then date (day/month/year).

For further details on data collection methods, please see figure 1.0 in the appendix.

3.2 Data Analysis:

1. Interview transcripts from RoN-related organisations working in Uganda are analysed according to Dryzek's (2013) framework on environmental discourse to outline the RoN-advocacy discourse and illustrate its radical and reformist positions. Dryzek (2013:17-19) suggested questions for such analysis: 1) how is the world seen through the discourse; 2) how does the discourse view relationships between nature and society; 3) who are the agents within the discourse and what are their motives. These questions strucutre the first analytical section of this study.

2. Qualitative data is further analysed to show how the RoN-advocates connect across different scales in relation to the different strategies employed to realise RoN. Inspired by Rodriguez et al. (2017), this research then discusses how RoN-advocates have materialised agency to impact upon the forms of hegemonic power.

3. RoN-advocacy is then compared to Cross's (2013) understanding of epistemic communities to explore how an epistemic community is operating in Uganda, claiming RoN. This helps discuss the role of NGOs in transformations to greater environmental justice and sustainability.

3.3 Ethical Considerations:

RoN is new legislation in Uganda and potentially obstructive to industrial development. The GoU has previously attempted to amend land laws to suit its own developmental plans (Land Portal, 2016). Similar to South America, RoN could be opposed by State and private-sector actors with interests in blocking such legislation (Calzadilla and Kotzé, 2018). Accordingly, this research took measures to ensure it did not jeopardise the years of activism into claiming RoN, or cause any negative impact to a participant's or organisation's reputation and security.

Mitigation measures included ensuring participants provided their verbal or written consent, prior to interviews, after reading a consent form which outlined their right to withdraw, to confidentiality and how their information would be used. Participants were asked if organisation names could be used. No personal data was collected and no vulnerable persons were contacted.

As interviewees were speaking about indigenous peoples' who have been and remain marginalised in Uganda (Gilbert and Sena, 2018), this research has been careful to ensure the interviewees' representation of local communities is ad verbatim to avoid harming their position and community-NGO relations (Smith, 2010). However, objectivity will never be fully achieved as this study is based on the interpretation of qualitative data by a British white male (Bourke, 2014). The researcher is an outsider within debates around Ugandan environmental issues and indigeneity. During interviews, NGO workers may have altered their responses to the positionality of the researcher. Interviewees may not have provided more detailed nuanced answers for feeling the researcher might not understand the specific context, and/or give responses which promote the more positive aspects of their organisation and strengthen their arguments. Therefore, underlying this research is recognition that as a researcher, 'we are not neutral, scientific observers, untouched by the emotional and political contexts of places where we do our research' (Skelton, 2001:89 in Bourke 2014).

Ethical approval for this research was received from SOAS by an authorised ethical officer (Figure 2.0 in appendix).

4.0 The Storyline of Rights-of-Nature

Through applying Dryzek's (2013) analytical framework, this section outlines the collective storyline, 'the essence of the discourse' of six social-environmental NGOs (see figure 1.0) converged around RoN as a 'discourse coalition' or discourse assemblage (Hewitt, 2009:11; Hajer, 1995).

Figure 1.0: Table describing the organisations and their roles within Uganda's RoN-advocacy network.

Organisation:	Description and Function within the Network:
National Association of Professional Environmentalists (NAPE)	• Community-level capacity building to strengthen community food sovereignty and revive and gain recognition of indigenous peoples' knowledge of community ecological governance systems, including protection of Sacred Natural Sites (SNS) predominately around Lake Albert • Lobbying and Advocacy
African Institute for Cultural and Ecology (AFRICE)	• Community-level capacity building to strengthen community food sovereignty and revive and gain recognition of indigenous peoples' knowledge of community ecological governance systems, including protection of Sacred Natural Sites (SNS)) predominately around Lake Edward • Lobbying and Advocacy
Advocates for Natural Resources and Development (ANARDE)	• Ugandan Legal Non-Profit • Offers legal Support on Environmental and Human Rights violations
Open Society initiative East Africa (OSIEA)	• Financial Support under 'Economic Governance' programme, to ensure good governance and sustainable use of natural-resources • The East African branch of the international Open Society Foundation
African Biodiversity Network (ABN)	• Africa-wide organisation campaigning to gain recognition to rights of people and nature, to protect them from harmful developments (especially extractivism) • Strategic support to it's 36 partners in 12 African countries • Regional and International Lobbying and Advocacy
The Gaia Foundation	• UK-based international organisation campaigning to gain recognition to rights of people and nature, to protect them from harmful developments (especially extractivism) • Provide direct technical support to the grassroots and act as a funding intermediary • Regional and International Lobbying and Advocacy

4.1 The Ontology:

RoN-advocates spoke about nature being an 'Earth Community,' many interconnected smaller subjects. One interviewee articulated this when saying ''…nature is part of us, we are part of nature…'' and went further to say ''…ultimately, nature has control over humanity…authority comes from nature'' (AFRICE, 04/07/19). This remark resembles deep ecological thinking whereby the interviewee recognises a self-within-a-self (Dryzek, 2013; Taylor, 2000). The construction of the Earth as a communal entity in which local and global humans and non-humans are connected is an idea shared throughout the philosophy of Earth jurisprudence (Burdon, 2011). It implies nature is not matter, rather a larger being, Mother Earth, with its own rights relative to material ecological laws, which sit above human law in a legal hierarchy (ibid).

This ontology of interconnectedness contrasts with the nature-society dichotomy underpinning protectionist and market-based conservation, where nature can be controlled, commoditised and managed to benefit specific premediated socio-economic goals (Adams and Hutton, 2007). This subsequently resists the rights of certain actors to exclude people from certain parcels of land to realise Edenic fetishizations of 'wilderness,' or to accumulate capital through green-economy approaches such as carbon-forestry (Cavanagh and Himmelfarb, 2014; Carmody and Taylor, 2016). Such discourse highlights how RoN is being claimed to realise ecological justice for ecologies upon which livelihoods, identities and cultures are understood to depend upon. This supports Robbins's (2012:216-7) 'environmental subjects and identities' thesis, indicating how proponents have emerged to use RoN 'as a new opportunity' to challenge 'institutionalised and power-laden environmental management regimes.'

Additionally, RoN-advocates connect Earth jurisprudence with indigenous peoples' traditional knowledge and practices, highlighting how the discourse links epistemic justice concerns with RoN. When speaking about Earth jurisprudence in Africa, one participant said ''…when you

look at African traditions and cultures, they cannot be separated from the laws of nature. Their food systems, belief systems, are interconnected with the laws of nature'' (NAPE, 16/07/19). This suggests a generalised belief that indigenous peoples in Africa are not economically rational individuals. Instead, relate to a moral economy, extended to the Earth community (Scott, 1976). Advocates understand indigenous communities in western Uganda traditionally respect RoN through their CEG-systems, most importantly through the protection of sacred-natural-sites to allow for seed and water ceremonies (see figure 2.0). Accordingly, such discourse proposes traditionally sacred geographies exist whereby the customary values, beliefs and norms allow local communities to be framed as environmentalists, though perhaps accidental, strengthening the RoN-discourses demands for more recognition and protection of CEG-systems and nature's intrinsic rights by normative environmental regimes (Kent and Orlowska, 2018). The connection between indigenous spiritual governance and conservation has gained international policy attention (Sobrevila, 2008; Oviedo and Jeanrenaud, 2007). Now Uganda has political action around such correlations.

Proponents are speaking in terms of community languages of valuation and cultural rights, extending concern from individual capabilities to a community's capability to function (Schlosberg and Carruthers, 2010). This confronts governmental and conservationist narratives in Uganda which frame local individual community-members as ecological degraders, unless there is a socio-economic incentive to behave pro-environmentally (NEMA, 2017). Previous literature shows how such discourse on the poverty-environment degradation nexus has justified the need to control and modernise local communities causing multiple social and epistemic injustices (Fairhead and Leach, 1996; Robbins, 2012; Rodríguez, 2017). RoN-discourse therefore indicates more radical environmentalism, confronting the justifications for land enclosure which in Uganda has led to the loss of livelihood and subsequent loss of purpose leading to a 'deep sense of disempowerment and reduced agency…' (Murphey et al. 2017:692).

