Rural-urban migration in southwestern rural Uganda

- The perceptions and strategies of the left-behind

"It becomes abundantly clear that each household faces its own, unique contextual mosaic which combines the personal and the structural. It also becomes clear that a myriad of livelihoods systems and strategies emerge from these mosaics" (Rigg 2007:92)

Bachelor thesis in Human Geography

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Acknowledgement

Abstract

Around the globe a phenomenon called rural-urban migration occurs which means that people move from rural to urban areas. The world today gets more and more urbanized and 2007 was the year when more than half of the world's population lived in urban areas. This pattern of movement seems to keep on, especially in developing countries where the urban areas are expanding. Rural-urban migration can be analyzed on a global scale but it is also important to understand what impact this process has on a local and personal scale. When it is mostly the able-bodied (the physically stronger and often educated), younger generation that moves from the rural to the urban areas it is the left-behind, older generation that is left with the responsibility for the agricultural production. They need to find new ways of coping with their livelihoods.

The aim of this study was to examine the strategies rural farmers use to maintain their livelihoods for the purpose of coping with rural-urban migration of the younger generation. The aim was examined by answering the following questions:

- How does rural-urban migration of the younger generation affect the livelihood opportunities of the farmers?

- Coupled to this; what strategies do the farmers use to maintain their livelihoods?

This study was operationalized in the south-western part of Uganda in the village Kigarama and its surroundings.

The questions have mainly been answered by using semi-structured interviews. They were made with 14 farmers in Kigarama and each interview took about one hour. The interview-guide that was used focused on the farmers' thoughts about what kind of effects or challenges they experienced on their livelihoods when younger household members (mainly the farmers' children) migrated to urban areas and the strategies used to maintain their livelihoods. Focus was also on general thoughts about rural-urban migration and the future of farming and agricultural development both on a personal and a national level.

The results of this study show that rural-urban migration made an impact and affected the farmers' livelihoods in terms of time spent on the farm, depletion of the able-bodied in the rural areas and even economic effects were shown. The main strategies for coping with these effects were for example to employ local workers or to spend more time on the farm. The results from this study have been analyzed through the so called *livelihood framework* (LF) which is a framework used to understand how underlying causes and factors directly or indirectly determine people's access to resources or assets and thus their livelihoods.

Keywords: livelihood, urbanization, left-behind, rural-urban migration, Uganda, agriculture, development

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List of acronyms

ACE	Area Co-operative Enterprise
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LF	Livelihood Framework
MFS	Minor Field Study
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
RNF	Rural non-farm
SACCO	Savings and Credits Co-operative Organizations
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SCC	Swedish Co-operative Center
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UCA	Uganda Co-operative Alliance
UN	United Nations
WB	World Bank

1 Introduction

1.1 Global trends - population in urban and rural areas

All around the world, urbanization is increasing and more than half of the Earth's population now lives in the urban areas (UN Habitat 2013). According to estimates of the United Nations (UN), the world's urban population in 2011 consisted of 3.6 billion people and was expected to increase with 72 percent by the year of 2050. At the same time, the rural population will decline from the year of 2021 (UN 2012). According to Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) (2013), 92 percent of the rural population in the world is concentrated in the developing countries; it is also there where the biggest urban expansion occurs.

There are different factors that explain why the urban population grows. Part of it can be derived to the natural population growth but part of it can also be because of rural-urban migration which means that people move from the rural areas to settle in the urban areas (towns and cities). The effect on the population growth in an urban area from migration often comes in the early stage of urbanization to later be replaced by the natural population growth. The urbanization in Africa counts for 40 percent of the total urbanization in the developing countries in the world (Tacoli 2011).

In a historical sense, urbanization has been driven by the industrialization and the work opportunities that came with it (UN 2012). A part of the internal migration in Africa, however, is due to land fragmentation and new employment opportunities in the cities (Mulumba & Olema 2009). Mulumba and Olema (2009) acknowledge some patterns due to urbanization and modernization trends, such as that there are now a demand for domestic labor in urban households and that rural poverty forces some parents to send their children to cities to look for work. These are some of the forces that have pushed young people to a rural-urban migration for domestic and uncertain labor. It is also known that the process of industrialization has attracted seasonal workers to the cities for a specified period of time after which they return to their homes in the rural areas.

