MSc thesis report

"*There is no Land to Dig*". The Relationship between Land Tenure and Rural-Urban Migration among Youths in the Kigezi Sub-Region, Uganda:

A livelihoods perspective

By Rianne de Frankrijker

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Author	:	R.M. de Frankrijker
Student ID	:	961106245060
Code	:	SDC-80436
Supervisor	:	Dik Roth
Study program:	:	Master International Development Studies (MID)
Credits	:	33 ECTS
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Abstract

This MSc thesis explores the relationship between land tenure and rural-urban migration among youths in the Kigezi sub-region in Uganda, from a livelihoods perspective. The research specifically focusses on the movement of rural youths from villages in Kashambya sub-county to Kabale town, two sites within the Kigezi sub-region. Using a mixed-methods approach, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected through 2.5 months of extensive fieldwork in Uganda. The Extended Livelihoods Framework by Scoones serves as the research's theoretical lens, to show how rural youths in the Kigezi sub-region are actively involved in transforming their livelihoods through rural-urban migration. The findings of this study suggest that rural-urban migration among youths and the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region are highly interrelated. Rural youths are using rural-urban migration as a livelihood strategy to gain better access to land, while land tenure issues, in turn, influence migratory decisions. The purpose of this master thesis is to fill the knowledge gap that exists when it comes to up-to-date data on the Kigezi sub-region. In this research report, the study area is introduced, migration patterns among youth are identified, livelihood outcomes of rural-urban migration are determined and an elaborate analysis of the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region is provided.

Key words: livelihoods, youths, rural-urban migration, land tenure, Uganda.

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Chapter 1.
Introduction

"*There is no land to dig*" says the title of this master thesis report. This statement was made by one of the research participants, who referred to the increasing land scarcity in the Kigezi sub-region of Uganda. According to this participant, having nowhere to 'dig' is becoming a big problem in the Kigezi highlands, especially for the rural youth, as it leaves them with nothing to do in the village. Yet, the statement only unveils a tip of the iceberg when it comes to issues around land in this southwestern part of the country. Apart from the growing issues around land, an upcoming trend of rural-urban migration among youths can be detected all throughout the Kigezi sub-region. Instead of finding a way of survival in their villages of origin, a large number of youths are now moving towards urban centres in Uganda. Seemingly, the accumulation of land-related issues and the rise of rural-urban migration practices among youths are in some way intertwined. Nonetheless, up to now, the relationship between the two phenomena remained relatively unexplored. This master thesis research, therefore, aims to explore the relationship between land tenure and rural-urban migration among youth in the Kigezi sub-region.

1.1 Problem statement

A growing number of rural youths in the Kigezi sub-region are moving away from their villages of origin towards urban centres in Uganda, to make a living there. Full of hopes and expectations of what town life will bring them, they leave their friends and family in the village behind to start a new life in town. Many of them have heard the successful stories of those who went before them and believe they will find themselves prospering in town. The idea that unlike in the village, in town they will be able to pursue high quality education, find employment or access services like internet, the mobile network or better health services, has become deeply entrenched within their minds. Others believe that in town, they will be able to set up a profitable business of their own, so that they can build financial capital. The desire to increase their wealth is highly connected with the fact that many of these youths aspire to start a family of their own, which requires a large monetary investment. For the majority of these youths, making the shift from the rural to the urban area is expensive and will require most of the money they have. Still, many rural youths seem willing to make this sacrifice and shift towards an urban centre.

Unfortunately, once these rural youths arrive in town, the majority of them finds out that town life is not exactly what they expected. While facing challenges of unemployment or the lack of housing in town, they struggle to pay for food, charcoal, electricity and the rent, which are expanses that most of them did not have in the village. Some of these youth migrants end up in the urban slums or even need to return to the village. Yet, for some of these rural youth, remaining in or returning to the village is not a good option either. Especially for those who are dealing with issues around land, such as no or limited access to land. As mentioned in the section above, having nowhere 'to dig' makes it very difficult for these youth to stay in the village, as they are not able to conduct the main livelihood activity in the village, which is farming.

The real problem, addressed with this thesis, is not the flow of youths from rural to urban areas itself, but rather the misunderstanding of the motivations behind this rural-urban migration trend. To clarify, the assumption exists that these youth have no interest in maintaining the traditional farming life, due to western influences and move out of the rural areas in search for white-collar jobs. Some even consider these youths to be 'unproductive' or 'lazy' people, who do not want to farm, because they do not want to get their clothes dirty. Another assumption of why the youths are moving towards the urban areas is the idea that farming has become too challenging, due to environmental degradation and soil erosion. This assumption is connected to the idea that youths do not know how to deal with these issues and are not capable of implementing conservation or soil improvement techniques.

Although these assumptions may be true for some youths or maybe even the majority of the youth, other explanatory factors, like issues regarding limited access to land, are neglected. Accordingly local policies, interventions and development plans for youths in the Kigezi sub-region seem to mismatch these youths' needs and desires. To specify, nowadays a large number of the interventions that are targeting youths in the Kigezi sub-region, focus on teaching youths about sustainable and efficient farming techniques. Yet, simply said, if the majority of the rural youths in the Kigezi sub-region experience problems of access to land rather than soil erosion, these inventions will be of no use to them.

Instead of viewing the youths as 'ignorant' or as 'passive victims' of soil erosion, land degradation, corruption or poverty and rather than regarding rural-urban migration as something negative, because it puts pressure on urban facilities and makes the urban slums expand, this MSc thesis intends to look at the youth migrants and rural-urban migration trend from a different, more positive, perspective.

Rather than viewing youth in this part of Uganda, as a group of deprived people, living in poverty in an 'undeveloped' country, or as people who are dependent on external aid, like dependency theorists like to believe, this research regards the youths as capable and active agents of change; Instead of waiting around for their situation to improve or for external aid to arrive, these youths are actively trying to sustain and transform their livelihoods through rural-urban migration.

This research, therefore is based on the idea that rural-urban migration is a livelihood strategy, employed by youths to diversify and secure their livelihoods, to alter their access to land and to deal with land tenure issues that make it difficult for them to sustain an agricultural lifestyle. By considering the topics of livelihoods, migration and land tenure together and by asking youth migrants to share their stories, a better understanding can be created of what is actually going on in the Kigezi sub-region and of what these youths actually need in order to transform their livelihoods. Accordingly, by disseminating this information to local agencies, policy-makers, NGO workers, the local population and scholars, future policies can be better adapted to local realities.

1.2 Urbanisation trends in the Kigezi sub-region

From a worldwide perspective, the occurrence of rural-urban migration in the Kigezi sub-region is nothing out of the ordinary; rural-urban migration is a global megatrend with a long history. Ever since the early Middle Ages from 500 BC to 1000 AD, when the first cities were formed in Europe, people have moved away from the countryside and settled in cities (Evers, 2012). From then onwards, cities all around the world have expanded in number and size. In today's globalized world, urbanization rates are unprecedentedly high (Fiedler, 2014). These high urbanization rates, together with an exploding world population, are placing immense pressure on the facilities of urban areas all around the world (Fiedler, 2014). This has resulted in the formation of megalopolises and urban slums worldwide (Fiedler, 2014). However, as the world population is not equally distributed across the globe, some places have a higher population density than others.

In comparison with other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, the population density levels in Uganda are considerably high (The World Bank, 2020). Uganda has one of the quickest growing populations in the world, with an annual growth rate of 3.6% in 2019 (The World Bank, 2020), which means that many parts of Uganda will become even more densely populated in the near future. Uganda's high population density is placing large pressure on local agrarian systems, to produce enough food to feed the country's growing population (Mercandalli & Losch, 2017). In a country where agriculture is referred to as 'the backbone of the economy' and where more than half of the total labour force is involved in agriculture (Food and Agriculture Organization [FAO], 2002; Uganda Bureau of Statistics [UBOS], 2014), Uganda seems to be relying on its rural sector, now more than ever due to the growing population and therefore, the growing demand for food.

The Kigezi sub-region of Uganda, on which this research is focussed, is one of the most densely populated parts of Uganda (Bamwerinde et al., 2006). Accordingly, here, the pressure on the local agrarian systems and farmers is especially high. Given the importance of the rural sector and the favourable conditions for agriculture in this region, it is rather surprising to see a large portion of the rural youth moving away from the rural areas of the Kigezi sub-region. Especially since the youth are the ones whom the older generation should eventually pass the baton to when they get too old and lose the strength to 'dig' all day. Consequently, the question 'Why does the rural youth move out of the rural areas of the Kigezi sub-region?' came to mind at the beginning of the research process. While scanning through the available literature on the Kigezi sub-region, which is presented in chapter 2, for an answer to this question, it seemed that the topic of rural-urban migration in this specific region, has not gained much attention yet. More importantly, the available literature gave the idea of rural-urban migration, land tenure and livelihoods to be somehow interconnected. Nonetheless, the connection between these two topics has not been fully explored, hence the knowledge gap, presented in paragraph 2.9.

1.3 Setting the scene in Uganda

The Kigezi sub-region

The Kigezi sub-region is situated in the southwest of Uganda, bordering Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (see fig. 1). The region is known for its highlands and terraced hills, which is why it is often referred to as 'the Switzerland of Africa'. The Kigezi highlands lie at an altitude ranging between 1500 and 2759 m above sea level (Carswell, 2002).

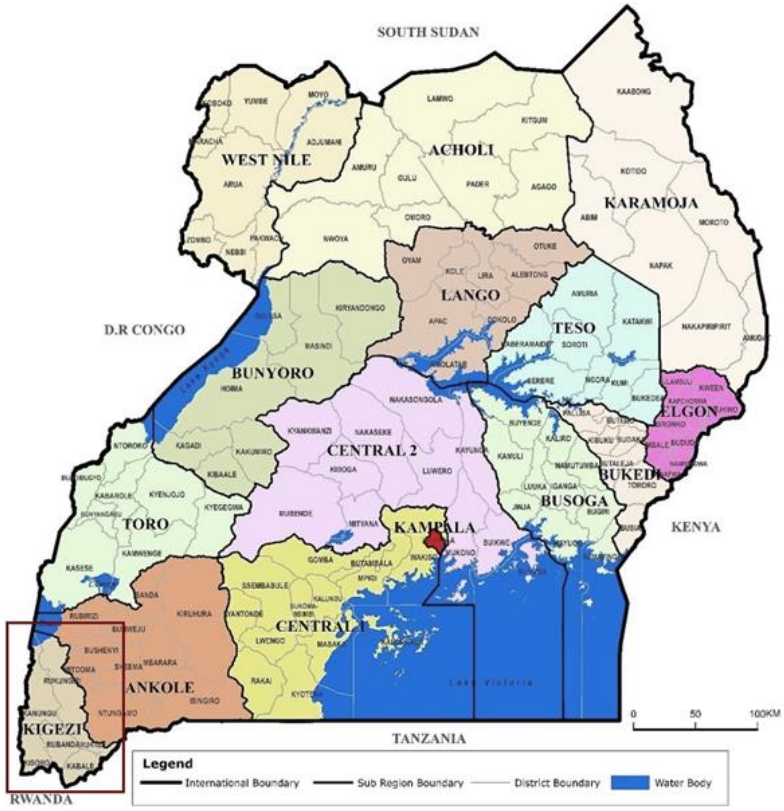
The Kigezi sub-region comprises approximately 5180 km^2 and is made up by 6 districts: Kabale, Kanungu, Kisoro, Rukungiri, Rubanda and Rukiga district (see fig. 2). In comparison with the other sub-regions of Uganda, the Kigezi sub-region is densely populated, with an average of 283 people/km^2 (UBOS, 2016). Also, unlike the other parts of Uganda, which have a tropical savannah climate, the southwest of Uganda has a moderate climate (Nseka et al., 2019). The average temperatures in the region range between 9 ºC and 23 ºC and the mean average rainfall is around 1000 mm (Carswell, 2002). The Kigezi sub-region has two rainy seasons: from mid-February to May and from September to December (Nseka et al., 2019). The soils are largely fertile volcanic, deep red loam soils, derived from the Karagwe-Ankolean series (Musali, 2008). The fertile volcanic soils and moderate climate support high levels of biodiversity and varied agricultural systems (Bamwerinde et al., 2006; Nabwire & Nyabenge, 2006).

The main ethnic group in the Kigezi sub-region is the Bakiga. 'Bakiga' translates to the 'people of the mountains' or 'highlanders'. The Bakiga society is patrilineal, which means that it is organised by lines of descent through the father (Carswell, 2007). Moreover, the Bakiga society consists of a number of clans, which are re-divided into lineages (Orioli, 2003). Although the members of a lineage may not be direct family, they share a common ancestor and consider each other as brothers and sisters (Orioli, 2003). The main language spoken by the Bakiga is Rukiga (Carswell, 2007). The structure of the Bakiga society is exogamous, patrilocal and polygamous (Orioli, 2003). 'Exogamous' means that it is custom to marry outside one's own group. The term 'patrilocal' stands for the custom for a married couple to reside with or near the husband's parents. 'Polygamy' refers to the practice of a man having multiple wives. Currently, however, polygamy is not a common practice anymore, as due to influences of Christianity, monogamy has become more popular. Yet, it must be noted that the Bakiga society has a dynamic nature and should not be seen as a static group that remains the same over time (Carswell, 2007). Therefore, this short description of the Bakiga would never suffice to give a full description of the diversity and practices of this ethnic group. Still, the description gives a slight idea of who 'the Bakiga' are, which is important to know as the majority of the population in the study area is 'Mukiga[1]'.

[1] 'Mukiga' is the singular form of 'Bakiga', which is the plural form.

Figure 1

Map showing the sub-regions of Uganda



Note. The Kigezi sub-region is demarcated in red. Adapted from "Young People: the Untapped Resource for Development" by UBOS, 2017, p. 4.

Description of the field

The field of this MSc thesis research, in which fieldwork was conducted, is made up by two different sites: Kabale Town, the 'urban' site and Kashambya sub-county, the 'rural' site. Both sites are situated within the Kigezi sub-region (see fig. 2).

Kabale town or Kabale municipality, located in Kabale district, is the largest urban centre in the district and the sub-region (UBOS, 2012). The town population was estimated at 49,201 people in 2014 (UBOS, 2014). Kabale town is made up by 3 administrative divisions: the Northern, Southern and Central division (The Republic of Uganda, 2016). The town comprised approximately 33 km^2 in 2012 (Kabale Municipal Council, 2012). Kabale town is located at a distance of around 420 km from Kampala and around 22 km away from the border with Rwanda (Kabale Municipal Council, 2012). The main roads link to Kisoro, Kanugu, Kihihi, Ntugamo and Rukungiri districts (Kabale Municipal Council, 2012).

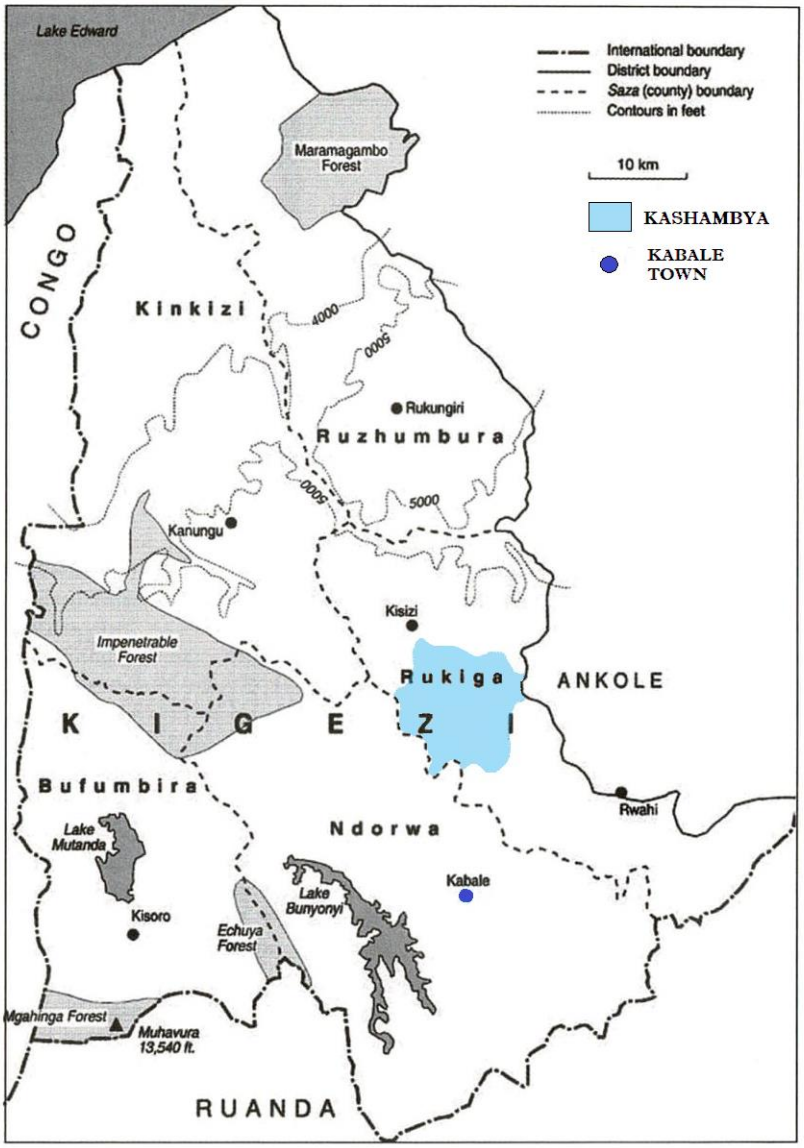
The name ‘Kabale’ is Rukiga for ‘small stone’, which referred to the small, but very heavy stone that could be found in the location where Kabale town is currently located. The story goes that people from all over the region would come to Kabale town to visit this mysterious stone, to feel how heavy it was. Nowadays this stone is no longer there, it has assumingly been taken to Europe by the colonialists (Kabale Municipal Council, 2012).

Kashambya sub-county, the rural research site, is situated in Rukiga district.[2] Rukiga district comprises of 3 other sub-counties, besides Kashambya sub-county: Bukinda, Kwamwezi and Rwamucucu sub-county (see fig. 3). Kashambya sub-county covers an area of 129 km^2, is made up by 6 different parishes and has a total of 76 villages (Langan & Famer, 2014; Rukiga District Local Government, 2018). The six parishes are: Buchundura, Kafunjo, Kitanga, Kitunga, Nyakashebeya and Rutengye. The number of households in Kashambya sub-county in 2018 was estimated at 6,256 with an average household size of 4.3 persons (UBOS, 2018). The total population was estimated in 2014 to be 26,058 of which around 53% were children (below the age of 18) and 5% were elderly persons (above the age of 60) (UBOS, 2014). Fieldwork was conducted in 3 neighbouring villages in Nyakashebeya parish, i.e. Nyakatojo II village, Kyondo village and Mahura village. The village population of Nyakatojo II village is 522, of which 42% is female and 58% is male. The village population of Kyondo village is 287, of which 65% is female and 35% is male. Lastly, the village population of Mahura village is 188, of which 53% is female and 47% is male. (Nyakashebeya Parish Council, 2020)

[2] Since 2017, Kashambya sub-county falls under Rukiga district. Before that time, the sub-county was located in Rukiga county, which fell under Kabale district. In 2017, Rukiga county became its own administrative unit: Rukiga district.

Figure 2

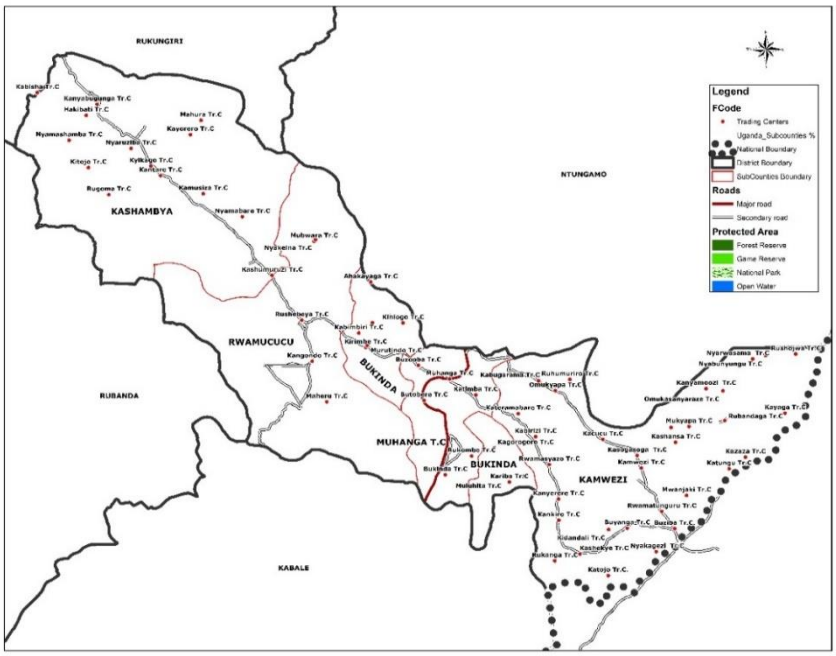
Map of the Kigezi sub-region



Note. The map shows the location of the two sites that form the study area: Kabale town and Kashambya sub-county. Adapted from "*Cultivating Success in Uganda* (p. 119), by G. Carswell, 2007, The British Institute in Eastern Africa. Copyright 2007 by Grace Carswell.

Figure 3

Map of Rukiga District



Note. This map shows the 4 sub-counties of Rukiga district: Bukinda, Kwamwezi, Rwamucucu and Kashambya subcounty. Adapted from "Rukiga District Local Government Strategic Plan for Statistics" by the Rukiga Local Government, 2019, p. 2. Unpublished source (copyright obtained during fieldwork).

1.4 Research questions and objectives

The main aim of this MSc thesis research is to explore the relationship between land tenure and rural-urban migration among youths in the Kigezi sub-region. The central research question is therefore: *How is rural-urban migration among youths related to land tenure in the Kigezi sub-region of Uganda?*

This research question focusses on the relationship between two phenomena that can be detected in the study area: an increase in the number of youths involved in rural-urban migration and growing pressure on land and its resources (see paragraph 1.1 and 1.2). By answering this research question, the knowledge gap, which is explained in chapter 2, is addressed.

Moreover, by exploring the relation between rural-urban migration among youth and land tenure in the Kigezi sub-region, insight can be gained into how youth are transforming their livelihoods to deal with growing pressures on land. Besides that, an idea can be created of what is really going on in the Kigezi sub-region. Exploring the relationship between land and migration allows for previously made assumptions and previously provided information to be tested. In this way, this research contributes to finding out the answers to related questions, such as: 'Is rural-urban migration among youth really a growing trend? and 'What current land tenure system is in place and how does this system determine youths' access to and use of land?

In order to answer the central research question, 4 sub-questions were formulated at the beginning of the research process:

1. What are the rural-urban migration patterns among youths in the Kigezi sub-region?
2. What are the main drivers for rural-urban migration among youths in the Kigezi sub-region?
3. How do rural youths transform their (or their household's) livelihoods through migration?
4. How does rural-urban migration among youths alter the land tenure system that is in place in the Kigezi sub-region?

Each sub-question has its own corresponding objective (see Table 1).

Table 1

Overview of the research objectives per sub-question

Research objectives:	**Sub-question:**
To provide an up-to-date statistical account of the rural-urban migration patterns among youths in the study area, to give insight into the scope of migration in the Kigezi sub-region.	1
To identify key drivers of migration among youths in the Kigezi sub-region.	2
To investigate how youths transform their livelihoods (and their household's livelihoods) through migration.	3
To explore how rural-urban migration among youths alters access to, ownership of and user rights to land and, subsequently, the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region.	4

1.5 Justification

Scientific relevance

As mentioned before, the aim of this research is to fill the knowledge gap that exists when it comes to up-to-date data on the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region, on current rural-urban migration patterns among youths and on the relationship between them. By gathering primary data on these two topics and by analysing their relation, the data will add to existing research in the field of social science and explore a combination of topics that have not gained much attention before. Instead of duplicating existing research, this research produces new knowledge and complements already existing knowledge. More specifically, the research will add to and provide new insights for livelihoods research, micro-level studies on rural-urban migration and land tenure studies in general. Unlike other academic sources on these topics, this thesis report combines the topics of 'land', 'migration' and 'livelihoods'. Exploring how these three topics are related to each other is something that has rarely been done before in the field of social science. Therefore, this master thesis research brings forward a new way of looking at a topic, or a combination of topics, from a livelihoods perspective. It provides an example of how a livelihoods perspective can be used in a specific context, to explore the relationship between two interrelated subjects, which, in the case of this thesis research, were land tenure and rural-urban migration.

Societal relevance

By collecting up-to-date information on rural-urban migration among youths and the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region, this master thesis research can indirectly contribute to the creation of policies and local development plans for the region. By exploring rural-urban migration and the land tenure system and by investigating their relationship, a better understanding can be created of what is really going on in the Kigezi highlands. With this information, local development plans for the region can be better adapted to local realities. Also, by analysing youths' motives to move out of the rural areas, a better understanding can be created into the needs and desires of these youths. By taking this understanding into account, local plans and policies could more easily engage the rural youth, during the creation and implementation of these plans and policies. Thus, this research intends to contribute towards increasing the understanding of other students, professors, local communities, policy-makers, NGO workers and/or government officials on what is going on in the Kigezi sub-region.

Eventually, a policy-oriented report can be created on the basis of the information and ideas, provided in this thesis report. This master thesis report does not serve as a policy document itself and does not provide recommendations for future policy-makers, as this is not the research's intention. This thesis refrains from stating the ideal situation or listing things that need to change in the Kigezi sub-region, since this would resemble a so-called 'top-down approach' too much. Future policies, created for the Kigezi sub-region will have an impact on the local communities and should therefore engage these local communities into all stages of policy-making, especially during the decision-making process. Still, policy-makers can use the insights of this thesis report to expand their knowledge on local realities, to make sure their policies fit with the actual situation on the ground.

1.5 Thesis outline

This introductory chapter generally explained what this MSc thesis entails, why the topic is relevant and which research questions are addressed in this thesis. To give a clear picture of how the rest of this thesis report is organised, the research set-up is as follows:

- Chapter 2 gives an extensive literature review on the topic of rural-urban migration among youths and the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region of Uganda.
- Chapter 3 shows the theoretical framework, in which the theories and concepts that underpin the research are described. In this chapter, the 'Extended Livelihoods Approach', which serves as this research's analytical lens, is described.
- Chapter 4, the methodology, explains all methodological choices that were made during the research process. The chapter points out how both qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analysed.
- Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 show the research results and form the empirical body of this MSc thesis report. The first empirical chapter, chapter 5: 'A walk through Kashambya sub-county and Kabale town', introduces the reader to the study area. In the second empirical chapter, chapter 6, an analysis is made of the current land tenure system in the study area. Then, the third empirical chapter, chapter 7, explores to what extent land tenure issues are drivers for rural-urban migration among youths in the study area. The last empirical chapter, chapter 8, examines how youths use rural-urban migration as a strategy to gain access to land.
- Finally, in chapter 9, the research is discussed and a conclusion is made, showing the research's main arguments.

Chapter 2.
Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a brief overview of the pre-existing knowledge on the topic of rural-urban migration among youths and the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region of Uganda. It points out missing information in the literature and accentuates the existence of a knowledge gap. Only literature written specifically for the Kigezi sub-region is taken into account, rather than literature on these topics for Uganda, Sub-Saharan Africa or Africa as a whole. This is done for clarity purposes and to make sure that reviewed literature is relevant for this research. A total of 14 sources from multiple authors is reviewed, in a thematic and chronological order. Three articles and one book were published by the same author, who is very knowledgeable on the Kigezi sub-region: Dr. Grace Carswell. The literature review is organised into sub-sections that address different aspects of the topics. In the following paragraphs, information is presented on the historical context of the Kigezi sub-region during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras, including an analysis of the history of migration and land tenure system reforms. Afterwards, the limitations and gaps within the existing literature are discussed.

2.2 The Kigezi sub-region in the pre-colonial era (before the 1920s)

The pre-colonial era in the Kigezi sub-region refers to the period before the 1920s. Although the British colonization of Uganda had already begun around the year 1894, the first British colonial officials arrived in the Kigezi sub-region around the 1920s, which is significantly later than in other parts of the country (Carswell, 2003). Accordingly, there are few sources of data available on the Kigezi sub-region from before the 1920s. The written records of the colonial administrators were one of the first available sources on the Kigezi sub-region (Bolwig, 2002). The earliest records that are available, describe the pre-colonial land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region already as highly individualistic (Carswell, 2007). The records show that during the pre-colonial time, land usually belonged to a specific clan and was protected by the clan against the intrusion of non-clan members (Carswell, 2007). This, however, did not mean that land was communal. Rather, there was a clear owner of a piece of land, usually the male head of a household (Carswell, 2007). According to multiple sources from the pre-colonial era, these landowners had full control over their land, which meant they could use it in whatever way they wanted (Carswell, 2007).

This included allowing other clan members to temporarily use their land in exchange for a gift or labour (Carswell, 2007). Therefore, social relations with other clan or tribe members were essential for acquiring land and gaining access to land (Carswell, 2007). The most common ways of gaining access to land, in the pre-colonial era, were through inheritance, marriage, non-cash based social arrangements (in exchange for labour, part of the harvest or a gift) and something called 'blood brotherhood' (Carswell, 2007). The latter refers to gaining access to land, that belonged to another clan, by befriending someone within that clan (Carswell, 2007). When this system of individualistic household rights within clans was first established remains unknown. It is assumed that these individual claims to the land were stacked out by a clan, upon arrival in the specific area where they would settle (Carswell, 2007). The first permanent settlements of tribes and clans in the Kigezi sub-region of Uganda are estimated to have been established 2000 years ago (Bolwig, 2002). When it comes to migration patterns in the Kigezi sub-region during this era, no records were found. Still, we can safely assume that there was at least one type of migration already taking place before the 1920s: the migration of women to their husband's clan land, after they got married; The Bakiga society has been exogamous and patrilocal for a long time, as mentioned in paragraph 1.3, which means it is custom to marry someone outside your own clan and that it is custom for a married woman to move in with (or live close to) the husband's family.

2.3 The Kigezi sub-region in the colonial era (1920s — 1960s)

The colonial era in the Kigezi sub-region lasted from the 1920s until the 1960s (Carswell, 2003). During this time, the colonial officers divided the Kigezi highlands into counties, sub-counties and parishes (Carswell 2007). On top of that, chiefs were appointed on each level of administration (Carswell 2007). The colonial administrators also tried to introduce cash crops in the region, such as coffee and tobacco, but they failed to replace the vital food crop sector in the district (Carswell 2003). Food crops were the Kigezi farmers' cash crops; they had a dual purpose, they were grown for both consumption and for the marketing of surpluses (Boesen et al., 2004). With all that changed under colonial rule, paragraph 2.4 will how, despite the implementation of various colonial policies, the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region remained relatively unchanged.

When the British colonial administrators first arrived in the Kigezi sub-region, they immediately expressed their concerns about the high population and the intensively cultivated hills they encountered in this part of Uganda (Carswell, 2003; Musali, 2008). The high population in the Kigezi sub-region was seen by the colonial administrators as a big threat, which would cause severe environmental degradation (Carswell, 2003). Their concerns were mainly based on the assumption that the Kigezi farmers would not be able to prevent environmental degradation with traditional farming practices (Carswell, 2003). Although the colonial administrators had various views on the actual degree of the soil erosion in the Kigezi sub-region, many of them feared that severe land degradation would occur, as a result of over-population, if no conservation measurements were put into place (Carswell, 2003).

From the 1920s onwards, the population density in the Kigezi sub-region[3] has steadily increased (see Table 2). Whilst these statistics must be treated with caution, as they are derived from old and small censuses, they do suggest a significant increase in population density. The high increase of the population density in the Kigezi sub-region may be explained by both a high natural increase and the in-migration of a large number of refugees from Rwanda & Congo. Especially during two famines in Rwanda, a famine around 1928-1929 (Carswsell, 2007) and the Ruzagayura famine in 1943, high peaks of Rwandan migrants came to the Kigezi sub-region (Carswell 2003; Mulley & Unruh, 2004).

As a response to the perceived threat of over-population, a number of policies were developed by the colonial administrators, regarding soil conservation, resettlement, swamp reclamation and land consolidation (Carswell, 2003; Musali, 2008). The implementation of these policies had various degrees of success (Carswell, 2003). Most of the policies on soil conservation were successfully adopted by local farmers, as they resembled traditional techniques which were already in place, such as contour terracing (Carswell, 2003). The policy of swamp reclamation seemed like a money- and time-saving way to increase land for cultivation (Carswell, 2003). A large portion of swamp land was reclaimed, around 80 % (Carswell, 2003).

[3] Until the 1980s, Kigezi sub-region used to be called the 'Kigezi district'.

Table 2

Changes in population density in Kigezi, 1921 - 2002

Year	Population Density in Kigezi District[1] *Persons/km²*
1921	39
1931	43
1948	76
1959	94
1969	122
1980	141
1991	187
2002	295
2010	386

Note. Adapted from "Land use change and soil degradation in the southwestern highlands of Uganda", by Bolwig, S., 2002, p. 4, Washington, D.C, USA: The International Food Policy Research Institute. [1]The Kigezi district comprises present-day Kabale, Kisoro, Rukingiri and Kanungu Districts. Before the districts Rubanda and Rukiga were added, the 'Kigezi sub-region', which we refer to in this research, was formerly Kigezi district.

2.4 The land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region during the colonial era (1920s — 1960s)

Under British colonial rule, all land in Uganda was declared to be crown land around 1902, before the colonial administrators had arrived in southwestern Uganda (Carswell, 2007). According to the land policy of 1950, rural crown land was land "*held in trust for the use and benefit of the African population*" (Carswell, 2007, p. 86). Apart from the land held in 'private title', under either a certificate of occupancy, a mission leasehold or a Temporary Occupational Licence, there were no exceptions to 'crown land'. Only a handful of chiefs, appointed by the British administration, two missionary organisations and two pyrethrum estates, held land under these private titles. According to Carswell (2007), for the majority of the Bakiga, this conversion to crown land, meant that "*native customary practices, with regard to control over and access to land, were recognised"* (Carswell, 2007, p. 88). Carswell explains how there was a dual system of local customary law and British law; the British allowed customary law to coexist alongside their own law. The British law did not seem to conflict with customary law, as it still allowed people to settle anywhere, where they were then 'subject to tribal law', as long as they did not alienate crown land to non-Africans in freehold (Carswell, 2007).

The customary laws of land, which were already in place before land was declared as 'crown land', therefore, continued to determine land tenure arrangements throughout the Kigezi sub-region. These customary laws were not uniform and evolved in time and space, in accordance with changes in the social, political and economic context (Carswell, 2007).

Similar to the pre-colonial era, social relations remained a very important way of acquiring access to land in the colonial era. Under British rule, a number of things changed regarding the land tenure system in Kigezi sub-region. Carswell (2007) points out two major modifications to the land tenure system: 1) the use of written statements became more significant and 2) tenure arrangements shifted from non-cash based arrangements to cash-based arrangements. The first change can be explained by the influences of the British' bureaucratic culture and the British colonial powers advocating the importance of literacy throughout Uganda. The second change is related to the introduction of taxation by the British powers during the early years of colonial rule, which increased the demand for cash (Carswell, 2007). Land became a households 'bank', through which money could be saved, in order to pay for big expenses. Whenever the household needed money, for example to pay tax or school fees, they would sell the land directly for cash.