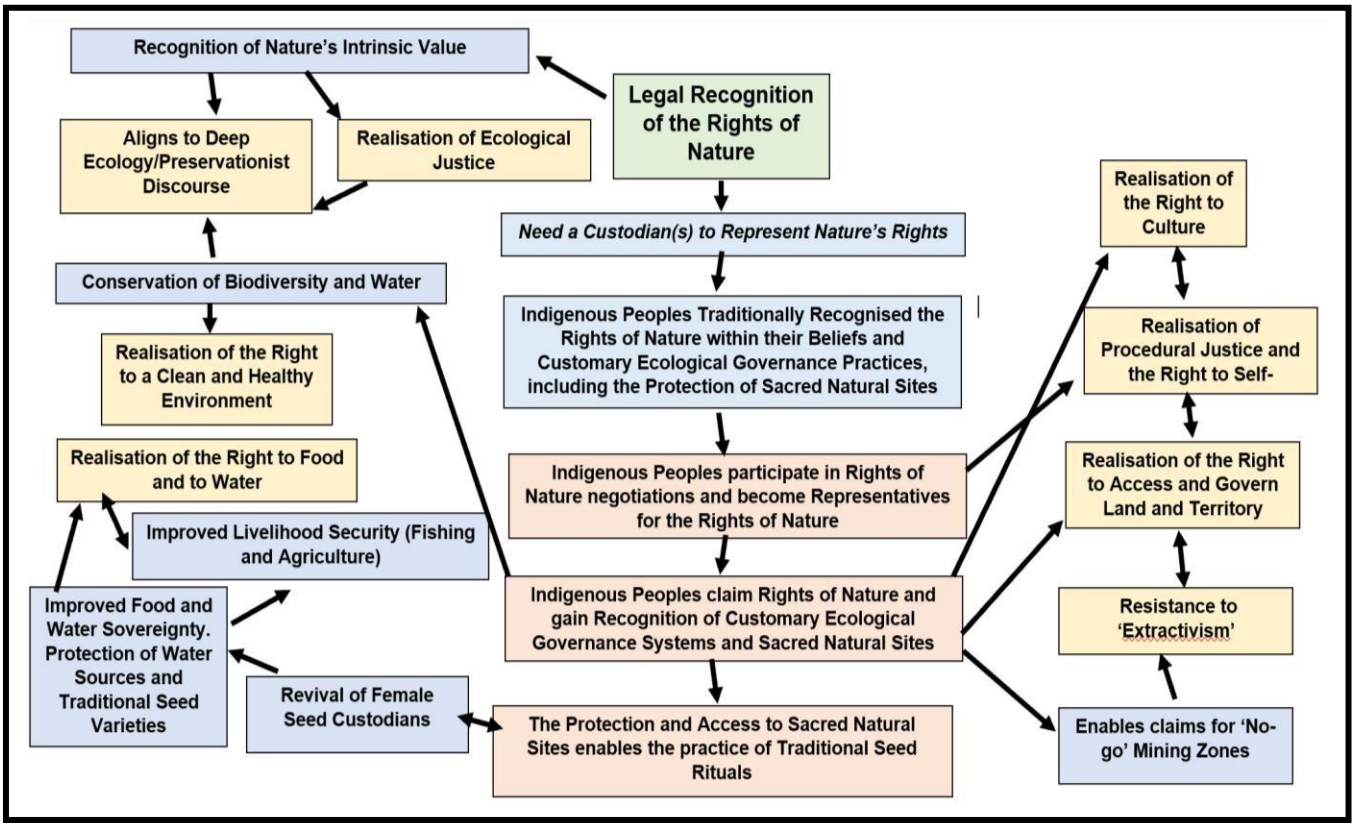
The traditional ‘African’ worldview is further framed in conflict with ‘’the anthropocentric view where nature is to be exploited’’ (AFRICE, 04/07/19). Speaking on anthropocentrism, a participant remarked ‘’…. until that changes, our economics and even education… is also a motivation for nature destruction’’ (ibid). Another participant said policy-makers should ‘’…stop relying on technologies and know it [Earth] has limits….’’ (ANARDE, 22/07/19) indicating a challenge to technoscientific narratives supporting continued resource-extraction with environmental mitigation (Mackenzie et al. 2017). The former participant commented how such change in environmental thinking is best realised ‘’…if rights of indigenous communities are recognised within a legal framework… then we can have paradigm shift to recognise practices which preserve nature with its own rights, not as a commodity’’ (AFRICE, 04/07/19). Calling for culutral change resembles an idealism akin to ‘green consciousness’ where ‘it is ideas, not material forces, that move history’ (Dryzek, 2013:198).

The previous participants’ quotes signify how RoN-advocates recognise the independent agency of existing legal, political and economic structures to hinder the required cultural change. Another participant said ‘’[Uganda’s] law is not protecting the environment, it needs rights…’’ (ANARDE, 22/07/19). The State and judiciary are viewed as an instrument, capable of passing laws to institutionalise RoN as understood by local communities and grant alternative knowledge and CEG-systems more recognition, protection and autonomy. This pragmatism highlights a bridge between idealism and materialism, radicalism and reformism (Dryzek, 2013). Though critical, all participants mentioned the usefulness of the State and transnational policy. Although, there is a nuance between participants. For example, NAPE (16/07/19) emphasised the need for a ‘’critical mass’’ claiming RoN, whereas ANARDE (22/07/19) stressed being careful to not claim anything before in-depth legal studies into how and what ecologies should gain RoN. This shows how there may be different understandings of narratives within ‘discourse coalitions’ (Hajer, 1995). It shows deciding what nature shall be legally personified is ultimately anthropocentric, political and culturally-specific, presenting an

internal contradiction and risks reproducing winners and losers without adequate procedural justice (Callon et al. 2017; Rafi, 2017).

Through articulating claims around the recognition of sacred geographies, RoN could be classified as Robbin's' (2004) 'seed,' presenting a new form of politicised environmentalism to an environmental context which, similarly to transnational conservation circles, remains largely centred on apolitical and technoscientific protectionist and market-based modes of conservation (Holmes, 2011; Lyons et al. 2017). Following Robbin's (2012) 'subject and identities' thesis, the RoN-advocacy appears to represent a new movement where a collective discourse has emerged resisting modern development and its underlying individualistic and anthropocentric ontology and capitalist political-economic systems, regarded as unnatural and un-African. Such discourse indicates a seemingly radical and imaginative EJ movement, connecting local social and epistemic justice issues with ecological justice and confronting existing dominant social-structures and narratives (Taylor, 2000; Dryzek, 2013).

Figure 2.0: Diagram illustrating how RoN could be used to claim the recognition of CEG-systems and food and water sovereignty for Indigenous Peoples



4.2 Relationships:

RoN-advocates understand relationships within nature as cooperative, not competitive. As one participant said, ‘’…there is cooperation between nature, less red in tooth and claw, more that we cannot live without it, it supports us’’ (AFRICE, 04/07/19). This rejects Darwin's ‘survival of the fittest’ theory, suggesting the Earth is naturally harmonious, where ‘human beings exist as one part of a community of life’ and even predation would ensure ‘mutual-enhancement,’ the prosperity of other beings (Burdon, 2011:64). The common theme throughout the interviews and grey literature is that bio-egalitarianism is understood by traditional ‘African’ knowledge, but not by Western/modern anthropocentric society. In this sense, there is a distinction between a society aware of being a part of a larger Earth

community versus an unaware society. A participant supports this comment when saying …''[indigenous] communities are not looking at these trees as commodities without rights…,'' and, ''…when Africans are planting food, they follow the cosmology of the Earth, they follow the wind, the direction of flying birds'' (AFRICE, 04/07/19). This highlights how RoN-advocates do not see the world consisting of an object versus human-subject dualism, but a collective of subjects enabling each being to flourish. Second, indigenous peoples are framed as behaving more naturally, whereas the rest of society behaves unnaturally, negatively impacting others within the Earth Community. This language of difference/otherness remained throughout the interviews, and appears somewhat essentialist.

However, one participant was keen to point out how RoN-advocates are not romanticising indigenous peoples.

''…only a few elders hold the traditional values and knowledge which respects the rights of nature. Otherwise, the communities are similar to others, also part of the encroachment and deforestation seen elsewhere.'' (AFRICE, 23/07/19)

This indicates recognition of heterogeneity within local communities, whereby only some members retain the 'harmonious' value systems. This is supported by examining the strategies of NAPE, AFRICE and Gaia Foundation, who locate specific elders, or 'custodians' believed to have knowledge on ancestral and territorial histories, sacred-natural-sites, seed rituals and other key elements of CEG-systems (Gaia, 2019). A participant from AFRICE (04/07/19) described this as a challenging process as, ''…indigenous communities are looked at as backwards by development.'' This shows advocates feel only certain individuals hold the knowledge of harmonious nature-society relationships, which may be revitalised, but is hidden due to a lack of confidence after a long history of suppression by colonialism and modernisation. Therefore, the seemingly unnatural idea of competitiveness and society-over-

nature hierarchy is viewed as non-indigenous to Uganda, a persistent (neo)colonial ontology and political economy.

Figure 3.0: Table Outlining Uganda's RoN-advocacy Discourse according to Dryzek's (2013) Framework

Questions:	**Analysis:**
Ontology: Basic entities recognised or constructed	• Mother Nature; a benevolent and complex interconnected system governed by naturally occurring Earth Laws • Indigenous peoples', including sacred-natural-site custodians and female seed custodians • Modern Western capitalist values vs traditional eco-centric value systems
Assumptions about natural relationships	• Humans and Nature are interconnected • Naturally, there is no hierarchy between humans and Nature. Hierarchy has been created by Western economic theory and philosophy • Indigenous communities traditionally live in harmony with Nature, ensuring bio-egalitarianism • The current level of industrial economic growth cannot also work alongside environmental conservation
Agents and their Motives	• Indigenous communities are heterogenous, but some members have retained traditional knowledge and values which are harmonious with Nature • Nature has rights, which will only be respected if indigenous peoples' have collective rights to practice their traditional food and governance systems • In practice, conventional environmental civil-society does not engage or respect indigenous peoples' traditional knowledge • Government prioritises economic growth over socio-ecological justice, but it will listen to the population if they have objective evidence to support their concerns and propose socio-economic alternatives • Nature has an agency, it has spirit, it is not matter
Key Metaphors and Rhetorical Devices	• Gaia • Earth Community • Barefoot Lawyers who understand the Earth's Laws • Appealing to an African Knowledge

4.3 Agents and Motives:

Though individual custodians are recognised to play a key role in the revival of traditional-ecological-knowledge which respects RoN, advocates primarily speak in terms of communities. For example, when speaking about the implications of the new NEA, one participant said:

‘’… there is the need for making the indigenous communities understand the laws and policy like the Environmental Act. To explain it to them as it would empower them to assert their rights’’ (AFRICE, 04/07/19).