It is important to understand that flows of the internal migration and urbanization can differ from country to country. Research shows for example that the speed of urbanization has stagnated in some countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The stagnation is mainly due to urban poverty and declining economic opportunities in the cities. The migration pattern in this case becomes a circular migration which means that a migration back to rural areas also occurs (Potts 2009).

The UN report *Population distribution, urbanization, internal migration and development: An internal perspective* written by Tacoli (2011) shows that many developing countries and their policies have a negative view on rural-urban migration because it is perceived that it is the poverty that forces the poor people to migrate. This migration in turn, generates higher pressure on the cities which in the end causes increased poverty both in the rural and the urban areas (Ibid.). Many developing countries have policies with goals to direct the spatial distribution of the population were focus lies on lowering the flow of migrants to the bigger cities in the country. In Africa 77 percent of all the countries have these kinds of policies (UN 2012). It is nevertheless important, according to the UN (2012), to highlight the positive aspects of rural-urban migration. For example, money earned by family members in the urban

areas that are sent as remittances[1] works as an important strategy for the rural households and the small-holder farmers' economic survival and development (Tacoli 2011).

1.2 Problem statement, aim and research questions

Urbanization is a global phenomenon and thereby occurs in Uganda as well. Between 1980 and 2002 the urban population in Uganda increased threefold from 1 million to 3 million (NPA 2010) and an additional increase of 5.7 percent on a yearly basis is expected between 2010 and 2015 (UN Habitat 2013). According to Dorosh and Thurlow (2009), the inflow to Kampala in 2002 was equal to 2.9 percent of the total labor force in the city of which 85 percent emerged from different rural areas.

From a human-geographical perspective rural-urban migration can be understood as a pairing of two spatial units - the city/town and the rural. The spatial interaction between those two can in turn affect the social society at different scales in terms of design, capacity and development in both the urban and the rural areas. A city's capacity is often limited in an economic, social and spatial sense where the living areas, labor market and financial resources often are the limiting factors. Therefore a rapid urbanization can have both social and environmental consequences in the cities such as overcrowding, traffic congestion, growth of slums and poor sanitation (NPA 2010). In the rural areas it is often the young, able-bodied persons who migrate to the urban areas to study or to look for work and the older generation that are left behind to tend to the household and work on the farm (Rigg 2007). Earlier research has often been focused on the migrants (e.g. Knodel & Saengtienchai, 2007; Rigg, 2009; Toyota, Yeoh, & Nguyen 2007) rather than the people left behind. Uganda's economy is strongly dependent upon agriculture and has goals to develop and modernize it (NPA 2013) and it is therefore important to understand and examine the effects of rural-urban migration by departing in the rural.

The aim of this study is to understand the strategies the rural farmers use to maintain their livelihoods for the purpose of coping with rural-urban migration of the younger generation. Our research questions are therefore the following:

- How does rural-urban migration of the younger generation affect the livelihood opportunities of the farmers?

- Coupled to this; what strategies do the farmers use to maintain their livelihoods?

The aim has been operationalized in the village Kigarama and its surroundings in the south-western parts of Uganda. Interviews were made with farmers who had household members at the age of 18 years or below (the younger generation) that had migrated. See more information about Kigarama and Uganda in chapter 5.

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[1] Money or other resources sent from the migrant back to the rural household.

Figure 1.1. *Map of Africa* (Bruce Jones Design Inc. 2013; the pointing arrow is added by the authors).

1.3 Scope

One prominent demarcation in this study is that interviews have only been made with the left-behind[2] which in this case were the older generation. The study does not therefore include the younger generation since they often are the people who have migrated. The problem statement in this study could not be answered if migrants were asked since we were interested in the strategies that farmers use when the younger population migrates to urban areas. Nonetheless, it would have been interesting to hear the migrants' perceptions of reality; what push or pull factors they experience. A reason for not interviewing the staying youth was because of the information about the strategies would be hard to get from the youth when the parents often are the ones who make the decisions in the household. If interviews had been

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[2] The people who stay in the rural areas when the younger generation moves to cities in search of for example work or education.

made with the youth, the focus would be on the experience they had about the strategies and the migration of their household members.