Although there is evidence that cash-based arrangements already existed before colonial times, cash sales of land were not common during the pre-colonial era (Carswell, 2007). Accordingly, during colonial times, purchasing, selling and renting land became more common ways to transfer access rights to land than non-cash based transferal arrangements, such as lending your land in exchange for a gift, which were predominant in pre-colonial times.

Near the end of the colonial era, after the 1950s, three colonial land reform policies were proposed by the British administrators to make some major changes to the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region (Carswell, 2007). These three reform policies entailed titling, consolidation and enclosure. The policies were published in the Land Tenure Proposals of 1956 (Carswell, 2007). According to Carswell (2007) these policies failed to transform the land tenure system. The policy of titling focussed on granting titles for individual land tenure. The titles were referred to as 'certificates of customary ownership' (Carswell, 2007). However, given the topography of the Kigezi sub-region and the highly fragmented land, surveying was difficult and costly (Carswell, 2007). On top of that, the demand for titles was little, as most Kigezi farmers already felt secure in their control over their land (Carswell, 2007). Consolidation, which refers to the process of combining scattered plots of land, also proved to be impossible to implement in the Kigezi sub-region.

Kigezi farmers seemed to rely on having multiple plots of land, scattered around the area, to diversify the risk of crop loss by having variability in soil types and topography (Carswell, 2007). Moreover, exchanging plots was a difficult process due to the high variability in soil fertility of these plots (Carswell, 2007). Therefore, the consolidation policy was not too effective. The third policy, the enclosing policy, was based on the idea of enclosing consolidated land (Carswell, 2007). However, because the implementation of the consolidation policy had mostly failed, people started enclosing land, without it being consolidated (Carswell, 2007). For this reason, the implementation of the third policy was also unsuccessful. Thus, although the British colonial administrators tried to reform the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region significantly, using three major land reform policies, these policies did not seem to have their intended effect.

2.5 Migration in the Kigezi sub-region during the colonial era (1920s — 1960s)

In order to immediately tackle the high population pressure in the Kigezi sub-region, the colonial government planned a resettlement program. The resettlement program entailed the resettlement of Bakiga out of the Kigezi district to Ankole and Toro districts (Ngologoza, 1969). At first, native chiefs, appointed by the British administrators, objected to this plan to resettle Bakiga, as they suspected the colonial administrators to use it as a way to grab Bakiga land (Ngologoza, 1969). After the creation of an agreement with the governor of Uganda, however, the native chiefs agreed to the resettlement plans (Ngologoza, 1969). In the agreement, a number of conditions were listed, which the resettlement program had to meet, e.g. the condition that Bakiga had to move on a voluntarily basis (Ngologoza, 1969). To encourage resettlement, a 'dangling carrot' technique was used: food rations, the provision of transport and tax remissions were offered to Bakiga who participated in the resettlement program. According to Carswell (2007) the most important incentive for resettlement was '*the prospect of being able to lay claim to large areas of land'* (Carswell, 2007, p. 60), due to the lack of land in the Kigezi sub-region at that time. By 1953, over 20,000 Bakiga had been resettled into Ankole and Toro (Carswell, 2003). To the great despair of the colonial administers, the population grew back to its previous level very quickly (Carswell, 2003). Also, the idea had been to reallocate the land left behind by the Bakiga migrants, yet in reality, they either left their land with relatives or they sold their land before they left (Carswell, 2003). The Bakiga resettlement, therefore, did not release the pressure on land nor did it make more arable land available, which had been the intended outcome.

Besides migration induced by the resettlement program, another major form of migration, during the colonial era, were the labour migration flows of Bakiga to areas outside the Kigezi sub-region. Carswell (2007) distinguishes three phases of Bakiga labour migration, of which two occurred during the colonial era.

The first phase of labour migration was from the early 1920s to the late 1940s (Carswell, 2007). As mentioned before, when taxation was introduced by the British administration, this increased the demand for cash. In the Kigezi sub-region at the time, little labour was available in return for cash (Carswell, 2007). Hence a significant number of Bakiga, especially the young men, migrated out of the Kigezi sub-region in search for labour (Carswell, 2007). To give some examples, they would migrate to Buganda to work on cotton farms or to Ankole to work in the mines there (Carswell, 2007). This type of labour migration included both temporary and permanent migration, with the average time spent away being between six months and three years (Carswell, 2007).

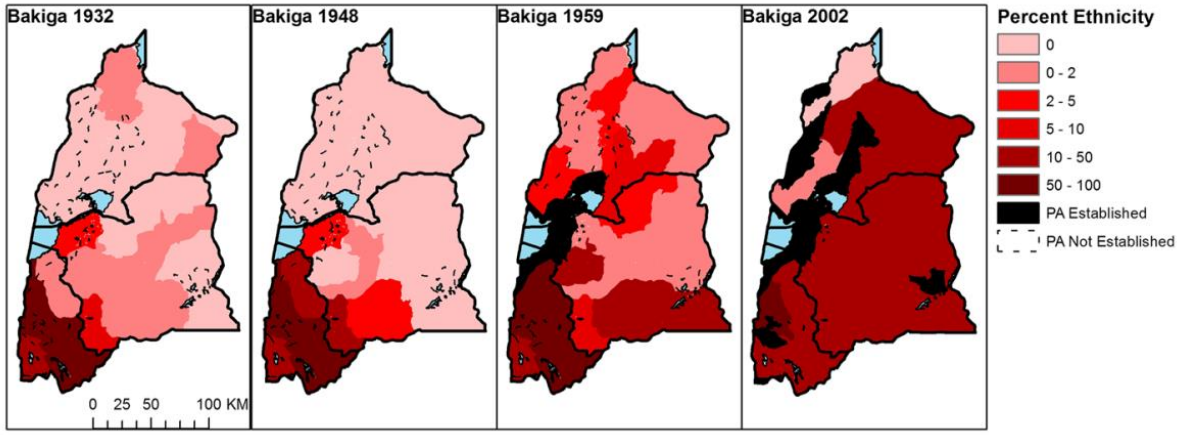
The second phase of labour migration lasted from the late 1940s to the 1960s (Carswell, 2007). During this phase, labour migration reached its peak. In 1954, an estimated 30,000 Bakiga men migrated out of the Kigezi sub-region for labour, which accounted for around 40% of the total male population of the Kigezi sub-region at the time (Carswell, 2007). It became a trend among young Bakiga men to migrate out of the Kigezi sub-region for labour, just before getting married. The main labour migration destinations were Toro, Busoga and Buganda (Carswell, 2007). Toro was a popular destination for its tea plantations and copper mines, Busoga for its sugar plantations and Buganda for its cotton and coffee farms (Carswell 2007; Hartter et al., 2015).

Adding to the two forms of migration explained above, Mulley & Unruh (2004) refer to another type of Bakiga migration during the colonial era. According to the authors, Bakiga from Kabale district have been involved in large scale migration to Kaborole district since the 1940s. The reason for this, they state, are problems related to access to land in Kabale district. While gathering data, they noticed the following: "*Nearly every Bakiga migrant interviewed claimed that the lack of sufficient arable land was the primary reason for leaving his or her home area*." (Mulley & Unruh, 2004, p. 200).

The out-migration of Bakiga from the Kigezi sub-region, whether because of the resettlement program, the labour migration flows or to gain access to land, resulted in the Bakiga spreading all over southwestern Uganda and becoming a more prominent ethnic group from the 1930s onwards (see fig. 4).

Figure 4

Population density of the Bakiga in western Uganda between 1932 and 2002



Note. The map shows the 3 sub-regions of western Uganda: Kigezi, Ankole and Toro. *PA refers to a protected area (for conservation purposes). Adapted from "*Now there is no land: a story of ethnic migration in a protected area landscape in western Uganda*" by Hartter et al., 2015, p. 465.

2.6 The Kigezi sub-region in the post-colonial era (1960s — present)

The post-colonial era refers to the time period from the 1960s to the present. In this section, the most current information on the Kigezi sub-region is presented and discussed. The majority of sources available on the Kigezi sub-region in the post-colonial era, tend to list a broad range of socio-economic and environmental problems that can be detected in the region. Among the socio-economic problems are poverty, low wages, food insecurity, limited access to land and landlessness. The environmental problems in the Kigezi sub-region, mentioned in the majority of sources, are land degradation, land fragmentation, low agricultural productivity, floods and landslides. A few of these problems, which seemed relevant for this study, have been selected and are elaborated on below. After specifying how some of these problems are presented in the literature, recent information on the land tenure system and on migration patterns in the Kigezi sub-region is shown and reviewed.

The socio-economic problem of households or individuals experiencing limited access to land, land shortages or even landlessness is brought forward in a number sources on the Kigezi sub-region (Carswell, 2000, 2003, 2007; Hartter et al., 2015; Nseka et al., 2019; Musali, 2008). To illustrate, in her article, Carswell (2000) explains how land ownership has declined in 2000, compared to the year 1939, for nearly all Kigezi farmers, though in different degrees. In her book, Carswell states that in the Kigezi sub-region: "*land, rather than labour is a limiting factor of production and land shortage has been perceived to be a problem for many years*" (Carswell, 2007, p. 10). The author also notes how the number of households with a landholding below one acre has increased and how landlessness has also significantly increased (Carswell, 2007). A study by Hartter et al. (2015) shows similar results and gives the example of Bakiga fathers worrying about having enough land to pass on to their sons. On top of that, both Musali (2008) and Nseka et al. (2019) speak of a 'critical shortage of arable land' in the Kigezi highlands. Not only do the authors mention the land shortage, they also refer to the unequal distribution of access to land; poorer households seem to experience a decline in their landholdings, while richer households have either successfully maintained the same landholding size or have increased their landholdings (Musali, 2008; Nseka et al., 2019). The limited access to land in the Kigezi sub-region can be attributed to the high population density, steep terrain of the area and the separable inheritance system of land (Carswell, 2007; Orioli, 2013; Hartter et al., 2015). Due to the inheritance system, in which a father divides his land among his children, who will redivide this piece of land among their children and so on, the land becomes further fragmented (Hartter et al., 2015).

According to Carswell (2002), Kigezi farmers used to successfully respond to land shortages and population pressures through a number of intensification strategies: e.g. expanding production into upland areas and draining wetlands for arable land. Currently, however, these intensification strategies are no longer a solution for the Kigezi farmers, since uncultivated land is no longer available and since most of the swamp areas have already been drained (Carswell 2003). As a result, households seem to have adopted different ways to deal with land shortages, such as being involved in casual labour (labouring on other people's land in return for cash) and through a number of non-agricultural activities (Carswell, 2007; Musali 2008). Another way how Kigezi farmers are currently dealing with land shortages is explored in this thesis: i.e. rural-urban migration.

In the literature, there is a lot of controversy when it comes to environmental problems in the Kigezi sub-region, especially when it comes to land degradation and soil erosion. Ever since the colonial era, the narrative that 'the Kigezi sub-region is on the brink of an environmental disaster' has been reiterated and has become deeply embedded in the minds of researchers, district officials, development workers and local residents (Carswell 2003, Hartter et al., 2015). Articles by Musali (2008), Nsela et al. (2019) and Critchley et al. (1999) contribute to the reproduction of this narrative by writing about the environmental degradation in the Kigezi sub-region. To give an example, Nseka et al. (2019) state: "*There is vivid evidence of land mismanagement as a result of poor methods of cultivation that could bring catastrophe to this fragile highland region as has already been experienced in the recent years*" (Nseka et al., 2019, p. 289). As a result of these 'entrenched environmental narratives', as Carswell calls them, development interventions are mainly focussed on introducing technologies for agricultural modernisation into the region, instead of finding more all-round solutions to complex socio-ecological problems (Carswell, 2003).

Ironically, up to this date, there is little to no evidence to prove that this long-predicted 'catastrophe' has occurred in the Kigezi sub-region (Carswell, 2003; Bolwig, 2002). Although some extent of soil erosion has definitely occurred, it has not taken on the long-predicted 'catastrophic' proportions (Carswell, 2002). Carswell (2003) states: "*despite being described in apocalyptic terms for over fifty years, however, this densely populated area of Uganda has not succumbed to serious environmental catastrophe, and the extent of environmental degradation in the district remains highly debatable"* (Carswell, 2003, p. 4).

To move away from this narrative and the idea that soil erosion in Kigezi is caused by poor farming practices, Carswell argues in her book 'Cultivating success in Uganda' (2007), how Kigezi farmers have avoided an environmental catastrophe through the use of successful cultivation techniques. She gives examples of how Kigezi farmers have increased the frequency and length of land fallowing and have been using intercropping strategies to maintain the productivity of the land (Carswell, 2007). Another author mentions how farmers have increased the cultivation of market-oriented trees, which has helped to stabilise the fragile slopes of the Kigezi hills (Bolwig, 2002).

2.7 The land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region in the post-colonial era (1960s — present)

After Ugandan independence in 1962, all crown land was officially converted into public land, under the Public Land Act (Carswell, 2007). This meant that all land which was previously under the control of the British Crown, now came under the control of the Ugandan Government. On the ground, however, little change could be noticed and customary land laws seemed to prevail (Carswell, 2007). Moreover, the legal status of customary land tenure did not change under the act (Mugambwa, 2007). The Public Land Act even strengthened the legal status of customary land tenure, as it prevented the government from leasing any public land that was occupied by customary tenants, without their consent (Mugambwa, 2007). It also allowed any person to legally occupy, under customary tenure, any rural land, that was not held under leasehold or freehold (Kisamba-Mugerwa, 1998).

In 1975, a Land Reform Decree was enacted by president Amin, with the intention to revise the country's land tenure system (Mugambwa, 2007). The Decree declared all land in Uganda as public land and it abolished all private rights to land (Kisamba-Mugerwa, 1998). Unlike the protection given to customary tenants under the Public Land Act, the Land Reform Decree allowed the state to lease out the land that was occupied under customary tenure, as stated in section 4 of the Decree: "*a customary occupation of public land shall be only at sufferance and a lease of any such land may be granted to any person, including the holder of such a tenure, in accordance with this Decree*" (Mugambwa, 2007, p. 44). As a result, landowners all throughout Uganda feared to lose their land. Yet, the Land Reform Decree was not systematically implemented in all parts of Uganda. Although legally, land was now under state control and the state could lease one's land to a third party without consent, in reality, the majority of the customary land tenants maintained control over their land (Kisamba-Mugerwa, 1998).

After the deposition of president Admin's in 1979 and after relative peace had returned to the country[4], the government had a long debate on what land tenure system was best for Uganda (Mugambwa, 2007). Then in 1995, a new Ugandan Constitution was enacted, which legally recognised four land tenure systems: freehold tenure, *mailo* tenure, leasehold tenure and customary tenure (Mugambwa, 2007).

[4] President Admin's rule was known for its violations of human rights, a violent coup d'etat and continuous imprisonments and killings. Given his violent reputation, he got the nickname 'the Butcher of Uganda'.

Under the constitution all land was declared to belong to the citizens of Uganda (Mugambwa, 2007). Most of the land in Uganda fell under the customary system, with the exception of the central region of Uganda, where the *mailo* system prevailed. The classification of these four land tenure categories is still used today and incorporated into current national land policy documents by the Ugandan government.

In the Ugandan Constitution, no definitions are provided for the four different tenure systems. Although, the Land Act of 1998 does provide definitions for these four land tenure categories, the definitions are rather unclear and written in overly complicated language. To provide an example, the Land Act of 1998 defines customary land tenure as: "*a system of land tenure regulated by customary rules which are limited in their operation to a particular description or class of persons the incidents of which are described in section 3*" (The Land Act, 1998, p. 6). The Ugandan Consortium on Corporate Accountability (UCCA) defines the four land tenure types in Uganda in a more clear and understandable way (see Table 3).

Table 3

Definitions of freehold, mailo, leasehold and customary tenure in Uganda

Land Tenure type	**Definition**
Freehold Tenure	"Land held/owned by an individual, registered on the certificate of title as the landowner for life. There are no tenants by occupancy and Kibanja holders [customary tenants] on this land. Leasehold and customary land can be converted to freehold land."
Mailo Tenure	"Land held by a landowner which has its roots from the 1900 Uganda Agreement and 1928 Busullu Envujjo Law. It is mainly [found] in the Buganda region, currently central Uganda. Both the landowner registered on the certificate of title and tenants by occupancy and Kibanja holders have interests on this land."
Leasehold Tenure	"Land which a landowner allows another person to take exclusive possession for a specific period of three years or more in exchange for rent. A lease may be created either under a contract between the parties or by law. The person granted a lease must use the land for the specific purpose as agreed with the landowner."
Customary Tenure	"Land is owned based on the norms and traditions of a given society or community. One can even own land individually under customary tenure as long as it has been handed down from generation to generation using that society's customs."

Note. The definitions are retrieved from "The Handbook on Land Ownership, Rights, Interests and Acquisition in Uganda", by the UCCA, 2018, p. 16 – 17.

The main difference between customary land tenure and the other land tenure types, as can be seen above, is that customary land rights are based on informal rather than formal laws. Yet, the Constitution of 1995 shows states all customary tenants may acquire a certificate of ownership (Mugambwa, 2007). This means that despite the fact that customary land tenure is mostly based on informal laws, customary land rights are to some extent protected by formal law.

In the Kigezi sub-region of Uganda, land is mainly held under customary land tenure (Mulley & Unruh, 2004). In Kabale district in 2014, 75% of the arable land was owned under customary laws (Langan & Farmer, 2014). The rest of the land was held under leasehold (22.6%) and under freehold (2.4%) (Langan & Farmer, 2014). Even though customary tenure often entails communal ownership of land, the form of customary tenure that can be seen in the Kigezi sub-region, has a long tradition of individualised tenure (see paragraph 2.2). In their article, Hartter et al. (2015) explain how in some parts of Uganda, customary land tenure is evolving from customary land tenure into individual ownership. One could argue that this transformation has already been taking place in the Kigezi sub-region long before the colonial times. Yet, many different opinions and beliefs exist on how to describe and define the different land tenure systems in Uganda. The ongoing debates on the categorization of the land tenure systems in Uganda are discussed in paragraph 3.8. Then in chapter 6, an up-to-date account of the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region is provided, according to primary data, obtained in the field. Both sections will show how the description of the different types of land tenure in Uganda, as shown above, and how other land tenure categorizations, do not always match with the actual form of the land tenure system on the ground.

2.8 Migration in the Kigezi sub-region in the post-colonial era (1960s — present)

Data on migration in the Kigezi sub-region, after independence in the 1960s until now, seems to be limited and conflicting. One the one hand there is Carswell (2007), who explains how long-distance migration has declined in the post-colonial era, while short distance migration has increased. Carswell refers to this type of migration as a third phase of labour migration, characterizing migration from the 1960s to present (Carswell, 2007). This third phase of labour migration is characterised by internal migration of Bakiga men, within the Kigezi sub-region, rather than out of the Kigezi sub-region.

According to Carswell, the nature of labour migration has changed, as now there are increased opportunities of earning closer to home. Carswell gives the example of short-distance labour migration to Kabale town: "*Today young men commonly migrate to regional trading centres, such as Kabale town, working, for example, as casual labourers on buildings sites*" (Carswell, 2007, p. 186). Carswell also mentions that over the years, this migration to Kabale town has probably increased (Carswell, 2007). Besides that, Carswell makes the connection between migration and having access to land and shows how a survey from 1996 shows that "*Men with less land migrated more than men with more land"* (Carswell, 2007, p. 186). On the other hand, there is a census from 2000 by UBOS, which shows how the Kigezi sub-region has the highest net out-migration rate of all sub-regions of Uganda. This high out-migration rate would rather resemble Carswell's second phase of labour migration, rather than the third phase. Thus, there is no consensus when it comes to the migration patterns in (or out of) the Kigezi sub-region nor is there enough statistical data available to support the claims of Carswell or UBOS.

2.9 Gaps in the literature

In the previous sections, it became clear that there is quite an extensive amount of information available on the history of migration patterns, the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region and on the region in general, especially when it comes to the colonial era and beginning of the post-colonial era. Nonetheless, the amount of present-day information on these matters is limited. Also, the available up-to-date information seems to be conflicting and to create confusion about the current state of affairs in the Kigezi sub-region. As shown above, discord exists when it comes to describing recent migration patterns in the Kigezi sub-region. Besides that, none of the contemporary sources has attempted to explore the drivers behind these migratory flows. Another critical note is that recent data tends to focus on the movement of young men and pay no attention to migration among Bakiga women, even though it is culturally common for women to migrate after they get married (see paragraph 2.2). When it comes to providing up-to-date information on the land tenure system of the Kigezi sub-region, the majority of the sources do not give a full account of the diverse and complex tenure arrangements that exist in the region. Rather, the sources do not go beyond stating that in the Kigezi sub-region a customary land tenure system prevails. Little to no explanation is provided on what this 'customary land tenure system' actually entails on the ground.

Besides the lack of contemporary information on migration patterns and the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region, a major gap can be found in the existing literature when it comes to how these two matters are related. Nearly all sources, which were considered in this literature review, failed to mention any possible connection between rural-urban migration and the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region, with the exception of the sources produced by Carswell. Carswell is one of the major providers of contemporary data on the Kigezi sub-region. In her book, Carswell discusses the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region, the history of the migration patterns in the Kigezi sub-region, including rural-urban migration and even the topic of livelihoods. Nonetheless, these three topics are dealt with in different chapters, which makes it difficult to see how the three topics of land, migration and livelihoods are related.

Throughout her publications, Carswell gives a very critical and well-written account of how various agriculturalists and influential writers have continuously reiterated the same negative environmental narrative. Carswell, however, tends to reiterate the same positive environmental narrative; she brings up the same arguments throughout her articles and books: e.g. she continuously brings the argument that land fallowing has increased to show how farmers have adopted successful soil management techniques. Rather than discussing the consequences of land shortages in the region for rural livelihoods or elaborating on the new migration trend of increased rural-urban migration to Kabale town, Carswell keeps on focussing on the same topics. As a result, her recent work lacks illuminating ideas and novelty. Despite Carswell's efforts to combine information on migration, the land tenure system and even livelihoods, the relationship between contemporary rural-urban migration among youth and the land tenure system remains relatively unexplored.

2.10 Conclusion

The literature, reviewed above, gave a historical account of how the land tenure system and migration patterns in the Kigezi sub-region have evolved over time. Pre-existing knowledge on the region was shown, for the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras. The chapter made clear that the Bakiga have long been involved in migration practices, even though their nature and scope has changed over time. On top of that, a detailed analysis of how the land tenure system was transformed by colonial and post-colonial policies is given in this chapter. In the final part of the chapter, the gaps in the literature are pointed out, together with the knowledge gap that is addressed with this thesis.

Chapter 3.
Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the theories and concepts that underpin the research. It also presents the ideas and structures that lay the research's foundation, on which the empirical body rests. More specifically, the chapter shows how the Extended Livelihoods Framework, by Scoones (2015), serves as an analytical lens through which the relationship between land tenure and rural-urban migration among youths is observed. The chapter starts off by giving a conceptualization of three theoretical concepts that are central to this research: 1) livelihoods, 2) rural-urban migration and 3) land tenure. Besides defining these concepts, the theoretical debates in which these concepts are embedded are discussed. Finally, an explanation is given of how these different theories and concepts are interrelated and how they are incorporated into the research, forming the research's theoretical framework.

3.2 Livelihoods perspectives

Over the last decades, livelihoods perspectives have become prominent in rural development thinking and practice (Scoones, 2009). In general, livelihoods perspectives focus on understanding how different people in different places make a living. A 'livelihood', in its basic terms, can be defined as "*the means of gaining a living*" (Chambers & Conway, 1992, p. 5) or as "*the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living*" (Scoones, 2009, p. 175). Yet, there is no generally accepted definition for the 'livelihood' concept, nor is there a singular approach to studying livelihoods. Therefore, livelihoods perspectives are mostly referred to in their plural form. Central to the livelihoods perspectives is the idea that people employ a diverse set of activities, or so-called 'livelihood strategies' to sustain themselves. This range of activities makes up their 'livelihood strategy portfolio' (Scoones, 2009). Accordingly, by diversifying their livelihood strategy portfolios, people build resilience against shocks and create the capacity to adapt to sudden changes (Ellis, 1998). To give a small example; a person with two livelihood strategies and therefore two sources of income (e.g. from farming and from selling honey), is able to cope with crop failure due to drought, as he/she can invest the other income in new seeds or agricultural technologies to increase crop drought resistance. Thus, livelihoods perspectives acknowledge people's adaptive capacity and their human agency, rather than seeing them as passive or as dependent on external aid.

3.3 Livelihoods perspectives in theoretical debates on rural development

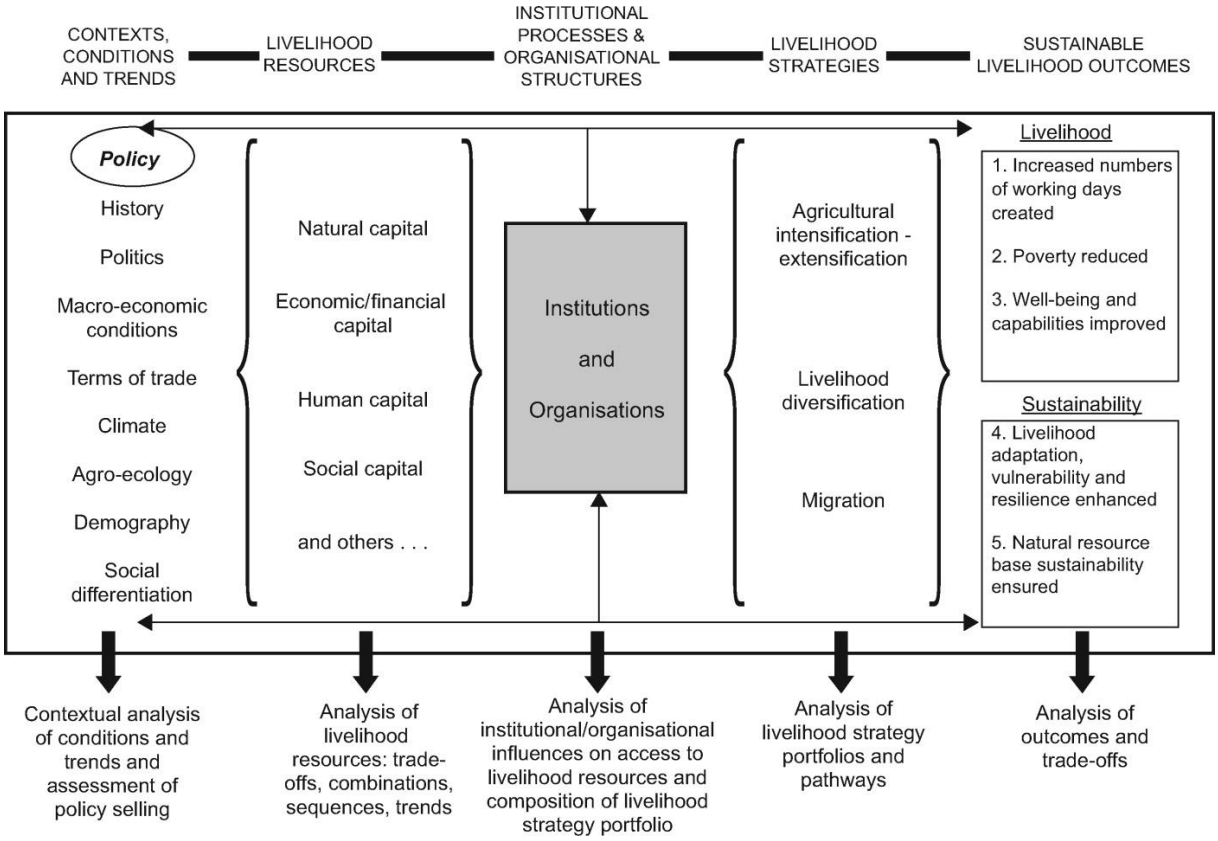
Despite the general belief that livelihoods perspectives were first introduced by Chambers and Conway in 1992 in their paper on Sustainable Rural Livelihoods, the perspectives have a longer and more complex history that goes back at least another 50 years (Scoones, 2015). The work by Karl Marx (1972) on agrarian change, the multi-disciplinary studies by a collaboration of scientists at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (between the 1940s and 1950s) and the work of other social anthropologists during the 40s and 50s, already contained key elements of livelihoods perspectives (Scoones, 2015). Although the works were not labelled as livelihood studies, they advocated integrative and locally embedded analyses that are central to livelihoods perspectives (Scoones, 2015). Still, livelihoods perspectives did not gain much attention until the 1990s, as before that time rural development was dominated by economically-centred and technical approaches to rural development (Scoones, 2015). These technical approaches were the result of modernization theories to development and were focussed on providing technical and non-political solutions to deal with complex rural issues (Scoones, 2015). During the 1980s and the 1990s, a new movement in development studies arose which placed special focus on the environment and caused the term 'sustainability' to enter the global agenda and to become prominent in development thinking (Scoones, 2015). The movement created renewed attention for the livelihoods perspectives (Scoones, 2015). Especially the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA), coined in the paper of Chambers and Conway in 1992, became a prominent approach in rural development and took a critical stance against the technical approaches to rural development (Scoones, 2015). Ever since, the Sustainable Livelihood Approach has commonly been used and has been interpreted in various ways by a myriad of scholars and development practitioners.

3.4 The Extended Livelihoods Framework

The specific understanding of livelihoods perspectives that is employed as a theoretical approach for this research is 'The Extended Livelihoods Approach' by Scoones (2015). This framework is an extended and improved version of Scoones' basic livelihoods framework from 1998, which is presented first (see fig. 5).

Figure 5

The Livelihoods Framework (1998)



Note. Adapted from "Livelihoods Perspectives and Rural Development", by Scoones, I., 2009, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 36:1, p. 177.

Scoones' basic livelihoods framework, presented above, shows how people in a particular *context* (a historical, political, economic, ecological, demographic and social context), combine *livelihood resources* (e.g. skills, knowledge, money, materials and equipment), to which their access is facilitated or hindered by *institutions and organisations* and with these livelihood resources they adopt a certain combination of *livelihood strategies* (goals, activities and/or lifestyle choices), to reach a particular *livelihood outcome* (e.g. improved food security, health, well-being or reduced poverty) (Scoones, 2009).

Over the years, Scoones has re-devised his framework, according to four challenges he encountered on the themes of knowledge, politics, scale and dynamics (Scoones, 2015). To address these challenges, Scoones added six critical questions, forming the Extended Livelihoods Framework (see fig. 6). According to Scoones (2015), these six questions are essential to ask at the start of any livelihoods study.

The following six critical questions were added:

1. *Who owns what (or who has access to what)?* This question relates to property and ownership of livelihood resources.

2. *Who does what?* This question relates to livelihood strategies and the social division of labour.

3. *Who gets what?* This question relates to livelihood resources and the context.

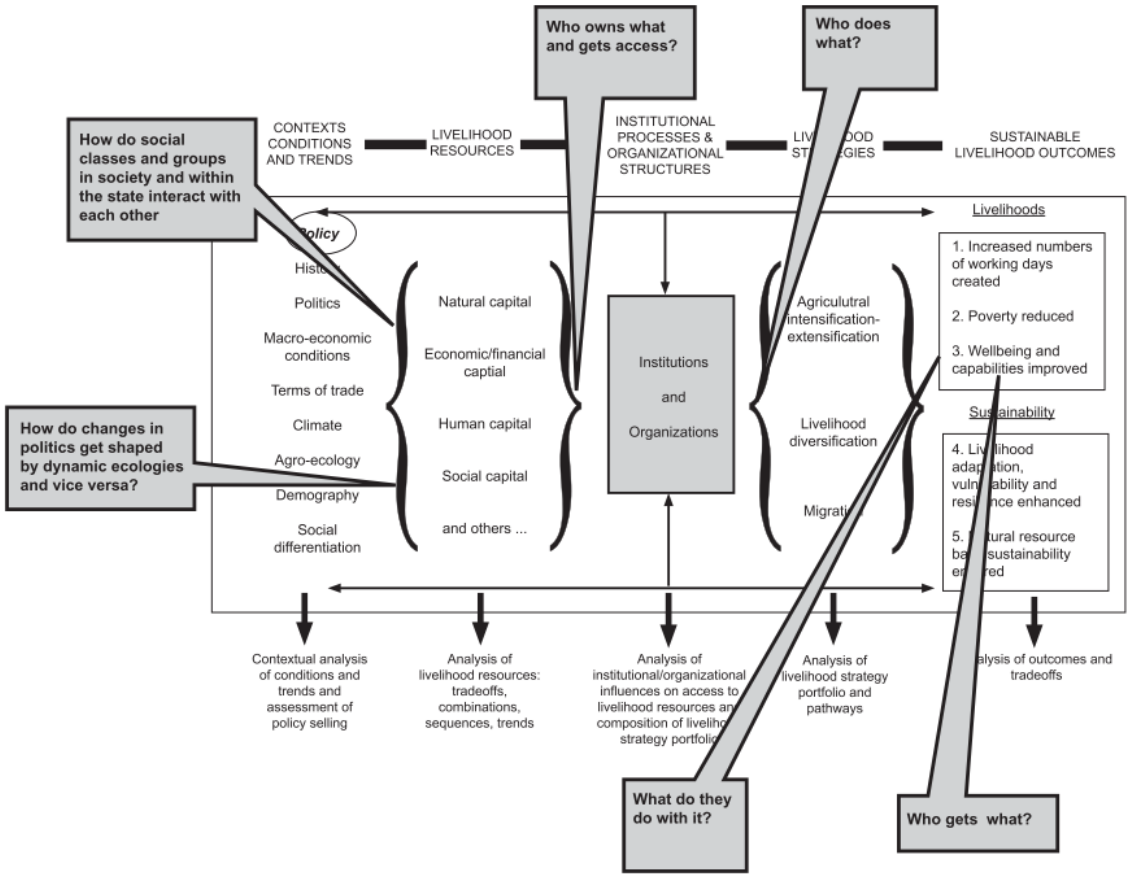
4. *What do they do with it?* This question relates to the range of livelihood strategies and their consequences.

5. *How do social classes and groups in society and within the state interact with each other?* This question relates to social relations, institutions and forms of domination in society.

6. *How do changes in politics get shaped by dynamic ecologies and vice versa?* This question relates investigating how the political context influences access to livelihood resources and the other way around.

Figure 6

The Extended Livelihoods Framework (2015)



Note. Adapted from "Sustainable Livelihoods and Rural Development", by Scoones, I., 2015, p. 84.

The Extended Livelihoods Approach by Scoones has been adopted to serve as the analytical lens of the thesis, instead of other livelihoods approaches, as it appears to be one of the most extensive and sophisticated approaches to understanding livelihoods in rural development. Also, according to Scoones (2015), the framework offers a unique way for analysing complex and dynamic rural settings, which is a big part of the research. Moreover, not only does the framework emphasise the capacity of people to change their own futures, it also refers to the influence of certain structures of society, such as structures of power and inequality. Scoones' Extended Livelihoods Framework shows how people are capable to make their own decisions and steer their lives in a certain direction by adopting various livelihood strategies, while also showing how their choices are enabled or disabled by the complex societal structures in which they are embedded. Hence, Scoones' Extended Livelihoods Framework finds a middle ground in the well-known 'structure-agency debate', as it combines 'human agency', which refers to the ability to make your own choices, with 'structure', which refers to the broader system that influences people's choices.