This quote highlights the assumption that communities will collectively work together to realise their collective capabilities. This also assumes a role for non-local actors and policy to recognise and protect local knowledge understood to be suppressed and in need of revitalisation. This correlates with environmental literature advocating for community-based conservation, suggesting local-ecological-knowledge can best ensure effective management of natural-resources, especially if complemented, not dominated, by modern-science (Berkes, 2004). In working specifically with custodians/elders, the RoN-advocates work at the community level seeking to ‘’… document their community ecological knowledge systems, their traditions and engage with government to recognise these systems’’ (NAPE, 16/97/19). RoN-advocates appear to see EJ issues not just as an individual experience, but manifested at the community level, whereby loss of CEG- and food-systems produces a loss of sense of community, collective identity and ultimately less community functioning (Schlosberg and Carruthers, 2010).

However, RoN-advocates risk homogenising communities, unless there is engagement with how heterogeneity manifests itself along different social divisions. As Li (2015) demonstrates through her research with indigenous peoples in Sarawak, capitalist political-economy within indigenous communities stimulates processes of accumulation by dispossession, driven by

community-members, not external corporations. As a commons becomes privatised, individuals are rapidly forced to work for wages, those ahead buying land, others selling to survive, creating social polarisation which would have been occurring in Uganda since the colonial era (ibid). It is then reductionist to assume obstacles for respecting RoN and reviving CEG-systems will only come from the top-down before exploring how local power-relations may influence the willingness of communities to collectively claim the RoN. This highlights the need to explore the interests, values and norms of the local people, then compare them with the RoN-advocacy to discern whether external actors are romanticising local communities to naturalise their own ideologies, or if there is a genuine local-level drive to protect traditional CEG-systems for a more eco-centric future.

Regarding the Government, it is generally referred to as a challenge to realising EJ claims. When speaking about the GoU's view of indigenous peoples', one participant said:

''Empowerment to them is to get indigenous peoples to abandoned their culture, come to town and get western education and religion. Once they have abandoned these places, then the Government will destroy those ecosystems with oil and roads.'' (AFRICE, 04/07/19)

Participants further highlighted how the Government has previously tried to/has changed laws to pursue its own interests without public consultation (ANARDE, 2017). For instance, the Uganda Constitution (Section 244) was amended in 2005 giving the GoU access rights to sub-surface resources, meaning the GoU can access mineral-rich land without community consultation (IWIGA, 2017). The quote indicates mistrust in the Government to recognise alternative knowledge, land-rights and environmental law. Advocates explained how specific language must be used when speaking to the GoU, ensuring any claim is backed-up with objective quantitative evidence and supported by a ''critical mass'' of citizens (NAPE, 16/97/19). This relates to the lessons learnt by civil-society in previous EJ-struggles, including resistance to Mbira forest's conversion into sugarcane plantations, where economic valuation

of ecological-change played a key role in blocking government-backed industrial development (Twesigye, 2008). Despite concerns over governmental interests, participants felt the GoU will listen to or ‘’fear’’ local communities provided they approach the GoU in the correct manner (OSIEA, 18/07/19). This indicates participants feel the GoU represents a discursive hegemony, shaping the terms of opposition (Fairclough, 1995). As one participant mentioned, ‘’…if it [RoN] is claimed as anti-developmental, then it will be dead on arrival’’ (ANARDE, 22/07/19). Consequently, the RoN-advocacy is careful to navigate around the GoU’s motives, but ultimately seeks to confront their power over environmental agendas. This shows RoN-advocates adjust their discourse according to their audience, suggesting how environmental discourse is contextualised, and influenced by external actors (Tulet, 1998).

Interviews further revealed a mistrust in conventional environmental civil-society to recognise indigenous peoples’ knowledge, values and CEG-systems. When asked about the recognition of sacred-natural-sites at the World Wildlife Congresses (Hawai’i, 2016), one interviewee said larger environmental organisations do not:

‘’…. recognise the traditions of communities, communities who are small-scale farmers practicing indigenous knowledge…they have not recognised that connection between recognising indigenous knowledge and recognising RoN. It is written down in African Commission and IUCN reports, but there is still need for engaging indigenous communities.’’ (AFRICE, 04/07/19)

The participant feels civil-societies’ rhetoric is progressive, but lacks commitment in practice, separating themselves as more proactive and devoted to systemic change. Others spoke about the lack of involvement of indigenous peoples’ in national and regional workshops, signalling concern for procedural injustice, likely resulting in misrecognition of their interests and values (Martin, 2017). Participants commented on the growing global awareness of the role of indigenous peoples’ in conservation efforts, citing the United Nation’s Harmony with

Nature Initiative and the ACHPR's (Resolution 372) recognition of sacred-natural-sites. The advocates discourse is therefore hopeful that with awareness at the local-level of global and regional policy, communities will be in a stronger position to make their own claims, understood to be more legitimate from the GoU's perspective (OSIEA, 18/07/19). This indicates a pragmatism within the RoN-network, setting the stage for active engagement with higher-level institutions (Dryzek, 2013).

The caution around civil-society appears somewhat sensible considering RoN could be co-opted to promote exclusionary rights (Bajpai, 2017). RoN-advocates are claiming recognition for sacred-natural-sites in Murchison Falls National Park in western Uganda (NAPE and Gaia Foundation, 2014). This park is currently being explored for commercial oil reserves, indicating limitations of neoliberalised environmentalism in the face of extractive frontiers as tourist park fees cannot compete against oil revenues, in the short-term (Mackenzie et al. 2017). Some NGOs like the Wildlife Conservation Society are engaged in mitigating the impact of the oil-industry (WCS, 16/07/19). Although, one can assume some preservationists will be against industrial-activity in Murchison. If sacred-natural-sites are recognised there, it would strengthen claims for the park being a 'no-go mining zone,' and permit cultural practices to offer greater social justice resulting in less conflict between parks and people for more effective ecological protection (Martin, 2017). Subsequently, RoN could 'connect disparate groups' (Robbins, 2012:217). Although, the institutionalisation of CEG-systems allows the preservationist's goals to be met, reinforcing their dominant narratives whilst indigenous peoples do not have power over decision-making processes, thus undermining empowerment and epistemic justice, a process coined 'environmentality' (Agrawal, 2005; Blaikie, 2006). RoN may converge different actors as new environmental subjects, which risks co-option and contradicting initial more transformative visions.

5.0 Network Relations

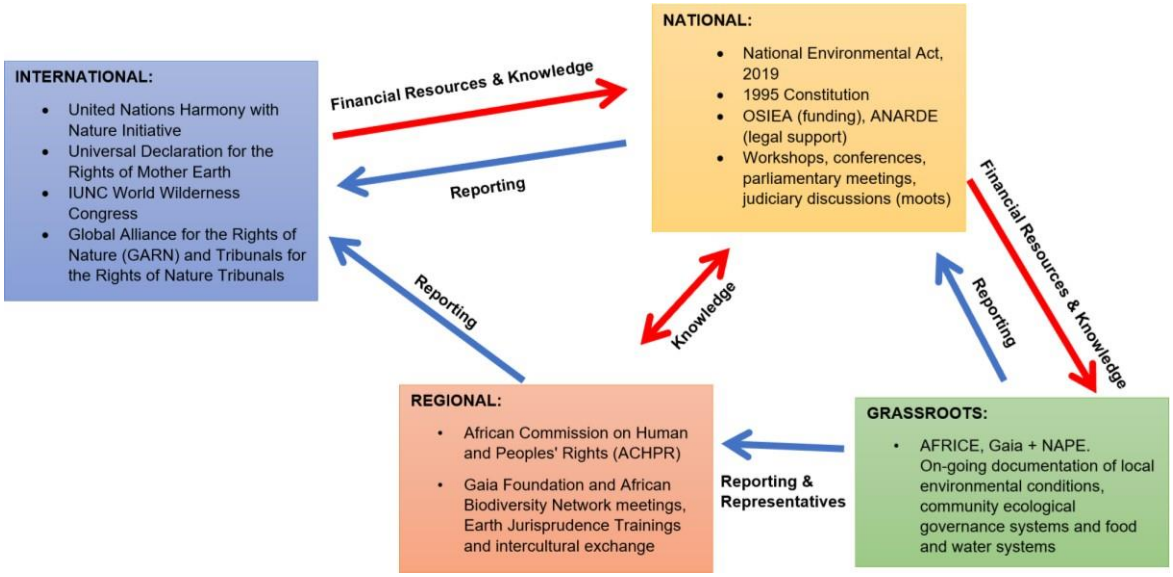
5.1 Specialisation:

The RoN-advocates each specialise in particular strategies based on their professional expertise to impact upon the forms of hegemonic power to better attain their shared goals. NAPE and AFRICE work mostly at the grassroots level, formalising community-based organisations, helping local community-members document CEG-systems and holding community discussions and trainings on how to claims rights and hold the GoU and private-sector actors accountable for socio-ecological changes (NAPE, 2016). The Gaia Foundation supports them and also operates at the regional and international level (Gaia Foundation, 2019). The Gaia Foundation works closely with the ABN whom they previously helped establish to promote food sovereignty, indigenous knowledge and RoN regionally (ABN, 2015). They have previously organised workshops and extended trainings on Earth jurisprudence in Uganda and regionally, and arranged intercultural exchanges between seed custodians from across Africa (ibid). ANARDE works towards national legislation on RoN and OSEIA is a key donor to the network (ANARDE, 22/07/19). This specialisation was arranged after a series of workshops in Kampala (2013-4) hosted by Gaia Foundation and NAPE where they discussed limitations of Uganda's environmental law, the role of sacred-natural-sites in conservation and food and water sovereignty, and RoN and 'no-go mining zones' (NAPE, 2014). Though there is specialisation, the organisations support each other through flows of material resources and knowledge (see figure 4.0).