The study's spatial demarcation is relatively narrow and focuses on the village Kigarama with surroundings. Since this study is about the effects and strategies that follows when the younger members of a household migrate, the distance between urban and rural was key. The further the distance the bigger were the chances that the migrant had physically moved and was not just commuting daily to school or work. The distance was also dependent on the ability we had to transfer ourselves to and from the place in one day. To have done a comparative study between different villages would also have been interesting but it would have required a significantly larger data-collection than was made. The understanding of the uniqueness of each place would in that case also play a part in the result. The information from a comparative study was perceived hard to gather since the data-collection in this study has been dependent upon gatekeepers (see chapter 4.3.1) to find suitable villages and informants.

1.4 Relevance
As mentioned earlier, many studies within the subject rural-urban migration focus on the migrants and the effects of urbanization and not on the people left-behind. Because this study's purpose was to find out how the rural-urban migration is affecting especially those left-behind, a comprehensive understanding of the whole subject can be made when put together with previous studies. There are also organizations, as for example the Uganda Co-operative Alliance (UCA) that might gain from this study. Problems occur for the UCA because they have a hard time getting the younger generation interested in the agricultural cooperative movement though it is an important sector in Uganda (Okello 2013). This study can to a certain part enhance the understanding about rural-urban migration and maybe assist UCA towards the goal to engage the young in the cooperative society. It can also be a way for the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) to get at deeper knowledge about rural-urban migration as this is a Minor Field Study (MFS) scholarship with its aim to serve as a knowledge base for SIDA.

1.5 Definitions

1.5.1 Introduction
Three central concepts in this study are: migration, urban and rural areas. In the developing world, rural and urban areas differ in ways that are more prominent than in the developed world, it is therefore important to make it clear here that we are talking about rural and urban areas in the developing world.

1.5.2 Migration
Migration can be seen as a collective term for the human being's movement over various spatial distances (NE 2013). When we in this study talk about migration it refers to the physical move from one place to another in settlement purposes in search of for example work or education. Daily commuting is not seen as migration, but children who go to boarding-school and stay overnight at their school are seen as migrants. In the developing world *migration* is often viewed as something negative; as an outcome of underdevelopment (Rigg 2007). We choose not to distinguish migration as either positive or negative but will instead present the results and previous research in an, as much as possible, open way.

1.5.3 Urban area

According to the National Geographic an urban area *"is the region surrounding a city. Most inhabitants of urban areas have nonagricultural jobs (...) there is a density of human structures such as houses, commercial buildings, roads, bridges, and railways"* (National Geographic 2013). There is a higher variation of working opportunities than in the rural areas. We also define urban areas as an area with high population density that include social and economic organizations and where the shape of the natural environment is transformed into a constructed landscape.

1.5.4 Rural area

Compared to the urban, the rural areas have low population density and inhabitants have their occupations mainly within the agricultural sector (National Geographic 2013). It is more likely find luxurious assets such as electricity, mobile network and running water in the urban centers than in the rural areas. Even social-welfare facilities, such as education and health-care, can be more troublesome to find in the rural areas compared to urban areas.

1.6 Outline

This thesis consists of eight chapters where chapter one to four consist of the theoretical framework and methodology, the last chapters consist of the empirical background; results and analyses. This is a collaborate study jointly made by both authors.

The first parts of the thesis focus on an introduction of the problem at hand from a global perspective to narrow down to the problem statement. In chapter two the theoretical framework is presented where the *livelihood framework* is used as the principal framework for the whole thesis. Thereafter a discussion about modernization follows because it is part of the creational factors behind the theories *push and pull* and *urban bias* that are later presented. In the theoretical part, chapter four focuses on the methodological approach where it is, systematically, presented the scientific approach used and the practical outline is discussed. When the introduction (in the theoretical part) brings about the overall facts about the study subject, the empirical part takes up the facts coupled to the study field and Uganda. From a structural point of view it was perceived as easier to couple to the results that follow. Chapter six is thus where the results is presented and interpreted. The study ends with an analysis of the gathered material and here the theoretical framework is coupled to the empirical part and conclusions and thoughts about further research of the subject are presented.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction
In this chapter the theoretical framework will be presented but it is first of all important to make one aware of the earlier theories concerning the topics in this study. Theories dealing with rural-urban migration can be found in different schools, amongst some in the economic field. Early economic theories concerning this type of study was Todaro's theory (developed 1969) wherein the reason for migration can be drawn to the fact that there exist expectation on the higher yield from income in the city compared to in rural areas and therefore people are drawn to the cities (Stark 1984). Todaro focused on the individual's rational choice but other authors focused more on the family's or the household's decisions. The migration of one person could be drawn to the decision or content of a group of people such as the family (de Haan 1999). Stark and Levhari (1982) mean that risk-taking and return are important parameters to understand migration. The migration in this case is seen as a strategy for the individual to be independent of long-term risk, instead of staying in the rural areas the individual chooses to leave to look for work in the city since the risks are perceived to decrease as he or she spends time in the city. Meaning to say it is perceived to be a big initial risk to migrate to the city but in the long-run worth it (Herrin, Knight & Balihuta 2008).