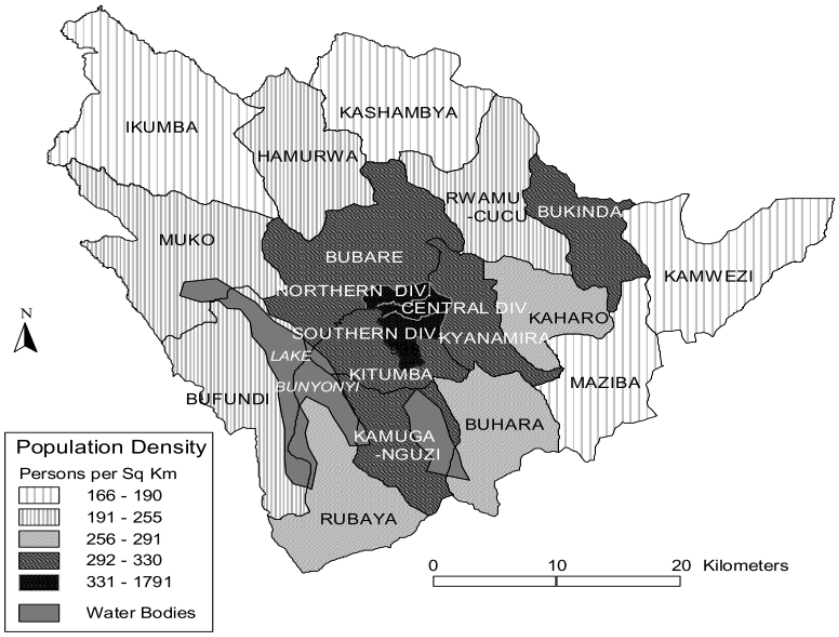
3.5 Rural-urban migration

The term 'rural-urban migration' generally refers to the movement of people from 'rural' to 'urban' areas. The distinction between what is considered as 'rural' and what is considered as 'urban' is however not that clear and has been up for debate for many years (Hesselberg, 2005). As a result, concepts such as a 'peri-urban area' have been introduced, to identify partly urbanised rural areas (Iaquinta & Drescher, 2000). For the sake of clarity, this research sticks to the classical rural-urban divide. Along these lines, this report takes on the definition of an 'urban area' by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA). UN DESA defines an 'urban area' as "*an administrative unit with a population of more than 2,000 persons*" (International Labour Office [ILO], n.d.). Accordingly, all areas that do not fall under this definition can be classified as 'rural'. By making this sharp distinction, blurry lines that possibly exist between 'rural' and 'urban' areas area disregarded. Still, these strict boxes of 'rural' and 'urban' seem to fit the local realities in the study area like a glove; Kabale town, having over 45,000 inhabitants, can clearly be called 'urban', whereas all villages in Kashambya sub-county fall under the 'rural' term, as they all have less than 1,000 inhabitants.

The clear distinction between the 'rural' and 'urban' study sites in this research can also be justified while looking at the differences in population density in both sites; in Kashambya sub-county population density is low, by the population density in Kabale town is considerably higher (see fig. 7)

Figure 7

Map of the population density in Kabale district by sub-county



Note. Adapted from "Kabale District Local Government Five Year Development Plan" by the Kabale District Council, 2011, p. 2.

3.6 Theoretical debates around rural-urban migration

Many different theories exist from various disciplines on the causes and consequences of migration and rural-urban migration in specific. To show a tip of the iceberg on the theoretical debates on migration, a couple of micro-theories on the drivers and outcomes of migration are discussed below.

One of the most famous approaches to migration studies is Ravenstein's 'laws of migration' approach, which provided the basis for Lee's push and pull theory on migration. Ravenstein's theory is based on the idea that the major causes for migration are economic (Farwick, 2009). Lee's theory, on the other hand, also includes some non-economic incentives for migration.

Still, both Ravenstein's and Lee's theories were criticised for over-simplifying migration decisions and for not being applicable for developing countries (Farwick, 2009).

In 1985, Stark and Bloom developed the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) model (de Haas, 2007). The model considers migration as a result of joint household decision-making rather than individual migrant decision-making (de Haas, 2007). NELM views migration as a deliberate strategy of a household to diversify income sources and to build resilience against shocks and stressors in their livelihood (de Haas, 2007). Migration, in that sense, is part of the risk-sharing behaviour of households (de Haas, 2007). The model explains how the decision to migrate is based on a cost-benefit analysis, in which the potential profits of migration (like remittances) are considered against the costs of migration (like traveling costs) (de Haas, 2007). The theory does acknowledge individual agency in the household's decision-making process and discusses both the positive and negative consequences of migration.

According to de Haas (2007), NELM is remarkably similar to livelihoods approaches to migration. Both approaches point out the central role of human agency and the possibility that people have to diversify and improve their livelihoods (de Haas, 2007). Instead of seeing people as passive victims of neoliberalism, both approaches see people as active agents of change as they try to deal with constraints to their livelihoods, such as market constraints (de Haas, 2007). NELM and livelihoods approaches both view migration as a household's livelihood strategy to diversify income sources and to overcome constraints in society (de Haas, 2007).

When it comes to consequences of migration for a household's livelihood, both the negative and positive consequences need to be considered (Smit, 2012). Some possible negative consequences of rural-urban migration may be (Smit, 2012):

- Loss of human resources for the sending households.
- Reduced supply of labour in the sending areas.
- Impact on task divisions and workload within sending households.

Some positive consequences of rural-urban migration, according to Smit (2012) may be:

- Resource flows between migrants and rural migrant households.
- Positive impact of remittances on living conditions of receiving households (education, health and food security).
- More diverse household income.
- Reduced vulnerability of households to shocks.

Still, it must be noted that the impact of migration with regards to livelihoods is context dependent and complex (de Haas, 2007). Various factors influence these impacts such as the duration and patterns of migration, socio-economic status of migrants, their livelihoods assets and institutions processes (de Haas, 2007). Notably, many of these factors are part of the Extended Livelihoods Framework.

3.7 Land tenure

The third theoretical concept, next to 'livelihoods' and 'rural-urban migration', is land tenure. Land tenure can be defined as "*the relationship, whether legally or customarily defined, among people, as individuals or groups, with respect to land"* (FAO, 2002, p.7). A land tenure system has a set of rules and norms that define which property rights to land are allocated within a society (FAO, 2002). A land tenure system regulates human behaviour through a set of rules invented by society (FAO, 2002). Land tenure is about more than just simply about 'control over land' or about 'land ownership', it is also about 'access to' and 'the use of' land and its resources (FAO. 2002).

Rules of land tenure define the rights to use, control and to transfer the land (FAO, 2002):

1. 'Use rights' refer to the rights to use the land for grazing, agricultural practices or other activities.
2. 'Control rights' are the rights to make decisions on how the land should be used and on who can access or is excluded from the land.
3. 'Transfer rights' specify the rights to transfer land from one party to another through sale, lease, loan, gift and inheritance.

The rules and norms of land tenure can exist in the public sphere, which refers to the laws defined by the government and in the private sphere, which refers to the agreements between people about land use (FAO, 2002).

3.8 Theoretical debates on the classification of different land tenure systems

The most common forms of land tenure can be classified into the following categories: private, communal, open access and state protected land tenure systems (FAO, 2002). Table 4 shows a brief definition for each of these different categories, given by the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO).

Table 4

Definitions of 4 land tenure systems

Land tenure system	Definition by the FAO
Private	The assignment of rights to a private party who may be an individual, a married couple, a group of people, or a corporate body such as a commercial entity or non-profit organization.
Communal	A right of commons may exist within a community where each member has a right to use independently the holdings of the community. Non-members are excluded from using the common areas.
Open access	Specific rights are not assigned to anyone and no-one can be excluded.
State	Property rights are assigned to some authority in the public sector.

Note. Definitions are retrieved from "Land Tenure and Rural Development", by FAO, 2002, *FAO Land Tenure Studies*, 3, p. 8.

The categorization used by the FAO, presented above, is a general categorical approach, which has received a lot of criticism. There are more ways of categorizing the different land tenure systems in a country, such as the four land tenure systems (freehold, mailo, leasehold and customary tenure), provided by the Ugandan Government (see paragraph 2.7). Still, no matter what kind of categorization is used to describe different land tenure systems, they always seem to simplify reality to some extent. It is therefore not surprising that different ways of categorizing land tenure systems have been the subject of debate for a long time, for neglecting the diversity and multi-dimensionality of land tenure.

Mwesigye et al. (2014) point out that land tenure systems can exist in many different forms, are rarely static and evolve over time. A land tenure system involves a complex web of different interests, differentiated rights and relations between different parties (FAO, 2002). Also, the actual meaning of for example 'public' land tenure or 'private' land tenure differs per political-cultural context (source). Moreover, in reality, different forms of land tenure tend to co-exist and overlap (FAO, 2002). This is also referred to as legal pluralism, as multiple legal systems exist within a society. These overlapping bundles of rights around land may bring forward tensions or evoke conflicts around land, when different rights to land clash with each other (FAO, 2002). To illustrate, in many African countries a dual land tenure system is in place: customary land tenure and state land tenure.

This means that in some parts of the country it is unclear whether land belongs to the people, to the state or to both. Consequently, this has led conflicts about land and to land grabbing practices, where the state bypasses customary land rights, and sells or leases customarily owned land to third parties, such as transnational corporations (Wily, 2011). Thus, land tenure systems are complex, hard to define and should not be placed in a 'box' or a category. In order to accurately describe the land tenure system that is in place in the study area, a combination of overlapping land tenure types and rights are considered.

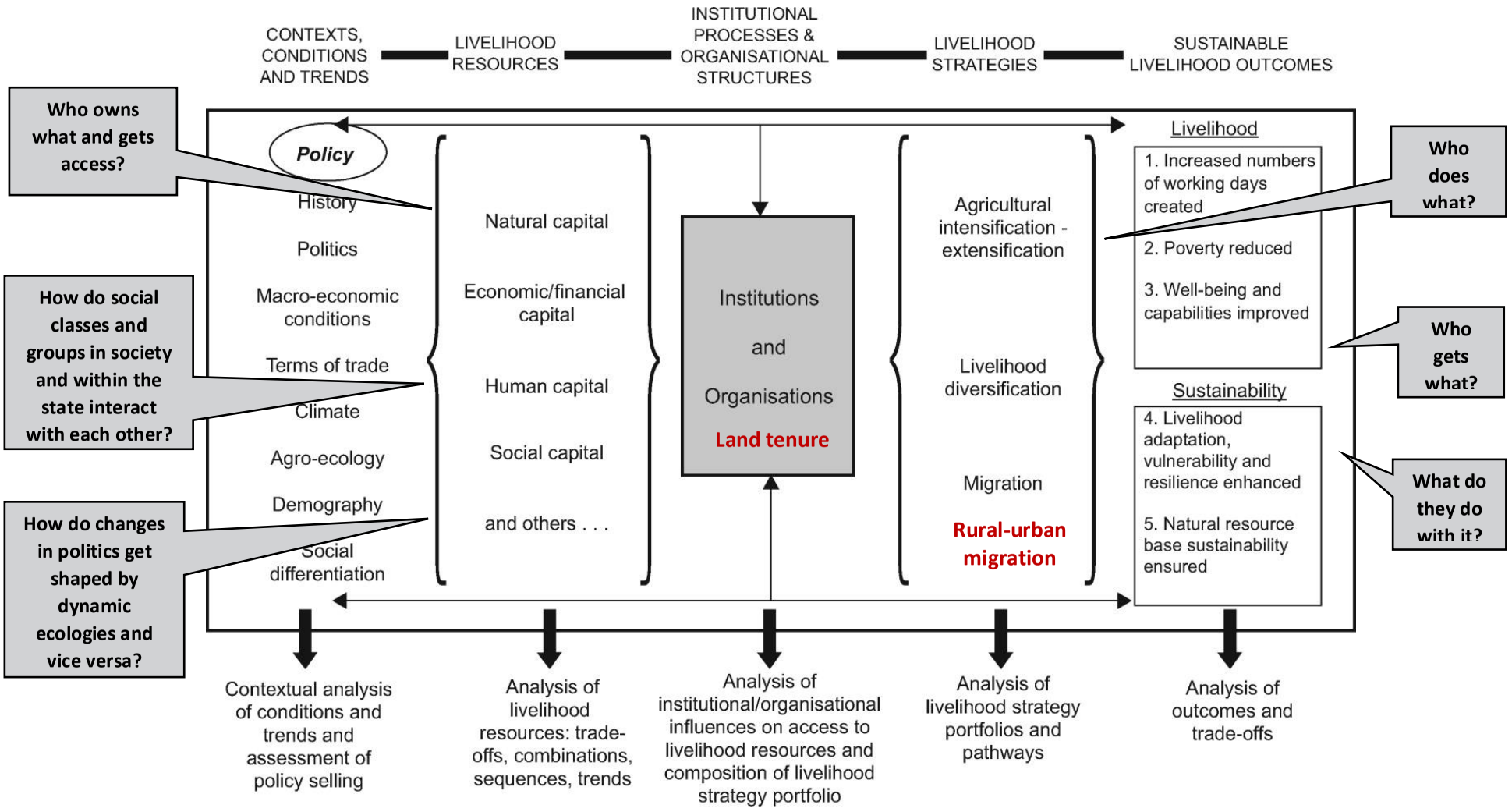
3.9 Linkages between the theoretical concepts

As mentioned before, the Extended Livelihoods Framework serves as an analytical lens through which the relation between land tenure and rural-urban migration among youths in the Kigezi region is observed. Land tenure and rural-urban migration, regarded from an Extended Livelihoods Approach, can both be placed within the framework: land tenure under 'institutions and organisations' and rural-urban migration under 'livelihood strategies' (see fig. 8).

Land tenure can be placed under 'institutions and organisations', because according to Scoones (2015), land tenure can be considered to be an institution. To define what an 'institution' is, Scoones takes on the definition by North, who defines an 'institution' as "*the rules of the game*" (Scoones, 2015, p. 46). Scoones then explains that this definition may be a bit too simplistic, as in reality different rules, both formal and informal rules may overlap. These overlapping rules when it comes to land tenure refer back to the notion of legal pluralism, which was mentioned in the previous paragraph. According to Scoones: '*institutions of local land tenure affect who has access to land'* (Scoones, 2015, p. 46*)*. Besides access to land, land tenure arrangements also determine who has the right to use, control and transfer the land and its resources (see paragraph 3.7). In accordance with the Extended Livelihood Framework, in order to study land tenure as an 'institution', an analysis needs to be made of the institutional influences on access to livelihood resources and composition of livelihood strategy portfolio. Subsequently, in this research, the institutional influence of land tenure on access to land, being one of the most important livelihood resources for rural livelihoods in the study area (see paragraph 5.7) is analysed in chapter 6. On top of that, the way in which land tenure affects people in their decision to pursue certain livelihood strategies, including rural-urban migration, is explored in chapter 7.

Figure 8

The Extended Livelihoods Framework, showing the locations of land tenure and rural-urban migration



Note. Adapted and modified from "Sustainable Livelihoods and Rural Development", by Scoones, I., 2015, p. 84.

Rural-urban migration can be considered as one of the livelihood strategies that people employ and add to their livelihood strategy portfolio. According to Scoones (1998), migration belongs to a broad cluster of livelihood strategies, together with agricultural intensification and livelihood diversification. Scoones explains how migration is a way for rural people to "*move away and seek a livelihood, either temporarily or permanently, elsewhere*" (Scoones, 1998, p. 9). It is common for people to combine a range of livelihood strategies to pursue certain livelihood outcomes (Scoones, 1998). Scoones accentuates how access to a combination of livelihood resources is required for employing certain livelihood strategies and how not everyone has equal access to these resources (Scoones, 1998). The Extended Livelihoods Framework shows that in order to study livelihood strategies, an analysis is required of people's livelihood strategy portfolios and pathways. In this research, the main livelihood strategies in the village are compared with those in town (see chapter 5). Moreover, the key drivers for why migrants pursue rural-urban migration, as a livelihood strategy, are examined (see chapter 7). Also, the consequences of this livelihood strategy are taken into account: how rural-urban migration alters the land tenure system (see chapter 8) and how migrants transform their, their household's and the village population's livelihoods through rural-urban migration (see chapter 8).

Besides focussing on the relationship between the land tenure system, as an institution, and rural-urban migration, as a livelihood strategy, which directly influence each other (as they are positioned next to each other in the Extended Livelihoods Framework), this research also deals with the other aspects of the Extended Livelihoods Framework; the context, conditions and trends in the study area (see chapter 1 and chapter 5), access to livelihood resources in the village and in town (see chapter 5) and migrant's livelihood outcomes (see chapter 8). On top of that, the six critical questions of the Extended Livelihood Framework were incorporated into the questions that were asked during the semi-structured interviews and the questionnaires.

Chapter 4.
Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The methodology, presented in this chapter, describes how the research was designed and which research methods were used to collect and analyse the data. First, the overall methodological approach is presented, including the research strategy and the type of data that was needed in order to answer the main research question. Then, the mode of enquiry is explained to show how data were collected and how research participants were selected. Afterwards, the way in which the data were analysed is described. Lastly, ethical issues and research limitations are considered, including a reflection of the certain methodological choices influenced the data collection process.

4.2 Methodological approach

Research strategy

As mentioned in the introduction, the aim of this research is to fill the knowledge gap regarding the relationship between land tenure and rural-urban migration among youth in the Kigezi sub-region. This type of research aim is mainly exploratory and explanatory in nature. These two types of research, together with descriptive and correlational research, together form the four main types of research aims (Kumar, 2019). Exploratory research is carried out to gain more scientific knowledge on a subject on which relatively little is known (Kumar, 2019). Moreover, exploratory research is a flexible and appropriate for investigating a problem which is not yet clearly defined (Kumar, 2019). Whereas explanatory research, as Kumar puts it: *"attempts to clarify why and how there is a relationship between two aspects of a situation"* (Kumar, 2019, p. 13). In order both explain and explore how land tenure and rural-urban migration among youths in the Kigezi sub-region are related, a multi-sited case study was chosen as the main research strategy.

A case study can be defined as "*an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary problem within its real-life context*" (Yin, 2003, p. 13). Rather than conducting research in one place or on one specific group, as a case study normally would entail, in a multi-sited case study, research is conducted on multiple sites.

For this research, a multi-sited case study seemed to be the most appropriate way of collecting data on rural-urban migration, as it is a phenomenon that involves both a ‘rural’ and an ‘urban’ site. The two sites that make up this multi-sited case study are Kabale town and Kashambya sub-county (see paragraph 1.3).

Type of data

In order to answer the research questions, various types of data were needed on the three theoretical concepts (migration, land tenure and livelihoods).

For the theoretical concept of migration, data were needed on the key drivers of migration, on migration patterns, on migrant characteristics, on the main migration destinations, the context in which migration took place, the institutions that influenced migration flows and the livelihood outcomes of migration.

For the theoretical concept of land tenure, data were needed on the conceptualization of land tenure, the historical and political context, land tenure arrangements, different ways of gaining access to land, the different ways ensuring land tenure security, land tenure rights, local customs around land and other land-related matters.

For the theoretical concept of livelihoods, data were needed on the different 5 categories, as defined by the Livelihoods Framework: 1) the contexts, conditions and trends, 2) livelihood resources, 3) institutional processes, 4) livelihoods strategies and 5) sustainable livelihood outcomes. The framework showed how to obtain data on these different categories through different types of analyses. Such as ‘an analysis of institutional influences on access to livelihood resources and composition of livelihood strategy portfolio.

Also, in order to incorporate the six critical questions of the Extended Livelihoods Framework, data were needed on various matters. To clarify, data were needed on the different livelihood resources the research participants owned and had access to. Questions to obtain this data were included into the questionnaire, such as the questions 'What is your monthly income?' 'On what things do you spend most of your money?' and 'What assets does your household own?’.

Moreover, in order to gain an understanding of the context in which the research took place, general data on local rules and customs, clans, marriage and the legal system also needed to be collected. As secondary data on these topics were limited, this research relies mostly on primary data.

A mixed-methods approach was adopted to collect both quantitative and qualitative data on the topics described above. A mixed-methods approach combines methods from both the quantitative and the qualitative research design (Kumar, 2019). The collection of both types of data allows data triangulation to occur, as multiple methods are used to check and verify the same phenomenon. This assures the data's reliability and contributes to the validity of the research.

4.3 Mode of enquiry

Data were collected during 2.5 months of extensive fieldwork in the Kigezi sub-region, from 05/12/2019 until 19/02/2020. To employ the mixed-methods approach, both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods were used. The qualitative data collection methods consisted of semi-structured interviews, a focus group discussion and direct observation. For the collection of qualitative data, the semi-structured interviews played the most important role. The quantitative research method, employed in this research, was a questionnaire. In the section below, all research methods are elaborated on.

Semi-structured interviews

"*The semi-structured interview is a qualitative data collection strategy in which the researcher asks informants a series of predetermined but open-ended questions"* (Given, 2008, p. 810). A semi-structured interview is therefore a mix between a structured interview, in which the interviewer asks mostly close ended questions and has total on the responses and an unstructured interview, in which the interviewer has no set of predetermined questions and tries to produce a more informal conversation.

During this research, a total of 60 semi-structured interviews were held. These 60 interviews, consisted of 40 interviews with youth migrants, who were the general research participants and of 20 interviews with key informants, which will be elaborated on later in this chapter. For the 40 interviews with the youth migrants, the same predetermined list of questions was used. The order in which the questions were asked differed per interview, according to the informant's responses. However, in practice, most of the interviews started as semi-structured interviews, in which the standardised list of questions was followed and in which the researcher controlled the responses and ended as unstructured interviews; occasionally, new questions were added during the interview, in response to what the participant said.

During the semi-structured interviews with the key informants, different sets of questions were made, before the interview started, in accordance with their area of expertise. The key informant interviews contained similar unstructured interview elements to that of the rest of the interviews. In many instances, the key informants started taking over the interview, by diverting their answers away from the question or even by turning the interview into a monologue, due to which there was no time left for any new questions. Therefore, the majority of the semi-structured interviews contained some elements of unstructured interviews.

The audio of the semi-structured interviews was recorded, using an 'Olympus VN-541PC' recording device. Before recording, the participants were always made aware of the recording device and were asked for their informed consent before starting the recording. Also, before all semi-structured interviews, the participant was first made aware that his/her answers would remain anonymous, confidential and would be used solely for academic purposes.

The semi-structured interviews were translated from English to Rukiga and vice versa by two main interpreters. One interpreter translated all of the interviews in the village, while the other interpreter sometimes helped translating parts of an interview in town; in town the majority of the people spoke fluent English. The consequences of using translators for the process of the data collection and the quality of the data is discussed later in this chapter.

The focus group discussion

A focus group discussion is a research method used to gather qualitative data from a group (Given, 2008). This group is not formed naturally, but is created by bringing people together to have a meaningful conversation about a certain topic (Given, 2008).

On November 10th, 2019, a focus group discussion was held in Nyakatojo Village II on the topics of rural-urban migration and land tenure (see fig. 9). The focus group took place at 12 PM., inside a small, relatively dark room, with a number of people who were gathering there to have a village meeting. My interpreter had asked them to arrive a little bit earlier at the village meeting, so that they could participate in the focus group discussion. The focus group lasted 44 minutes and started with 7 people, representing all age groups, consisting of both males and females. During the focus group discussion, 5 more people arrived at various times and joined the discussion.

Figure 9

The focus group discussion

Note. Fieldwork photo 1. Taken in Nyakatojo II Village

It must be noted that I did not organise this focus group myself. Rather, it was organised by my interpreter in the village, during the first day of conducting fieldwork in the village. Therefore, I had no time to prepare for this focus group discussion and had to improvise. During the focus group discussion, the participants were discussing the different topics elaborately and everyone got the chance to participate. My interpreter translated all my questions to Rukiga. The responses, however, were not all translated back to English. One of the participants spoke English and sometimes also translated pieces of the conversation. At some points of the conversation many different people were either talking at the same time or were laughing very loudly, which made it hard to keep track of what was being said in the focus group discussion. After the focus group discussion, I decided not to do any more focus group discussions for this research and only interview people one by one, so that my translator could keep up and so that I could understand most of what was being said.

Direct observation

Another qualitative research method that was employed for this research is direct observation. Direct observation is a method for collecting information from the field through the use of your senses (Kumar, 2019). So mainly through watching and listening, the researcher collects data on the social environment. For this research, direct observation was done only occasionally. In order to directly observe others, one has to maintain a low profile. During the fieldwork period, however, there was not much time to sit down somewhere and observe others without them noticing me. On the contrary, everywhere I went, people would notice me quite quickly. Whenever I did get the chance to do some direct observation, I would make field notes on what I had observed.

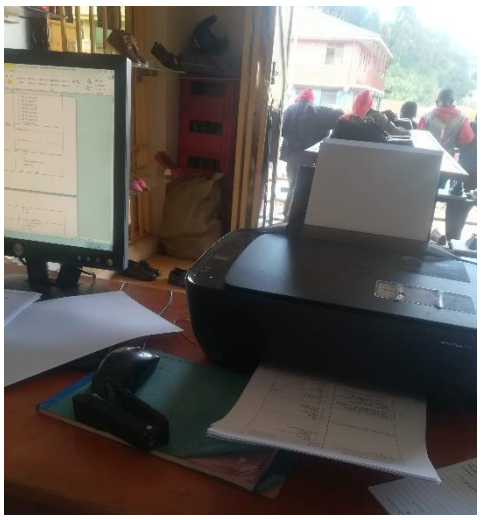
Besides direct observation, a bit of participatory observation was done during a 'trust building exercise'. My interpreter told me that, in order to become one of them (to become 'a local'), I had to climb one of the hills next to the village, as many locals did on a daily basis. He said that he had discussed it with the village members and they were unsure if I could do it, because it was a rather difficult climb. So on one day, I climbed one of the hills, together with my interpreter and two research participants. It took around 8 hours and left me completely out of breath. The view on top of the hills was definitely worth it, as well as the impressed look on my interpreter's face when we had reached the top. He told the entire village that I had succeeded, which increased people's trust in me in the village and made them more likely to share information with me.

Questionnaire

A questionnaire was developed in order to collect quantitative data on migrant's characteristics, land tenure, livelihoods and rural-urban migration. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in the Appendix (see Appendix G). The questionnaire was tailor-made and consisted of a total of 45 questions, including both open-ended and close-ended questions (multiple-choice questions). A total of 20 respondents filled out the questionnaire. The questionnaire was created in the first weeks of conducting fieldwork, because I first wanted to make sure a questionnaire would be an appropriate data collection tool to use. To explain, I first wanted to check in the field if people were literate and would be able to fill out a questionnaire in English or if I either had to translate it to Rukiga or try to obtain data by asking the questionnaire questions orally. Once I realised that in Kabale town, nearly all migrants who participated in the semi-structured interviews spoke English and were literate, I decided to create an English questionnaire. The questionnaire was printed 20 times in a local shoe store, where they happened to have a very good printer (see fig. 10).

Figure 10

Printing the questionnaires in the field

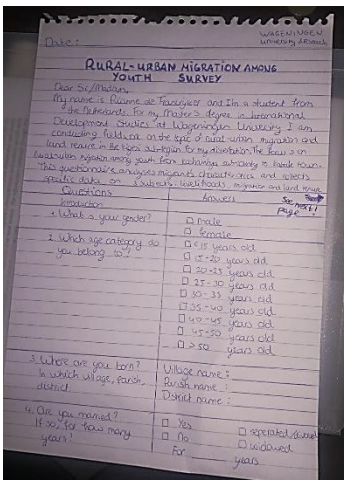


Note. Fieldwork photo 2. Taken in Kabale town

The questionnaires were distributed on various days on separate locations; before distributing a questionnaire, my interpreter would call the respondent to ask them where we could meet. Accordingly, some questionnaires were handed out at participant's homes, others at their work or given to a participant's friend or family member. In most cases, I made sure I was there when the participant received the questionnaire, so that the participants could briefly scan through the questionnaire and directly ask questions about things that were unclear. After a couple of days, my interpreter would call them again to see if the participant had completed the questionnaire and to make an appointment to collect the questionnaire. This process went without too many issues. One participant had lost the first page of the questionnaire, as her children had ripped it out. To solve this issue, I re-created the first page of the questionnaire on a piece of paper and brought it to her, so she could still fully fill out the questionnaire (see fig. 11).

Figure 11

Improvising during fieldwork



Note. Fieldwork photo 3.

The questions in the survey regarding land tenure were based on the generic format for a questionnaire on land tenure as prescribed by Holden et al. (2016). The generic format was developed to facilitate standardization in data collection, but must be fine-tuned to specific country conditions, according to Holden et al. (2016). Therefore, the questions were fine-tuned according to the encountered land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region.

4.4 Research participants

The research participants, selected for this research, make up three separate groups of people: youth migrants (N=40), village members (N=20) and key informants (N=19). These three different groups were selected on the basis of different criteria, using different sampling strategies. The total number of interview respondents was 59 (20 migrants, 20 village members and 19 key informants).

The 'youth migrant' group consists of people, between the ages of 18 and 35, who have been involved in rural-urban migration from their village in Kashambya sub-county to Kabale town. The age category for youth migrants set on 18 to 35 years, on the basis of participant responses to the question 'between what ages are 'youths' in Uganda?'. This group of research participants was selected through snowball sampling. The first two migrants were recruited through one of my acquaintances from KKOVC, who is originally from Kashambya sub-county. One of these two migrants had a wide network of connections with other migrants and eventually became the research's main interpreter. Accordingly, the majority of the migrants, who participated in this research, were selected and contacted through my interpreter. He would reach out to these migrants by phone to see if they were interested in participating in the research and he would set up a meeting for the interview. Also, on some occasions, migrants who were interviewed would recommend other people to interview. So, it was relatively easy to find participants for this group, especially due to my interpreter's sophisticated network of friends and acquaintances. The high availability of research participants for this group, allowed for some flexibility when it comes to selecting who to include in the research and to create some diversity in the sample; I made sure that all participants in this group belonged to different households and that the group comprised an equal amount of men and women. In this way, a total of 20 migrants were selected for the semi-structured interviews and another 20 migrants were selected to fill-out the questionnaire. Thus, a total of 40 migrants were selected, together forming the 'youth migrant' sample. Their characteristics, together with the interview details are presented in Appendix A and Appendix B.

One disadvantage of recruiting most of the youth migrants through my interpreter's acquaintances is that most of the participants were originally from the same parish as my interpreter, i.e. Buchundura parish. This affects the research's validity, which is elaborated on in the discussion.

The village members group consists of 20 people, 10 male and 10 female, from 3 neighbouring villages: Mahura village, Kyondo village and Nyakatojo II village, all located in Nyakashebya parish, Kashambya sub-county, Rukiga district. No age criteria was used for the selection of these participants. Due to the inaccessibility of the village (see paragraph 5.2) and the limited time availability of the village members, convenience sampling was used to select research participants for this group. Convenience sampling is a non-probability sampling strategy, in which a sample is taken from a group of people according to their availability and accessibility (Kumar, 2019). My interpreter and I would walk around the villages, to see who we could find on the street. My interpreter would start talking to whomever he encountered and tell me '*let's interview this one'*. Since my interpreter knew most of the people in all of the villages, one could say that this sample selection method is selective and biased. However, as my interpreter showed to have no particular preference when it comes to those he would select and most of the participants were selected on the basis of whether they had time available for the interview, the sampling strategy can still be considered to have some random element. A list of the characteristics and interview details of the village members is presented in Appendix C. Three participants were included to the village member group even though they were not found on the street. Rather, they were found at a Boda-Boda[5] meeting in Nyakashebeya parish. These three Boda-Boda guys were selected from a group of around 30 men that attended the meeting, also using convenience sampling. My interpreter simply asked the entire group who would be available after the meeting. Since all three participants were originally from one of the three villages, listed above, they were added to the village member group.

The key informants group consists of 19 participants. These participants were selected according to their profession, area of expertise or knowledge on a certain issue. A list with the informants' characteristics and their roles can be found in Appendix D, together with details on the key informants interviews. Key informants were selected with care for both the rural and urban setting.

[5] A Boda-Boda is a motorcycle taxi that is commonly used for the transportation of goods and people in Uganda.

The key informants include political leaders, religious leaders and other experts. Political leaders or so-called "Local Council leaders" can be found for five different levels: LC1 (the village level), LC2 (the parish level), LC3 (the sub-county level), LC 4 (county level) and LC5 (the district level).

Key informants specific for the rural setting are two village chairmen (LC1), a parish chief, a local priest and one of the villages' elders. Key informants specific for the urban setting are the chairman of Kabale town (LC5) and members of NGO's with offices in Kabale town (such as the head of the Red Cross in Kabale town). These key informants were selected because of their knowledge specific to either the rural or the urban setting, which they are embedded in. Then another group of key informants was selected specifically for their knowledge on land tenure in the Kigezi sub-region. These key informants include the government land surveyor of the Ministry Zonal Office in Kabale town, a geography teacher, Rukiga district's physical planner and agricultural officers. One youth council leader was selected among the key informants, as the research specially focusses on Bakiga youths.

During fieldwork a list of possible key informants was made and shared with both interpreters. They then used their networks of contacts to reach out to these key informants. As my interpreters were well connected, I was able to interview everyone who I intended to interview. Even the chairman of Kabale town was relatively easy to reach. At one time, I decided to reach out to a key informant on my own, through an email, without the use of my interpreter's network. However, once I met up with this key informant, together with my interpreter, we found out that he was a close acquaintance of my interpreter. Therefore, I realized there was no need to reach out to key informants on my own. All in all, the key informants were selected using purposive sampling and they were approached through my interpreters.

4.5 Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis

The recordings of the semi-structured interviews were transferred to an external hard drive and transcribed using a software program called 'InqScribe'. A total of 23 hours, 44 minutes and 42 seconds of recorded audio was transcribed, resulting in a 'transcript of records' database file of 304 pages of raw interview text.

The data were transcribed using the following acronyms:

- I = the interviewer
- P = Participant
- INT = Interpreter
- INT2 = Second Interpreter

The type of transcription used is called true verbatim transcription. This means that every spoken word was converted into text, as well as external sound (background noise, laughter or a crying baby, pauses, fillers ('uhs' etc.) and irrelevant repetitions. In this way, the audio was transcribed, exactly in the way it was spoken. For the quotes used in this thesis report, minor paraphrasing had to be done, such as the correction of grammatical errors, to make them understandable and easier to read. The transcribed data was analysed using a qualitative data analysis program, called ATLAS.ti.

While reading through the entire transcripts of records, scanning for patterns and common themes, a number of codes were created, using an 'open coding' button. Another button, called 'list coding' was used to select a code from a list of codes that were already created. This type of coding can be mainly be considered to be inductive coding, as the codes are based on the data and were not created beforehand. Nevertheless, before scanning through the data, a number of themes of interest were already established, such as the unequal distribution of access to land, in accordance with insights and observations made during fieldwork. So, most of the codes were created while reading through the text, but these codes were somehow also based on pre-established ideas and themes on what would be relevant to the research. A total of 263 codes was created, of which some were removed or merged with similar codes if their 'groundedness' was low. The 'groundedness' of a code is determined by the number of quotations associated with the code. The codes with the highest level of 'groundedness' were for example: 'rural-urban linkage', 'migrant characteristics', 'driver for migration' and 'the importance of agriculture'. The code 'rural-urban linkage' was used for 91 different quotations in which a participant clearly referred to the connection between the rural and the urban setting.

All codes were categorized into 26 'code groups', according to their similarities or common overarching themes. These different code groups were in turn categorized into 4 different groups, forming the research's empirical chapters. Paragraphs for the chapters were created, each discussing a different 'code group'.