5.2 Resource-flows:

One flow of material resources is between OSIEA as a financial donor and the smaller NGOs, AFRICE and NAPE. Much development literature highlights the control of financial and technical resources creates donor-recipient power asymmetries, whereby donors can dominate development discourse as recipients try to adhere to donor terms and conditions to access resources (Mosse, 2004; Crush, 1995). This suggests OSEIA has power over recipients. Alternatively, Uganda's RoN-advocacy network appears more balanced and cooperative. OSIEA agreed to support Earth jurisprudence activism after learning about it from NAPE and Gaia Foundation, choosing to fund the cause feeling it was best to support grassroots-activity following less successful efforts to improve the quality of parliamentary debates around oil-governance (OSEIA, 18/07/19) The smaller NGOs did not have to appeal to the donor in the same way others compete for funding, illustrating how power may not be exercised in outwardly 'loaded' relations (OSEIA, 18/07/19; Moorse and McNamara, 2005). This suggest less need for recipients to depoliticise and homogenise local realities to fit them into 'black boxes' which complement the donor's language of valuation (Mosse, 2004). The shared goals and regular dialogue within this primarily Kampala-based NGO-network suggests more transparent relations, implying reduced managerialism where recipients have less requirement to report success according to certain donor-decided terms and procedures (Townsend and Townsend, 2004). This would enable the organisations to focus more on their downward accountability and strategies with local-communities, to better ensure the discourse around RoN is representative of and supported by grassroot actors whom organisations engage with.

Figure 4.0: Diagram indicating the flow of resources, knowledge and reports between different levels of decision-making, and the activities and key actors and/or policy at each level.



Knowledge is also shared within the RoN-network. Reports from the grassroots-level are disseminated to organisations who have access to higher-level decision-making processes. For example, funded by the European Union, NAPE and Gaia Foundation reported how protecting sacred-natural-sites as 'no-go mining zones' could ensure local control and access to water, and the ability to conduct seed rituals which require indigenous seed varieties, thereby serving to conserve agrobiodiversity and reduce dependency on modern hybrid seed, thus realising greater food sovereignty (NAPE and Gaia Foundation, 2014). Such grassroots-level reporting from participatory CEG-mapping exercises offered supporting evidence for regional and international advocacy work (AFRICE, 04/07/19). This includes lobbying the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR) to recognise and protect sacred-natural-sites (Chennells and Nadal, 2015). Since, the ACHPR's Resolution 372 has recognised their claims and both NAPE and Gaia Foundation were commended by Uganda's Human Rights Commissioner (Rhoades, 2017). Therefore, the alliance between organisations

enables the grassroots to link to international policy-making processes, demonstrating how 'power with' creates an agency to impact upon institutions and networks (Rodriguez et al .2017).

The collaborative action of RoN-advocates also materialised the agency to impact upon national level legislation, the key example being the RoN (NEA, Article 4, 2019). RoN-advocates coordinated their strategies to ensure those who are most 'inside' Ugandan environmental decision-making processes take the role of influencing the RoN formalisation. It was ANARDE who primarily took this on. ANARDE sensitised members of parliament, lawyers, judges and civil-society on RoN and conducted legal studies into RoN's feasibility (ANARDE, 22/07/19). Through careful deliberation, ANARDE successfully introduced RoN to the National Environment Management Authority (NEMA), the GoU's main environmental-policy agency, who later formalised RoN (ibid). An interview with ANARDE revealed how they were initially drafting a bill on RoN to present to parliament (ibid). However, civil-society pressured the GoU to pass a National Environment Bill (2017) to revise the 1995 NEA to cater for contemporary concerns e.g. oil and plastic (Karugaba, 2019). A Natural-Resource Committee was established to manage such revision which permitted civil-society to advocate ideas for the new Act (ANARDE, 22/07/19). This offered ANARDE an opportunity to present RoN to Government.

ANARDE created a legal report, referencing grassroot-level documentation from NAPE, Gaia Foundation and AFRICE alongside examples of Ecuador's and New Zealand's recognition of RoN (ANARDE, 22/07/19). Using this, ANARDE explained to the committee why nature should have rights, to ensure Ugandan citizens realise their constitutional right to a clean and healthy environment (Article, 17(1)(i)) (ibid). ANARDE explained how development is being undermined by a degraded environment, choosing examples Kampala-based decision-

makers could relate to (ibid). This indicates strategically using certain discourse in particular situations (Tulet, 1998). ANARDE mentioned how committee members were ‘‘…convinced so much…’’ when explaining the ‘‘spiritual’’ connection between indigenous peoples’ and natural-resources, and how ‘‘…people should reconnect with nature in the ways indigenous peoples have…’’ (ibid). It is surprising to hear the NR Committee identified with these claims considering the normative discourse in Uganda is local communities are environmental threats (NEMA, 2017). ANARDE admitted at first the committee ‘‘…thought Rights-of-Nature was fiction, witchcraft…’’ (ANARDE, 22/07/19). Although, ANARDE is well-respected within the Kampala’s environmental legal circle, on different committees including a member of NEMA, an ‘insider’ if you will (ibid). ANARDE also said the NR Committee was somewhat sensitized to Earth jurisprudence ideas given Hon. L. Songa was present who had attended the ACHPR meetings where NAPE, Gaia Foundation and ABN had lobbied for protection and recognition of sacred-natural-sites (ibid). This suggests how ANARDE was in a position to be listened to by the committee.

5.3 An ‘Insider’ Position:

The points above demonstrate how the experience, reputation and ‘insider’ position of ANARDE permitted access to legislation-making processes. The legitimacy of the alternative RoN claims was then supported by knowledge from the grassroots, shared by other RoN-advocates. This supports Lyons et al.’s (2017:337-38) suggestion that ‘interconnected hubs’ between reformist pragmatism and radical claims may enable the promotion and formalisation of alternative re-imaginings of environmental sustainability and justice ‘that are yet to be realised.’ This shows sharing knowledge on decision-making processes, international legislation and policy, advocacy strategies and, the wider political context of environmental change, can help people and organisations to impact upon networks and institutions when opportunities arise (Crespo, 2005 in Rodriguez et al. 2017). The concerted RoN-advocacy demonstrates a stable and flexible movement given connections between the grassroots,

institutions and global policy-making has enabled wider awareness at local, national and international levels on the relationships between culture, ecology, livelihoods and extractivism (Gupta, 2013). The recognition of RoN may change the Albertine Graben's legal landscape. Advocates hope it will build the confidence of local communities to claim cultural-rights using RoN to articulate alternative development discourses which confront potential processes of accumulation by dispossession driven by industrialisation (Martinez-Alier et al. 2010). As previous literature on EJ-struggles illustrates, a strong network with clearly articulated alternatives prior to environmentally harmful activities creates a less reactive movement where greater environmental justice and sustainability is more likely to materialise (Bebbington et al. 2008; Tetreault, 2019). Although, such conclusions were based on EJ-struggles in Ecuador and Mexico where indigenous rights have more governmental recognition, EJ-struggles included more wealthy and influential individuals and importantly the economies are larger than Uganda's suggesting less interest in the substantial revenues oil-mining could bring (ibid; ibid; Suruma, 2014). Subsequently, even with a clearly articulated alternative vision of development, the political-economic context may place significant structural barriers on resistance claims.

Furthermore, this case-study demonstrates how an insider position can enable organisations to clarify the experiences, interests and norms of local communities to higher-level decision-makers and, to mount their counter-discourses of local communities (Rodriguez et al. 2017). This suggests how NGO-networks can connect the grassroots-level realities to higher-level decision-makings to facilitate a process of 'transformative learning' (Armitage et al. 2008). This refers to policy and law-makers gaining a greater understanding of local realities to ensure their decisions are better adapted to the local-level (ibid). Greater adaptive-capacity helps ensure the governance of inherently uncertain socio-ecological systems is less likely to reproduce inter- and intra-community inequalities and injustices (Colfer, 2005). This indicates potential to realise greater justice and ensure more effective environmental governance

(Martin, 2017). This falls at a time when the GoU's plans to begin oil exploration in the Albertine Graben which will undoubtably have implications for livelihoods and ecology in an area reliant on agriculture and fisheries (Suruma, 2014). Although, given the reported oil-related corruption scandals and opaque production licencing, even if there is room to mount counter-discourses, vested interests may see them not listened to (Vokes, 2012). This highlights the need for management structures which ensure information transparency, and collaboration between communities, civil-society, government and private-sector to reveal power asymmetries to best facilitate transformative learning processes (Colfer, 2005; Armitage et al. 2009).