The theories used in this study have a strong hold in human geography since they couple to the study of place, space and human actions. We have chosen a livelihood framework (LF) to wrap around the study which means that it emerges from the perspective of the household. The LF is a way to explain which factors there is to determine how people make a living and is used, among others, to gain an understanding on how to deal with poverty reduction in developing countries. The push and pull theory that is used explains what kind of factors that are the basis of the decision of an individual to migrate. The theory of urban bias is another theory we have been using to explain some of the underlying causes behind the uneven distribution between the urban and rural areas. In this context it is also important to discuss the view or meaning of the concept development and how it can be coupled to modernization. The theory of modernization is important to use in this study because it can be seen as the underlying creation of theories as push and pull and urban bias.

2.2 The theoretical framework for this study

2.2.1 The livelihood framework
In the beginning of the 90s Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway formally introduced the concept sustainable livelihood (Knutson 2006) and it was defined as:

> A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term. (Chambers & Conway 1991:6)

Lately the concept *sustainability* has been criticized in the scientific world; the sustainable livelihood is today more referred to as the livelihood framework. The approach focuses on the underlying causes and factors that directly or indirectly determine or contain poor people's access to resources or assets and thus their livelihoods (Krantz 2001). The concept of sustainability is therefore no longer a part of the framework. The LF can be viewed as a

critique of both the neo-classical and structural approach that explains the individual's livelihood strategies as a product of either the market forces or the social structures in society (Williams, Meth & Willis 2009). LF derives from a more holistic perspective with the point of departure in both macro- and domestic levels (Owusu 2009) where the choice of the individual, actions and situation gains a meaning. With this perspective the individual gets a more central role in the developing analysis (Williams, Meth & Willis 2009). Today the LF is used by many international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and development agencies that work with poverty alleviation (Owusu 2009).

As mentioned above the approach focuses on the individual's or the household's assets, conditions and which strategies they use to achieve their livelihood goals on both a macro and micro scale. The assets consist of things that people use to gain a living and can be sorted into five categories: *physical, social, natural, financial* and *human capital* (see fig. 2.1). The different assets can in turn vary between individuals depending on for example gender or location. External influences such as *trends, shocks* and *seasonality* are the vulnerability factors that affect the assets. Some of the factors may be out of control for the individual such as price fluctuations (*seasonality*), outbreaks of disease (*shocks*) and undesired changes in political representation (*trends*). These factors may cause negative effects for the individual's or the household's assets.

In addition to the vulnerability factors are the *policies, institutions* and *processes* (the *PIPs*) that influence the assets at all scales. They affect individuals and groups in different ways depending on their assets. These are the institutions, organizations, policies and legislations that shape the livelihoods. They decide on the types of capital, livelihood strategies, decision-making authorities and other types of influences. The PIPs also decide on the exchange terms between different capital and the revenue of the livelihood strategies. Since *culture* also has its own symbol in this category people's sense of belonging and well-being are also accounted for.