Quantitative data analysis

The quantitative data, captured in the form of paper questionnaires, was entered into a spreadsheet in Excel. This was done by coding all questionnaires, giving every possible response a number and entering this number in MS Excel. All questionnaires were pre-checked, before leaving Uganda, to make sure that they were filled out completely. With the use of MS Excel, some of the data was already analysed, especially data from the open ended questions. For example, for question 32: 'Are there any other things that you send to people in the village?' the responses were divided into 2 parts: 32a. 1=yes, 2=no, and 32b. open ended response. The open ended responses were categorized out of the words that were mentioned most frequently. Out of the 18 participants who answered 1 (yes), 13 mentioned 'soap', as an open ended response. Therefore, 'soap' became one of the response categories. Then, the different response categories were visually represented in a bar chart (see fig. 23) and a conclusion is drawn from this bar chart in paragraph 8.5. For the statistical analysis of the majority of the questions, data from the spreadsheet in Excel was transferred into IBM SPSS Statistics 26. The variables were defined per question: e.g. for question 1 on gender, the variable 'gender' was defined and for question 4 on marriage, the variable 'marital status' was defined. A question could also have multiple variables, both independent and dependent variables.

The variables were all given a label and their values were defined. Moreover, the level of measurement was identified for each variable (nominal, ordinal, scale), as well as the variable type (numeric, string etc.). Then, the data were analysed in accordance with their level of measurement. For the ordinal variables, such as the variable 'age category', the frequency of the responses was counted, using descriptive statistics and summarized in a frequency distribution table. The frequency distribution table for the 'age category' variable is shown in Table 9. In other occasions, the data for the ordinal variables was visually represented in a bar or pie chart. Besides calculating the frequency, descriptive statistics was used to calculate percentages, the range, minimum and maximum values. Nominal variables were analysed and represented in a similar manner. For scale variables, on the other hand, the central tendency (mean, median and mode) was measured in SPSS, also using descriptive statistics. The distribution of the responses and their standard deviation was not taken into account, due to the relatively low number of total responses (N=20).

So far, only univariate statistics are discussed, in which one variable is considered at a time. Some bivariate analysis was also carried out, in which multiple variables were taken into account. To give an example, cross-tabulation was used to find out if there was a relation between the 'migration_age_category' variable and 'driver_migration' variable. Moreover, cross-tabulation was used for the variables 'driver_migration' and 'gender' to see if there was a clear difference in responses between males and females. The summaries of the analyses for all the different variables and comparisons between variables were tracked down in a word file. This word file with analysed quantitative data was used while writing the empirical body of this thesis report.

4.6 Ethical considerations

Ethical principles for scientific research were followed as much as possible, during all three stages of the research: while preparing the research, conducting fieldwork and writing the final report. In accordance with Wageningen University & Research's code of conduct, the ethical principles of the 'Netherlands Code of Conduct for Research Integrity of 2018 were taken into consideration, including: honesty, scrupulousness, transparency, independence and responsibility. To put it briefly, honesty is about refraining from making unfounded claims and from presenting inaccurate results. Scrupulousness refers to using scientific methods and being attentive during all stages of the research. The principle of transparency involves multiple things, including being clear to others about how data was obtained, how knowledge was created by the data and about the role of external partners. Responsibility, then, is about making sure the research has a scientific or societal relevance. Lastly, independence, is a principle that includes impartiality and is about not letting third parties influence the assessment of data. (Netherlands Code of Conduct for Research Integrity, 2018)

In addition to the principles, mentioned above, ethical research principles and the debates around them, taught in the courses: '*Fieldwork in Conflict and Post-conflict Settings'* and '*Critical Reflection on Research in International Development Practice'*, were considered. During these courses, more universal ethical principles were discussed, such as principles of 'doing no harm', 'minimizing risks', 'obtaining informed consent', 'confidentiality' and 'objectivity'.

The research was designed in such a way that it would enable the production of scientific knowledge. Although research was carried out in a relatively peaceful place, considering some other parts of Uganda where there is political unrest, the research questions were created with care; making sure they were not too politically sensitive. Moreover, as the majority of the conflicts in the field study area involved land-related issues, the focus of the research design was diverted away from these conflicts, as this could 'open old wounds' or even spark new conflicts. This would not be in line with the 'do no harm' principle. Therefore, the research questions were formulated using objective language and focussed on 'land tenure', rather than on 'conflicts around land'. Interviews and a questionnaire were chosen as data collection method, as these methods minimized risks for the participants and the researcher.

In addition, as a researcher, you can chose 'a fly on the wall' approach, where you only try to observe your participants or you can have a more 'participatory approach', where you try to blend into your group of research participants. The approach that was chosen for this research takes a position somewhere in the middle. Only observing the research participants would have been nearly impossible as access to the participants would have been very difficult. Also, this would bring the ethical problem of the research participants not being aware that they are part of the research. Participatory research, on the other hand, would also have led to ethical problems; not only was it impossible to blend in with the research participants, being a white Dutch female, who does not speak Rukiga, taking on a participatory approach (e.g. by following people throughout the day) would endanger both the researcher and the research participants; In general, in Uganda, when they see someone who is white-skinned, they immediately assume that you are rich. On top of that, it is assumed that a person, who is walking on the street with a 'Muzungu'[6], has received some money. So, if a participatory approach was taken on, the research participants would have become more vulnerable towards robbery. This would have conflicted with the principle of minimizing risk and the principle of doing no harm.

Another ethical consideration was negotiating the role of external partners. As mentioned before two companies (Wageningen Metropolitan Food Clusters and Paradise Technical Services) facilitated the research by offering a workspace, providing input while writing the research's design and aiding the actual fieldwork, by helping with the preparations.

[6] [6] Muzungu is Rukiga for 'someone with white skin'. According to my second interpreter it can also translate to 'someone who walks around wondering or someone who is lost'.

To clarify, they used their knowledge on Uganda and communicated with their local partners, to make sure I was going to a safe place and had people on the ground, who could help me out or serve as interpreters. Clear agreements were made about the research's integrity and how much of the information, collected through fieldwork, would be shared with them. An agreement was made on allowing them access to the final thesis report, but not to raw field data.

During the fieldwork stage, one of the main ethical principles that was taken into account was 'informed consent'. Creating an 'informed consent form', before entering the field, was considered, but as it was unclear whether or not all research participants would understand English and whether they would be literate, this was not opted for. Instead, informed consent was asked verbally during the fieldwork stage. Before the start of an interview, I would inform my research participants what the research is about and what the research is for. I would also explain that participating was voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw at any time. Whenever I had the idea that a participant did not fully understand my explanation, I would ask my interpreters to elaborate on my story. Also, whenever someone had no full understanding of the English language, my interpreters would translate the entire introduction into Rukiga. After informing them myself or through one of my interpreters, I would ask them if they still wanted to participate and, in case of the interviews, if they would be okay with me recording the audio of the interview.

At all times, I presented myself as a research student and not as a possible donor. I made sure all research participants knew exactly what they were getting into by participating in my research and explicitly stated they would not get anything in return, besides the opportunity to share their stories, be given a voice and to inform the research. No compensation was provided in any form, since this might have over-stimulated the participants to participate in the research and might have influenced their responses, as the majority of the research population had limited financial means. In addition, I ensured my safety and the safety of my research participants, by making sure a safe location was chosen for the interview, as guided by my local interpreters. Moreover, I made sure the hotel staff always knew where I was going, around what time and when they could expect me to be back. I would also never leave the hotel by myself nor travel long distances when it was dark outside. At night, the hotel's gate would close and an armed guard would be keeping watch near the gate.

Besides that, I often travelled long distances on the back of a motorcycle, to get to the village. To ensure my own safety, I would make sure I always wore a helmet and would head back to town before it got dark (as there were no street lights outside town). When it comes to respecting my participant's dignity and autonomy, I would always try to be polite, show compassion and refrain from disrespecting local rules and norms.

During the data analysis stage, data was handled with great care and never shared with third parties. No results were removed or altered without proper justification. Also, no unsubstantiated claims and arguments are made in this thesis report, nor has any fabricated data been added. The reliability and validity of the data and of the entire research are elaborated on in chapter 9.

4.7 Conclusion

In sum, all methodological choices that were made while designing, conduction and reporting this research, have been addressed in this chapter. A mixed-methods approach was chosen as the most appropriate way to fulfil the research's aim and to answer the research question. This chapter mainly focussed on explaining how data was collected, what research methods were used, how a sample was selected, how data was analysed and what ethical considerations were taken into account.

Chapter 5.

A walk through Kashambya sub-county and Kabale town.

5.1 Introduction

Being the first empirical chapter, the purpose of this chapter is to introduce the multi-sited study area. It combines personal observations and experiences from the field with stories and responses collected from research participants, living in Kashambya sub-county and Kabale town, during semi-structured interviews. A large part of the chapter is written in such a way that it allows the reader to step into the researcher's shoes. The reason behind this is that it may be difficult to get a clear picture of what life is like in these places, if one has never set foot there. Therefore, by engaging the reader, a clear understanding of the differences between village life and town life in the Kigezi sub-region can be created. Accordingly, it becomes easier to understand motives for rural-urban migration and the land tenure issues in the case study, making it possible to explore their relationship. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part focusses on Kashambya sub-county, the rural setting, and the second part turns to Kabale town, the urban setting of the case study.

5.2 A walk through the village

During three months of conducting fieldwork, a total of 11 visits were made to three different villages in Kashambya sub-county: Nyakatojo Village II, Mahura village and Kyondo village, all located in Nyakashebeya parish. No big differences were noticed between the three villages, as the villages were all at a walking distance from each other. The section below shows the story of one of my very first visits to the village. The 'village life' described in the story below is based on information from a combination of experiences from these different villages. The story shows the inaccessibility of Kashambya sub-county, due to the quality of the roads and the hilly terrain. It also gives a general impression of what one can see along the way, when travelling to the village.

Travelling to the village

It was around 9 am in the morning when my interpreter came to pick me up from the hotel with his motorcycle. Today I was going to the village, to conduct a few semi-structured interviews. My interpreter was going to Buchundura to check on his garden, which was in the same direction of Nyakashebeya parish, so I could ride along with him. I had agreed with my second interpreter to come and pick me up at Kashambya stage, a trading centre near the village. In order to reach Kashambya stage, we had to drive for about 1.5 to 2 hours through the hilly terrain of Kabale and Rukiga district.

The roads were unpaved, rocky and filled with holes, gaps and cracks, as a result of rainfall. Some of the roads were hardly accessible for cars. Also, whenever a car passed, which was not too often, we had to wait for a while for the dust to settle before we could move further. At one point, we reached one of the highest points of the hills, which was quite scary. One wrong move and we could slip right off the edge of the precipice. For my interpreter, this was nothing unusual, as he followed this route every week. Even on top of these high and steep hills people were walking around with their cattle or digging in their gardens. Wherever we went, people shouted at me '*Muzungu, Muzungu, how are you?*'. Along the way, I saw many women on their way to their gardens, carrying a so-called 'hoi', which is the main tool they use to dig. We passed through a number of small villages and trading centres, where you could find a lot of men boozing, playing games or building furniture. Also, in these trading centres you could find a lot of Boda-Boda men, waiting for customers. Once I arrived at Kashambya stage, I switched motorcycles and went to my other interpreter's village, which is Nyakatojo village II. After a couple of minutes, we arrived in his village.

Walking through the village

After reaching the village, my interpreter and I had some lunch at his mother's house; we had some Matoke with beans, avocado and drank some of the local sorghum beer. We then went out to find some people to interview. Outside the house, his mother was washing clothes in a tub together with some other women. There were some chickens walking around the house, next to the banana plantation. Most of the houses were made from wood and had iron sheet roofs. We sat down outside for a few minutes, as his mother was shouting and using many big gestures. I asked my interpreter if she was mad about something. *"No it's not that"* said my interpreter while he laughed.

He then explained: *'She is telling about how much pain she had while giving birth'*. The women were too busy for an interview and there were no other people to be found in the village, so we walked over to the neighbouring village, Mahura village, which was only a five minutes' walk. Because it was a Saturday around noon, everyone was in their gardens. According to my interpreter, everyone in the village would normally be in the garden from Monday until Saturday from 9 a.m. to around 5 p.m. On Sundays, you would not find many people on the streets either, as everyone would be in church. While we were walking to the other village, my interpreter told me that many people in the village had asked him when we were getting married. He laughed and told me that they are always telling him to get married. Especially now that he was walking around the village with me, people were even more curious. To get an impression of what it was like to walk through the village, see fieldwork photo 4 (see fig. 12).

Figure 12

Walking through the village

Note. Fieldwork photo 4. Taken in Mahura village

When we arrived in Mahura village, we found a few people sitting on a bench. We greeted them, they were laughing loudly and asking my interpreter what this 'Muzungu was doing in their village'. My interpreter explained to them that I was there to do research. He explicitly told them they wouldn't get something in return, as they all had asked him if I was going to give them money. The few women and men on the bench all had ripped or dirty clothes. "*You can interview this one, she doesn't mind"* my interpreter said. During the interview, more and more people came to see what was going on. After the interview had ended I was surrounded by nearly half the village's population. They had all left their gardens to come to see what was going on. There were also some children, who kept their distance. According to my interpreter, some of them had never seen a 'Muzungu' before and thought that I was a ghost. Some men had left the local pub and also came over to greet me. During the interview, they asked me if I knew what a 'hoi' was. To show me, one of the women went to get her 'hoi' and showed me how to dig (see fig. 13).

Figure 13

How to use a 'hoi'

Note. Fieldwork photo 5. Taken in Mahura village

After the interview, I told my interpreter the next interview needed to be a bit more private, otherwise my voice recorder would record too much background noise. For the next interview we walked a little bit and went into someone's shop. Here I interviewed a woman while she was breastfeeding her child. During the interview, one elderly man entered the shop. He was clearly drunk in the middle of the day. My interpreter told him to get out so we could continue. After the interview, we walked back to Nyakatojo village II. Along the way, we came across some friends of my interpreter whom we greeted. We also greeted some people who were still digging in their gardens. At one point of the route, we saw some men in the distance making a fire close to some barrels. I asked my interpreter what they were doing. He told me they were brewing some banana liquor, called Tonto. By the time we reached the village, it was time to return to town, as I wanted to be back before it became dark. I said goodbye to everyone and my interpreter brought me back to Kashambya stage with his motorcycle where my other interpreter came to pick me up. There was a long drive still ahead, in order to get back to the hotel.

5.3 A walk through town

The following story gives an impression of what it was like to walk/drive around Kabale town. Although I have walked through Kabale town on some occasions, sometimes alone, most often together with someone from the hotel, I drove through Kabale town nearly every day on the back of my interpreter's motorcycle. This story, then, is based on multiple experiences of walking and driving through town, to give a good view of what town life is like.

Before entering the town, you see many casual workers: washing cars, making furniture, building fences, street hawkers. Then on the main street, you find supermarkets, banks, cafés, electronic shops and a few clubs. At the end of the street there is a big roundabout with mountain gorillas on it (see fig. 14). Close to the roundabout, there is a big Coca Cola bottle next to which you find many people repairing bicycles. After the roundabout, there is a place where you can find many busses stationed. In general, there is a lot of traffic in town, especially a lot of Boda-Boda motorcycles and transport trucks. When walking or driving through town you often hear a lot of noise from the traffic, people on the streets and music. Often you hear music from two radio stations at the same time, as some of the shops that sell music speakers seem to be competing with each other, trying to play their music louder than the other shop. Also, on every corner of the street, you will find a group of Boda-Boda guys, waiting for the next customer.

Apart from the main street, around town you find poorly constructed buildings and you find large families living in a single room. Around town, it's common to eat, sleep and live in the same room. Also in many occasions I have experienced children coming up to me, begging for money or food. I have seen people laying knock-out on the street because they were too drunk. I have seen people dumpster diving to find some food. I have seen a Boda-Boda guy, who had too much weight on his motorcycle, too many bananas, so that he lost control of the steer and fell off his motorcycle. I heard about people getting robbed on the street or even getting stabbed. That's why after a while I decided not to walk on the streets anymore.

Figure 14

Kabale town

Note. Fieldwork photo 6. Taken in Kabale town

To avoid showing Kabale town in a bad light, Kabale town is also a flourishing town. It is a place filled with life and there are always people socializing with others on the street. Also, the town contains people from many nationalities who live together in peace. Everyone seems to be very busy, trying everything they can to make a living. Everywhere you go, you will be greeted by the people you have seen before. The people are friendly almost everywhere you go and are always down for small talk. On top of that, whenever you are invited to someone's home they will share a meal with you and make you feel most welcome.

5.4 Main differences between the village and town

From the data collected through the semi-structured interviews, 7 main differences between the villages in Kashambya sub-county and Kabale town can be drawn: differences in 1) the quality and accessibility of health and educational services, 2) being connected to the outside world, 3) social cohesion, 4) market availability, 5) accessibility of resources, 6) the understanding of people, 7) income-generating activities and 8) available space for living.

First of all, many of the participants noted that in Kashambya sub-county, the health facilities are limited and of poor quality. Hospitals are not easy to access, as they are located far away and as the roads are of poor quality. The nearest hospital is in Rukingiri district. The villages do have health centres, but according to the participants these are often understaffed and do not always have appropriate medicines available. To give some examples, a few interview fragments are presented below:

P: Recently, my baby got a fever, all of a sudden he got a fever, but when you go to the health centre you can hardly get a painkiller.

[…]

P: In the village, when somebody falls sick, like at night, somebody gets attacked or what and you have to go a health centre. You can't even get somebody to help you with a vehicle, you have to call somebody from town. So if you are in town and such a problem arises, then you can easily get a vehicle to take you to a health services. Like if you are an expecting mother, when the baby is due, then you can easily reach the hospital. Then even those health centres in the villages are not well facilitated with doctors, of course now in the village there is a health centre. Yes they are there. But they are not well facilitated in terms of maybe manpower, there are no doctors. So you can only get first aid from those health centres in the village

[...]

P: For example I have a sick child. She has a chronical disease. So, at one time when I was in the village. I could not get health services, like that child needs physiotherapy all the time and I could not get those services in the villages. So I had to [go to town].

[Semi-structured interview 11, 19-12-2019]

I: *So you are enjoying life here [in town]?*

P: Yes, when you are sick, you just visit a clinic nearby. In the village you wait, until you are completely down, of course you do not even have the money, the hospital is very far away from you.

[Semi-structured interview 16, 08-01-2020]

Besides health services, the majority of participants also pointed to a big difference when it comes to the educational services in the village and in town. In the village, schools, apart from primary schools, are often located very far from the village. To give an example, the interview fragment below shows the story of one of the migrants who had to walk to his secondary school from the village every day:

I: *Okay, so you went home every day? How did you go to school? Did you have a mode of transport?*

P: We were walking.

I: *How far was it to walk?*

P: Ah, it was slightly far, there were about 20 kilometres.

I: *20?! Everyday?*

P: Every day; that's 40 kilometres.

I: *Of walking?*

P: Of walking!

I: *Every day?*

P: Every day; even when we were doing national exams, we were walking.

I: *That sounds very tough.*

P: Yes it was, but we had no option.

I: *What time did you need to be at school in the morning?*

P: 8:30 am.

I: *At what time did you need to leave then from the village?*

P: Ah we were leaving around 6:30, so that we would reach there in time. Once you had arrived at the school, you could enter the school, start writing, leave the school at around 4:35, then we could go home, reach home at around 7, very tired, revising was a problem, we could just memorize. You were in secondary, but you could memorize and god helped us, we did it.

[Semi-structured interview 27, 21-01-2020]

Another major difference between the village and town was the degree of being connected to the outside world. Most people living in villages in Kashambya sub-county are living in isolation or are disconnected from the rest of the world; there is often no mobile or internet network, so they can't be reached on the phone. Also, not everyone in the village can follow the news as they have no access to the internet nor access to cable or satellite TV.

Also around the village, the roads are poor, especially after it has rained, making it nearly impossible to reach the village by motorcycle or car. In town however, the roads are paved and people are connected to the outside world; they can more easily access the mobile network, cable or satellite TV or the internet.

On top of that, a major difference is the amount of social cohesion in the village and in town. The social cohesion in the village seems to be higher than in town. In the village, everyone knows each other and it's possible to receive some support. In town, however, there are people from various backgrounds renting a room in the same building, who sometimes may not speak the same language. One participant explained this elaborately:

P: […] Like now, as you move around and reach at someone's home, you find them eating, you request for some food, they will give, but in town, everyone's living is catered for himself. […]

I: *So do you think that people here in the village are more kind or supportive towards each other than in towns?*

P: Yeah, they are more supportive and they are kind. But in the town, as I have told you that I can plan to go to a certain town, let's say in Kisoro or in Kasese, I can find there people who are from different places, so once you find there a person, like he is renting in this room and you are renting in the other room, he doesn't know your language, he doesn't know your origin. So it will take time to get familiar to that person, such that if you need something he's able to help, but here in the village there is a home of my father here there is a brother of my father, that is my uncle, on the other side is my grandfather, so as I get stuck in any way, help will be from those people, but once you cross and go to other places, where you find you people from other different places, it will be a bit difficult to connect with those people easily.

[Semi-structured interview 31, 25-01-2020]

The fourth major difference is the market availability. In town, you can buy everything you need, such as food or clothes, as long as you have money. In the village this is not always the case, as this participant points out:

P: If you can really afford to stay in town it's better. Now when you are moving around and you want something to eat, you can easily get it. In the village you can even die of hunger if you would have not cooked near your own home. [Laughs]

[Semi-structured interview 11, 19-12-2019]

A fifth major difference is the accessibility of resources. In the village, money seems to be less important as most people there 'fetch on the world for free', which brings us to the next difference: the accessibility of resources. Although in the village there are still some expenses which require cash, for example for trading, buying things from local or for hiring casual labourers, most of the resources do not require any money; in the village one does not have to pay for water, firewood or for food. For example, the majority of the food for consumption is produced people's own gardens. Whereas in town, all these resources are also available, but you can't access them for free. To provide some evidence:

> P: Cause, in Kashambya, you wake up.. have no landlord, there is no landlord to knock on your door, you are not going to pay for water, because it flows down the way, it's just down there… you are not going to buy, if you want you cannot buy charcoal, you can use firewood throughout and we are not going to buy that fire, because you can just go to the mountain and fetch that firewood… if you want greens you just go to the garden and pick them… if you want Matoke, go to your own plantation and pick one.. everything! I mean almost everything you have access [to]. But here, greens you buy, charcoal you buy, whether you have an income or not, you have to. So if you leave Kashambya you come to town, you come knowing that where you are going it's not going to be easy
>
> [Semi-structured interview 8, 17-12-2019]

The sixth major difference is the understanding of people in the village and in town. According to many of the participants, the people in the village are often uneducated and do not see the importance of education for themselves nor for their children. It must be considered that many of these statements were made by migrants who are now living in town. One of the migrants even stated that the level of understanding between the people in the village and the people in town is '*incomparable*' (Semi-structured interview 32, 27-01-2020), as they would not spend their money wisely, like people in town do. Another migrant explained: "*In town, there are many people who are educated, so you are living with a certain class of people, […]*" (Semi-structured interview 21, 13-01-2020). A key informant said that the chance is high for migrants not to return to their village after getting an education in town: "*Because you see yourself you are above that kind of life.*" (Key informant interview 13, 05-02-2020). It becomes clear that some migrants try to disassociate themselves from those in the village, for example through these statements.

To elaborate on this argument, in the interview fragment below, a migrant also tries to put the people in the village in a bad light:

P: When you are in the village, in most cases, you find the people you cooperate with, most of them are drunkards.

I: *They are what?*

P: Drunkards. Yes. They don't work. Early in the morning they are at the bar, early in the morning they are thinking about alcohol, when you meet them their minds are towards what you give them, not what they are advising you to do, so after a few months I said 'no I can't go back to the village and stay there', because it was like I was losing my friends, those who could advise me on what to do, but in the village you find, actually most of them they are uneducated, […].

[Semi-structured interview 17, 10-01-2020]

The seventh difference between the village and town, are the different ways of generating an income. According to the majority of the participants, it's very difficult to gain an income in the village. Many have stated that in the village there is no money. In town, however, there are more jobs available. To illustrate, one participant quoted:

P: When you are alone with yourself in the village you cannot get enough money, but around this town there is a lot of people, where income at least, sources of income in town, are high compared to the village.

[Semi-structured interview 9. 17-12-2019]

Also, many people in the village believe that having a business in town would be more successful than nearly any business in the village. To give an example:

INT: Say in town, you don't just go in class bare feet-ed, but here our children come here when they are not even putting on sandals, but once you have a business of shoes, it's a must that they have to buy. He has talked of a saloon, you don't just go into town having this shabby hair, that's why your hair is somehow reasonable, because you are from town, you are not from the village. So he thinks, once he starts a business in town, in any way, any business, it will have to work as compared to doing that business in the village here, cause in the village nobody will have to ask what about this, but in town if they see you with that short curly hair, there have to be questions, so you are forced to shave and once you go to shave you got the other business, you want shoes, you got the business.

[Semi-structured interview 31, 25-01-2020]

However, even in town it's hard to earn a living. One of the participants explained this in a quite extraordinary way:

P: Though we have a saying that [laughs], in our local language we have a saying, which says that 'the trust of a poor man let him not hang himself, because he knew '*I'll get money, I'll get money, I'll get money, I'll get money, until his death*.' So he died before hanging himself, so even as the trust we have comes from town, when you are in town.. even people in the village, when you reach in the village, they are all saying 'okay, you give us something', they know in town you have money, they don't know many of them are struggling. Yes, which keeps us positive, we get that positivity from town

[Semi-structured interview 17, 10-01-2020]

The last major difference between the village and town is the available space for living. The participants referred to town as a congested place, where there is no land available for constructing a house or for farming. Someone explained that in town *'you find yourself squeezed in a small place'* (Semi-structured interview 16, 08-01-2020). In the village, however, there is space for farming and living. To illustrate:

P: Then, what I saw in the village that was good, there is enough space for farming, which is not in town, because here in town we rent and the place is not yours. In the village there is a lot of space for farming, for all voids, especially with anything which is not in town.

[Semi-structured interview 28, 23-01-2020]

Still in the village, people have limited access to land, which is discussed in chapter 7 (see paragraph 7.3).

5.5 Main livelihood activities in the village

The main livelihood activity in Kashambya sub-county is farming. According to one of my key informants, around 90%, if not 95% of the people in Kashambya are involved in agricultural activities (Key informant interview 19, 19-02-2020). The majority of the households in Kashambya sub-county is involved in subsistence farming rather than commercial farming. Yet, it is common to sell a part of the harvest, as the produce is often too much to consume. This does not, mean, however, that households are food secure all year round. Moreover, as land is becoming more scarce, it is getting more difficult to produce even enough food for a household's own consumption.

Still, the main sources of household income throughout the sub-county are generated through the sale of crop harvests. The main crops that are cultivated are: Irish potatoes, sorghum, bananas, beans, peas, millet, maize and cassava.

To provide some evidence to show that people in Kashambya sub-county are mainly involved in agricultural activities, one participant stated:

P: Normally in Kashambya many people depend on agriculture, so they do farming activities to make a living, they wake up early in the morning, they go to their gardens, especially women. Men go to their banana plantations, so all that one is actually farming. So people make a living by doing farming activities, most of them. There are very few people who do for example official work. Like teachers there are not very many, like doctors there are not very many, nurses are not very many, thought they also make a living by doing their professional work. Others do some trading, they own some shops, uh, yeah... so traders do trading, teachers, doctors and nurses do their work, but the majority of the people in Rukiga make a living by doing farming activities.

[Key informant interview 4, 07-01-2020]

According to my interpreter in the village, in Kashambya sub-county many of the people are 'peasants' and not farmers. He said: "*As I have told you, currently we have few farmers, most of us we are peasants, not farmers.*" (Semi-structured interview 29, 25-01-2020). Later he explained: "*Because when I use this word farmer, farmer is something big, so she is a peasant*" (Semi-structured interview 35, 11-02-2020)

Besides farming, in most villages you can find some small-scale industries: mostly charcoal burning, brick-making and beer-brewing. On top of that, some people grow tobacco, sell of livestock and are involved in petty trade. There are also some people with small shops or businesses, who spend half of their days in the shop or business and the other time they are at their homes digging. This what can be considered as a diversified livelihood portfolio, as people have taken on multiple livelihood generating activities at the same time. To give an example, two of the participants that were interviewed were Boda-Boda guys and were also involved in farming on the side.

When it comes to performing the livelihood activities, there is a clear division of tasks, according to certain gender roles and difference in age (see table 5).

Table 5

Division of labour in Nyakashebeya parish, according to category

Men	Women	Girls	Boys
Building houses	Digging	Washing / Cooking	Firewood
Growing Tobacco	Growing food crops	Weeding	Harvesting
Weeding banana plantation	Cooking	Grinding	Squeezing banana for Tonto

Note. Adapted from an unpublished, mostly handwritten parish report for Nyakashebeya parish. The table shows which activities are mainly done by men, women, girls and boys in the parish.

To confirm the division of tasks listed above, one of the participants explained how he was involved in the production of Tonto when he was a boy:

P: Yeah, I remember every Saturday at my home we would be going to the banana plantations, to get bananas, take them home, then every Sunday we would be getting that alcohol and taking it to sell. So we had that activity which would generate some income to provide us with school fees.

I: *You would also participate in that?*

P: Yes though I was young, here in Africa a child of five years, does a lot of work, yes. Carry a Jerrycan of ten litres of water and that alcohol when you are preparing it we mix it with water. So we would participate in fetching water, we would participate in maybe peeling Matoke or banana, so those are small small [laughs] yeah part of that [inaudible].

[Semi-structured interview 32, 27-01-2020]

Figure 15

Livelihood activities in the village

Note. Fieldwork photo 7. Taken in Nyakashebeya II village

The picture on the right shows a woman who is walking home to the village from her garden with a 'hoi' (see fig. 15). The man on the picture is involved in tree logging. Although you can't see it on this picture, there was another man below the construction, managing the other side of the saw. The picture shows a clear division of tasks, as the woman has been digging and the men are involved in logging, which is considered a men's job.

5.6 Importance of agriculture

The section above shows that in the village, agriculture is the most important livelihood activity. Chapter 7 will show that even for those who migrated to town, agriculture continues to play an important role in their lives. This section, then, tries to explain why agriculture is important to many people living in the Kigezi sub-region. It shows how agriculture is embedded in the Bakiga culture. It shows how agriculture can be part of one's identity, how it is a way of life and how it is more than just a way of life for some people.

Historically, the clans living throughout the Kigezi sub-region were mainly agro-pastoralists (Carswell, 2007). Their livelihoods were based on the cultivation of crops and rearing animals (Carswell, 2007). This way of living still dominates in many of the rural areas of the Kigezi sub-region and has become an intrinsic part of the Bakiga culture.

According to one participant, for the people throughout Kabale and Rukiga district, farming is 'within their blood':

I: *And if you look at the population of Kabale, is a large portion of the population involved in agriculture?*

P: Yes, yes, yes, this is basically a rural district and the people here, their culture is farming, even the people who are living in town here, in a trading centre, you find them here, but tomorrow he has a garden somewhere, you'll get him there. So, actually farming here is a culture, you can say, people are born here, even those who are not born here, you'll find over 90% they are doing some activity, something to do with agriculture. So it's within their blood. It's farming, people don't.., I think they are used to producing their own food, they like that fresh food from their gardens, things like that.

[Key informant interview 6, 14-01-2020]

Agriculture and knowing 'how to dig' is something that gets passed down from generation to generation. To provide an example, one participant explains why he was taught how to dig when he was a child:

I: *From which age did you start working in the garden?*

P: I started when I was like 5 years.

I: *Because you had to or because you wanted to?*

P: No, it's because it was like the culture we grew up like that, so if you grow old, you know this is the culture, I have to do this, I have to do that.

I: *When you were still 5 years old, did you only get small tasks or did you have to dig for a whole day?*

P: No I was just starting, just practicing.

I: *Are you going to use these digging skills someday later on?*

P: Accordingly, if I get like a good job, I can't continue digging, but if it gets worse I continue and I use those skills.

[Semi-structured interview 37, 11-02-2020]

Another participant also shared the importance of passing over the cultural values of agriculture to his children:

P: As I told you, in our culture children of this age have to learn things which you cannot get in towns. […] So we have to take them, they can fetch some water, they can know how to dig, uh..yeah and many other things like collecting firewood, cooking. […] So we have to take them to the village to make sure that they learn.

[Semi-structured interview 11, 19-12-2019]

In addition to being part of one's culture, some participants also consider agriculture to be a part of their identity. To give an example:

P: When I go to the village I can't forget agriculture which made me the way I am […].

[Semi-structured interview 33, 27-01-2020]

Besides agriculture being part of the Bakiga culture or one's identity, agriculture is more than just a way of generating an income or a way of life. Many people depend on agriculture for their survival. For others, farming is the only way in which they are able to raise enough money to pay for their children's school fees. To provide some evidence:

I: *How do they make a living?*

P: They are peasants, so they are growing crops, then after harvesting they take them to the market. So that's how they survive, they grow food, so they have something to eat and something to sell. They will then use the money to pay for the student loans. They get what to eat and what to sell it will be for the students' loans.

[Semi-structured interview 10, 18-12-2019]

I: *What does she do for a living?*

INT: She has been a self-supportive farmer, on a small scale. She does not have much land herself, but she hires land. She also grows Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, for the survival of her nine children.

[Semi-structured interview 6, 14-12-2019]

I: *Are you first born, second born?*

P: I'm the first born of ten children, yeah, we were ten and all of us we were able to reach a university level. My father was a hardworking man, so he could raise all the fees and support us.

I: *How did he manage to raise all the fees?*

P: He had land, he had enough land, yeah, he could farm, he could plant many things, then sell.

[Semi-structured interview 22, 15-1-2020]

According to some of the key informants, farming can even be a way for people to develop themselves, as farming can be quite a profitable business. According to one key informant: 'Farming is the best business for Ugandans" (Key informant interview 9, 16-01-2020). He explained why:

I: *Why do you think farming would be the best for them?*

P: Because farming is cheap, it's very cheap, you don't need a lot of capital to invest in farming. For example, if somebody grew cabbage, wanted to grow cabbage, if you have a quarter acre of cabbage, you don't go about 2,000s, 3,000, 4,000 heads of cabbage and each head is 1,000, that's 4 million! From just a quarter acre and you get this money in three months. And what do you need? You just need your hands, because a quarter acre one person can manage, okay?

[Key informant interview 9, 16-01-2020]

Although agriculture is an important part of the Bakiga culture, one's identity, something which many people depend upon and something that can even be profitable, more and more youth are abandoning the rural setting, where agriculture is the main livelihood activity. As will be explained in later chapters, youth's limited access to fertile land, backwards farming techniques, increase in education and the trend to search for white collared jobs, has resulted in youth moving away from the agricultural lifestyle. All in all, the lasting importance of agriculture still plays a central role in the lives of those living in the Kigezi sub-region. Although this importance seems to be deteriorating slowly, it remains to be part of many people's identity and culture.