However, political spaces are dynamic and evolve (Berkes, 2009). Considering the uncertainty surrounding the implementation of RoN, there is potential for future opportunities to communicate counter-discourses. Based on the RoN-discourse, this would likely include challenging the dominant narrative of local community-members being purely economically rational individuals who will encroach and deforest biodiverse areas in order to secure economic gains (Duraiappah, 1998; NEMA, 2017). If so, the RoN-advocacy would be claiming an 'environmentalism of the poor,' arguing the revival of traditional-ecological-knowledge can help communities defend ecological conditions which support local livelihoods and have specific environmental values, from natural-resource enclosure and extraction by elites to benefit distant social-metabolisms (Martinez-Alier, 2002). Considering the environmental politics in western Uganda is influenced by interests in extractive-industry, such claims would need to be supported by much documented evidence to avoid being regarded as anti-developmental (Lyons et al. 2017). This highlights the importance of close connections in the RoN-network and careful strategic planning.

Subsequently, the insider position of the RoN-network indicates their facilitatory function, linking diverse actors at the grassroots, national and transnational levels (Folke et al. 2005). Following the RoN-discourse, such facilitation could increase the agency of the RoN-network to influence legislation and policy to better enable emancipatory struggles against multi-dimensional environmental and ecological injustices. This depends on whether citizens decide to mobilise their claims around specific rights and policy. Additionally, raising issues of cultural violence would highlight the importance of such concerns to both normative environmental networks, but also help decolonise EJ activist circles following a greater recognition of the multi-dimensionality of EJ (Temper, 2018).

6.0 Transformative Quality

6.1 Epistemic Community:

Cross's (2013) defining factors of an epistemic community apply to the RoN-network. As shown, there are shared motivations, 'casual beliefs and policy goals' (Cross, 2013:142). Cross (2013) states it is professional cohesion which enables epistemic communities to influence decision-making authorities, and not just similar practices. The premeditated strategies within the assemblage ensure the professionalisms support each other's. Cross (2013) argues rapidly changing policy environments and governmental uncertainty on specific qualitative issues creates space for epistemic communities to impact upon rule-making. This occurred when ANARDE influenced the revision of the NEA. This case-study further supports Cross's (2013) argument that Government's will turn to epistemic communities only for advice on less politically significant issues. Uganda's environmental sector is largely unfunded compared to other sectors with NGOs performing a key role in environmental service provision, suggesting changing the NEA carries less political weight (Nel, 2015).

These points reveal an epistemic community has emerged, claiming an authority on RoN. It is distinctive given its discourse's positive engagement with marginalised indigenous peoples' environmental meanings, unlike epistemic communities who typically focus on influencing the implementation of technoscientific and protectionist environmentalism (Gilbert and Sena, 2018; Holmes, 2011). This implies an epistemic community promoting transformational change, supporting what they consider an 'environmentalism of the poor' related to struggles over competing environmental languages of valuation (Rodriguez et al. 2017; Martinez-Alier, 2009). However, green transformations are argued to stem from grassroots emancipatory struggle, not pre-determined 'seeds from above' (Sterling, 2015; Temper et al. 2018). This tension questions the transformative quality of the RoN-network.

6.2 A Facilitatory Community:

One reason to suggest the RoN-network has a transformative quality is due to its engagement with power and culture in it's grassroot activities (Rodriguez et al. 2017). In the Albertine Graben, the RoN-network is supporting the revival of local knowledge and histories, including mapping territories, CEG-systems, and envisioning exercises (NAPE and Gaia Foundation, 2014). This correlates with literature on citizen-led green transformations, stressing the importance of local communities re-writing histories and developing counter-discourses to ensure their representation is more aligned with their sense of self, community, place and development (Temper et al. 2018). Such processes can establish shared identities for a 'power within' to impact upon dominant narratives (Rodriguez et al. 2017). The grassroot-level activities have also been used by Gaia Foundation and ABN in other countries (Natukunda, 2019). This indicates a general pathway to reproduce 'power within'. However, aiming to revitalise local knowledge and CEG-system illustrates how outcomes are intended to be dependent on context-specific interests, norms and meanings, not a rigid blueprint. This shows an appreciation of culturally diverse pathways to realise a common vision of greater epistemic and ecological justice, suggesting the RoN-network is more interested in inspiring rather than sculping claims for socio-ecological justice. This indicates an effort to out-scale, not up-scale ideas (Temper et al. 2018). This infers the RoN-network in Uganda is more transformative than other epistemic communities which promote activities at the local-level that overlook complex political, social and cultural dynamics to replicate outcomes which reinforce dominant development narratives (Mosse, 2004; Ferguson, 1990).

Furthermore, the activities are not centred around the provision of financial resources to the communities by NGOs. Instead, the work of NGOs is more about facilitating community dialogue to begin the process of cultural revival. This suggests the NGOs are less likely to create community dependency on external resources which would pressure communities into adhering to NGO expectations which limits actual participation (Gross-Camp et al. 2019). It

also helps to avoid inter- and intra-community conflict over uneven distribution of resources by NGOs across different social divisions (Sa'at and Lin, 2018). However, there remains questions over who participates in cultural revival activities. This research did not explore local-level social divisions. However, much past research demonstrates how working with specific social groups risks creating new burdens or reinforcing power asymmetries created by customary norms (Martin and Lemon, 2001). Articulating certain communities as indigenous with special rights asserts a privilege, differentiating them from non-indigenous communities who may practice similar livelihoods, yet less able to fit the 'tribal slot', potentially stimulating inter-community conflict over 'otherness' (Li, 2008). Environmental conflict may be avoided through deeper analysis by external-actors which is likely given interviewees indicated desire to develop trusting, long-lasting relations with community-members. Nevertheless, RoN-advocates risk (re)producing conflict depending on how local complexities are understood, and how local people are preassigned roles to fit particular boxes (Li, 2008).

Despite such possibilities, the RoN-network's vision of a systemic shift away from technoscientific environmentalism has transformative quality given it celebrates cultural plurality and the intrinsic rights of nature. This confronts dominant nature-society relations and political-economic structures epistemic communities are generally associated with (Holmes, 2011). In Uganda, a key driver of environmental conflict has been land enclosure for protected areas and market-based schemes such as carbon-forestry (Carmody and Taylor, 2016; Murphy et al. 2017). Such environmentalism often (re)creates environmental conflicts by changing natural-resource use and access rights while neglecting different social groups environmental meanings, thereby impacting upon livelihoods and individual's and community's sense of identity and purpose (Robbins, 2012). RoN-discourse and legislation indicate an important claim and result in establishing a legal environment which may better enable more dialogue around indigenous peoples' cultural- and land-rights, alternative forms of provisioning, and the role of CEG-systems in conservation.

7.0 Conclusions

Analysing the collective discourse of RoN revealed a ‘new wave’ of environmentalism in Uganda. It aims to confront dominant narratives which overlook alternative environmental meanings creating epistemic injustice. Each NGO specialised in specific strategies according to their professionalism, and are supported through more balanced donor-recipient relations and a fluid movement of knowledge generated at the grassroots-level, and from international RoN-activism. Actors align to more radical intentions, yet by engaging with formal institutions they were able to influence decision-making at multiple levels when opportunities arose. This indicates a double-movement of reformism and more imaginative radicalism providing an epistemic community with agency to facilitate transformational change for greater social and ecological justice.

This research has not explored whether the RoN-advocates claims are truly embedded in local communities. Therefore, it cannot strictly conclude RoN is an alternative driven and owned by grassroot actors to discern the progression of a citizen-led green transformation. However, the RoN-network has linked local voices to higher governance levels and presents arguments to move away from the closed circles of market-based and exclusionary environmentalism. Importantly, there have been steps towards a regional policy and national legislative environment which could assist and catalyse indigenous peoples into claiming better protection and recognition of sacred-natural-sites by articulating how they can deliver RoN. Given the role of sacred-natural-sites in local CEG-systems, this would help realise greater sovereignty over their food-systems and livelihoods, whilst ensuring ecological integrity. Sharing local-level knowledge and documentation to the regional and international levels supports organisations working to strengthen local collective identities and histories. This aims to increase the agency of local communities to develop counter-discourses of environmental

governance and confront hegemonic powers. This shows how the RoN-network has the potential to influence transformative change.

It is worth remembering this is the first academic article to explore the RoN-advocacy in Uganda, and there is little non-legal literature on RoN in Africa more generally. It offers an overview of Uganda's RoN-advocacy, a platform upon which to explore the RoN movement through different political-ecological perspectives. There are many opportunities for future research on this evolving topic, one brimming with big ideas yet uncertainty given implementation and enforcement regulations are yet to formalise. Future research may explore how the stability and flexibility of the RoN-network changes overtime, whether it continues to focus on the depth of its work with local communities rather than spread, if NGOs begin operating in new districts, and if new actors join the network which could bring more resources but also greater risk of co-option and fragmentation (Kumar, 2014). This might include partnerships with the poorly funded local Government in western Uganda who has tensions with central Government over centralised exclusionary environmental policies (Oosterveer and Van Vilet, 2010). Other potential partnerships include other indigenous rights activists, or the Bunyoro Kabaka (King), the customary ruler of the western region who works towards the restoration of customary governance. One could also explore whether the RoN-discourse overlooks local-level complexities, analysing who engages with RoN and how do they relate to other community-members according to the local political-economy, gender roles and various historic sources of local power-asymmetries.