In order for the household or individual to achieve positive livelihood outcomes different strategies are used, which are affected by the transforming category. There are three main types of strategies which can be combined in multiple ways. The first one is *natural resource based* which means that the individuals use the natural resources around them. These individuals could for example be subsistence farmers, fishers, plantation-managers etcetera. The second one is the *non-natural resource based* that most urban-dwellers (but also as rural non-farm activities) use, based on the created resources such as formal and informal service jobs, government jobs etcetera. The third strategy is *migration* which people use when there are few options to make a living where they are stationed. The livelihood strategies that spring out of this are then in turn affecting the assets the individual will have and the *outcome* for the individual and in the end the outcome for the whole society. The outcomes could mean for example increased food-security, better health, reduced pest or higher income depending on what the individuals seek (FAO 2005).
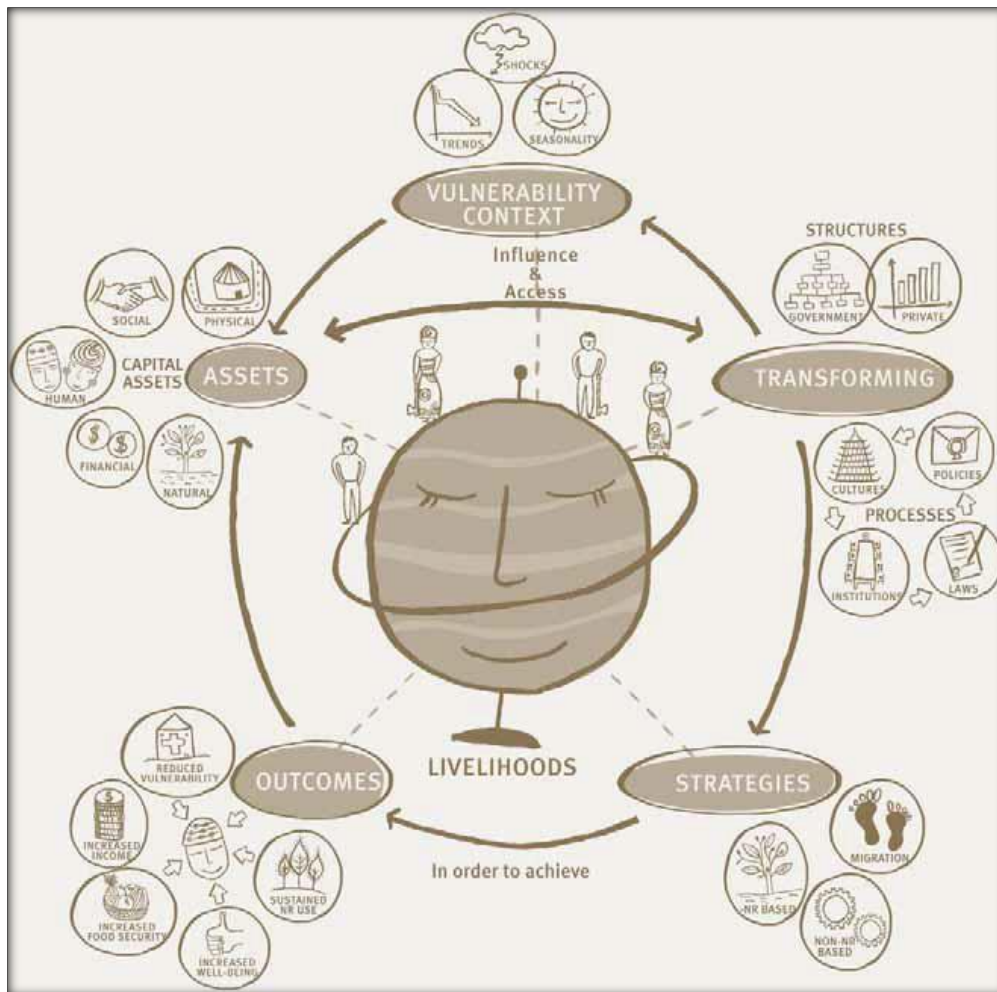
Figure 2.1. *The Livelihood framework* (FAO 2005).

In this study the livelihood framework has been used to understand the households and the activities they engage in. It has not been used as a theory *per se*, but used to couple the farmers' strategies into a livelihood perspective to be able to understand which factors that can affect the farmers' livelihood abilities. It is interesting to look into what happens if a part of the framework changes and how it affects other parts, like for example when the able-bodied migrate to the cities and the strategies the remaining farmers are forced to *or* see the opportunity to adopt.