5.7 Value of land

Closely connected to the lasting importance of agriculture is the value of land. According to one participant: "*Everything here is rotating on agriculture and land in general*." (Key informant interview 6, 14-01-2020). Due to the continued importance of farming for people's livelihoods throughout the Kigezi sub-region and due to other matters, such as land scarcity, land has become one of the most valuable livelihood resources for people in the Kigezi sub-region. During the semi-structured interviews, participants talked about land as if they were talking about one of the earth's most valuable resources like gold, diamonds or oil. They also explained that conflicts around land arise often. The participants mentioned that people will fight each other over a small piece of land. To provide some evidence for the high value of land in the Kigezi sub-region, a number of interview fragments are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Interview fragments indicating how various participants express the value of land

Interview fragment	**Interview**	**Date**
P: The only riches that most of the people in Kashambya have is land. If you are touching their land, you are touching their life.	Key informant interview 14	05-02-2020
P: Because now Kabale here is like, land is like gold, because like we said it's already short, there is a shortage a land.	Key informant interview 15	07-02-2020
P: So they opt to selling the only resource which they have, which is land	Key informant interview 11	23-01-2020
P: In the village, land it's a livelihood, it's life, so people don't just sell their land, [...], but if you come here you cannot easily get people who are selling their land. They hold it dearly.	Key informant interview 6	14-01-2020
P: Because land is very precious, although we are because we had land, if I was not having land I even would have not managed to get my children, […].	Semi-structured interview 23	18-01-2020
P: Uh...you know land is now being, it's like now a heavy resource in Uganda and everyone wants to acquire his riches through land.	Semi-structured interview 17	10-01-2020
P: Now, everyone thinks when you have land you have a lot of wealth, so everyone is focussing on land. […]	Semi-structured interview 17	10-01-2020
P: […] and some extreme cases will involve death and not once actually, many people have killed each other because of the land. Yes, they have killed each other, because of the land and others, there are some extreme cases where even children have killed their own parents, because of the land, yeah, they want to secure the land.	Key informant interview 15	07-02-2020

5.8 Main livelihood activities in town

Unlike the main livelihood activities in the village, which are mainly based on agriculture, the livelihood activities around town show more diversity. Although Kabale town offers more job opportunities than the rural area, it's very difficult to get formally employed in Kabale town. The available number of white-collar jobs is limited, therefore the majority of the town's population has ended up in the informal sector. Consequently, instead of working in offices, you find many people performing their livelihood activities on the streets of Kabale town. The livelihood activities in Kabale town mainly consist of casual work, petty trade and small-scale businesses. Examples of casual work that can be seen around town are Boda-Boda riders, food vendors, carpenters, brick makers, car washers, furniture builders and coffin makers.

The chairman of Kabale town pointed out this lack of formal employment opportunities:

P: Yeah there is a lot of unemployment, because of what I've told you. Given our economy, given the number of people that have attended formal education, the numbers are big. Every other day, every other year universities are pushing out graduates, but how are they absorbed into these formal offices? So there is a lot of unemployment, that's why we uphold the private sector that has enabled our people to get involved and have some other way of earning other than looking for formal employment by government. The private sector is employing a number of people that would have not been absorbed by government offices.

[Key informant interview 12, 28-01-2020]

Another participant gave some examples of casual work that people in town are involved in:

P: I really don't know if there are some people in town and they don't have what to do. They might be Boda-Boda riders, if not they may be maybe brokers, they carry these heavy things, but at least they get something to eat at the end of the day. They are cleaners, they can wake up in the morning, come and clean during the day you see him walking as if he doesn't have something to do, but in the morning he work, when you are sleeping, he is cleaning.

[Semi-structured interview 32, 27-01-2020]

One participant, who has been doing casual work around Kabale town for the last five years, shared his experience:

P: […], for me I have been suffering for my family, actually I have suffered for five years, now I have no job, I carry a lot of stones when I am looking for survival. […]

[…]

I: *I see. You say you have been suffering for a couple of years...?*

P: Struggling with life! Yes, because it's suffering. Now, you see, carrying these stones from morning till evening when you are working as a casual labourer, it's very heavy and as you are doing it you become weak.

I: *You were carrying stones, in like bags?*

P: Yes, yes, bags of cement, because we are looking of a way how to survive.

I: *How far did you have to walk with those bags of stones?*

P: I have been doing it. Even now I'm planning to start it on Monday, because it's..

I: *So you have to carry it, how far do you have to carry the stones?*

P: No, when we are like, for us here, when we are building, we first put stones in the ground to make it firm.

I: *So you are helping building houses?*

P: No, I'm not an engineer, so I go there as a casual labourer, so what they allow me to do is carrying stones and sand for the other engineers, which is very tiresome, it's very dangerous to our life.

I: *But you are going to do it again?*

P: But nothing to do, you have to allow, because you have no job, you have no way to survive, so if you don't do it, you can't survive.

[Semi-structured interview 17, 10-01-2020]

5.9 Conclusion

To sum up, this chapter served as an introductory chapter to the multi-sited case study. It gave an impression of what life is like in both a village in Kashambya sub-county and in Kabale town, according to personal observations and the semi-structured interviews. The main differences between the village and the town were discussed elaborately. In addition, the main livelihood activities in both the village and in town were presented. It became clear that mainly in the village, agriculture has a high economic and social importance and that land, being a scarce resource, has become an extremely valuable livelihood asset. The chapter has laid the basis for exploring the relation between land tenure and rural-urban migration in the study area.

Chapter 6.

Analysis of the land tenure system in the study area

6.1 Introduction

As the previous chapter served as a general introduction to the case study, this chapter goes into more detail by giving an analysis of the different land tenure arrangements that were found in the study area. In order to explore the relation between land tenure and rural-urban migration patterns, it is essential to first describe the study area's land tenure system in full detail. Taking the livelihoods perspective into account, the chapter analyses the institutional influences on access to livelihood resources and on livelihood strategy portfolios, in which, in this case, the land tenure system is the institution, land is a livelihood resource and migration belongs to the livelihood strategy portfolio. Data presented in the chapter is mainly based on the information given during the key informant interviews. The chapter's set-up is as follows; first, the main type of landholding is shown, as well as the land rights that come with these types of land tenure. Then, the different ways to gain access to land are discussed, taking into account the cultural background. Moreover, the different laws and policies around land are discussed. Finally, land tenure security is considered, including the ways in which the land's boundaries are defined and protected, as well as the role of different land tenure documents.

6.2 Customary land tenure in the Kigezi sub-region

As mentioned in the literature review, the Kigezi sub-region has a highly individualised land tenure system. Moreover, the majority of the sources, presented in the literature review, described the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region as a 'customary' land tenure system. The Ugandan government also described the land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region as 'customary'. To restate briefly, the Ugandan government defined 4 systems of land tenure in Uganda: freehold, mailo, leasehold and customary. Yet, as became clear while considering the theoretical debates around land tenure categorization (see paragraph 2.7), the use of these categories in theory, do not always match the local realities on the ground.

Therefore, this section tries to find and answer to the question: What exactly does ‘customary land tenure’ mean in this specific context? Pottier (2005) explains that to answer this question, the context in which the term emerged must be taking into account. Without going into too much detail, a brief historical context of how ‘customary’ land tenure emerged in the Kigezi sub-region is provided.

There is a lot of dissonance when it comes to origins of customary land tenure in Uganda; According to Mabikke (2016), customary land tenure systems were traditionally found in Uganda and already existed before the British colonization in 1894. He states that the other three types of land tenure (mailo, freehold and leasehold) were introduced during the colonial times. Moreover, Mabikke mentions that, although these different customary land tenure systems varied from place to place, individual ownership of land was not recognised anywhere in Uganda before the colonial era. Colson (1971), on the other hand, argued that customary land tenure was created by colonial courts, who introduced the term to enforce and simplify complex local customs around land, so it could co-exist together with the English law in a dual system which lasted until the 1960s.

Next to the dissonance of the origin of customary land tenure in Uganda and therefore also in the Kigezi sub-region, there is also dissonance on what the term ‘customary’ actually means and if there is even such a thing as ‘customary’ land in the Kigezi sub-region. During fieldwork, it became clear that the majority of the participants had never even heard of the notion of ‘customary land tenure’ before. In the next section is shown what type of land tenure system was actually encountered in the field and it is argued whether or not the local realities resemble the definition of ‘customary tenure’ by the Ugandan government.

6.3 The main type of landholding

Locally, the main type of landholding is called ‘Kibanja’, which translates to ‘your land’. This type of land holding mostly resembles private property rights. Under a Kibanja landholding, a piece of land belongs to a specific person or, more commonly, to an individual family, made up by a husband and a wife. This explains why during the semi-structured interviews, people often spoke of land belonging to ‘the people’. With this, they meant land belonged to individuals or individual families, rather than the land belonging to a specific community or group, which would resemble so-called communal property rights.

These ‘Kibanja’ holders rely on local rather than statutory tenure, as land is owned and administered in accordance with the local customs. One of these customs is to make a written agreement for the land, rather than getting an official land title at the Ministry zonal office, which will be explained later in the chapter.

Under these ‘Kibanja’ landholdings, the husband, who is regarded as the head of the family, is the official owner of the land, as becomes clear in the following section:

I: *The land that she farms on, does she own it herself?*

INT: She has her own private land, it’s hers.

I: *So she owns it herself or does her husband own it?*

INT: [laughs] The land is owned by the husband. Not the wife, not the women, so it’s a family land, the family is made up by a wife, man and the children. So the land is for the family, however much owned by the husband.

[Semi-structured interview 24, 18-1-2020]

According to one of my key informants, around 95 to 98% of the land in Rukiga district is owned by individual families. Taking into account other sources of data, in reality this percentage is probably a bit lower, as some of the land is owned by the state and by institutions, such as the church. For example, all wetlands are owned and protected by the state for conservation purposes. The district has 5 wetlands, covering an area of 7.9 km^2, making up 1.85% of the district’s total land area. Moreover, the state owns the land on which hospitals, schools and other government buildings were constructed. Besides that, the district, as an institution, also owns some land on which the district buildings can be found, as well as some small plots of agricultural land. Furthermore, some of the churches in the district own some large plots of land. To illustrate, the priest of the ‘Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament Church’ in Kitanga Parish’ stated: *“We have plenty of land, plenty of land, that’s where all these projects [agricultural projects] are seated”* (Key informant interview 3, 22-12-2019). He later explained that this particular church had a big tea plantation of which the profits were for the church. This shows the large power of the church, that owns vast amounts of land and is involved in commercial farming, something which is not possible for private individuals due to land scarcity (see paragraph 7.5).

6.4 Land rights

As explained above, land in the Kigezi sub-region is mainly privately owned. Rights to land are protected by local laws and customs. As 'private ownership' of land can have different meanings in different settings, in this case, it refers to the right to decide what the land is being used for, the right to sell the land and the right to exclude others from using the resources on the land. In this section, it becomes clear that land ownership rights and land use rights are two very different things. As mentioned before, it is culturally common for land to be owned by the head of the family, which is the husband. This custom exists due to the patrilineal structure of the Bakiga society, organised through lines of descent through the father; to keep land within the family, a father must pass over his property to his sons.

Although women are officially allowed to own land, it is not custom. In many cases, women only have user rights to their husband's land. To illustrate, a section of a conversation with one of my key informants is shown below:

P: It's I think by culture, the land in Rukiga normally is owned by men, okay? Then their female counterparts, they actually use the land, but they don't own it. You getting me? And with you know, with these issues of equality coming up, it has also become a challenge. Because women are demanding for the rights to own what? Own land. And their male counterparts are now opposing it: "*How can women own land?".* Yet I don't see any problem by the two parties owning land together. But it's rare to find women owning land in Rukiga, it's rare. Much of the land is owned by what? by men. You see that one is an issue. So if you are a woman, you don't own land. Can you take decisions on how land can be used? You can't, because land is not yours, it's the men who will make the decision on how to use that land, you getting me?

[Key informant interview 4, 7-1-2020]

According to my interpreter and the semi-structured interview with both men and women in Rukiga district, in most occasions, the husband and wife decide together what the land is used for and what crops will be grown on the land. So women not being able to decide on how the land can be used, as shown in the fragment above, is not always an issue. Moreover, if the husband wants to sell a piece of land, he has to get permission from the wife and she also has to sign the agreement. However, in some situations, the husband and wife do not agree on matters regarding land. For example, in the case where the wife wants to grow crops to feed her children, but the owner of the land, the husband, wants to use the land to grow tobacco. Situations like these can sometimes bring up cases of domestic violence or cases of divorce.

In the case of divorce, women lose often their access to the land. In fact, in the case of divorce women may be disposed of their property in all respects. Only if a woman cooperates or makes an agreement between herself and her ex-husband, upon divorce, she can have an entitlement to his property, including the land that he owns.

Furthermore, data from the questionnaire shows that 44% of the participants with access to land, use land that is owned by their father. They do not own the land themselves, which means they can use the land, but they have to respect their parent's wishes over the land. Also, they are not allowed to sell the land, since it is not their property. This results in a number of issues which will be elaborated on in the next chapter (see paragraph 7.6).

Another land rights related matter that came up during one of the key informant interviews was government control over land. The key informant explained:

P: Here in Uganda, people own land, but land use is in the hands of the government. […] You can own land, but the government can direct you to do some kind of development on that land. Let me just give an example. If you have land, it's your land, if you want to do agriculture, you can do agriculture. But if the government wants to implement a development plan in the same area, maybe by building a supermarket, or a commercial structure, the government can direct you to give up your land. So the land is yours yes, but the land is also controlled by the state.

I: *So are people mostly compliant with it [bringing in an investor and negotiating on the purpose of the land]? Do they resist those government usages of the land?*

P: When people are not educated, like these people in Kashambya, it's hard for them to understand what the government plans are about. To tell them that 'We are going to do this on your land and you will see the benefits after five years', they don't understand what you mean. So, you'll find they are not compliant. They are not compliant and some resist.

[Key informant interview 14, 05-2-2020]

Afterwards he explained that the government has no right to grab someone's land or just take someone's land for free. The government usually brings in an investor to negotiate with the owner of the land, something which is not always appreciated by the local people.

6.5 *Gaining access to land.*

The migrants, who were interviewed during the semi-structured interviews, had mainly gained access to land in one of the following three ways: 1) they had hired the land, 2) they use their parent's land or 3) they bought the land themselves.

It is important to note that many of the respondents had multiple plots of land and gained access to these plots in various ways. To illustrate, one of my participants mentioned:

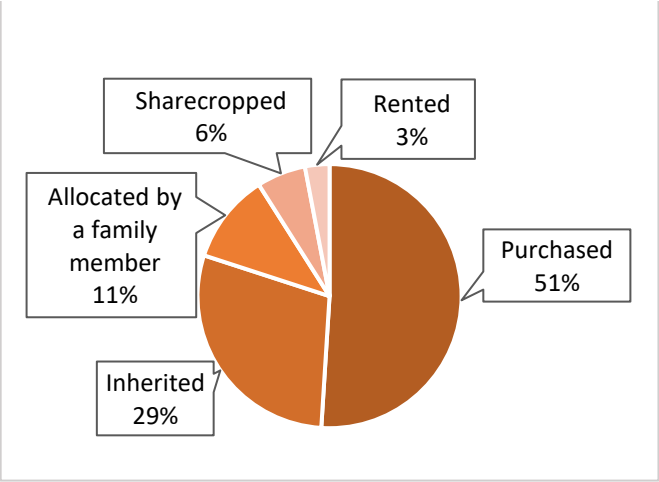
I: *How do you access land to farm on? Do you own land yourself, do you hire land?*

P: No, we hire it. When you have to dig on a big scale, you have to hire. So then we have some small plots for when we are planting for home use, we use that small one, which we own.

Data from the questionnaire showed similar responses (see fig. 16). However, access to their parents' land was not an option on the questionnaire, as this option was not thought of while designing the questionnaire. Also, hiring or renting was more common among the participants of the semi-structured interviews than among those who filled out the questionnaire. The main way of gaining access to land, according to data from the questionnaire, was through purchasing (51% of the total respondents had bought land) and through inheritance (29% of the total respondents had inherited land from their parents). Again, the respondents ticked multiple boxes, as they had gained access to different plots of lands in different ways.

Figure 16

Main ways of acquiring land



Note. In this pie chart, data are presented from the questionnaire. Percentages are based on the N of responses.

Purchasing land in Rukiga and Kabale district can be very expensive. The price of the land is determined by a number of factors, including its accessibility, the quality of the soil and the size of the land. For example, a plot of land near a road or trading centre is more expensive. Also, in the village, especially on top of the hills, land is less expensive than land around town (see table 7). The high price of land can be attributed to land scarcity and the importance of land as an asset for people's livelihoods, two topics that are discussed in later chapters.

According to one of the key informants, the price of the land is negotiable and is often determined by those who sell their land (Key informant interview 14, 05-2-2020). It is also possible to determine the price of the land in a more official way, by hiring a land surveyor. However, most of the transactions around land are done informally, to save money.

Table 7

The estimated average price of land in the Kigezi sub-region per location.

Location of the land	**Estimated price in Ugandan Shillings (UGX)[7] per acre**
In the village, on top of the hill (low accessibility)	+/- 200,000 to 400,000
In the village, in the valley (moderate accessibility)	+/- 1 to 3 million
Around town (high accessibility)	+/- 8 mil – 20 million

Note. The prices are derived from responses given during semi-structured interviews and key informant interviews. Accuracy and reliability of these numbers cannot be guaranteed, as the prices are not fixed and as the numbers are based on interpretation. Nevertheless, the data give an idea of how different rates of accessibility influence the price of land and of the large difference in prices for land in the village and around town.

When it comes to inheritance of land, it is common among the Bakiga to divide the land among the children. This does not mean that every child gets a share nor that the land is divided equally among the children. According to Bakiga' tradition, when a boy marries, he inherits some of the family land so that he can 'become a man' and start his own family:

P: And for us here, it's only when a youth has married that even the father can give a share, a piece of land. Before you are married, in fact for us, even if you are 50 years old, you are a male person, 50 years old, if you are not married, you remain a boy, you can't become a man, you are only called a man when you are married and you will only being given a piece of land, where to grow food, when you are married. […] The parents, they only give you when the wife has produced [children] […] the parents tell you: *'You can be using this piece of land to grow the food to feed the children'*, that's why they wait for the wife to have children.

[Key informant interview 8, 15-1-2020]

[7]At the time of conducting fieldwork (December, 2019), the currency exchange rate (Euro to Ugandan Shilling) was €1 per 4,067 UGX.

In order to keep land within the family, girls rarely receive a plot of land when they marry, as they will gain access to land through their husbands. According to my respondents, recently a new law was introduced, stating that girls should also get a share when the land is divided among the children. They referred to the establishment of the National Land policy in 2013, which states: *'Government shall by legislation, protect the right to inheritance and ownership of land for women and children'* (National land policy (2013), section 65 (a)). Still, in the Kigezi sub-region the statutory- and customary laws on inheritance overlap, which means that parents can choose for themselves to either go with their customs and keep land within the family or to go with the statute and respect women's right to inheritance. During fieldwork, it became clear that in the study area, customary laws of inheritance tend to outweigh government legislation. To illustrate, a large fragment of an interview with a migrant in Kabale town is shown below:

I: *What will happen to the land when your father passes away?*

P: When he passes away, uh.. for us now, the constitution of Uganda says '75% of your wealth is for the children and 25% is for the parents', let's say if you are my wife, say when 75% of our wealth is for our children and 25% is ours, so after I have passed away still 75% is for the children and 25% remains to you, so after you have passed away that's when they will share everything.

I: *Will it be divided equally among the children?*

P: No, no, no! Actually, the law still favours boys, in any way I support that.

[…]

I: *So you think it's best if boys inherit the parent's wealth?*

P: Yes, it should remain with boys, maybe I don't say a 100% as it was before, because before they used to say 'if your parents have a house that house is for the girls', in any case, if she fails to manage life in marriage, she can come back and go into her fathers' house, but nowadays they are bringing up a bill saying they shall equally own property, after all, they are willing to share it, but now after sharing it, where are they taking that wealth? To their husband's places and their husband's places they are also sharing property there, so after sharing you find it's like a mixture, actually taking someone's strength to another family. Now, let's say like now, for me I have been suffering for my family, actually I have suffered for five years, now I have no job, I carry a lot of stones when I am looking for survival, now after I have acquired my wealth, my daughter comes after getting married, she wants to take my energy to some other family, which looks..., but now I don't even deny her getting access, cause if I have a lot of property it's for my children, but it would be of good use if they say 'okay this portion is there, it's being looked for by these boys', but when a girl has challenges, let's say you are married to a family and they don't have land, you can come to do some farming, get a way of survival, you go, you take your wealth, but you don't take this land.

[Semi-structured interview 17, 10-1-2020]

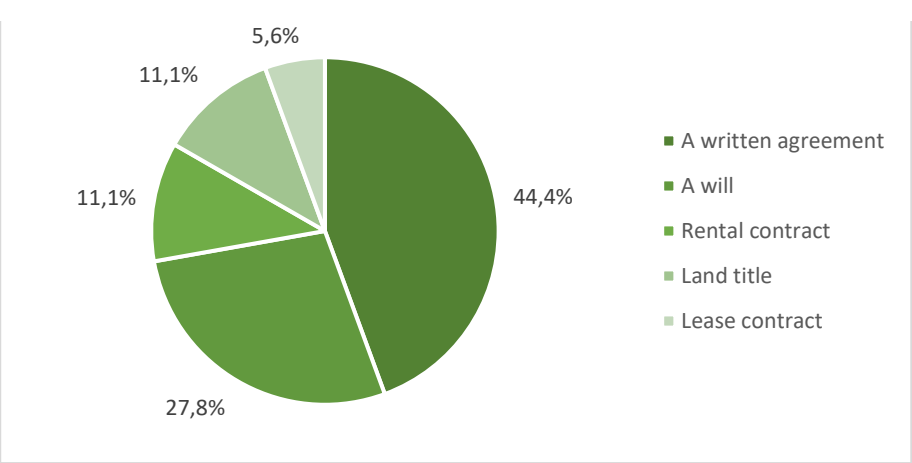
6.6 Land tenure security

The two most common ways to secure land tenure in the Kigezi sub-region are through the creation of a written agreement and putting traditional boundaries around the land. The written agreement is a document that is created when land is sold from one person to another. The person who sells the land writes on a piece of paper: *"so and so has sold a piece of land, measuring this length and width, to so and so and these are people who were there when he was selling"* (semi-structured interview 16, 08-01-2020). This must be done in the presence of the people neighbouring the piece of land that is concerned. Then, the written agreements are signed by the seller, buyer, the neighbours and the chairman (LCI) of the village. Since the chairman represents the government, the written agreement can be considered as a legal document.

People sometimes also had other documents to assert rights over land, besides the written agreement, such as a will or a land title. To show, 28% of the questionnaire respondents had a will for at least one piece of land (see fig 17).

Figure 17

Land tenure documents



Note. Representation of the survey data on different documents to assert rights over land. The percentages are based on the responses of the respondents who completely filled out the questionnaire.

Officially, one can get almost any land document at the Ministry Zonal Office in Kabale town. Here you can get a certificate of customary ownership, which is the more official version of the written agreement, an official land title, a freehold document or any other document that is required for a transaction around land. Still, in order to get the right land document, there is a complex process to follow. One of the key informants, who works for the Ministry Zonal office as a land surveyor, explained the elaborate process of getting an official land title. A short version of this process is shown in box 1.

Box 1

The process of land registration to get a land title certificate at the Ministry Zonal Office

1. First, one needs to go to the sub-county chief at the sub-county headquarters for approval.
2. Once they have accepted, the person needs to go to the Area Land Committee to pay the required fees and to fill out some documents, including a forwarding letter in which you request the Ministry Zonal Office to prepare the land title document for you.
3. They then visit the land to check if the land is not within the wetland or blocking a road and they check what you are going to use the land for.
4. The Area Land Committee sends the documents to the District Land Committee, who then have a board meeting in which they either approve or reject the land title request.
5. When approved, one has to hand in all documents at the Ministry Zonal Office.
6. After this, the person must pay for a private surveyor from the Ministry Zonal Office to come and survey the land, which is the most expansive part of the process. Using GPS and other technologies they measure the size of the land.
7. All staff at the Ministry Zonal office has to check and sign the document, including a cartographer, physical planner etc.
8. One can pick up the land title at the Ministry Zonal office

The process described above takes around 70,000 Ugandan Shillings per plot of land.

Note. The process described above is based on a key informant interview with someone who worked at the Ministry Zonal Office.

After making a visit to the Ministry Zonal office and after hearing the stories of village members during fieldwork, it became apparent that land registration is not a common practice. Reasons for this, given by research participants were the complex process of land registration (as shown above), the price of land titling and the unawareness of the benefits of official documents among landholders. To illustrate, one of my participants said: *"The land titles? Yeah in our villages we don't have those land titles or whatever, we just value the agreements"* (Semi-structured interview 16, 08-01-2020). Another participant stated: *'…once you own land you have an agreement, most of us in the villages we don't have titles, but we have agreements.'* (Semi-structured interview 25, 18-01-2020).

Another way of securing rights of land tenure is through the use of traditional demarcations. Both the interviews and the questionnaire showed that there is one main type of demarcation, used throughout Rukiga district, i.e. fencing. For 'fencing' traditional trees or plants are used: "*Every person knows his own part of land… every person has his or her own land and his own boundaries. […] We have fencing like Eurphorbia, you know Euphorbia? We call them Oruyenje, it's like a crop we put in the boundary"* (Key informant interview 5, 11-1-2020). One other way of demarcation is by the placement of boundary stones, but this method is not commonly used.

6.7 Conclusion

To finalise, in this chapter the land tenure system in the study area has been analysed and described. In this chapter, it became clear that in both Rukiga and Kabale district, land is mainly held by individual households under customary tenure. The specific enactment of 'customary tenure' on the ground, as described in this chapter, however, does not seem to match the formal conceptualization of customary tenure by the Ugandan government.

The chapter also showed that there is a clear difference between land ownership and land user rights. Women often do not enjoy the same rights to land as men, since in the Bakiga culture, ownership rights are usually held by men. Accordingly, women are allowed to use the land and its resources for agriculture, but are not allowed to transfer the land to someone else, without her husband's approval. When it comes to inheritance, which is one of the most common ways of gaining access to land, the land is not always divided equally and often males are more likely to inherit land than women. The most common ways to gain land security are through the creation of a locally produced and stored written agreement and by putting traditional demarcation plants on the boundaries of the land. These two local guarantees of tenure security are important alternatives to the expensive, time-consuming and bureaucratic alternative of getting an official land title.

Chapter 7.

Land issues as main drivers for rural-urban migration in the study area

7.1 Introduction

To form a complete picture of how rural-urban migration patterns are related to land tenure arrangements in the study area, it is necessary to consider the relation between land tenure issues and rural out-migration. This chapter, therefore, identifies the main drivers for migration among youth and explores to what extent issues around land tenure influence rural-urban migration decisions. Accordingly, an overview is provided of the main land issues that were found in the study area. The discussion of the main drivers for migration among youth are based on a combination of data from the semi-structured interviews and the questionnaire. A clear distinction is made between the motives for migration given by the migrant's themselves and those provided by the key informants. In this way, an 'insider' perspective is shown, based on migrant experiences, as well as an 'outsider' perspective, based on the stories of those who are not involved in migratory practices themselves, but who see migration happening on a daily basis and who have a so-called 'bird's eye view' on the situation. In addition, as every individual movement is based on a unique set of conditions and factors, a combination of factors for migration is considered together with the context in which the decision to migrate was made, such as a migrant's socio-economic background, the cultural context and the effects of peer influence. The chapter starts off by showing the main issues around land that were found in Rukiga district and then elaborates on each individual issue. Afterwards, the main drivers of migration are identified and explained. Lastly, the role that land issues play in rural-urban migration decisions is discussed.

7.2 Main issues around land in study area

The main issues around land that were mentioned by the research participants during the semi-structured interviews were issues regarding land scarcity, land fragmentation, land degradation and the unequal distribution of land. Besides these issues, land conflicts and land disputes were also mentioned on multiple occasions, but these seemed to be less serious in this part of the country, in comparison with other parts of the country, where the conflicts regard larger portions of land.

So, roughly speaking, the main issues around land found in Kashambya sub-county are centred around the common problem of having limited to no access to sufficient amounts of fertile land, which is elaborated on in the next section.

7.3 Limited to no access to land

Although the majority of the research participants had access to at least some plot of land, 87% out of the total interview respondents (N=59) mentioned that for many families in the village, land is not enough for subsistence farming. Only 6.8% of this group of respondents stated that they or their family had enough or even plenty of land to earn a living from. To provide evidence for the lack of land among families in Rukiga district, a number of interviews fragments are presented in the next section.

During a semi-structured interview, one of the youths in the village told me that he experienced limited access to land:

I: *So you spend most of your time being a farmer or… ?*

P: Not all that much, because we don't have enough land, but the little we have, we normally plant there our crops, then after planting them, we use our Boda-Bodas to earn some living, like that.

[Semi-structured interview 31, 25-01-2020]

Another person mentioned:

P: People are many and the land is not…not enough for them. Cause some people will sleep hungry and some don't have land. They don't have. You find someone and who's just having one piece of land and he's having a family of 5 kids. But they survive.

[Semi-structured interview 2, 11-12-2019]

A number of key informants also pointed out that land access to land is sometimes limited: "*in Kigezi, Kabale and Rukiga, in particular, there is no land, land is not really enough*" (Key informant interview 4, 07-01-2020). A similar statement was made by another key informant: "*Considering this is Kabale... in Kabale, actually the major problem facing agriculture and development is the lack of land and the little land that is available is very fragile."* (Key informant interview 6, 14-1-2020). In addition, at least 8 other expressions, similar to the ones above, were made by various research participants. These expressions related to land being scarce, land not being enough for consumption and limited access to land being a major problem.

More evidence for the limited access to land among the research participants can be obtained from the questionnaire data; the 12 out of the 20 respondents, who stated to have access to land, had access to an average of 3.84 acres of land, which is around 1.5 hectares. When looking at the numbers, this amount does not seem to be significantly low. Especially when you take into account that the average farm size of Uganda is estimated by the FAO in 2012 to be exactly the same amount, i.e. 1.5 hectares. In reality however, there is a big difference in landholding sizes between the respondents; around 42% of the respondents had access to land with a size no bigger than 1 hectare. Moreover, it is important to consider that none of the respondents had access to a single, consolidated plot of land of this size, but rather to various plots, scattered over the area. To accentuate this point, one of my key informants quoted: "*Hardly can you find a person with a piece of land in one location, one whole piece. He has a piece here, another one in another there, etc.*." (Key informant interview 6, 14-01-2020). The illustration on the cover page of this thesis report shows this land fragmentation very clearly. The hill presented on the picture resembles nearly any other hill that one can find throughout the Kigezi sub-region. Every 'square' of land that you see on this picture belongs to another family. It is not common to find a family owning multiple plots of land on the same hill. According to questionnaire data, the average parcel size which the respondents had access to is 1,25 acres with a minimum of 0,124 acres and a maximum of 4 acres. This reinforces the argument that throughout the region, people have limited access to land.

7.4 Causes of limited or no access to land

The limited of access to land among farmers in the Rukiga district can be blamed on multiple factors, such as the hilly terrain, high school fees, soil erosion and population growth. Because of the hilly terrain, not all land is suitable for agriculture or other land uses, as some plots are just too steep and fragile. On top of the hills, the land is flat again and widely available, but this land is hard to access. To illustrate, during fieldwork we climbed one of the hills, starting from Mahura village. It took us around 4 hours to reach the flatland on top of the hill. The lack of land among Kigezi farmers can also be attributed to the high school fees that parents have to pay to take their children to school. In order to pay for these fees, it is common among parents to sell a piece of land.

As the population grows and parents have more children, they need to pay more fees and sell more land. To give an example:

I: *Do your parents still have land in the village?*

P: Presently, they don't have, they sold much of the land when we were pursuing for education. So, generally, basically, we don't have, they don't have, that's why I have brought them [the parents] here [Kabale town].

[Semi-structured interview 27, 21-1-2020]

Another reason for the limited availability of land is soil erosion or land degradation in general. Various experts on land degradation matters in Kabale and Rukiga district have been informed to discuss the extent of land degradation in the region and to see if it's a growing problem or not as bad as was predicted by environmentalists in the colonial era (see literature review). According to these experts, land degradation in the Kigezi sub-region is becoming worse. To illustrate, two interview fragments from a key informant interview are presented below:

P: In my observation, it's increasing, soil erosion is increasing and it's a serious problem.

[Key informant interview 6, 14-01-2020]

I: *This part of Uganda was always predicted to have a lot of soil erosion, do you think that is the case here or is it not that bad?*

P: Here, yeah, there is a lot of soil erosion here. Being a hilly area and if you have moved around you have seen the water in one of the...it's not a river, it's a stream, you see the water is carrying a lot of soil. So even when you go to the hilly areas, there is a lot of grass, so soil erosion is... actually I can say it's increasing other than reducing. It's increasing at an increasing rate, when you move around, because the people, as we say before you talked about the people who would be like terracing these people are very energetic, now the youth are attending more education, they are going for blue- and white-collar jobs in cities and what not. And the land is becoming more under-productive, so the care for the land is reducing, therefor soil erosion is taking a toll. It's a serious issue here.

[Key informant interview 6, 14-01-2020]

Moreover, during the interviews, people used sayings like '*the soil is expired*' (Semi-structured interview 39, 16-02-2020), *'the land has dust, it's no longer fertile'* (Semi-structured interview 1, 11-12-2019), *'soil is now exhausted'* (Key informant interview 4, 07-01-2020) and *'the soil is now ancient'* (Key informant interview 16, 16-02-2020).

However, many of the key informants also stated that in this state, soil erosion is still manageable or even reversible, through the use of correct soil conservation practices, such as terracing, crop rotation, forestation and the use of organic manure (Key informant interview 6, 14-01-2020; Key informant interview 9, 16-01-2020). Implementing these practices, however, is difficult as farmers throughout the Kigezi sub-region stick to traditional and costless farming practices (Key informant interview 9, 16-01-2020).

According to the majority of the key informants, the severe soil erosion in the Kigezi sub-region is mainly human-induced. Besides soil erosion caused by natural factors, like high rainfall, which is also becoming an increasingly bigger threat due to the effects of climate change, human practices such as the plantation of eucalyptus trees, the clearing of vegetation for charcoal burning and the over cultivation of the land play a major role in soil erosion in the Kigezi sub-region (Key informant interview 7, 14-01-2020). As long as Kigezi farmers stick to their traditional farming methods, soil conditions are not likely to improve any time soon. As a result of the severe soil erosion, crops do not always grow well, making it harder for farmers in the Kigezi sub-region to maintain their traditional farming lifestyle. One key informant put it like this:

I: *Do you think the land used to be more fertile than it is right now?*

P: Yes. We have some crops that we used to grow, our traditional crops, but now they are no more, you can't grow them, the soil can't really accommodate them. For example peas, we are good at peas, now peas are no more. We were good at Irish potatoes, but now Irish potatoes are no more.

[Semi-structured interview 27, 21-01-2020]

He further stated:

I: *Do you think it's becoming more difficult for them to stay, is it more difficult for them to be farmers?*

P: More difficult, more difficult and we are still using traditional methods, so it makes it very difficult, because this soil, soil erosion needs to be controlled. People don't usually control soil erosion. They have the tendency of burning these hills. So when you set fire and then everything is burned, when it rains, it now sweeps every soil, everything that is on top to the valley. But at the end of the day, farming is very difficult because soil erosion has now taken place, so you can't get what you can’t plant.

[Semi-structured interview 27, 21-01-2020]

In this way, soil erosion contributes to the limited availability of fertile land and also to the growing unattractiveness of farming among youth, which is one of the key drivers for migration (see chapter 7).

The last explanatory factor, mentioned by the key informants, for limited access to land is overpopulation. Kabale district and Rukiga district are among the most densely populated districts of Uganda. Moreover, due to the hilly terrain of the area, people are congested in the valleys. Because of this high population pressure, there is also a growing pressure on the land; more mouths to feed, this means that more crops need to be grown on small pieces of land. Also, as mentioned in chapter 5, among the Bakiga, land is usually divided among the children. Now that the population is increasing and parents generally have more children to divide the land over and now that girls also need to get a share (see paragraph 6.5), parents often do not have enough land to give all their children a fair share. One youth, 27 years old, who is a Boda-Boda driver and who had remained in the village where he was born, explained:

I: *You did not get any land from your family?*

P: No.