Subsequently, this is an area to watch carefully. Epistemic justice and sacred-natural-sites are increasingly discussed in East Africa, and RoN is growing momentum globally (Gilbert and Sena, 2018; Settle and Bondízio, 2019; Ito and Montini, 2019). NGOs appear to play a key role in driving such movements, espousing a discourse of just and sustainable transformation. Next is to follow whether certain actors co-opt RoN to benefit their own interests and

environmental meanings, similar to South American cases (Calzadilla and Kotzé, 2018). Alternatively, RoN could be claimed by indigenous peoples to defend territories and sacred-natural-sites to strengthen community cohesion and local autonomy. This also shows how RoN could reinforce the adaptability and resilience of sacred-natural-sites and CEG-systems to global environmental change, and help them maintain bio-heterogeneity in landscapes threatened to become simplified by increasing intensive agricultural and extractive-industries (Wild et al. 2010). This indicates how policy should embrace the connection between cultural rights and conservation and how NGOs should continue to share stories from the grassroots to inspire similar movements beyond.

Appendix:

Figure 1: Extra Detail on Data Collection

Secondary data collection helped to locate actors with interests and concerns in RoN and environmentalism within Uganda, the stakeholders. Snowball sampling was used whereby researching the partner of initial stakeholders revealed other interested parties. This first stage of research enabled the creation of an initial map of connections between stakeholders in terms of shared participation in decision-making processes, resources flows and information sharing.

After the mapping exercise, individual actors and organisations were contacted via email, asking for an interview in Kampala or over Skype to share their views on RoN. Some participants acted as gatekeepers, sharing further details of associated people to contact. Thirteen environmental organisations were contacted, of which eight semi-structured interviews were conducted in Kampala, one over skype, with seven different organisations. Two members of the Uganda Parliament's Ministry for Energy and Mining and three lawyers working in energy and mining law were contacted, none responded. A consent form was presented to all interviewees before interviews to obtain their prior and informed consent. Consent was given verbally, or written. If permitted, interviews were recorded, then later transcribed to enable the discourse analysis. If not, notes were taken during interviews.

Secondary information informed the researcher on Uganda's background environmental context to help establish key themes and open-ended questions to keep interviews directed towards the research aims, yet flexible and conversational for more comprehensive responses (Secor, 2010). It also helped pre-determine important ethical considerations, highlighting how the positionality of the researcher would affect the interpretation of interview responses (Longhurst, 2016). Though interviews are not representative of the wider population, they help to provide a detailed account of the values, attitudes and interests of key stakeholders, highlighting the discourse surrounding RoN to help answer the research questions (ibid).

Figure 2: Ethical Approval Form from SOAS, University of London

Part IV

Declaration

I hereby confirm that to the best of my knowledge this is a full account of the ethical issues that potentially may arise during the course of my proposed research.

Principal Investigator (PI) / Researcher:

Signed: Matthew Hopewell Date: 09/05/2019

(*Authorised Reviewer*) [3]

Post/Title **Colette Harris, ethics officer**

Signed: …Colette Harris Date: 13-5-2019

Approve	Reject	Refer to REP	Date
X			

Please ensure a copy of the form is retained for audit and monitoring purposes.

Part V

[3] E.g. Research Co-ordinator, Associate Director of Research (ADR) etc.

Bibliography:

Adams, W.M. and Hutton, J., (2007). 'People, Parks and Poverty: Political Ecology and Biodiversity Conservation.' *Conservation and Society*, 5(2), pp. 147-183.

African Biodiversity Network., (2015). *ABN News, Network Edition: Becoming a Network, July, An Overview of ABN's 2015 Biennial Partners' Meeting, 2015.* [Online]. Available from: https://africanbiodiversity.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/ABN-NEWSLETTER-Network-Edition-2015-FA-3.pdf

Agrawal, A., (2005). *Environmentality: Technologies of Government and the Making of Subjects*. Durham, USA: Duke University Press.

Armitage. D, Marschke. M and Plummer. R., (2008). 'Adaptive co-management and the paradox of learning.' *Global Environmental Change*, 18, pp. 86-98.

Armitage. D, Plummer. R, Berkes. F, Arthur. R, Charles. A, Davidson-Hunt. I, Diduck. A, Doubleday. N, Johnson. D, Marschke. M, McConney. P, Pinkerton. E, Wollenberg. E., (2009). 'Adaptive Co-Management for social-ecological complexity.' *Frontiers in Ecological and the Environment,* 7(2), pp. 95-102.

Avci, D., (2017). 'Mining conflicts and transformative politics: A comparison of Intag (Ecuador) and Mount Ida (Turkey) environmental struggles.' *Geoforum*, 84, pp. 316-325.

Bajpai, S., (2017). What does rights of rivers mean? *World Rainforest Bulletin,* 23 November. [Online]. [Assessed 23 November, 2017]. Available from: https://wrm.org.uy/articles-from-the-wrm-bulletin/what-does-rights-of-rivers-mean/

Baxter, B., (2005). 'The concept of ecological justice.' In *A Theory of Ecological Justice*. London: Routledge Research in Environmental Politics, pp. 1-10.

Bebbington, A. Bebbington, D.H. Bury, J. Lingan, J. Munoz, J.P., (2008). "Mining and Social Movements: Struggles over livelihoods and rural territorial development in the Andes." *World Development*, 26(12), pp. 2888-2905.

Berkes, F., (2004). 'Rethinking Community-Based Conservation.' *Conservation Biology*, 18(3), pp. 621-630.

Berkes. F., (2009). ‘Evolution of co-management: Role of knowledge generation, bridging organisation and social learning.’ *Environmental Management*, 90(5), pp. 1692-1702.

Berkhout, F. Smith, A. Stirling, A., (2004). ‘Socio-technical regimes and transition contexts.’ In B, Elzen. F.W, Geels. K, Green. (eds). *System innovation and the transition to sustainability: theory, evidence and policy*. UK, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 48-75.

Berry, T., (2011). ‘Rights of the Earth: We Need a New Legal Framework Which Recognises the Rights of All Living Beings.’ In P, Burdons. (eds). *Exploring Wild Law: The Philosophy of Earth Jurisprudence*. Australia: Wakefield Press, pp. 227-229.

Blaikie, P., (2006). ‘Is small really beautiful? Community-based natural resource management in Malawi and Botswana.’ *World Development*, 34 (11), pp. 1942–57.

Bourke, B., (2014). ‘Positionality: Reflecting on the Research Process.’ *The Qualitative Report*, 19(33), pp. 1-9.

Bullard, R., (1994). ‘Environmental Racism and the Environmental Justice Movement.’ In C. Merchant. (eds). *Ecology: Key Concepts in Critical Theory*. USA, New Jersey: Humanities Press, pp.254-265.

Büscher, B. and Fletcher, R., (2015). ‘Accumulation by Conservation.’ *New Political Economy*, 20,2, pp. 273-298.

Callon, S. Cullman, G. Verschuuren, B and. Sterling, E., (2017). ‘Moving beyond the human nature dichotomy through biocultural approaches: including ecological well-being in resilience indicators.’ *Ecology and Society*, 22(4), pp 27-36.

Calzadilla, P.V. and Kotzé, L., (2018). ‘Living in Harmony with Nature? A Critical Appraisal of the Rights of Mother Earth in Bolivia.’ *Transnational Environmental Law*, 7(3), pp. 397-424.

Carmody, P. and Taylor, D., (2016). ‘Globalisation, Land Grabbing, and the Present-Day Colonial State in Uganda: Ecolonization and its Impacts.’ *Environment and Development*, 25(1), pp. 100-126.

Cavanagh, C.J. and T.A. Benjaminsen. (2014). ‘Virtual nature, violent accumulation: the 'spectacular failure' of carbon offsetting at a Ugandan National Park.’ *Geoforum* 56, pp. 55-65.

Cavanagh, C.J. and Himmelfarb, D.I., (2014). 'Much in Blood and Money'': Necropolitical Ecology on the Markings of the Uganda Protectorate.' *Antipode*, pp. 1-19.

Chennells, R. and Nadal, C., (2015). *Submission to the African Commission: A Call for Legal Recognition of Sacred natural sites and territories, and their Customary Governance Systems, 24 March, 2015.* [Online]. Gaia Foundation and African Biodiversity Network. Available from: https://www.gaiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/CalltoAfricanCommission_summary_Eng.pdf

Colfer. C., (2005). 'Chapter 1: Introduction.' In C, Colfer. (eds). *The Complex Forest: Communities, Uncertainty and Adaptive Collaborative Management. Resource for the Future and Centre for International Forestry Research*. USA: Washington DC, pp. 1-29.

Cross, D., (2013). 'Rethinking epistemic communities twenty years later.' *Review of International Studies*, 39, pp. 137-160.

Crush, J. (1995). 'Introduction.' In J. Crush. (eds). *Power of Development*. London, UK and New York, USA: Routledge, pp. 1-26.

Cullinan, C., (2011). 'A History of Wild Law.' In P, Burdon. (eds). *Exploring Wild Law: The Philosophy of Earth Jurisprudence*. Australia: Wakefield Press, pp. 12-23.

De Francisco J. and Boelens R., (2015). 'Payment for environmental services: Mobilising an epistemic community to construct dominant policy.' *Environmental Politics*, 24(3): 481–500.

Della Porta, DD., (2008). 'Eventful protest, global conflicts.' *Distinktion Journal of Social Theory*, 9(2), pp. 27–56.

Diaz, S. Settele, J, Brondízio., (2019). *Summary for policymakers of the global assessment report on biodiversity and ecosystem services- unedited advance version*. Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services 2019 Global Assessment Report on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services. [Online]. Available from: https://lp.panda.org/ipbes

Dryzek, J., (2013). 'Changing People: Green Consciousness.' In J, Dryzek. (eds). *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses*. 3rd ed. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, pp.187- 206.

Duraiappah, A. K., (1998). 'Poverty and environmental degradation: A review and analysis of the nexus.' *World Development*, 26(12), pp. 2169-2179.

Escobar. A., (1998). 'Whose Knowledge, Whose nature? Biodiversity, Conservation and Political Ecology of Social Movements'. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 5, pp. 53-62.

Fairclough, N., (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language.* London, UK and New York, USA: Longman.

Fairhead, J. and Leach, M., (1996). *Misreading the African Landscape: Society and Ecology in a Forest-Savanna Mosaic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ferguson. J., (1990). *The anti-politics machine: 'Development', Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univeristy Press.

Folke C, Hahn T, Olsson P, and Norberg J. (2005). 'Adaptive governance of social–ecological systems.' *Annual Reviews Environment Recourse*, 30, pp. 441-473.

Gaia Foundation., (2019*). Uganda: Reweaving the Basket of Life.* [Online]. Available from: https://www.gaiafoundation.org/uganda-reweaving-the-basket-of-life/

Gaventa. J., (2006). 'Finding the spaces for change; a power analysis', *IDS Bulletin*, 37(5), pp. 23-33.

Gerber, J. Veuthey, S. Martinez-Alier, J., (2009). 'Linking political ecology with ecological economics in tree plantation conflicts in Cameroon and Ecuador.' *Ecological Economics*, 68, pp. 2885-2889.

Gilbert, J. and Sena, K., (2018). 'Litigating indigenous peoples' cultural rights: Comparative analysis of Kenya and Uganda.' *African Studies*, 77(2), pp. 204-222.

Gramsci, A., (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York, USA: International Publishers.

Gross-Camp, N. Rodreiquez, I. Martine, A. Inturias, M. Masso, G., (2019). 'The Type of Land We Want: Exploring the Limits of Community Forestry in Tanzania and Bolivia.' *Sustainability*, 11, pp. 1643-1659.

Gupta, A., (2013). *Tapping the Entrepreneurial Potential of Grassroots Innovation*. Stanford Social Innovation Review, Leland Stanford Jr. University.

Hajer, M.A., (1995). *The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernisation and the Policy Process*. UK: Oxford University Press.

Hajer, M.A., (2006). 'Doing Discourse Analysis: Coalitions, Practices, Meaning.' In M, Van Den Brink and. T, Metze. (eds). *Words matter in policy and planning: Discourse Theory and Methods in the Social Sciences*. Utrecht: Netherlands Geographical Studies 334, pp. 65-74.

Hewitt. S., (2009). 'Discourse Analysis and Public Policy Research.' *Centre for Rural Economy Discussion Paper*, 24, pp. 1-16.

Holmes, G., (2011). 'Conservation's friends in high places: Neoliberalism, networks, and the transnational conservation elite.' *Global Environmental Politics*, 11(4): 1–21.

Holterman, D., (2014). 'The biopolitical war for life: Extractivism and the Ugandan oil state.' *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 1, pp. 28-37.

Hosken, L., (2011). 'Reflections on an Inter-cultural Journey into Earth Jurisprudence.' In P, Burdon. (eds). *Exploring Wild Law: The Philosophy of Earth Jurisprudence*. Australia: Wakefield Press, pp. 24-34.

Igoe, J., (2014). 'Conservation.' In C, Deaths. (eds). *Critical Environmental Politics*. UK, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 63-71.

Ito, M. Montini, M., (2019). 'Nature's Rights and Earth Jurisprudence- A New Ecologically Based Paradigm for Environmental Law.' Chapter 16 in E, Apostolopoulou. And J, Cortes-Vazquez. (eds). *The Right to Nature: Social Movements, Environmental Justice and Neoliberal Natures*. 221-233.

IWGIA., (2017). *Extractive Industries, Land Rights and Indigenous Populations'/Communities' Rights*. African Commissions' Working Group on Indigenous Populations/Communities. Copenhagen, Denmark.

Jaiswal. S., (2018). 'Looking beyond the idyllic representations of the rural: the Konkan Railway controversy and middle-class environmentalism in India.' *Journal of Political Ecology,* 25, pp. 261-278.

Karugaba, P., (2019). The National Environmental Act 2019: Revamping the law on environmental protection in Uganda. [Online]. [Accessed 9th April, 2019]. Available from: https://www.lexology.com/library/detail.aspx?g=9f2a8b1c-9d99-484a-aad0-f1e109a3fcb1

Kent, E. and Orlowska, I., (2018). ‘Accidental Environmentalists: The Religiosity of Church Forests in Highlands Ethiopia.’ *World Views Environmental Culture Religion*, 22(2), pp. 1-30.

Kumar. K., (2014). ‘The sacred mountain: Confronting global capital at Niyamgiri.’ *Geoforum*, 54, Pp.196-206.

Land Portal., (2016). *Uganda: Government to amend land act to ease taking over private land for development*. [Online]. [Accessed 1st August, 2016]. Available from: https://landportal.org/news/2016/08/uganda-government-amend-land-act-ease-taking-over-private-land-development

Leach, M., (2015). ‘What is Green.’ In I, Scoones. M, Leach. P, Newell. (eds). *The Politics of Green Transformations*. UK, Abington, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 25-38.

Leach, M. and Scoones, I., (2015). ‘Mobilizing for Green Transformations.’ In Scoones I, Leach M, Newell P. (eds). *The Politics of Green Transformations*. UK, Abington, Oxon: Routledge, pp 119–132.

Li, T., (2008). ‘Articulating Indigenous Identity in Indonesia: Resource Politics and the Tribal Slot.’ *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 42(1), pp. 149-199.

Li, T., (2009). ‘To Make Live or Let Die? Rural Dispossession and the Protection of Surplus Populations.’ *Antipode*, 41(1), pp. 66-93.

Longhurst, R., (2016). ‘Chapter 9: Semi-structured Interviews and Focus Groups.’ In N. Clifford, M. Cope, T. Gillespie and S. French. (eds). *Key Methods in Geography*. 3rd ed. UK: Sage Publications, pp. 103-115.

Lukes, S., (2005). *Power: A Radical View.* London, UK: McMillian.

Lyons, K. Westoby, P. Nel, A., (2017). ‘Reforming global carbon markets or re-imaging alternative climate solutions and sustainabilities? An analysis of selected NGO strategies in Uganda.’ *Journal of Political Ecology*, 24, pp. 324-341.

Mackenzie, C. Fuda, R. Ryan, S.A, Hartter, J., (2017). ‘Drilling through Conservation Policy Oil Exploration in Murchison Falls Protected Areas, Uganda.’ *Conservation and Society*, 15(3), pp. 322-333.

Manson, I., (2011). ‘One in All: Principles and Characteristics of Earth Jurisprudence.’ In P, Burdon. (eds). *Exploring Wild Law: The Philosophy of Earth Jurisprudence*. Australia: Wakefield Press, pp. 35-44.

Manyak, T., (2015). ‘Oil Governance in Uganda.’ *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, 5(1), pp. 40-58.

Martin, A. McGuire, S. Sullivan, S., (2013). ‘Global Environmental Justice and Biodiversity Conservation.’ *The Geographical Journal*, 179(2), pp. 122-131.

Martin, A. and Lemon, M., (2001). ‘Challenges for Participatory Institutions: The Case of Village Forest Committees in Karnataka, South India.’ *Society and Natural Resources*, 14, pp. 585-597.

Martin. A., (2017). *Just Conservation: Biodiversity, Wellbeing and Sustainability*. Oxon, UK and New York, USA: Earthscan Routledge.

Martinez-Alier. J., (2002). *The Envrionmentalism of the Poor: A Study of Ecological Conflicts and Valuation*. UK, Cheltenham, and USA, Massachusetts: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Martinez-Alier, J. (2009). ‘Social Metabolism, Ecological Distribution Conflicts, and Languages of Valuation.’ *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 20(1): 58-87.

Martinez-Alier, J. Kallis, G. Veuthey, S. Walter, M. Temper, L., (2010). ‘Social Metabolism, Ecological Distribution Conflicts, and Valuation Languages.’ *Ecological Economics*, 70, pp. 153-158.

Mawejje, J., (2019). ‘The oil discovery in Uganda’s Albertine region: Local expectations, involvement, and impacts.’ *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 6, pp. 129-135.

Moore, J., (2010). ‘The End of the Road? Agricultural Revolutions in the Capitalist World-Ecology.’ *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 10(3), pp. 389-413.