I: *Will you later at one point inherit some land? Or is there no land?*

P: So, the family's land may not be enough, because there are five members in the family, five children, so the parents had like five plots, so you can't depend on the parents land, because it may not be enough to distribute to the children.

[Semi-structured interview 31, 25-01-2020]

Another respondent explained:

P: Yeah, land in Kabale and the Kigezi sub-region in general, saying the landholding is very small per individual, simple because it's a cultural issue, as I said, it's means of survival, for example if you have a man, I'm not saying it's your man, you produce four-five children, you have one acre of land, if they are boys they are going to share that land. You have one acre, now it's going to be divided into five pieces. Then each one, if they produce... so it has been fragmented simple because it's inherited. It's a cultural issue. If your father, to know that he is your father, he has to give you some land. Of course number two it's because the fragments are getting smaller and smaller simply because of the increasing population.

[Key informant interview 6, 14-01-2020]

One other key informant also referred to people's limited access to land due to overpopulation. He explained how some families produce too many children, without having land, resulting in them not being able to divide the land over their children:

P: Land has never increased, it's just static, just like this table. So of course, as we multiply, you know, in our culture, you know if I'm a family father, I tend to give, when I have children, especially boys, I have to give them some land they will take all my land. So maybe like before, there were, I think, resettlement of the Bakiga and you were taken to some other part of the country like Bunyoro site, because we did not have enough land so people are forced to do what? To move. But I think, of course, when you go to statistics again now, the fertility rate is also high. So Bakiga may actually tend to have a lot of children. You find a family, actually, when you go to the village, you find a small family without land, but they have like five, six, so many kids. And I think it's also maybe the reason why some people have to move, especially the youth. To move like to Kabale to get maybe, to earn a living and maybe buy land elsewhere, because they cannot easily buy land from their village.

[Key informant interview 13, 05-02-2020]

What is especially interesting about the fragment above is that the key informant makes the connection between limited access to land and rural-urban migration, which connection is further discussed the following paragraph.

7.5 Consequences of having limited access to land

The consequences of the land issue of having limited access to land, that were discussed by the respondents, can be classified into four categories; food insecurity, poverty, the unattractiveness of farming and migration. These four categories are highly interlinked and must be considered together. Food insecurity is maybe the most logical consequence of having limited access to land. When a family can't access enough land to grow a diverse range of crops, they end up not having access to sufficient and nutritious food. One of the key informants put it like this:

P: You find a family bought a piece of land, uh, maybe 200 feet by 200 and that is where they want to get all the nutrients. Food in the market here is very expansive, so you find they have planted sweet potatoes, okay potatoes, you know potatoes? In that small piece of land and they don't have any other source of money apart from those sweet potatoes, so they will sell and get tiny money and go buy little beans. So you find from January to December they are feeding on those sweet potatoes and the little bought beans. So there is no balance there at all. So for me, in Kigezi, I blame the malnutrition of children on lack of land. If somebody had vast land then they can plant different crops, then they could get a balance there, but they have limited land so they opt to plant the main crop, which actually they can take for a longer time, yes.

[Key informant interview 11, 23-01-2020]

Likewise, some of the respondents blamed the limited access to land for the poverty in Rukiga district. Farming is often seen as a profitable business, so having little access to land means that it's harder to make a profit from farming, as you can only make a profit from farming if you sell the surplus and you can only grow surplus food if you have enough land to grow it on. For youth with limited or no access to land, the agricultural lifestyle becomes difficult to maintain, simply because they do not have enough land to dig on:

I: *Do you think they see no future in farming or they have another reason not to be involved in farming?*

P: Unfortunately they have been farming, but some of them don't have land, so the future of farming is unpredictable, because mostly they don't have land, they are just there, yeah.

[Key informant interview 19, 19-02-2020]

Besides limited access to fertile and vast portions of land, there are other reasons why many youths find farming unattractive and are moving away from an agricultural lifestyle and therefore also from the village. These reasons are highly connected to drivers for migration and will therefore be explained later in this chapter.

According to some of the respondents, limited access to land can also directly lead to rural-urban migration among youth:

P: Our land is not enough, so the youths have to move to town for casual work, others... if another one gets a chance, they will stay there, then others will come back. Some have moved out of the land being scarce.

[Focus group discussion, 10-12-2019]

P: […]. So now each person is limited, he can't do much, because the land, you are not supposed to go to the other boundary, you are not supposed to plant something, so you find that there is limiting space for agriculture. So that's one of the reasons here you find there is no much food and that's why people be struggling, they will leave the rural place, they will come to town at least to search for jobs so that they can get money and possibly be able to have welfare, to eat. Because already in those villages where you should be having plenty of land and food coming from, it's short. So what they will do is to think of, 'Let me run to town, if I get a job, at least I can go to the market and buy food and I survive and start my life there, start my family there, because here in the village there is nothing to do'. […]

[Key informant interview 15, 07-02-2020]

Rural-urban migration among youths in the Kigezi sub-region can also be a strategy to gain more access to land, which is the central topic of chapter 8.

7.6 Land tenure security issues

Besides the limited access to land in the Kigezi sub-region, there are two other main issues around land worth mentioning: land ownership issues and encroachment issues. As both issues regard the protection of rights over land, they both fall under land tenure security issues.

Land ownership issues

As became clear in the previous chapter, many of the research participants were allowed to use their parents' land for agriculture, which means that they have user rights over land rather than ownership rights. This means that the father is the one who decides what the land is used for. Also, not officially owning land means that it can't be sold nor titled. This brings forward a number of issues. To illustrate, one of the key informants explained: '*Even they fear to develop the land, maybe if you can't use it for production, for food production, can someone put a piggery there? And then within four, five years, it's very productive and you have been using it for piggery and you have been selling and all that, but it's not yours. If your father says 'I don't want pigs there', you can't put the pigs.*' (Key informant interview 8, 15-01-2020). Moreover, culturally one needs to respect the parent's wishes over the land. The consequences of that are explained in the elaborate interview fragment below:

P: […] You have no right to use it [the land] for any other alternative and that has implications. One, you can't go to the bank and borrow money and use it. It's not yours, because you don't have an agreement, you don't have a land title for it and you may never look for a land title for it because the procedure of getting a land title, you must have an agreement that the piece of land belongs to you, but it doesn't belong to you. Two, the tenants can still dictate on what you are going to use it for. They can even give instructions that you don't put there any perennial crop, 'don't plant trees please', 'don't plant bananas please!, 'just grow annual crops'. They can even plant beans and you must behave properly, that is not the right term, because even if you are behaving properly in front of other people in fact it's your right, but you must act, behave, in favour of what your parents want, not that you are misbehaving, but you are good, you are what, you must wash yourself, you must suffer, so I'm telling you, you must make sure you dance the tune of the parents to make sure that that piece of land will remain, so sometimes, now that the youth are educated, they know their rights, sometimes it becomes very hard to dance with the tune of the parents, you say I better rush to the town and see what I can get, see how I can survive, so they rush to town.

[Key informant interview 8, 15-01-2020]

Thus, the main issues with using parent's land are not being able to sell it, not being able to get a land title for it, having the possibility of losing access to the land and not being able to use the land in whatever way you want.

Encroachment of land

When it comes to encroachment of land, data on this issue were rather contradictory. According to one of the key informants, encroachment rarely happens in the Kigezi sub-region:

P: But here, because of the nature of the land, you have your garden there maybe on a weekly basis you are going there to see your garden. So very few people can encroach on your land. The demarcations are clear. Yeah they could be there, but I can say at the lowest level, land conflicts here are at their lowest. Simply because the land is very small and people know their land very well, they are using it."

[Key informant interview 6, 14-01-2020]

Another respondent confirmed this:

I: *How about people encroaching on other people's land? Does that happen often?*

P: Those issues are there but they are minimal. Because people have little pieces they know their demarcations. You can imagine you have only two, you really know 'I stop here, I start from here, I end from here'

[Key informant interview 14, 05-02-2020]

Other respondents, on the contrary, expressed the severity of land encroachments or gave an example of how their neighbours had encroached on their land: *'There is no fallowing of land. Even if we want to leave it to fallow, your neighbours will eat up your land, will still use your land, slowly slowly, especially when you are not there'* (Key informant interview 7, 14-01-2020). He further explained: *'The neighbours are doing cultivation, they will eventually keep on squeezing, shifting boundary demarcations and eventually you'll find your land is becoming smaller and smaller. That's why I normally go to the village, to look at my small pieces of land. How about the boundary demarcations, is this still the former location?* (Key informant interview 7, 14-01-2020). One other key informant stated:

P: So the land wrangles, the land cases are all over. Especially like here in Kabale, they will tell you that the land, even an inch, an inch of a piece of the land entering into another one's land, somebody will kill you, yeah somebody will kill you, yes, for a little encroachment on a land like this, you can die, somebody would kill you yes.

[Key informant interview 15, 07-02-2020]

In the questionnaire, 3 respondents wrote down their personal experience with encroachment:

1. "After grandfather died the neighbour of the land encroached on the land by destroying a permanent terrace that had existed for a long time."
2. "The person that had sold my father some portion of land was trying to encroach on ours by failing to stop on his own boundary, but when they revised the agreement, they created when selling, they found he was guilty by forgetting what the makers had recorded in the agreement."
3. "One of the people who have the land neighbouring ours, one time tempted to cultivate past the boundary, encroaching our land. And for him given accuses that he cultivated his land only. But local council members solved it and we regained our part of land"

[Questionnaire]

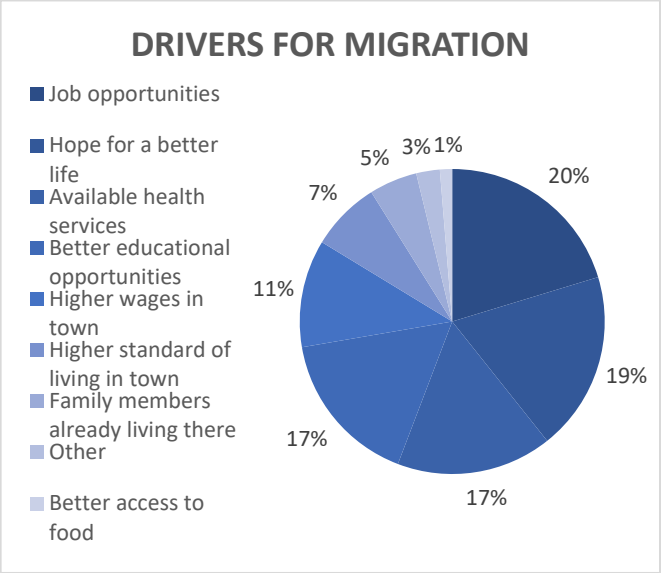
7.7 Main drivers for rural-urban migration – migrant's perspective

The chapter now turns to the main drivers for rural-urban migration among youths and will first consider the reasons for migration provided by migrants themselves.

Data obtained through the questionnaire, that was filled out by 20 migrants, who had migrated from Kashambya sub-county to Kabale town, showed that the main factors for rural-urban migration among youth are related to job opportunities (see fig. 18). The quality and availability of health and education services are also major drivers for rural-urban migration. Another factor for migration that was given, apart from the structured list of options, was the viable business environment in the urban setting, unlike in the rural setting. In the section below it is shown that the qualitative data on the drivers for migration show relatively factors for migration. However, unlike the quantitative data from the questionnaire, which considers only a short list of possible factors for migration and which considers each factor separately, the qualitative data give a wider arrange of drivers for migration and create the possibility to explore the linkages between these different factors.

Figure 18

Overview of drivers for migration according to quantitative data



Note. Overview of different drivers for migration given by respondents (a total of 20 respondents, 10 male and 10 female) through the questionnaire. The percentages are based on the total number of responses.

To compare, the responses on main drivers for migration, provided by 20 migrants from different villages in Kashambya sub-county, who now live in Kabale town, during the semi-structured interviews, were categorised and are presented in the figure below (see fig. 19). It is important to note that these respondents are not the same as those who participated in the questionnaire. Also, unlike the quantitative data, the drivers for migration are presented in a word cloud, rather than a pie chart, in order to avoid 'comparing apples and oranges'. The categories of drivers for migration that were mentioned in multiple interviews are depicted in a larger size than those that were mentioned less often. For example, the availability of job opportunities in town was mentioned in 10 out of 20 semi-structured interviews and is therefore the largest in size.

The qualitative data on drivers for migration (see fig. 19) confirm that the availability of job opportunities plays a major role in migration decisions. In contrast with the quantitative data, when it comes to the factors for migration, issues around land, in accordance with the land tenure issues described earlier in this chapter, are considered as the main drivers for migration (see fig 19), rather than job opportunities (see fig. 18).

When considering the linkage between the issues around land, the unattractiveness of farming and lack of job opportunities in the village, it becomes clear that these three drivers for migration are actually about the same thing: youth not being able to be farmers for a living. Simply put, maintaining a farming lifestyle has become so challenging, due to issues around land and other factors, such as more youth being educated and searching for a job for which they have studied, that the youth are moving towards town to find a job, make a living and survive. To illustrate, one of the migrants said: '*I'm here because after my studies I had to get a job where to survive from. So in the village, I could not get a job there unless if I go and started digging*' (Semi-structured interview 32, 27-1-2020). The following interview section reiterates this:

I: *Is it normal to leave, when you are young and you are in Kashambya?*

P: Yeah many people are leaving…many young people leave of course and there are no opportunities there. Farming is challenging. You can't find a job…a good job there. So you have to leave and come to town to look for something.

[Semi-structured interview 1, 11-12-2019]

Figure 19

Overview of drivers for migration according to qualitative data

Note. World cloud showing the main drivers of migration based on the responses (N=20, 10 male and 10 female) collected through the semi-structured interviews.

During the semi-structured interviews, the migrants often gave a multitude of different, interrelated factors for migration. To show, the following interview fragment gives a variety of drivers for migration:

P: When you think of the income, when you are having something to sell, markets are available. When you are having your money, at least, keeping it in a safe manner is easier. In the village when you think of medical care, our place is hidden, roads are poor, the nearest hospital is in Rukungiri district, it's far, so here at least we need to be near health services. Then, thirdly, we don't have land, our land is fragmented, one piece is here, another piece is in a kilometre, eh, you see and they're not fertile, you need to be having animals to give you manure, our natural manure, the local one, so that when you plant something you get some good yields. So such reasons forced us to come to this end and we want our children to get better education, they can't manage the way where we studied, they cannot and with the modernity, we can't take our children to the village. So that's why we are keeping around, struggling here and there, life is tough, but we continue with it, struggling, struggling.

[Semi-structured interview 27, 21-02-2020]

Besides considering a wide range of drivers for migration, it’s also important to consider the situation the migrants were in, while making the decision to migrate. There are all sorts of factors that may have influenced a migrant’s decision to migrate, such as a migrant’s social-economic background, peer-influence or political circumstances. As will be shown in the next chapter, migration patterns found in the study area are highly affected by peer-pressure. The next chapter will also deal with the migrant’s ability to migrate, as not everyone is in the position to make the decision to migrate.

Since it would be impossible to give a background analysis of every single migrant, the case below shows the story of Jacob, giving a detailed description of his background situation and how he experienced migrating from a village in Kashambya sub-county to Kabale town.

Box 2

A migrant's background situation

Jacob[1] was born in Muhanga village, in Kashambya sub-county. After finishing primary four in the village, he shifted to Kabale town to continue his education from town. Together with two other boys, who were his friends and who were also badly off, he moved from Muhanga village to Kabale town on foot. At the time he was only 14 years old. The reason why he shifted to town was because the educational services in the village were limited and because his father no longer could pay for his school fees. As Jacob stated: "*I had to make sure I come to town where I can survive and still get education*". He also said: "*There are many miles to come from Kashambya to Kabale town here, but I knew what I wanted, so I had to move, I had to move from there and people said 'aha you see the child of this man is going to be a hooligan, he is going to be a nuisance', I said 'when I reach in town I will know what I need*"'.

Before moving to town, Jacob lived with his father in the village, together with one sister and four brothers. His mother had died shortly after he was born and his father had not enough money nor time to care for his six children. Also, the little money he did have was spent on alcohol or on pork, instead of on school fees. Jacob did not explain what had happened to his mother. He did however explain that he was affected by domestic violence himself and gave the following example of domestic violence in the village: '*The father has killed the mother when they are fighting*'. Jacob explained: "Domestic violence, poverty, lack of school fees and orphanage, those are the things that affected my life much and I had to shift from there, because I had to make sure that I survived in town, other than in the village". He further explained that in the village, they don't see the importance of educating a child, especially young girls, and rather force them to get married at a young age, which according to him is also a key driver for migration: *'Imagine you are at the age of 15 and they are telling you to get married, they did not support you even in education, the little you are getting, ah, they are saying 'now get a man, go and marry, here are cows', then you find you are forced to move to town where at least you can get some relief and in the village there, the future there, people are still sleeping and to awake them is just by the matter of going to town, you see some light, the little light you get from town, you put it in the village, they get light like you. Meaning what? Meaning that you will shine before them, they will say 'aha, it's good to educate a child, because a child like Jacob has grown resourceful'.*

After reaching Kabale town, Jacob nearly ended up on the streets. He had no relatives or friends in town with whom he could stay. Also, he had to pay for his own school fees. During the day he would go to school and in the evening, he would work up to morning, either selling sodas in buses or cleaning the school, in order to pay for his school fees:

I: *You told me you became an orphan when you were a child. Did you stay at an orphanage home?*

P: No. I could stay at school or stay in the bus at night until morning.

I: *In the bus?*

P: Either in the bus selling, you get different products, then when a bus passes you carry your things and enter the bus, you start selling until morning. Then when it's during the holidays I go to school, I tell the head teacher to please help me and I work for school fees for next term, then stay in school when others have gone. But when schooling is not, when it's not in holidays then I could not go to such a kind of place.

When asking Jacob if he had any time to sleep at all, he answered: "Up to now I don't have time to sleep". Also, he mentioned that once the things he would be selling in the bus were stolen, which meant that he could not go to school for two or three days.

Currently, Jacob is 35 years old and managed to study up to university. He is a volunteer at the Uganda Red Cross Society in Kabale and still involved in farming in Kashambya sub-county. Up to now, he has been unable to find employment. Still, he tries to transform communities in villages all over Rukiga district. He explained: "*I'm not saying that I'm a good person or in a good situation, I'm in a terrible situation, but at least I saw light of education".* Therefore he has committed himself to stop gender-based violence and the harassment of children in villages. It is his aim to change the future of children in the village, by disseminating the importance of education to the people in the villages. Jacob accentuated that "*we don't need to be strict on rural-urban migration, we need to sit back"* and that we must rather consider the situation that those who are leaving are in.

Note. This story is based on semi-structured interview 33, 27-01-2020. [1] Jacob is not his actual name, but rather serves as a pseudonym for confidentiality reasons.

As can be seen in Box 1, Jacob's decision to migrate was influenced by a number of factors, such as poverty, domestic violence and not being able to get good quality education in the village. However, there are also a number of things that influenced his decision to migrate, that can be read between the lines. For example, Jacob was moving together with two other boys, who may have convinced him to go. Also, if his family would have had a higher socio-economic position, maybe he wouldn't have experienced the factors that forced him to move out. Lastly, Jacob knew that he would be able to get education and survival in town; when he says 'I knew what I wanted', he must have gotten that idea from someone else. All these factors combined contributed to Jacob making the decision to move away from the village at a very young age. Most of the migrants, that participated in this research, were a bit older when they migrated (see Table 9).

7.8 Main drivers for rural-urban migration – key informants' perspective

In this next section, the key drivers for rural-urban migration among youth are discussed again, but now from a key informant's perspective. Interestingly, the majority of the key informants expressed that in their view youths are migrating from villages to town mainly for economic reasons. To illustrate, one of the key informants mentioned: *"*I advise them *'why do you want to move?',* they will always say *'economic problems, financial problems',* they want to have something else somewhere else" (Key informant interview 3, 22-12-2019). He also made the bold statement: "*All the moves are brought up by economic reasons*" (Key informant interview 3, 22-12-2019). The other key informants shared a more nuanced opinion on the matter and mentioned multiple driving factors for rural-urban migration among youth. Still, many of these factors were related to economic affairs; the lack of sources of income in the village / the absence of money in the village were drivers for migration according to five key informants.

On top of that, seven key informants pointed out that many of the youth moved away from the villages to town due to the available business opportunities in town. They referred to the lack of customers in the village and the inability to get a market for a product or service. To illustrate, one key informant stated:

P: A majority of the youths now employ themselves in Boda-Boda riding and if you look at where they can get customers, it has to be in town, since there are more trading centres, because if they remain just in the village, you might find that he can't manage to get only two people to transport within the day, so you find in the morning they transport people to town and then they continue making their short-distance transport within the towns.

[…]

P: Look at the young girls, the female youth, it's in town where they can get these petty trading jobs and where they can get customers. You find in the villages most people consume the food they get from the gardens and they use the firewood. So you can't be in the village, trading charcoal. You can't compete to these people who have these shops and they are selling in salt and this bread or rice. So and the young people don't have the capital to start such a reasonable shop and compete with the people that are already existing. So they come to town, you find they become hawkers, they hawk even the fresh food, they are walking with vegetables, these tomatoes... and as they are passing to people who are busy working, they sell to them.

[Key informant interview 8, 15-01-2020]

Next to the economy-related drivers for migration, seven other main drivers for migration were given, which correspond with the drivers for migration given by the migrants in the previous section:

- Factors for migration:
    - Not having access to enough land in the village.
    - Unattractiveness of farming among youths.
    - Following parent's advice.
    - To escape from the village.
    - Job opportunities in town.
    - Better educational services.
    - To access services and facilities.

When it comes to the explanation of these factors, the key informants gave more elaborate answers than the migrants and made more connections between different factors. To show, a number of interview fragments are presented below, covering the different factors in the same manner as in the list above.

The following interview fragment, illustrates how ‘not having access to enough land in the village’ can be a driver for migration:

P: People who move out from villages to towns have various and different reasons okay? For example, people who move away, because I’ve heard of very many people moving away from Rukiga to other places, because of land shortage. If someone has a very big family and he needs more land to use to cater for his family and he has no enough land, so what people have been doing is to sell that little land that they have at what I can call a higher price, then they go to other places [...].

[Key informant interview 4, 07-01-2020]

In addition, many key informants mentioned ‘the unattractiveness of farming among youths’ as a factor for migration. To provide an example:

P: Because you see what pushes young people most of them from villages to towns is that, what is largely here in the village is farming and farming is not productive and it is dirty, that is what people have taken it to be. So they rush to town to do, to be, uh.. accountant somewhere, to be waiters and waitresses, be mobile money attendants and they are getting meagre resources.

[Key informant interview 11, 23-01-2020]

Another factor that drives rural-urban migration among youths, mentioned by the key informants is their parent’s advice. To illustrate:

P: If he has a parent, the parent is struggling to provide, even the parent will advise the son or the daughter 'You see here? Even here the land we have is not enough for us, what do you think about?', even the parent will put in the effort to make sure the son and the daughter get some jobs somewhere. So even if that person from within them they will see it.

[Key informant interview 6, 14-01-2020]

Another driver for migration, mentioned by the key informants, is the desire ‘to escape from the village’, as elaborately explained in the following interview fragment:

P: Many others may move because of hatred. In a family, family members they may develop an enmity or a member may develop an enmity with a clan, another clan. So when there is an enmity growing and developing from time to time, you may suspect at one time you may be given a problem or you may get a problem. So in order to avoid such a wrong enmity you are forced to move away, so that you are at peace. Because when you have enemies around you, you may not be stable, you will keep suspecting at any time a problem may come. Therefore, you plan to move to a place where you may not experience many enemies around you. So somehow in our village, that's how people move away.

[Key informant interview 7, 14-01-2020]

Besides the factors for migration, mentioned above, three more main drivers for migration were identified by the key informants. One of them is the availability of job opportunities in town:

P: I think the town actually offers more employment opportunities than this site. Because in the villages the employment that is there, you have to be a good digger, you have to dig, so if you can't do that basically you turn to look for something around towns.

[Key informant interview 13, 05-02-2020]

Better educational services in town, is another factor:

P: People move away from villages, for example students, students you know when they have for example completed primary education and secondary education from villages and they want to go for tertiary institutions like universities and colleges they normally go to towns, because that’s where universities are located. You don’t have any university in Rukiga, you don’t have any college in Rukiga, so these students they move away from villages, go to town to look for education.

[Key informant interview 4, 07-01-2020]

The last driver for rural-urban migration among youths, as identified by the key informants, is the opportunity in town to access services and facilities:

P: If you have your money, and you sell your land, you will be forced to move where you will get improved social services: improved roads, clean water, hospitals, power.

[Key informant interview 7, 14-01-2020]

7.9 Conclusion

To conclude, land tenure issues can be considered as major drivers for rural-urban migration among youth in the study area, both directly and indirectly. Although at first, the ways in which land tenure issues influence a migrant's decision to move, both directly and indirectly, are not that obvious, when taking a closer look, one can that land tenure issues and rural-urban migration are highly connected to each other. In some cases, such as when there are conflicts around land, these conflicts may directly drive youths away from the village. In other cases, land tenure issues are impeding rural youths to maintain their traditional lifestyle. Farming is either no longer possible, because they have no access to land or farming is not profitable to the lack of access to large portions of arable land. In many cases youth have no alternative but to look for other livelihood strategies outside the village. This has little to do with youth no longer enjoying agriculture. During many of the interviews, the youth migrants told me that if the village would develop and if they could find the some opportunities in the village, as in town (education, health and employment wise), they would like to return to the village and also uptake agriculture again. The chapter also showed that land tenure issues are not the only major drivers for rural-urban migration. Various major factors, such as the lack of educational and health services in the village and the business opportunities in town, contribute to rural-urban migration among youths. Still, one cannot deny the central role of land tenure related issues.

Chapter 8.

Migration as a strategy to gain access to land

8.1 Introduction

To further explore the relationship between land tenure and rural-urban migration among youth in the study area, this chapter considers migration as a livelihood strategy to gain access to land. The chapter deals with both sides of the coin: how access to land is required for rural-urban migration and how rural-urban migration is required for gaining or expanding access to land. In accordance with the theoretical framework, an analysis is made of how land, as an important livelihood asset, enables youths to adopt rural-urban migration practices, as a livelihood strategy to achieve different livelihood outcomes. Accordingly, one livelihood outcome that can be achieved is youth gaining access to more land, which allows them to maintain their traditional lifestyles. The chapter starts off by sketching a picture of the migration patterns in the study area. It then gives an overview of migrants' characteristics, abilities and assets, to show that not everyone in the study area has the possibility to adopt migration as a viable livelihood strategy. Afterwards, the way in which migrants maintain a rural-urban linkage is discussed as well as the consequences of migration for the migrants themselves and the people around them. Lastly, examples are provided from the semi-structured interviews in which migrants explain how they used migration as a strategy to gain access to land.

8.2 Migration patterns

In this part of the chapter, data on migration patterns found in the study area are presented. These data, however, were somewhat difficult to obtain, since there were little to no statistical data available on migration flows from villages in Kashambya sub-county to Kabale town. In town, they simply do not keep track of who moves in and who moves out of town. Every couple of years they roughly estimate the population number, but they do not keep a statistical account of who moves in and who moves out of town. In the village, the village chairman usually knows how many people have moved in or out of the village. This information is, however, confidential and could therefore not be obtained. Instead of giving specific numbers of migrants from Kashambya sub-county to Kabale town, this section shows the main migration destinations and gives an idea of the scope of migration patterns in the study area.

Continuous migration

During the semi-structured interviews it became clear that migration is a common practice in the Kigezi sub-region. One of the participants mentioned:

P: Actually the Bakiga tribe is the only tribe that has people scattered all over Uganda. Other tribes stayed here, but the Bakiga could not be contained here and have moved to other parts of the country.

[Key informant interview 15, 07-2-2020]

Another participant expressed a similar view:

P: That's why the majority of our people, our friends have migrated to other parts of Uganda. Especially the westerners, the majority of our people have migrated, the Bakiga. In very many districts of western Uganda you will find very many Bakiga. We may have a district like Kyenjojo, it may have more Bakiga than who are living in Kabale district. Because half of Kyenjojo district is composed of Bakiga and it was because of limited land in the Kigezi region, including our Kashambya sub-county, even where I am born, Rwakanyonyozi village, Buchundura parish.

[Key informant interview 7, 14-1-2020]

Also, instead of moving from the village to town on one single occasion, the trend that can be found in the study area is of migrants being involved in multiple migratory practices; either from a village to town, from a village to another village, from town to another town or from town back to the village. The interview fragment below shows the normality of migrating among youth in the village and gives an example of 'continuous' migration patterns, rather than a single rural-urban movement:

I: *Has he always lived here?*

INT: This one, is not specifically staying here, so he has made a move from Kabale to Kampala, Mbale and the rest. So he is a business man, he moves to Kampala, starts a business, he shops and then he goes to Mbale, he goes to the other districts, so he is not specifically staying here, meaning he is moving and up to now he is still moving.

I: *And now he is staying in the village?*

INT: Currently he is here, but of course planning to move.

I: *For how long has he been here? For a couple of months?*

INT: Most of the times, he only comes this side, he is here for a month and when the worst becomes the worst he is here for three months, but most of the time he is moving.

[Semi-structured interview 25, 18-1-2020]

Data from the semi-structured interviews show that the main destination for rural-urban migration among rural youth in the Kigezi sub-region is Kampala. Other main destinations included: Mbarara, Bunyoro, Rukungiri, Ibanda, Kyenjojo, Mbale and Kasese (see fig. 20).

Figure 20

Main migration destinations in Uganda out-migration of the Kigezi sub-region

Note. Migration destinations according to the semi-structured interviews. The thickness of the arrows represents the number of times these destinations were mentioned. Migratory flows to Rwanda and Congo are not common and are therefore not presented in the figure.

Still, it became clear that for most youths, the movement from villages in Rukiga to Kabale town, is a precedent for their move to another part of Uganda. One of the key informants put it like this:

P: Of course there are so many younger people who are coming from the villages, from all of the surrounding villages, they are coming here and that is not only to Kabale, actually it's a whole system; because those from Kabale are going to Kampala, those from the villages are coming to Kabale, you know you get the point. The people keep going to the major cities like Kampala, but the ones also who are from those deeper places come here.

[Key informant interview 15, 07-2-2020]

Can Kabale town be considered as a 'way station' then, before one can actually move to another part of the country? Maybe for some youth that's the case, but one must also consider that for many youths it's important to stay close to the village and in Kabale town they are still relatively close. This rural-urban linkage is further explained later in this chapter (see paragraph 8.5)

To give an idea of the scope of the movement of youth from villages in Rukiga district to Kabale town, the table below shows a number of interview fragments that express the high prevalence of this particular movement. Moreover, the big numbers of youth involved in rural-urban migration from Rukiga district to Kabale town are also confirmed by the relative effortless way in which a total of 40 migrants from Rukiga district were found in Kabale town. Most of them stay in touch with relatives and friends from their village of origin, especially if they also migrate to Kabale town. Some of them keep in touch through WhatsApp or Facebook, but phone calls are more common, as not everyone owns a smartphone.

Table 8

Interview fragments showing the scope of rural-urban migration in the Kigezi sub-region

Interview fragment		**Interview**	**Date**
P:	Yeah many people are leaving…many young people leave of course and there are no opportunities there […].	Semi-structured interview 1	11-12-2019
P:	[…], but there is a big move, especially of the youth moving from rural areas to towns. […]	Key informant interview 6	14-1-2020
INT2:	They are saying the majority of the youth have gone to town.	Focus group discussion 1	10-12-2019
I:	*The majority? And they also live there or do they go for work and come back?*		
INT2:	Some do come back, some stay there, that is why you don't see many youth around.		
I:	*Do you think many young people are leaving the village?*	Semi-structured interview 27	21-1-2020
P:	Yes, yes yes yes. That's why you are seeing there are many when you try to see in town now, you see there are many, but not employed, they leave the village without a program. Why? They are not educated. […]		

I:	*If you look at rural-urban migration do you see it happening a lot or not really?*	Key informant interview 11	23-1-2020
P:	It happens a lot, so much a lot, especially here that you are. [...]		
I:	*Do you know many others who have left the village?*	Semi-structured interview 21	13-01-2020
P:	Yeah, there are very many, very many. Actually most people, when they study, they tend to leave the village and even some people are leaving [inaudible] for trade, to join businesses, so they are very many, I can tell you.		
P:	[…], for the two years I've spent, I have seen more than 200 people migrating from this place.	Key informant interview 17	16-02-2020
[We greeted someone who entered the room]			
I:	*Over 200 people?*		
P:	No not 200, like 20 people, because in the years apart, when you reach there, there are like five who have migrated within in these two years, then there is also few people, they can reach like 10, 20. But however much some migrate others also come in. So not all those who come in, they can bear the conditions around, but people are migrating seriously.		

When it comes to the main villages from which migrants migrated to Kabale town, the chairman of Kabale town explained:

I: *Do you know from which places most migrants come from? Is there like a specific sub-county?*

P: Well...uh... we believe all these sub-counties are affected, uh.. but mostly the subcounties that neighbour the municipality, that is Kyanamira sub-county, Kitumba sub-county, eh.. all these, even Kamuganguzi sub-county, where our people find it easy to.., because they are always in touch with the town setting. Yeah, so, those the most.. I believe that are affected.

[Key informant interview 12, 28-01-2020]

8.3 Migrant characteristics

This section discusses the characteristics of the 20 migrants who participated in the questionnaire and briefly also those of the 20 other migrants who participated in the semi-structured interviews.

The main characteristics of the migrants who participated in the questionnaire are presented in Appendix B. Nearly all questionnaire participants are between the ages of 20 and 35 years old. One of the participants was between 30 and 40 years old. Also, the 20 participants migrated to Kabale town from 18 different villages in Kashambya sub-county, Rukiga district. Four participants came from the same two villages: Kyamazina village and Nyamugaza village. Most of the participants were born in Buchundura parish (50%), but all parishes are represented by at least one participant. On average, the migrants are living in Kabale town for 7,4 years, with a minimum

of 1 year and a maximum of 26 years. The age on which they migrated to town is shown in the table below (see table 9). The table shows how the majority of the youths were between the ages of 15 and 20 years old when they migrated to Kabale town.

Table 9.

Migration age category

	Questionnaire Percentage (*n*=20)	
Age category	*n*	*(%)*
<9 years old	2	10
10-15 years old	1	5
15-20 years old	8	40
20-25 years old	3	15
25-30 years old	6	30

Note. The data presented in this table was collected with the questionnaire.

Livelihood characteristics

Among these 20 migrants, 20% mentioned farming is their main type of employment, so their main way of earning a living. Other jobs included:

- Retail shop owner
- Accountant
- Secretary
- Teacher
- Casual worker
- Artist
- School bursar
- Carpenter
- Tourism officer
- Agricultural extension worker

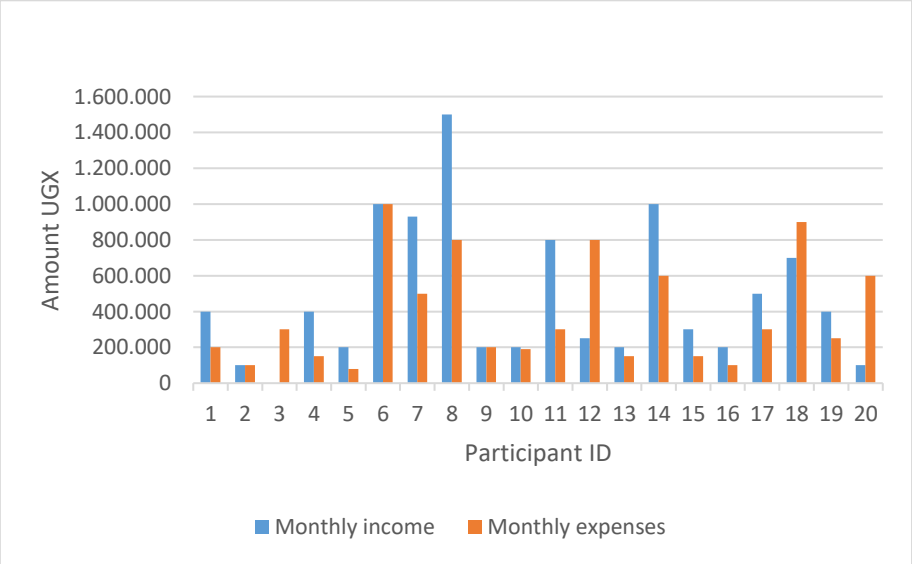
On top of that, 75% of the participants mentioned they were involved in other income generating activities, nearly half of them (45%) mentioned farming as other income generating activities. Other activities that were mentioned were:

- Value addition on honey through buying it from bee keepers and extracting honey
- Cattle rearing
- Business
- ICT work
- Poultry keeping
- Photo studio
- Taxi driver

The average monthly income among the participants was 493.684,21 UGX, which is around €113,-. For most of the participants, this amount was enough to cover their monthly expenses (see fig. 21).

Figure 21

Overview of the average monthly budget among youth migrants



Note. Overview of the migrants' monthly budgets, comparing their estimated monthly income with their estimated monthly expanses.

The main expenses mainly included paying rent, transport and electricity (see Appendix F). Other expenses that were mentioned are buying airtime, soap, jelly, sanitary towels and hiring workers. Other characteristics related to migrants' livelihoods are their household assets, their main challenges, types of support and coping strategies (see Appendix F). When it comes to household assets, owning a smartphone, livestock, a house and a motorcycle were most common, whereas owning a car or bicycle were less common. Also, 95% of the participants had a bank account or someone within their household with a bank account. The main challenges that the migrants faced together with their households were mainly the lack of job opportunities and the inability to cover the households' basic needs.

Characteristics of the migrants who participated in the semi-structured interviews are less obvious and harder to compare. During every interview, however, the participant's age, age of migration and place of birth were asked. These characteristics are presented in the table below. The table shows that the average age of migration, among the migrants who participated in the semi-structured interviews, is 19 years old. This corresponds with data from the questionnaire, which showed that the main age category of migration is the category between 15-20 years old.

The majority of the semi-structured interviews confirmed that it is mainly the youth who are involved in rural-urban migration throughout the Kigezi sub-region. To provide some evidence, one key informant stated:

P: Uh… it is I think mainly the younger people. Because some of the old people are established already in the villages, they have land, they can use it for agriculture purposes, some of them have some goats, some have some cows, others have banana plantations. So some of these older people I feel they are well established in the villages, so they cannot simply go to towns. So mainly it's the younger people, the younger generation, from I think 18 years who have been moving away from villages to towns. […]

[Key informant interview 4, 7-01-2020]

It must be noted however, that people from all ages are involved in migration, including children and elderly. Still, the majority of them are youth. In addition, many of the participants clarified that it's mainly men who are involved in migratory practices, rather than women. The following three interview fragments confirm this:

I: *Do you think it's mostly men or mostly women moving out of the villages?*

P: More men move out than women.

I: *Do you know why that is?*

P: Uhh, because to me I think, because men have more responsibilities than us women, so I will think they are going to get to where they are going to sustain their responsibilities.

I: *What kind of responsibilities do they have?*

P: They have to look after their families, they have to provide shelter for their families, feed their families, like everything is on them.

I: *Women don't have that kind of responsibilities?*

P: For us, we do what we want, we support when we wish.

[Semi-structured interview 4, 12-12-2019]

I: *Do you think it's mainly men or women who are leaving?*

P: Boys.

I: *What age?*

P: They normally leave at like 18 years. They come to town.

[Semi-structured interview 21, 13-01-2020]

I: *Do you think men have another motive to go than women, you think maybe for marriage that they go?*

P: I think it's easier for men to move than for girls. That is my thinking. I haven't studied it, I haven't researched about, but when you look at the trend, it would be mostly the boys. Because the girls usually, unless they are educated, if they are not educated, the only thing for them around town is becoming a housemaid. But at least for boys they will go to these colleges. It's open for them, but for girls if they are not educated, I think they will stick to being house helps. So I think that boys, the males, we do the moving.

[Key informant interview 13, 05-02-2020]

The conclusions that can be drawn from this section are that migrants are mostly youths and often male. Moreover, the migrants who participated in the questionnaire are relatively well off, as most of them are employed and can cover their monthly expenses. Also, nearly all of them either completed college or completed a university degree, which means they obtained a high level of education. Thus, beside innate characteristics, such as age and gender, there seem to be certain preconditions for migration, which are discussed in the section below.

8.4 The ability to migrate

It became clear, during fieldwork, that not everyone in the village has the possibility to move to town. This section, therefore, shows that in order to make the shift to town, a person needs to possess certain skills and assets, such as an educational background, enough financial capital or previously established connections in town.

One's education level is especially important when it comes to the ability to move to town. In fact, it's uncommon to stay in the village if one has followed formal education. To illustrate, during one of the interviews a participant mentioned:

P: And of course if someone had studied something, the thing is, after studying you can't stay in the village. So, we tend to associate village with people who did not go to school, so if you are educated then you move, you do not stay there.

[Key informant interview 13, 05-02-2020]

Another participant showed a similar view:

I: *Do you need to have a certain level of education in order to move out?*

P: Yeah those who move out completely there is a certain level of education they have to attend, senior 4, 6.

[Key informant interview 3, 22-12-2019]

Moreover, during one of the semi-structured interviews in the village, one participant shared that he currently is not able to migrate to town due to his academic background:

I: *Does he want to stay in the village where he was born or does it not matter for him where he lives?*

INT: He will have to work very hard and if he gets money, he will think of going outside, say in town, he would wish to be in town, or move from the village to some other place not in Kashambya. But the unfortunate part of it, academically, his chances are all that small, I told you that he is a senior one drop out, so somewhere, somehow, he thinks 'Maybe if I go beyond the village level, if I go beyond Rukiga, if I go beyond Kabale, maybe some way, somehow my academics may affect me', so he would wish to be outside there, but given the chance and he marries someone who is academically a giant, he would move, if he has got some money, move to town and maybe the wife starts operating the business and also does the other work.

[Semi-structured interview 30, 25-01-2020]

Still, this precondition for migration, of having an educational background, was not confirmed by everyone:

P: So they say that across ages people come here, some come to trade, they're not educated, some come for skilled and unskilled labour, yeah.

[Semi-structured interview 3, 12-12-2019]

The second most mentioned factor that seems to determine one's ability to migrate is having enough capital. This capital is necessary for either paying transportation costs to reach town from the village, to rent an accommodation in town or as start-up capital to start a business in town. To provide some evidence for capital being a necessary asset for rural-urban migration, a few interview fragments are listed below:

P: [To move to town] You will really need to be someone who is capable, with some good money, ready to purchase property in the town.

[Key informant interview 13. 05-02-2020]

I: *Why does she think they moved away?*

INT: At times she thinks, some people who have moved, her thinking, for them they had that capital, to allow them to move from here to Kabale, to Kampala, to Mbarara, or some other district or other towns, or at times those people would first have some business here or at times if they get capital, or they first do this casual work, that is as in farming, they decide to move into town, but for her she has not moved to town that's why she is here.

[Semi-structured interview 24, 18-01-2020]

I: *It's not possible for her to leave?*

INT: If at all she had capital it would be possible to go to town, but then she doesn't have capital.

[Semi-structured interview 38, 11-02-2020]

I: *Has she ever wanted to leave this place?*

INT: She would also wish to be in town, but she has no chance.

I: *Why not?*

INT: She has no capital to push her up to town.

[Semi-structured interview 40, 16-02-2020]

I: *Why did she never move to a town?*

INT: [laughs] She started with laughing, because there is someone... [someone in the background saying something funny], she is saying she would have liked to be in town, but she had no capital, so being in town when you reach there you need to hire a room, you have to provide a garden, you have to such as business, as in hiring here these houses may be cheap as compared to town and for her at home it's the business she has, it's there in her own room, so as in capital of starting a business, she had no capital, so she decided to stay here.

[Semi-structured interview 24, 18-01-2020]

One participant also expressed the difficulty of returning to the village, once you have migrated to town:

P: Because of finance, you know, when you have limited finance, it also limits your movements, so due to limited finance at times you find I am in complicated life, I have no money, so I have to keep where I am, because if I go then I am wasting resources, which are not available, so that's why at times it becomes hard for me to travel to the village.

[Semi-structured interview 17, 10-01-2020]

Another precondition for migration, according to some of the participants, is already having relatives or friends in town. These connections in town facilitate their migration process by providing accommodation for them or by helping them to find a job in town:

I: *Was it easy for you to find a place to live?*

P: Finding it, I did not get it myself. I told my friends to look for me. So they helped, it was three days, they got it.

[Semi-structured interview 15, 07-01-2020]

To accentuate the argument that not all youths living in Rukiga district have the possibility to migrate to town, a number of interview fragments are presented below.

In the following interview fragment, the participant has accepted that he, his children and grandchildren will probably never get the chance to move to town:

INT: Because he has no option and the grandchildren will also not be having the option to move outside.

[Semi-structured interview 5, 14-12-2019]

Moreover, the next interview fragment shows how some rural youths have accepted that they will never have get the change to move to town:

I: *The life that she has now, does she enjoy it?*

INT: She is enjoying the life here, the fact that she had dreams to be in town and the dream did not come true, now she is enjoying the life here.

[Semi-structured interview 20, 11-01-2020]

In the next interview fragment, a participant confirms the same argument:

I: *Do you think there are some people who can't afford to come here?*

P: Absolutely. Some are stuck, even some, it's depending, even some the newbies, the elders can't allow to get them, even to get access to education, keeping in mind that they are not educated and that they are doing well.

[Semi-structured interview 3**,** 12-12-2019]

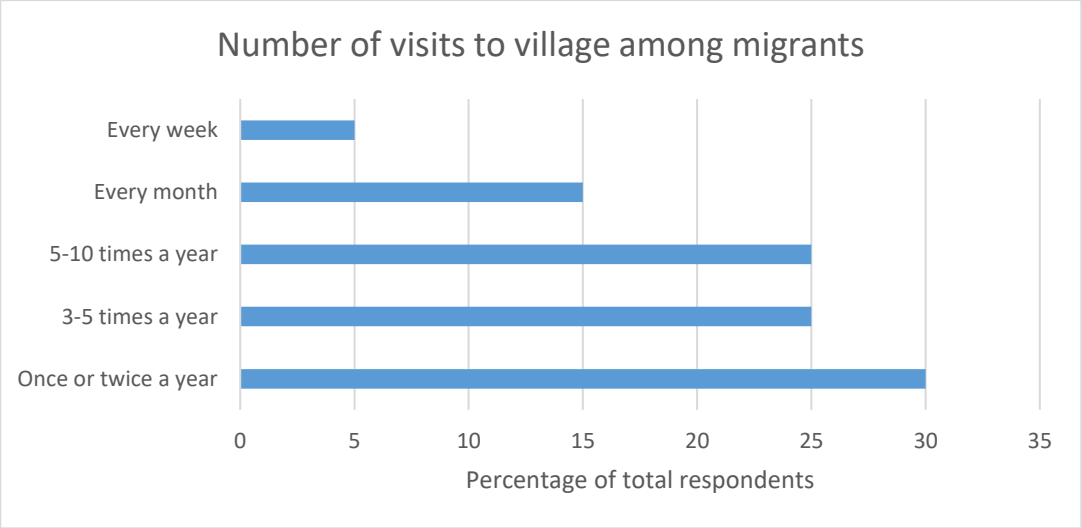
8.5 Rural-urban linkage

The chapter now turns to analysing how migrants in Kabale town stay connected to their village of origin. In this section it becomes clear that the migrants are actively trying to maintain a 'bridge' between the rural and the urban; a 'rural-urban linkage'. The migrants seem to be unable to turn their backs on the village and cut all ties with their relatives and friends in the village. As discussed before, many migrants have chosen Kabale town as their migration destination in order to stay relatively close to their villages. For them, the village keeps on playing an important role in their lives. Before explaining why it's important for youth to stay connected to their village of origin, the different ways through which youth maintain connected to the village are discussed.

The main ways through which the migrants keep being connected to village are making physical visits to the village, keeping in touch with friends and relatives on the phone and sending remittances. When it comes to physical visits, questionnaire data showed that most of the migrants only visited the village a couple of times per year (see fig. 22).

Figure 22

Estimated number of visits to the village by youth migrants



Note. Overview of the estimated number of times migrants made a visit to the village. The percentage are based on the total respondents. *N*=20

Among the migrants who participated in the semi-structured interviews, visits to the village seemed to occur more often. Many of these migrants mentioned that they had ongoing projects in the village, such as agricultural projects or construction projects, for which they had to regularly go to the village to check on their crops or workers. To give a few examples, two interview fragments are shown below:

I: *So you still remember how the village...*

P: Yes of course. Of course I, I don't stay much long without moving there, because I normally go to check on my father, majorly on the weekends, I travel and I see them.

I: *Ah okay, how often in a year do you visit?*

P: Uh, every weekend I have to move, I have to go, because even I have some workers there and I have to go and monitor their work they're doing.

I: *What kind of workers? Like farmers?*

P: Yes, yes

[Semi-structured interview 22, 15-01-2020]

I: *Do you still visit the village?*

P: Yes very much so.

I: *How often?*

P: I go there once a month.

I: *And when you go there what do you do?*

P: Now I have there a little plantation, I have a banana plantation there and even in my mum's assets, sometimes, cause we are three boys in our family, two are already married, I'm single, so being single, now what my mum owns it's me who is taking care of almost everything. So I'm forced to go there at least once a month or when I fail to make it, but I can't finish two months without going there. I go there look around, see how the banana plantation look like, how our cows look like, the trees, so those are things I do when I go there.

[Semi-structured interview 32, 27-01-2020]

Still, during some of the interviews there were migrants who explained they only visit the village 2 or 3 times a year. Only a few participants mentioned that some years they don't visit the village at all due to limited finance and time. During Christmas times, it's a cultural tradition to go to the village and share a meal with family. For some people, this is the only time of the year that they get to eat meat. One participant shared how important it is for her to celebrate Christmas from the village:

P: Now that the communication is there, most of the time we talk on phone. But, I go. Cause I go there more than 10 times a year.

I: *And for Christmas? (Christmas is next week)*

P: It's a must. Maybe if I'm sick, but if I'm okay it must. It's a must Christmas, Easter. You must go. Even when it's coming to Christmas I feel uncomfortable its 23rd and I'm still here, if its 24th and I'm here ah ah ah. I don't feel ago. I need to go before.

[…]

I: *You still feel connected to your village?*

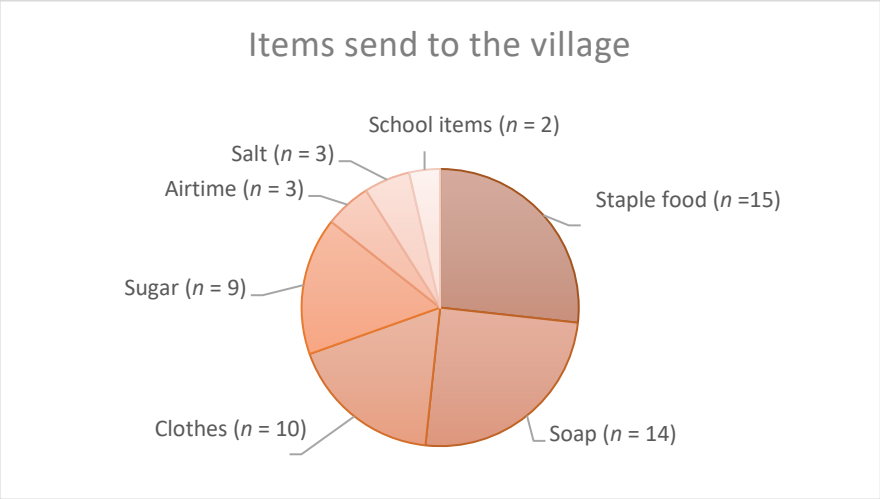
P: Yes! And that need of going home still comes. 'Eh I need to go home'. To tell you the truth, it's funny how things work. At my age I'm not supposed to be excited that I'm going home, but when I'm going home tomorrow this night I won't sleep. I sleep at around 10 or 11, at 3 I'm up 'Eh it's 6', than after two hours you wake up 'it's not yet 7'. So, the excitement of being home, even those who are in Kampala, [during] Christmas, all of them they are back at home. We have that strong relation, you cannot leave home.

[Semi-structured interview 8, 17-12-2019]

The duration of the visits ranges from a day to a couple of months. During most of the visits, the migrants bring some items with them and also get something in return. The most common items to bring to the village are staple foods, soap, clothes and sugar (see fig. 23). In return, 90% of the questionnaire respondents received food from their relatives and friends in the village, the other 10% stated that they did not receive anything. Besides items, the questionnaire showed that nearly all participants send money home, which can be considered as remittances. The average amount of money send to the village per year is 532.33,33 UGX, which is around €123,-.

Figure 23

Items send to relatives and friends in the village



Note. Representation of the items that the respondents send to their relatives and friends in the village. The pie chart sections are based on the number of responses (n) to an open ended question.

This picture, supported by data from the semi-structured interviews, confirms this exchange of items for food, grown in the village.

P: When I go there, I buy some things, which are not in the village and I take them to them, there is no bread, I buy, there is no rice, I buy for me and take it to them, then I give them also some money to sustain them. So when I am coming back I also bring food from there, sweet potatoes and sorghum I also come with them.

I: *So there is a big exchange going on?*

P: Yeah [laughs].

[Semi-structured interview 21, 13-01-2020]

P: […] She [her mother] is having some health complications, so sometimes I go when I'm taking recommended medicines, I take it like every month I have to take some medicine to her. [..]

I: *Do you also bring things to her when you go there besides medicine?*

P: Yes, why not?

I: *Like what kind of things?*

P: [laughs] Like my mum, she is a fan of rice, she likes rice so much, so every month I take 10 KGs of rice to her and some fruits like watermelon I take like 25kgs of Posho, sugar, so I sometimes bring clothes, sometimes I plan and take something maybe new in our house, because I don't have a house. I go there, I still sleep in my mother's house, so I try to make to make the parent feel pleased, not to make her regret why she suffered paying our school fees.

[Semi-structured interview 32, 27-01-2020]

Although visiting the village, exchanging items for food and keeping in touch with relatives and friends seems only beneficial, there is a downside when it comes to visiting the village. A number of participants mentioned that some people in the village tend to be hostile towards migrants when they visit the village. To give some examples from one interview:

P: Of course there are also disadvantages of being in the village. You find you have very many enemies.

I: *Enemies?*

P: Yes, those who don't go to school and you go there, they can't be your friends, which I don't see in town.

I: *Why are they your enemies? Like in what way?*

P: Uh..of course, they think they never went there because you went there and it's very common there.

[…]

I: *You don't want to go back because it was your ancestor's birthplace or because you want to be buried there later?*

P: Of course following the reasons which I told you, you don't feel comfortable there. As I told you, when you go there, some are saying 'he is educated, I'm not educated,' there is that challenge, you are moving around, they say you are proud, you don't see the pride you have in yourself, but for them they are looking at it in you, those are the challenges there.

[…]

P: As I told you, when you go there, some are saying 'he is educated, I'm not educated,' there is that challenge, you are moving around, they say you are proud, you don't see the pride you have in yourself, but for them they are looking at it in you, those are the challenges there.

[…]

P: […] they have seen you prospering, they don't feel happy to see you, because frankly they are not.

[Semi-structured interview 16, 08-01-2020]

Besides the hostility that some of the migrants experienced during their visit to the village, there is also something which comes down to visiting the village for too long or what they call ‘overstaying’ in the village. The large interview fragment below explains what is meant by ‘overstaying’ and already discusses the main topics of why it is important for youths to stay connected to the village:

P: Yes I go there for a few weeks, days and come back.

I: *Not for years?*

P: Not for years.

I: *How about when you get older?*

P: When I get older, there you have planned for your retirement, then you have to go to the village, you have some things you can at least supervise and at least, let me tell you, when people grow older, you also get people who are old, there you can sit and talk, but now when you are young, at our age, you find people of 30, 40, they are in the village, they have these common stages. [laughs] We call them trading centres, they are just there, what they do is play cards, boozing, actually in Ntungamo I have found out they have a culture of fighting after boozing, they like fighting, so such scenarios can't allow you to stay in the village. Cause when you stay there, of course you will be in the same trade and for us in social work we have a statement which says that 'the behaviour of a person is determined by the social environment in which a person lives', so when you go to such a category, your behaviour will change and follow the other ones, which will be difficult and people can no longer trust you.

I: *You think that when everyone will grow up they will become more serious?*

P: Actually, my observation was, there is a friend of mine and he was very intelligent, but after going to the village, recently I was there, he boozes to the extent that he can’t have the stamina to take him home and he has been sharp, very intelligent, but because of that group he has joined, he is losing the trend. So, when you overstay in the village, at times, you lose the right trend and take the wrong one.

I: *[laughs] so you can only stay for a few weeks, so that's like a safe time?*

P: Yes I stay there for a few weeks, days, then come back, after a month or two I go back, so you reach there people say okay 'you come', you go there, you greet them, you socialize with them, within a few days, so that they don't forget you. Remember the village is very important. The rural area is very important than urban, but urban is mainly to give you more friends and a convenient working environment. Because when you are in urban, you socialize with very many people who are important, they give you knowledge, they tell you have you can pass over life, but in the village, they eat for nothing, food is there, they don't rent, they don't pay electricity bills, they don't pay water bills, so their life is very easy for them, they can't think about more, as long as they have eaten, they know they will sleep, yeah, they don't mind about more.

I: *You say that the village is very important, in what way?*

P: In the village, remember, in town, like now how we are here, this person is from across the lake, the owner of this place, the other one, actually he has died, but he was from Mburo, the other one next to us is also from Rwanda, these ones were from [inaudible], so see we are together, but we are not from the same location. Now, the reason to why the village is very important, when you get a problem, the solution is in the village.

I: *Can you explain?*

P: Now, for example, let's say, I have lost a child, it's an example, you can't burry a child here, you have to take your child to the village, because in town at any time you can sell, a challenge can come up, you say no, this is my solution, you sell off the land, but in the village you know this is my permanent place, so when you have a party, these days it's common you put them in town, but still you get much emphasis and much support from the village. Actually, your relatives, most of them, you find they're in the village. So, that's why the village is very important, it gives you a stand. Actually, if you are in town and business has failed, you again go back to the village, you start from there. You have to go back from where you started. When things turn worst to you in town, you again move to the other place where you came from, you again start a new life, so the village is very important, in case of a town, you are there, but you are waiting for what comes tomorrow or today.

[Semi-structured interview 17, 10-01-2020]

This interview fragment shows what participants generally meant with 'overstaying' in the village. Furthermore, in the fragment above, the participant speaks about retiring in the village and about how he considers the village as a 'safe haven'. These two factors are important reasons why many migrants want to stay connected to their village. Many of the youth consider returning to the village as their 'back-up plan' or as something they would do in the worst case scenario. One participant put it like this: *"We don't want stranding back to the village"* (Semi-structured interview 21, 13-01-2020). Although the quote is not totally grammatically correct, the expression 'stranding back' corresponds with the line '*go back from where you started'* from the fragment above.

When it comes to retirement, it is culturally common to retire in the village rather than in town. One participant stated: *"Here they retire when you reach the age of 60 years, you have to retire and you have to go back to where you were."* (Semi-structured interview 22, 15-01-2020). He also mentioned "*Even now I'm, in my village, I'm building a house and when I become old, when I grow, I reach at the age of 60, I know I have to go and at least stay at my place.*"

The reason why it is common to retire in the village, rather than in town is because the village is more peaceful and less expansive: *"Proving at that age, I need to rest, because here in town you can't rest at all, the noise here, the whatever, but in the village you can have peace of mind"* (Semi-structured interview 22, 15-01-2020).

Another participant gave the example of why his uncle is going to retire in the village: *"Because I have an uncle of mine, he told me when he is like 60, he will no longer stay in town, he will go back to the village, because he doesn't want these things, shouting things, yeah that kind of condition and those expenses, yeah."* (Semi-structured interview 28, 23-01-2020).

Besides keeping the possibility of returning to the village open, either as a back-up plan, or as a place for retirement, the importance of staying connected to the rural setting is also closely related to lasting importance of agriculture (see paragraph 5.6). In Kabale town, there is little land available for agriculture. Only around the town borders there are some plots of land available for renting, but these are very expansive due to their location. As mentioned before, many migrants are still involved in agricultural projects in the rural setting, even after they have migrated to town. To illustrate, my interpreter translated the following quote of one of my participants:

INT: However much they are in town, they don't forget this agriculture of ours

[Focus group discussion, 10-12-2019]

Moreover, certain cultural values make it important for the youth to stay connected to their villages, such as the responsibility to care for their parents and the feeling of belonging to the village. In Uganda, it's the norm that as long as you haven't started you own family, which you do through marriage, you have the responsibility to care for your parents, as you still belong to their family.

To give some examples, these migrants told about the responsibility to care for the parents:

P: What makes my life difficult right now, mainly, our family is still having some problems like financial problems, since our brothers and sisters for them, they care less about my parents, because they have their own families. But at least, for my father, he is calling now and then 'you come to Christmas, what do you want to eat at Christmas?', so I am the one at least all eyes are on me. [laughs] So at least I am the one who is giving a lot of care to my parents. […]

[Semi-structured interview 9, 17-12-2019]

P: […] even in my mum's assets, sometimes, cause we are three boys in our family, two are already married, I'm single, so being single, now what my mum owns it's me who is taking care of almost everything. So I'm forced to go there at least once a month or when I fail to make it, but I can't finish two months without going there.

I: *Why is it your responsibility? You say because you are still single? Can you explain a little bit? So your mother's assets, you have to take care of them because you are not married yet?*

P: I'm not yet married. That's like, maybe the Bakiga culture. When someone is still single and others have got married, the parents do assume all the remaining assets are for the single one, the one who is still single. So he has to take care of them, though him too, after married, they will not give him everything which is remaining, but at the moment he is responsible for everything.

[Semi-structured interview 32, 27-01-2020]

P: […]. Just I care for them, I care for them, you see, our place is not like your place. You have elderly homes, for us according to the culture, people will stone you if you took your parents somewhere, someone to care for your parents, so culturally we keep with them.

[Semi-structured interview 27, 21-01-2020]

There are also other forms of responsibilities that force youth to stay relatively close to the village. One participant, for example, felt the responsibility to be in the village for her siblings:

P: So if dad goes right now "[confidential] I need you home". It doesn't take me 4 hours, I will be there. This brother is also here, but most siblings are in Kampala. And me being the first born I take that full responsibility as the elder sister and most of my siblings come to me as their mother. So I can't be far. It's my responsibility. Most of the time I am needed in the village and when you are Kampala it's kind of hard. Like, Christmas season I feel I must be with dad, because Mommy is not there.

[Semi-structured interview 8, 17-12-2019]

Besides that, many of the migrant youth do not want to forget about the village or still have a feeling of belonging in the village. During the interviews terms like ‘my birthplace’, ‘my ancestral home’ and ‘my fathers and grandfathers land’ were often used when migrants tried to describe what the village still meant for them. To give three examples:

I: *Do you still feel connected to the village?*

P: Yes, yes, yes, yes. Yes, I must go there because we still have relatives there and our small piece of land what we call our ancestral land is there, at least, we must maintain it. Culturally we must have that one.

[Semi-structured interview 27, 21-01-2020]

P: [..] but there are other natural factors which force me to go back to the village, which keep me, which keep forcing me to go to the village.

I: *You still feel connected to the village where you were born?*

P: Yes, very much so connected.

I: *Why do you think that is?*

P: Hm..I think, I may not forget this factor of culture. Culturally in Africa it's like that, you move from the village to town, but you keep in mind that your home it's in the village. Two, I'm not there now, but that's where my parents, my elder brothers, my grandfathers, my...paternal uncles are. So my family generated there, here I'm here with friends. So I'm forced to keep going there. So it's important, yeah it's important on my side to keep going to the village.

[Semi-structured interview 32, 27-01-2020]

8.6 Consequences of migration

In this section, the different ways in which migrants have transformed their livelihoods by migrating to town are analysed. Moreover, as the migrants maintain a strong rural-urban linkage, which was explained in the previous paragraph, the livelihoods of their friends and relatives in the village are also affected through their migration. On top of that, due to the intensity and the magnitude of the migration flows from villages in Kashambya sub-county to Kabale town, both the village and the town are affected in multiple ways, which are discussed in this section. First the positive consequences of migration are shown, then the negative consequences.

Positive consequences

- *For the migrants themselves*

One of the positive consequences for the migrants themselves is that they are able to find jobs in town, start a business and make some money, which is something that they can't do in the village (Key informant interview 4, 07-01-2020). In this way they become less poor than when they would have stayed in the village (Key informant interview 2, 21-12-2019). Also, by moving out of the village the chance of becoming a drunkard or a thief is smaller (Focus group discussion 1, 10-12-2019). Lastly, through migration they can gain access to more land.

- *For the migrant's relatives and friends in the village*

The main positive consequence for the migrant's friends and relatives in the village is that they receive money and items from town. These have already been discussed in the previous paragraph. To give one extra example, one participant mentioned: *"because when they move out and come to town, they get money and they do what? They help their parents at home"* (Key informant interview 4, 07-01-2020).

- *For the entire village*

The main positive consequences of youth moving to town for the entire community in the village are reduced criminal activities and less conflicts within the village. To explain, during the focus group discussion, the participants pointed out that youth who stay in the village often have nothing to do and resort to criminal activities:

INT: […], if those youths stay here it's well said 'an idle mind it's the devils workshop', so an idle mind when you just... you have nothing to do, that's when you think that the other one is having some money in the pocket, that's when you... because you have nothing for survival, that's when you plan 'I have to go and rob that person of money'. […]

[Focus group discussion, 10-12-2019]

Moreover, two participants mentioned that by moving out of the village, the youth are no longer putting pressure on the parents to give them a piece of land. To give one example:

P: […] and this kid who is maybe 20 years and can easily go and work for himself is putting pressure on the mum or the dad to give him, on that very little that they what? They

have. So, I think if such a thing, if it happens that such kids move, work, then get their own property, I think it's something good for the entire community.

[Key informant interview 13, 05-02-2020]

Negative consequences

- *For the migrants themselves*

According to the key informants, going to town is creating a number of challenges for them. First of all, many of them fail to find a job or start up a business which they have to close down after a short while (Key informant interview 4, 07-01-2020). As a result they have nothing to do and resort to criminal activities, drugs and other, as one key informant puts it *'nasty activities which book them down'* (Key informant interview 12, 28-01-2020). In addition, one migrant pointed out that the girls who come to town who are uneducated have the possibility of ending up doing prostitution:

P: And we are having another problem my sister, we are having another problem of those girls that are not educated. They come to town, to do prostitution. So, they come, they don't have what to do. What they do in the evening, they start selling themselves

[Semi structured 27, 21-01-2020]

Also, one key informants mentioned that many youth who come to town get into the Boda-Boda business, without having a driving permit: "*What they do, they just go to town, get accidents, break their legs, destroy the motorcycles, so they are in double loss*" (Key informant interview 9, 16-01-2020).

Later in the interview he said:

P: So the movement is actually there, but it's not good, it's not going to work for them, we don't expect that in the next two years they will be changing, the youth, because of that rural-urban migration, no way, they are going to be worse, they will be in jail, they will be in prison, they will be disabled and they will be poor.

[Key informant interview 9, 16-01-2020]

- *For the village:*

A major consequence of migration for the village is the loss of productivity. Due to the youth shifting to town, the labour force in the village is declining. As a result, less food is produced and the land receives less care, leading to soil erosion.

To illustrate, one interview fragment is shown below:

P: But then we are looking at who is moving, it's is the youth who are energetic, who are supposed to do the cultivation, because we still use the hand hoi and it's totally.. you know it's something that you have to use a lot of energy for. So, what is going to happen if we leave this kind of dealing to the old woman and men around, when our youth are just going to town? So I think in terms of production I think it's not good.

[Key informant interview 13, 05-02-2020]

- *For the town*

The high amount of migrants moving to Kabale town puts extra pressure on a town which was already dealing with overpopulation. Consequently, the migrants put extra pressure on the facilities in town. According to the chairman of Kabale town, due to the influx of migrants from the villages, it has become a challenge to provide food and shelter for the town's population (Key informant interview 12, 28-01-2020). Subsequently, rural-urban migration is contributing to the creation of rural slums around Kabale town:

I: Are there many new houses being built to accommodate for all those people?

P: Oh yes! The housing business in Kabale is a hot cake, yeah, but you remember these other people who come to town may not necessarily live in those houses that are well furnished, so that is why we have a lot of rural slums of Bugongi of Kigongi of Rwakabara of Kekubu you find all these other places. Because even if you come from a rural setting you cannot again manage town life, town life as quickly as possible. So there are many many mushrooming slum centres […].

[Key informant interview 12, 28-01-2020]

8.7 Migration to gain access to land

As explained throughout chapter 5, 6 and 7, land is a valuable asset, necessary for agriculture, which is still a predominant livelihood activity for many, but not everyone has access to sufficient plots of fertile land. For youths it is becoming increasingly more difficult to maintain their traditional lifestyles as their access to land is limited. In this section examples are provided of how migrants are trying to gain access to land through migration. Also, it shows general views of key informants who explain how migrants gain access to land through migration. The following interview fragment clearly shows how migration can be way to gain access to land:

INT: Those people move outside, some go for business, some go to look for survival, go to look for money and once they get this money, out of the fact that this time they have no land, they will come back and buy the same piece of land here or at times they buy that site.

[Semi-structured interview 5, 14-02-2019]

The next research participant, expresses a similar view on the matter:

P: […]. And I think it's also maybe the reason why some people have to move, especially the youth. To move like to Kabale to get maybe, to earn a living and maybe buy land elsewhere, because they cannot easily buy land from their village.

[Key informant interview, 05-02-2020]

Most often, after building financial capital in an urban centre, migrants return to the village, to buy land from there. This is confirmed by the following quotes: "*They go to outside there [Kampala], once they come back they come and buy some pieces of land*" (Semi-structured interview 13 + 14, 21-12-2019) and "*Once they [the migrants] come back they buy their piece of land, they put out their structures, they start staying around."* (Semi-structured interview 6, 14-12-2019).