Moorse. S, and McNamara. N., (2006). ‘Analysing institutional partnerships in development: a contract between equals or a loaded process?’ *Progress in Development Studies*, 6, 4, pp 321-336.

Mosse. D., (2004). ‘Is good policy unimplementable? Reflections on the Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practise.’ *Development and Change*, 35(4), pp. 639-671.

Murphy, S. Carmody, P. Okawakol, J., (2017). 'When rights collide: land grabbing, force and injustice in Uganda.' *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 44(3), pp. 677-696.

NAPE., (2014). *Report on the 2nd Legal Workshop on Earth Jurisprudence/Earth Law, 22nd-24th October, 2014.* [Online]. Available from: http://www.nape.or.ug/publications/reports/32-report-of-the-2nd-legal-training-at-green-valley/file

NAPE., (2016). 20 Years of NAPE's Environmental Advocacy in Uganda. [Online]. Available from: https://www.nape.or.ug/publications/nape-lobby/55-20-years-of-nape-environmental-advocacy/file

NAPE and Gaia Foundation., (2014). *Mining and its impacts on water, food sovereignty and sacred natural sites and territories: Advocating for recognition and protection of water, food sovereignty and sacred natural sites and territories in Uganda's oil region*. [Online]. Available from: https://www.gaiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/MiningImpacts_Uganda.pdf

Natukunda, D. T., (2019). *Uganda: Bagungu Custodians Map their Sacred Lands*. [Online]. Available from: https://www.gaiafoundation.org/bagungu-custodians-map-sacred-lands-part-journey-reviving-cultural-identity-restoring-territory-buliisa-uganda/

Nel, A., (2015). 'The neoliberalisation of forestry governance, market environmentalism and re-territorialisation in Uganda.' *Third World Quarterly*, 36(12), 2294-2315.

Oosterveer, P. and Van Vilet, B., (2010). 'Environmental Systems and Local Actors: Decentralizing Environmental Policy in Uganda.' *Environmental Management*, 45(2), pp. 284-295.

Oviedo, G. and Jeanrenaud, S., (2007). 'Protecting sacred natural sites of indigenous and traditional peoples.' In J.M, Mallarach and. T, Papayannis. (eds). *Protected Areas and Spirituality: Proceedings of the first workshop of the Delos Insitute, Montserrat, 23-26 November 2006*. Gland/Barecelona: IUCN and Montserrat/Publicaciones de l'Abadia de Montserrat.

Rafi, Y., (2017). 'Personhood and the Rights of Nature: The New Subjects of Contemporary Earth Politics.' *International Political Sociology*, 11(1), pp. 39-54.

Reuters, (2018). *UPDATE 1- Uganda signs agreement with investors to build oil refinery*. [Online]. [Accessed 10th April, 2018]. Available from: https://www.reuters.com/article/uganda-refinery/update-1-uganda-signs-agreement-with-investors-to-build-oil-refinery-idUSL8N1RN533

Robbins, P., (2004). 'The Hatchet and the Seed.' In *Political Ecology: A Critical Introduction*. UK: Blackwell Publishing, pp 3–16.

Robbins. P., (2012). *Political Ecology: Critical Introductions to Geography 2nd eds*. UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Rhoades, H., (2017). *Protect Sacred Sites to Realize Indigenous Rights says African Commission*. [Online]. [Accessed 28th June, 2017]. Available from: https://intercontinentalcry.org/protect-sacred-sites-realize-indigenous-rights-says-african-commission/

Rodriguez, I. Inturias, M.I. Robledo, J., (2017). 'Transforming socio-environmental conflicts: A framework for analysis.' *Grupo Confluencias, Global Environmental Justice Group and Acknowl-EJ Project*.

Rodríguez. I., (2017). 'Linking well-being with cultural revitalisation for greater cognitive justice in conservation: lessons from Venezuela in Canaima National Park.' *Ecology and Society*, 22(4). Pp. 24-36.

Sa'at, N.S. and Lin, P.S., (2018). 'Janus-Faced Linkages: Understanding External Actors in Community-Based Natural Resource Management in Southern Thailand.' *Society and Natural Resource*, 31(7), pp. 773-789.

Schlosberg, D., (2004). 'Reconceiving Environmental Justice: Global Movements and Political Theories.' *Environmental Politics*, 13(3), pp. 517-540.

Schlosberg, D and. Carruthers, D., (2010). 'Indigenous Struggles, Environmental Justice, and Community Capabilities.' *Global Environmental Politics*, 10(4), pp. 12-35.

Schrekenberg, K. Mwayafu, D. Nyamutale, R., (2013). *Finding equity in carbon sequestration: A case study of the Trees for Global Benefits project, Uganda*. Ecosystem Services for Poverty Alleviation Report.

Scoones, I. Leach, M. Newell, P., (2015). 'The politics of green transformations.' In I, Scoones. M, Leach. P, Newell. (eds.) *The Politics of Green Transformations*. Abington, Oxon, UK: Routledge, pp. 1-24.

Scott, J., (1976). *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia.* USA: Yale University Press.

Secor, A., (2010). ‘Chapter 12: Social Surveys, Interviews and Focus Groups.’ In B. Gomez. and Jones. J, (eds). *Research Methods in Geography*. 3rd ed. UK: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 194-205.

Sessions, G., (1994). Ecocentrism and the Anthropocentric Detour. In C. Merchant. (eds). *Ecology: Key Concepts in Critical Theory*. New Jersey, USA: Humanities Press, pp.140-151.

Shoreman-Ouimet, E and. Kopnina, H., (2016). *Culture and Conservation: Beyond Anthropocentrism*. New York, USA: Earthscan Routledge.

Smith, A., (2010). ‘Chapter 24: The Politics and Ethics of Research.’ In B. Gomez. and Jones. J. (eds). *Research Methods in Geography*. 3rd ed. UK: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 194-205.

Smith, A. and A, Ely., (2015). In I. Scoones. M. Leach and. P. Newell. (eds). *The Politics of Green Transformations*. Abington, Oxon, UK: Routledge, pp. 54-67.

Sobrevila, C., (2008). *The Role of Indigenous Peoples in Biodiversity Conservation: The Natural but Often Forgotten Partners*. The World Bank

Sterling, A., (2015). ‘Emancipating Transformation: from controlling the transition to culturing plural radical progress.’ In I. Scoones. M. Leach and. P. Newell. (eds). *The Politics of Green Transformations*. Abington, Oxon, UK: Routledge, pp. 54-67.

Sullivan, S., (2006). ‘The Elephant in the Room? Problematising ‘New’ (Neoliberal) Biodiversity Conservation.’ *Forum for Development Studies*, 33(1), pp. 105-135.

Suruma, E.S., (2014). ‘Oil: ‘Blessing or Curse?’ In *Advancing the Ugandan Economy: A Personal Account*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 135-146.

Tanasescu, M., (2013). ‘The rights of nature in Ecuador: the making of an idea.’ *Environmental Studies*, 70(6), pp. 846-861.

Taylor, B., (2000). ‘Deep Ecology and its Social Philosophy: A Critique.’ In E. Katz, A. Light. and D. Rothenberg. (eds). *Beneath the Surface: Critical Essays in the Philosophy of Deep Ecology*. Cambridge, USA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, pp. 269-299.

Tellis, W.M., (1997). ‘Introduction to Case Study.’ *The Qualitative Report*, 3(2), pp. 1-14.

Temper, L. Walter, M. Rodriguez, I, Kothari, A. Turhan, E., (2018). 'A perspective on radical transformations to sustainability: resistances, movements and alternatives.' *Sustainability Science*, 13(3), pp. 747-764.

Temper, L., (2018). 'Blocking pipelines, unsettling environmental justice: from the rights of nature to responsibility to territory.' *International Journal of Justice and Sustainability*, 24(2), pp. 94-112.

Tetreault. D., (2019). 'Resistance to Canadian mining projects in Mexico: lessons from the lifecycle of the San Xavier Mine in San Luis Potosi.' *Journal of Political Ecology*, 26, pp. 84-104.

Thiong'o, N., (2011). 'Earth Jurisprudence in the African Context.' P, Burdon (eds). *Exploring Wild Law: The Philosophy of Earth Jurisprudence*. Australia: Wakefield Press, pp. 173-179.

Townsend, J.G, and Townsend, A.R. (2004). 'Accountability, motivation and practice: NGOs North and South.' *Social and Cultural Geography*, 5(2), pp. 271–284.

Tulet, S., (1998). 'The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses by John S. Dryzek, 1997'. *Human Ecology Review*, 5(1), pp. 65-66.

VeneKlasen, L. and Miller, V., (2002). *A New Weave of People, Power and Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation*. Oklahoma: World Neighbors.

Vokes, R., (2012). 'The Politics of Oil in Uganda.' *African Affairs*, 111(443), pp. 303-314.

Watts. M, and Peet. R., (2004). 'Liberating Political Ecology.' In P. Watts, and M. Watts. (eds). *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development and Social Movements*. Routledge, pp. 3-43.

Wild, R. Verschuuren, B. McNeely, J., (2010). 'Conclusions: Sustaining Scared Natural Sites to Conserve Nature and Culture.' In B, Verschuuren. R, Wild. J, McNeely. G, Oviedo. (eds). *Sacred Natural Sites: Conserving Nature and Culture*. London, UK and Washington, USA: Earthscan Routledge, pp. 280-290.