8.8 Conclusion

To sum up, in this chapter migration was considered as a livelihood strategy through which migrants transformed their livelihoods and tried to gain access to land. An analysis was made of the main migration patterns in the study area, to give an idea of the scope of rural-urban migration among youth in the Kigezi sub-region. Besides that, the analysis of migrants' characteristics, based on data from the questionnaire, showed that most migrants are youths and male. Then, the paragraph on the ability to migrate pointed out that not every youth in the village has the possibility to migrate to town. The chapter also showed that even though the migrants moved to town, they are actively involved in maintaining a connection to the village, as staying connected to the village is important to them for many different reasons, which have been discussed elaborately. The last part of the chapter revealed that migration has positive and negative consequences for both the migrants themselves, their social network in the village and for the village and town in general. It also gave examples of migrants who changed their access to land through migration. All in all, the chapter contributed to exploring the relation between rural-urban migration and land tenure through a livelihoods perspective, by gaining more insight into seeing migration as a livelihood strategy to achieve certain livelihood outcomes.

Chapter 9.
Discussion and Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, the main research findings are presented and discussed. In the first half of the chapter, an overview is given of the main arguments that were made in this thesis report, together with an analysis of the insights that can be drawn from these arguments. Above all, this section explains to what extent the results give an answer to the central research question: *How is rural-urban migration among youths related to land tenure in the Kigezi sub-region of Uganda?* In the second half of the chapter, the main research findings are interpreted and reviewed. Moreover, an analysis is made of the validity, significance and relevance of the results, against the backdrop of existing literature on the topic. The chapter shows how this research contributes to the ongoing theoretical debates on land tenure, migration studies and livelihoods studies. It also investigates how the results add to the available knowledge on these topics. In addition, in this section, the limitations and flaws of the research are acknowledged. Finally, suggestions and recommendations are given for future research.

9.2 Summary of the research findings

In this MSc thesis report, the relationship between rural-urban migration among youth and land tenure in the Kigezi sub-region has been explored from a livelihoods perspective. A mixed methods approach was adopted to collect both qualitative and quantitative data during fieldwork from a multi-sited study area. The two research sites were Kashambya sub-county, the 'rural' site and Kabale town, the 'urban' site. Rural-urban migration among youth between these two specific research sites was analysed, together with the land tenure system in place, to get a better understanding of how rural-urban migration and land tenure are related on a regional level.

Research findings suggest that the land tenure system and rural-urban migration patterns among youths in the Kigezi sub-region are highly interrelated. Issues around land, caused by the individualistic land tenure system, such as limited access to land, appear to be among the key drivers for rural-urban migration among youths. Other interrelated drivers for rural-urban migration were, amongst others, the differences in the availability of job opportunities, the availability of services and in the standard of living in the village and in town.

Possible causes for limited access to land among youths, that were identified were the region's hilly terrain, social erosion, population growth and high school fees. The latter resulted into limited access to land, as parents would often sell their lands to pay for the children's school fees, resulting in a smaller portion of land to divide over the children. Another land tenure related issue that contributed to youth being involved in rural-urban migration that was mentioned were conflicts around land, such as encroachment problems and the removal of traditional boundaries.

Due to limited access to land, the rural youth are unable to 'dig', which is the main livelihood activity in the village. To cope with the issues around land, the youths add rural-urban migration to their livelihood portfolio; moving to town can be considered as a livelihood strategy, employed by youths to diversify and transform their livelihoods. In some cases, as the results indicate, rural-urban migration can even be a livelihood strategy for youths to gain access to more land. Still, Livelihood outcomes of rural-urban migration differed per individual migrant and could be both positive and negative. In some cases, for example, youth migrants would find employment in town and earn enough money to get married. In other cases, youth would not find employment and resort into criminal activities in town or end up on the street without any financial capital.

Yet, the findings also show that not all youth are equally capable of making the shift to town. It became clear that in order for a youth to move from Kashambya sub-county to Kabale town, he/she needs to possess certain skills and assets, such as a certain level of education, an amount of financial capital and previously established connections in town. An analysis of the migrants' characteristics showed that the majority of the migrants were male and the average age of migration was approximately 19 years. Besides the migration flow between Kashambya sub-county and Kabale town, this research showed that there are also many other flows of migration within the Kigezi sub-region. Kabale town proved to be some sort of 'mid-way station' for youth, as living here would allow them to migrate to a bigger town or allow them to still be connected to the village. Results suggest that maintaining a rural-urban connection is very important to the youth migrants, as the village was either used as a 'back up plan', a place where they could go if things did not work out in town, as well as a place where they could peacefully retire. On top of that, other matters kept them close to the village, such as the responsibility of taking care of their parents or siblings in the village or having a cultural attachment to the village.

In the beginning of this thesis report, seven main differences between life in the rural and life in the urban setting were identified. Differences included amongst others, the availability and accessibility of services, different levels of social cohesion, a difference in the available living space. Life in the village seemed almost incomparable to life in town. In the village, the main livelihood activity is subsistence farming. Nearly every day of the week, the village members are digging in their gardens from morning till evening. Apart from farming, there are little other things to do in the village. Surrounded by the high hills, in the village, one is isolated from the rest of the world, far away from health and educational services, markets. In the urban setting, on the other hand, there is a wide arrange of livelihood activities that can be adopted. Still, formal employment opportunities are lacking. In general, in town there is more traffic, less space to live and one finds him/herself surrounded mostly by strangers.

The thesis also showed the lasting importance of agriculture among Bakiga youth. Despite the general belief that agriculture is becoming less popular among youths in Uganda and that youths find agriculture a 'dirty' business, the results of this research reveal how agriculture has not exactly lost its popularity. Agriculture rather has become a less attractive livelihood strategy. The results indicate how the majority of the youths would want to be involved or still are involved in agricultural activities in some way, but are not always able to do so. The ones who are educated aspire to find employment that matches with their educational background, instead of agriculture. On other instances, these rural youth are impeded to be involved in agriculture due to having limited access to sufficient amounts of fertile land, as a result of the individualized land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region. The lasting importance of agriculture, which has been and will continue to an important aspect of the Bakiga culture, became especially clear while examining the value of land. Land is one of the most valuable livelihood resources for people in the Kigezi sub-region. Land has become so precious, partly also due to the scarcity of land, that they often compare it to the most valuable resources on earth, like gold, oil or diamonds.

Moreover, the research findings show how, the individualistic land tenure system in the Kigezi sub-region, which is highly based on local customs around land, greatly influences one's access to, user rights and ownership of land and determines how land is mainly transferred from one person to another. Another insight that can be gained from the main research findings is that in the Kigezi sub-region customary land tenure laws seem to overrule statutory land tenure laws on many occasions. In this report it is explained how, since the colonial era, the Kigezi sub-region has a dual and individualistic land tenure system.

Officially, land belongs to the people or is owned by the people, but still the government of Uganda has control rights over the land. Although one can consider the bundle of overlapping land rights in the Kigezi sub-region, the customary land tenure rules seem to prevail. To clarify, according to customary laws there are two ways of ensuring land tenure security: 1) producing a locally produced and locally stored 'written agreement' and 2) placing traditional plants to demarcate the boundaries. More official ways of obtaining land tenure security, such as through official land registration for a land title, freehold title or official written agreement at the Ministry Zonal office, are uncommon for rural landholders. In addition, although statutory law states that women should inherit land, once land is divided among the children, it's locally custom for a father to only divide the land among the sons, once they are getting married. For women, who conduct the majority of the agriculture work, as they are the ones who do the 'digging', inheriting land is not always an option, but once they get married they will get access to the land their husbands inherit. Besides inheritance, three other main ways for youth to gain access to land were identified: hiring land, using family land and purchasing land.

This thesis report has been structured in the same manner as the extended livelihoods framework, presented in chapter 3; the five different components of the livelihoods framework: context, livelihood resources, institutional processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes, all have been dealt with in different chapters. To indicate, a description of the context was made in chapter 1. Land, as one of the most valuable livelihood resources for rural livelihoods, considered in chapter 5. Institutional processes around the land were the central topic of chapter 6. Rural-urban migration, being part of the livelihood strategy portfolios of rural youth, was the overarching theme of chapter 7. Lastly, livelihood outcomes of rural-urban migration were analysed in chapter 8.

9.3 Discussion

This master thesis research addressed a knowledge gap within the existing literature. This knowledge gap has been elaborately explained in the literature review (see chapter 2). To restate briefly, there is a knowledge gap when it comes understanding how rural-urban migration among youth in the Kigezi sub-region is related to the land tenure system. Although a lot of information is available on the history of these two matters, since the colonial era, the connection between the two remained relatively unexplored. The results of this research, therefore, contribute to filling up this knowledge gap.

In the literature review it became clear that Dr. Carswell is the main producer of academic literature on the Kigezi sub-region. Being one of the sole academics to focus on the Kigezi sub-region, her work provides a considerable amount of relevant information on a relatively uncharted research field. While Carswell's work is ground-breaking and thought-provoking, she tends to repeat the same arguments in all of her works. Carswell mainly seems to focus on the success story of how Kigezi farmers have mitigated a long expected environmental catastrophe. Her intention, by continuously reformulating this success story, is to move away from the continuities in the environmental narratives on the Kigezi sub-region. This means, that she tries to change the narrative on predicted environmental degradation in the Kigezi sub-region, by showing how this narrative is not supported by evidence. During fieldwork, this environmental narrative was reproduced by both key informants and local villagers. While agreeing with Carswell that we should try to change the narrative by finding evidence to disprove that Kigezi farmers' practices are contributing to soil erosion, this was not the intention of this research. This master thesis research focused on other subjects (migration, land and livelihoods) to provide data on the Kigezi sub-region from an entirely new perspective.

The research findings may not represent the relationship between rural-urban migration and land tenure within the whole of Uganda. In many parts of Uganda, there is a different land tenure system and youth might have different motives for rural-urban migration, given the context in which they are situated. Moreover, the Kigezi sub-region is hilly, a moderate climate and has a fragmented landscape, unlike the rest of Uganda. Therefore, in other parts of Uganda, results are likely to be very different. Still, the research results are representative for the Kigezi sub-region as a whole. Since Kabale is one of the main urban centres in the Kigezi sub-region and since the youth from Kashambya sub-county mainly belong to the Bakiga tribe, like the rest of the sub-region, one would have high changes of finding similar data in other parts of the Kigezi sub-region, if a similar type of research was conducted there.

The approach employed in this MSc thesis research, to consider the topics of migration, land tenure and livelihoods together, is something that has rarely been done before. It has been challenging to explore the relationship between land tenure and migration from a livelihoods perspective, as in principle these are very distinct topics. In various papers scholars have often focused on exploring the relationship between only two of these topics: e.g. migration from a livelihoods perspective, the effects of certain land tenure policies on people's livelihoods or the relation between land tenure and migration.

Considering all three topics (migration, land tenure and livelihoods) in the same study area is, however, a rather unusual approach for social science research. Although some ideas or insights could be gained from existing literature on either one or two of the topics, I had to improvise, bring in my own ideas and devise my own ways for gathering and analysing the data from the three topics combined. On paper the connection between these three topics did not always seem the most straightforward, but in practice the combination of the three different topics seemed to make more sense. It seemed as though in the study area these three topics naturally came together. To illustrate, nearly all youth migrants I spoke with referred to their access to or ownership of land, while discussing why he or she had moved to town. Without steering the interview too much, the majority of the migrants already seemed to make their own connections between these three different topics. So, even though this 'tripod' approach was theoretically challenging, I would encourage other scholars to continue exploring the relation between these three highly interconnected topics, given the right setting; as not in every location, matters of land, migration and livelihoods come together as much as in the Kigezi sub-region.

For me personally, in the future, I would not necessarily chose the same combination of topics of migration, land tenure and livelihoods in another study area, as this combination might not be relevant everywhere. Yet, using the approach for this research has taught me that sometimes topics, that do not seem to have much common ground at first, may come together in a specific context. Although it can be seen as a safe choice to stick within a certain topic or chose for two topics which are already clearly connected, I learned that through the combination of these new sets of topics and by extending the boundaries of a certain topic, one can discover things that others might have never even thought of. Thus, the approach taken on in this research has showed me that exploring the relationship between a wide range of different topics, allows one to keep an open mind and to explore new possible connections between various matters, which I believe is essential for exploratory research.

Research limitations

In this section, the research limitations are pointed out, as well as how these limitations may have impacted the research findings. One major research limitation during this master thesis was time constraint. Although there was plenty of time to collect data from the urban site, when it comes to the rural site, time was limited. I was only able to visit the village once a week, as it was quite a long journey to get there and since everyone would either be working or in church.

Therefore I could only go to the village on Saturday and always had to return before it got dark outside. Interviews conducted in the village are therefore somehow short and of a bit lower quality than those conducted in town. This also has to do with the fact that most people in the village spoke Rukiga, whereas in town often they spoke English. In the village, I needed to use my translator for nearly all interviews. By using a translator, the quality of the data, collected in the village, has undoubtedly been influenced to some extent. Sometimes, words or meanings got lost in translation and in some instances I realized that my translator would sometimes give a more elaborate answer than the research participants. On a few occasions, I even got an answer, even though the research participants had not replied yet. While transcribing the interviews, I would write next to the data 'interpretation of my translator', whenever I felt like the data had been altered in some way. I took these notes into account while writing the empirical chapters. Still, using a translator affected the reliability of the data collected in the field.

On top of that, conducting the majority of the interviews in English may also have affected the data, as it's not the research participant's mother tongue. The participants may not all have felt confident to express themselves fully in English. Even though many participants seemed to speak English fluently, they may have felt a bit uncomfortable not being able to express themselves in Rukiga. During one interview, a women spoke so quietly, that she was almost inaudible on the recordings. This may have been because she did not fully feel comfortable about her English proficiency.

Another research limitation exists when it comes to the quality and the representatively of the quantitative data. Only a small sample size (n=20) was used. This may be insufficient to really qualify it as 'quantitative data'. Yet, as the questionnaire also contained some open-ended questions and as the results were compared with the qualitative data, one could say that the data collected through the questionnaire regains some reliability through triangulation with the rest of the data.

One last research limitation was the lack of trust building with the research participants. Most of the research participants I had never spoken with before. Although many of them had already seen me walking on the street or heard about my presence, there was no time to meet up with the same participants on multiple occasions, in order to get familiar with them and get them to trust me. This might have also affected the responses given during the semi-structured interviews.

Suggestions for future research

The purpose of this master thesis was not to accentuate problems caused by rural-urban migration of youth, such as a decline of agricultural productivity in the rural area, nor was it to call for interventions to end this trend, to alleviate the pressure on urban facilities and the expansion of urban slums. On the contrary, this master thesis report showed how the rural youth use rural-urban migration as a way to transform their livelihoods. Although they do not always succeed and sometimes have to return to the village and although not all rural youth have the opportunity to add rural-urban migration to their livelihood strategy portfolio, the rural youth are actively involved in trying to sustain and diversify their livelihoods through migration. The study has shown how rural-urban migration can even be a strategy to deal with issues around land tenure and to gain access to more land. Moreover, the majority of youth migrants actively maintain a connection with the village and keep on being involved in agricultural activities. Therefore, this research explored the intentions behind rural-urban migration and analysed the land tenure system, to figure out what challenges youth are facing in either the rural or the urban setting.

Taking into account the results of this research, recommendations for local policy-makers, NGOs and any other local stakeholders for future research and for the creation of interventions are to move away from focusing solely on the prevention of soil erosion, to ways on empowering youth to make their migration process more successful. This means research should be conducted to find out how youth can be better absorbed into the urban centres, by researching and creating strategies for creating more formal employment opportunities and to tackle the housing shortage, to avoid youth from resorting to criminal activities or ending up in the urban slums.

For the rural site, given the growing land shortages, this research recommends future researchers to focus on finding ways to increase agricultural productivity of farming, without requiring more land. It would be really interesting to see how low tech solutions, like a simple form of vertical farming or a basic form of hydroponic farming (water-based, rather than soil-based farming), could make farming more attractive, profitable and easy for youth to pursue. Moreover, this research would suggest to focus academic attention on findings new ways for land consolidation in the Kigezi sub-region. It may also be interesting to focus on the creation of farmer groups and cooperatives, so that these groups could more easily apply for grants.

Lastly, since the Kigezi sub-region as a whole so far gained little scientific attention, I would encourage scholars, thesis students and researchers from all fields to pay attention to this unique part of Uganda, as there is so much still to discover.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A

Information participants semi-structured interviews - youth migrants

Participant ID	**Gender (M/F)**	**Age (years)**	**Migration age[1] (years)**	**Village of origin**	**Parish**	**Date of data collection**	**Recording time**
1	M	30	20	Kanyansharwe	Buchundura	11-12-2019	11:02 min
2	F	38	29	Kazooha	Rutengye	11-12-2019	32:12 min
3	M	24	9	Nyaruziba	Rutengye	12-12-2019	30:34 min
4	F	25	20	Kanyansharwe	Buchundura	12-12-2019	22:46 min
5	F	22	20	Nyaruziba	Rutengye	16-12-2019	20:49 min
6	F	45	17	Kanyansharwe	Buchundura	17-12-2019	27:04 min
7	M	33	11	Katagata	Buchundura	17-12-2019	19:01 min
8	F	28	20	Kanyansharwe	Buchundura	18-12-2019	16:52 min
9	F	29	9	Kamusiiza	Nyakashebe	19-12-2019	23:22 min
10	F	27	24	Katagata	Buchundura	07-01-2020	23:12 min
11	M	40	20	Rwakanyonyozi	Buchundura	08-01-2020	27:12 min
12	M	30	13	Ahakatuntu	Kitanga	10-01-2020	42:34 min
13	F	31	14	Nyamugaza	Kitanga	13-01-2020	25:17 min
14	M	38	10	Katagata	Buchundura	15-01-2020	29:36 min
15	F	30	n/a	Kanyansharwe[2]	Buchundura	21-01-2020	15:54 min
16	M	50	n/a	Kyehinde	Buchundura	21-01-2020	27:09 min
17	F	24	24	Kanyansharwe	Buchundura	23-01-2020	21:58 min
18	M	29	17	Bweyo	Buchundura	27-01-2020	38:21 min
19	M	35	25	Muhanga	Rutengye	27-01-2020	29:27 min
20	M	49	28	n/a	Rutengye	06-02-2020	36:51 min

Note. [1] Age of migration to Kabale town. Those involved in migration below the age of 18 all went along with their families. [2]For this participant the mentioned village is not the village of origin, but the village where she moved to after getting married and lived for 7 years before migrating to town.

APPENDIX B

Information participants questionnaire – youth migrants

Participant ID	**Gender**	**Age category (years)**	**Migration age category (years)**	**Village of origin**	**Parish**
1	F	25 – 30	10-15	Katagata	Buchundura
2	F	20 – 25	<9	Kyehinde	Buchundura
3	F	25 – 30	25-30	Bweyo	Buchundura
4	F	20 – 25	15-20	Nyamugaza	Kitanga
5	F	20 – 25	15-20	Kyamazina	Buchundura
6	F	20 – 25	15-20	Karubanda	Buchundura
7	M	30 – 35	<9	Kamusiza	Nyakashebeya
8	M	30 – 35	25-30	Kyamazina	Buchundura
9	F	20 – 25	20-25	Migyesi	Buchundura
10	M	30 – 35	25-30	Kanyasherwe	Buchundura
11	F	20 – 25	15-20	Ntataga	Kitanga
12	F	25 – 30	25-30	Butare	Buchundura
13	M	20 – 25	20-25	Nyamugaza	Kitanga
14	M	30 – 35	15-20	Kyabiregyeya	Kafunjo
15	M	25 – 30	15-20	Rwakinyonyozi	Buchundura
16	F	25 – 30	25-30	Nykashebeya	Kitunga
17	M	30 – 35	20-25	Mahura	Nyakashebeya
18	M	35 – 40	25-30	Rwegongo	Kitunga
19	M	20 – 25	15-20	Kazooha village	Rutengye
20	M	30 – 35	15-20	Nyamirembe	Kitanga

APPENDIX C

Information participants semi-structured interviews – village members

Participant ID	**Gender**	**Age**	**Date of data collection**	**Recording time**	**Location interview**
1	Male	60	14-12-2019	12:18 min	Mahura village
2	Female	45	14-12-2019	13:19 min	Mahura village
3	Male	30	21-12-2019	16:37 min	Mahura village
4	Male	30	21-12-2019	15:26 min	Nyakatojo II village
5	Male	28	21-12-2019	15:26 min[1]	Nyakatojo II village
6	Female	27	11-01-2020	15:09 min	Kyondo village
7	Male	56	11-01-2020	17:35 min	Kyondo village
8	Female	27	11-01-2020	16:36 min	Kyondo village
9	Male	60	18-01-2020	30:32 min	Nyakatojo II village
10	Female	28	18-01-2020	11:26 min	Nyakatojo II village
11	Male	30	18-01-2020	14:53 min	Nyakatojo II village
12	Male	38	25-01-2020	13:37 min	Nyakashebeya parish[2]
13	Male	20	25-01-2020	15:36 min	Nyakashebeya parish[2]
14	Male	27	25-01-2020	16:38 min	Nyakashebeya parish[2]
15	Female	25	11-02-2020	26:03 min	Mahura village
16	Female	27	11-02-2020	21:47 min	Mahura village
17	Female	20	11-02-2020	13:11 min	Mahura village
18	Female	25	11-02-2020	09:29 min	Mahura village
19	Female	28	16-02-2020	16:39 min	Nyakatojo II village
20	Female	27	16-02-2020	06:57 min	Mahura village

Note. [1] Participant 4 and 5 were interviewed at the same time, as time was running out in the village. It was getting dark and I still had to return to town. The two participants were in the village for Christmas. They would return to Kampala after Christmas, so this was my only chance of interviewing them. [2] Specific location unknown. The interviews took place at a Boda-Boda meeting in a school building in Nyakashebeya parish.

APPENDIX D

Information participants semi-structured interviews – key informants

Participant ID	Gender (M/F)	Role or profession	Date of data collection	Recording time	Location interview
1	M	Works for Kigezi Diocese in the education department	09-12-19	n/a	Informant's home, Kabale town
2	M	Chairman Mahura village (LC 1)	21-12-19	25:28 min	Mahura village, Kashambya sub-county
3	M	Priest at Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament Church	22-12-19	23:39 min	Kitanga parish, Kashambya sub-county
4	M	Executive director at Rukiga Forum for Development	07-01-20	62:53 min	Local government office, Kabale town
5	M	Chairman Kyondo village (LC 1)	11-01-20	12:38 min	Kyondo village, Kashambya sub-county
6	M	Principal Agricultural Officer Kabale district (PAO)	14-01-20	35:50 min	PAO's office, Kabale town
7	M	Geography teacher at Kabale University	14-01-20	37:32 min	Kabale University, Kabale town
8	F	*Confidential*	15-01-20	20:39 min	International Fertilizer Development Centre, Kabale town
9	M	Research officer for Kachwekano Zonal Agricultural Research and Development Institute	16-01-20	28:50 min	Office near Lake Bunyonyi, Kabale district
10	F	Head of Red Cross in Kabale town	17-01-20	20:20 min	Red Cross' office, Kabale town
11	M	Youth council leader of Rukiga Circle & leader of Kigezi Potato Farmers' Cooperative Society	23-01-20	32:27 min	Unknown, along the road towards Kamuganguzi, Kabale district
12	M	Chaiman Kabale town (LC 5)	28-01-20	28:38 min	His office, Kabale town
13	M	Assistant Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) of Rukiga district	05-02-20	42:46 min	Rukiga district headquarters
14	M	District physical planner	05-02-20	34:31 min	Rukiga district headquarters
15	M	Bishop at an Anglican church.	07-02-20	64:36 min	Riverside Resort Hotel, Kabale town.
16	M	Village elder, Nyakatojo II village	16-02-20	27:21 min	Interpreter's home, Nyakatojo II village
17	M	Parish chief Nyakashebeya parish (LC 2)	16-02-20	16:49 min	Mahura village, Kashambya sub-county
18	M	Government land surveyor	17-02-20	48:43 min	Ministry Zonal Office, Kabale town
19	M	Agricultural Officer Kashambya sub-county	19-02-20	15:32 min	Rukiga district headquarters

APPENDIX E

Migrant characteristics – Quantitative data

	Questionnaire Percentage (*n*=20)	
Characteristic	*n*	(%)
Age		
20 - 25 years old	8	40
25 - 30 years old	5	25
30 - 35 years old	6	30
35 - 40 years old	1	5
Gender		
Male	10	50
Female	10	50
Marital status		
Married	10	50
Single	9	45
Divorced	1	5
Children		
Has children	7	35
Has no children	13	65
Religion		
Roman Catholic	6	30
Protestant	14	70
Clan name		
Omusigi	10	50
Omusyaba	3	15
Omugyesera	2	10
Omusakuru	2	10
Nonresponse	3	15
Educational level		
Primary education	0	0
Secondary education	1	5
College	9	45
University	10	50

APPENDIX F

Livelihood data			
	Questionnaire Responses		
Variable	*n*	(%)	% of cases
Main items of expense			
Food	17	17,9	85
Water	8	8,4	40
Clothing	10	10,5	50
Rent	19	20	95
School fees	8	8,4	40
Transportation	11	11,6	55
Medicines	6	6,3	30
Electricity	11	11,6	55
Other	5	5,3	25
Household assets			
Car	2	4,3	10
Bicycle	4	8,7	20
Livestock	10	21,7	50
Motor cycle	8	17,4	40
House	8	17,4	40
Smartphone	11	23,9	55
Other	3	6,5	15
Support type			
Money	4	25	57,1
Business advice	5	31,3	71,4
Training	2	12,5	28,6
Food	3	18,8	42,9
Medical care	1	6,3	14,3
Other	1	6,3	14,3
Household challenges			
Pay school fees	7	11,1	35
Cover basic needs	11	17,5	55
Poor roads	9	14,3	45
Lack of job opportunities	12	19	60
No access to land	6	9,5	30
Illness/disease in family	6	9,5	30
Financial debt	5	7,9	25
Lack of means of transport	6	9,5	30
Other	1	1,6	5
Coping strategy			
Loan at bank	13	35,1	68,4
Borrow money	12	32,4	63,2
Use savings account	7	18,9	36,8
Extra income generating activity	1	2,7	5,3
Other	4	10,8	21,1

APPENDIX G

DATE:_____

WAGENINGEN
UNIVERSITY & RESEARCH

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION AMONG YOUTHS SURVEY

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Rianne de Frankrijker and I'm a student from the Netherlands. For my Master's degree in International Development studies at Wageningen University I am conducting fieldwork on the topic of rural-urban migration and land tenure in the Kigezi sub-region for my dissertation. The focus is on rural-urban migration among youth from Kashambya sub-county to Kabale town. This questionnaire analyses migrant's characteristics and collects specific data on 3 subjects: livelihoods, migration and land tenure. The information obtained through this questionnaire will serve research purposes only.

*Filling in the questionnaire is **not mandatory**, but by filling in the questionnaire you will help me. **All of your answers will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous.***

Please mark the appropriate box with a cross or fill in the answer on the dotted line.

Questions	Answers
Introduction	
1. What is your gender?	☐ Male ☐ Female
2. Which age category do you belong to?	☐ <15 years old ☐ 15-20 years old ☐ 20-25 years old ☐ 25-30 years old ☐ 30-35 years old ☐ 35-40 years old ☐ 40-45 years old ☐ 45-50 years old ☐ >50 years old
3. Where were you born? In which village, parish and district.	Village name: …….. Parish name: …….. District name: ……..

4. Are you married? If so, for how many years?	□ Yes □ No □ Separated/divorced □ Widowed For …….. years
5. Do you have any children? If so, how many?	□ Yes □ No …….. children
6. What is your religion?	□ Roman Catholic □ Protestant □ Islam □ Indigenous religion Other, namely……
7. What is the name of the clan you belong to? Do you also belong to a specific group within this clan? If so, what is the name of the sub-clan or lineage you belong to?	Clan name: …… Name sub-clan/lineage: …….. ……..
8. What is your highest level of completed education?	□ None □ Primary education □ Secondary education □ College □ University Other: …… ……
9. With how many people do you live under one roof? - How many of them are below the age of 18? - How many of them are above the age of 60?	…….. people …….. people …….. people
Livelihoods	
10. What is your employment? Or what main activities do you perform to gain an income?	…….. …….. ……..

11. Do you do any activities on the side to gain an income? If so, state what kind of activities.	☐ Yes: …… …… …… ☐ No
12. What is your monthly income?	Around …….. Ugandan Shillings
13. How much money do you spend per month?	Around …….. Ugandan Shillings
14. On what things do you spend most of your money?	☐ Food ☐ Water ☐ Clothing ☐ Rent ☐ School fees (of children) ☐ Transport ☐ Medicines ☐ Electricity Other things, namely: …… …… …… ……
15. What assets[8] does your household own?	☐ Car ☐ Bicycle ☐ Livestock ☐ Motor cycle ☐ House ☐ Smartphone ☐ Other, namely:…… ……
16. Do you (or does anyone in your household) have a bank-account	☐ Yes ☐ No
17. Does your household save money? If so state the amount that is saved per year.	☐ Yes, around …….. Ugandan shillings per year ☐ No
18. Is your household engaged in	☐ Yes

[8] Assets are things you own that have monetary value.

agricultural activities?	☐ No
19. Does your household own any livestock? If so, what kind of livestock? Also state the number of livestock. *Cross multiple boxes if more answers apply.*	☐ No livestock ☐ Cows #=……. ☐ Goats #=……. ☐ Chicken #=…….. ☐ Other, namely: ……
20. Do you receive any financial or material support? If so, from who? *Cross multiple boxes if more answers apply.* **if your answer is no, skip question 21**	☐ No ☐ Yes -> from relatives ☐ Yes -> from friends ☐ Yes -> from a NGO / international organization ☐ Yes -> from a government support program ☐ Yes -> from ……
21. In what form do you receive support?	☐ Money ☐ Business advice ☐ Training ☐ Food ☐ Medical care ☐ Other: …… ……
22. What are the main challenges/problems your household faces at the moment? *Cross multiple boxes if more answers apply.* (You may also use the dotted lines to elaborate on one of the challenges/problems.)	☐ Raising enough money to pay for children's education fees ☐ Raising enough money to cover basic needs (food, water shelter, clothing) ☐ Poor roads ☐ Lack of employment opportunities ☐ Having no access to land ☐ Illness/disease in family ☐ Financial debt ☐ Lack of transportation options ☐ Other problems: …… …… …… ……
23. How does your household cope with	☐ Get a loan at the bank

unexpected expenses or times of hardship? *Cross multiple boxes if more answers apply.* (You may also use the dotted lines to elaborate on your answer)	☐ Borrow money from family members or relatives ☐ Use savings account ☐ Take on an extra income generating activity ☐ In another way: …….. ……. …….
Rural-urban migration	
24. For how long have you lived in Kabale town?	…… Years *If shorter: …… Months*
25. How old were you when you moved to Kabale town?	☐ <9 years old ☐ 10-15 years old ☐ 15-20 years old ☐ 25-30 years old ☐ 30-35 years old ☐ 36> years old
26. What made you decide to leave the village?	☐ Lack of job opportunities ☐ Poor communication ☐ Crop failure ☐ Poor living conditions ☐ Poor health services ☐ Poor education services ☐ Lack of land for farming ☐ Tired of agricultural lifestyle ☐ Other, namely: ……. ……. …….
27. What attracted you to Kabale town?	☐ Better access to food ☐ Available health services ☐ Employment opportunities ☐ Better educational opportunities ☐ Family members already living there ☐ Hope for a better life ☐ Better chances of marrying ☐ Higher wages in the town (in comparison to the village) ☐ Higher standard of living in the town ☐ Other, namely:

	…… …… …… ……
28. Do you still feel connected to your village of origin?	☐ Yes ☐ No
29. Do you have any relatives still living in the village? If you have multiple sisters or brothers, write down how many are still in the village on the dotted line?	☐ None ☐ My mother ☐ My father ☐ Younger sister(s). # = …… ☐ Older sister(s). # = …… ☐ Younger brother(s) # = …… ☐ Older brother(s) # = …… Other relative(s): …… …… …… ……
30. Do you still have friends living in the village? If so how many?	☐ Yes ☐ No Around …… friends
31. Do you send money to the village? If so, how much per year?	☐ Yes ☐ No Around……Ugandan Shillings
32. Are there any other things that you send to people in the village? If so, what things? (for example: soap, airtime, food, clothing)	☐ Yes ☐ No Things like …… …… …… ……
33. What do you receive from your relatives	☐ Nothing

or friends who still live in the village?	☐ Money ☐ Food ☐ Other things:…….. …….
34. How often do you visit the village per year?	☐ Never ☐ Once or twice ☐ 3-5 times a year ☐ 5-10 times a year ☐ Every month ☐ Every week ☐ Multiple times per week
Land tenure	
35. Do you use, own or hold use rights for any parcel[9] of land? (Even if the land is currently not being used or is used by someone else select 'yes')	☐ Yes ☐ No ➔ **If your answer is no, the questionnaire ends here.**
36. Do you use, own or hold use rights for this parcel(s) of land alone or with someone else?	☐ Alone ☐ Jointly, namely with: …… …… ……
If your answer to question 35 was yes continue Please provide me information about each parcel which you use, own or hold use rights for.	
37. Per parcel, state the size of the parcel and specify what measurement unit you use. Parcel #1 is around …… acres/hectares/square meters Parcel #2 is around …… acres/hectares/square meters Parcel #3 is around …… acres/hectares/square meters Parcel #4 is around …… acres/hectares/square meters Parcel #5 is around …… acres/hectares/square meters If you use or own more than 5 parcels of land, please write them down on the backside of this paper.	

[9] A parcel means a measured portion or area of land.

38. Where are the land parcels located? Parcel #1 is located in …….. village …….. sub-county Parcel #2 is located in …….. village …….. sub-county Parcel #3 is located in …….. village …….. sub-county Parcel #4 is located in …….. village …….. sub-county Parcel #5 is located in …….. village …….. sub-county	
39. Per land parcel explain how you have acquired it. Please choose from the following options *or add your own*: - Purchased - Allocated by government - Allocated by family member - Inherited by the death of a family member - Rented (short-term contract, usually shorter than 1 years) - Leased (for a set period of time, usually longer than 1 year) - Sharecropped - Borrowed for free - Bride price - Gift from non-household member - Moved in without permission	Parcel #1:…… Parcel #2:…… Parcel #3:…… Parcel #4:…… Parcel #5:……
40. Per parcel explain what it is currently used for: Please choose from the following options *or add your own:* - Cultivation of crops - Rearing cattle - It is left fallow - Non-agricultural use	Parcel #1:…… Parcel #2:…… Parcel #3:…… Parcel #4:…… Parcel #5:……

41. Per parcel of land you use or have user rights to, explain who owns it. Please choose from the following options *or add your own*: - Nobody - I own it alone - I own it together with others - My father - My husband/wife - The government - A company	Parcel #1:…….. Parcel #2:…….. Parcel #3:…….. Parcel #4:…….. Parcel #5:……..
42. What kind of documents do you have to assert rights over the parcels? (hand-written or electronic)	☐ None ☐ I don't know ☐ Certificate of ownership ☐ A will / certificate of hereditary acquisition. ☐ Lease contract ☐ Rental contract ☐ Land title ☐ Tax receipts ☐ Other: ……
43. Are you likely to involuntarily lose ownership or use rights to the land in the next 5 years?	☐ No ☐ Maybe ☐ Yes ☐ I don't know
44. How are the boundaries of the land defined?	☐ With stones ☐ A fence ☐ Natural boundary (e.g. river or hedge) ☐ Other: ……..
45. Have you ever had a dispute with someone on the boundaries of the land? (e.g. someone encroaching on your land?) *If your answer is yes, please elaborate on the dispute on the dotted line.*	☐ Never ☐ Yes, but the dispute has been resolved ☐ Yes and the dispute has not been resolved up to this date …….. …….. ……..

End of the questionnaire