2.2.2 Modernization and developing theories

Modernization as a concept can be defined as a "*process of evolution from simpler to more complex, and allegedly more advanced societies*" (Williams, Meth & Willis 2009:371). In economic terms, modernity can refer to the idea about how to develop towards a more urban and industrial society (Ibid.). Modernization can be linked to development theories where early anthropologists emanate from a dualistic perspective upon development where a comparison was made between traditional, which referred to underdeveloped and indigenous, and modern, which referred to development and westernization. Through this dualistic thinking development could be seen as a success that the underdeveloped countries would strive to achieve. Another development theory that generally have been dominating for policy thinking on a global scale is the neo-classical theory which is based on that growth and development can appear through a liberal world trade (Potter, Binns, Elliott & Smith 2008).

These two perspectives on development enable the western society to maintain clear incitement to develop poor countries by, for example, assisting with knowledge and economic collaboration. This is a contributing factor to why developing countries increasingly, through structural adjustment programs[3] (SAP), are liberalized. This means that the developing countries are transformed into "collaboration-countries" in terms of openness for investments and trade between countries. This contributes to benefits, but these are not equally distributed though it is mainly the western countries that make the profit. Theories considering modernization can be coupled to Walt Rostow's model, *stages of economic growth,* which is an economic model with capitalistic character from the 1960s. It means to explain that development and growth could be achieved if the country goes through five development phases. The phases depart from a *traditional society* and end up in the final phase which consists of a modern urban-industrial society that is called *the age of high mass consumption.* These thoughts about modernization and the view upon which countries that are developed have created a norm where the urban is coupled to progress and development, at the same time as the rural is coupled to the traditional and the retrograde (Potter et al. 2008).

2.2.3 Push and pull factors

Explanations of why people migrate can be divided into push and pull factors. Push factors can explain the reasons why migrants do not want or cannot stay at one place, thereby pushing the migrant to move. These factors can be poverty, war, unemployment or environmental change. The pull factors explain the processes that attract migrants to the new location (Knox & Marston 2010). Parnwell (1993) explains that a significant pull factor for rural-urban migration is based on economic reasons such as finding a job that generate more money than the individual currently earns. But there are also non-economic factors that pull people towards the cities such as the attraction to the "bright lights" of the city which means that the city is perceived as a more exciting and modern place compared to the rural areas. This can be grounded in, as earlier mentioned, the theories about modernization and development. Another reason could be that the city offers social-welfare facilities that the countryside does not offer, such as health-care, public means and education.

Parnwell (1993) further explains that the reasons why people choose to migrate can be hard to theorize to a homogenous explanation since the decision in many cases is based in subjective values and can therefore differ between individuals. It is also hard to isolate the different considerable push and pull factors; rather the decision to migrate can be a combination of push and pull factors. There are also often different underlying causes behind what triggers the push and pull factors to become a reason to migrate. Parnwell (1993) takes the example by analyzing the overcrowding in the rural areas, which is an important push-factor for the rural-urban migration. From a deeper perspective the overcrowding in certain places could instead derive from the fact that the land-areas are too scarce for people to sustain a good livelihood or the quality of the fertile land not enough compared to the demand of food. Parnwell (1993) also believes that in those cases where the households own land, but do not have the capacity to support the whole family, it is more common that household members migrate to the urban areas in search of work, whereas the rest of the family stays behind to work on the farm. He also brings up another example where an important pulling factor to this migration is the employment opportunities where the urban areas usually have a lot more opportunities than the rural areas. Migration made for this reason can also occur by the very awareness of this knowledge, even if it does not lead to a job. This pull factor therefore becomes a result of how

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[3] Neoliberal reforms imposed by the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) owing to the debt crisis in the 80s aiming at scaling back public expenditures and achieving balance of payments for the indebted countries (Williams, Meth & Willis 2009)

media and people that reside in the cities produce the image of the life in the city and the opportunities there.

Tacoli (1998) argues that the migration and its push and pull factors can be understood from a neo-classic, or a structural perspective. The neo-classic perspective implies that the rural-urban migration can be understood as a result of the individual choice that is based on what the city offers (pull) and/or what troubles that pushes one from the domicile in the rural areas. Are the push and pull factors instead seen from the structural perspective the migration is rather a forced move, affected by the social processes and structures and could therefore be dependent upon factors such as the working-opportunities' spatial patterns on a global and national level.

The idea of the push and pull factors are based on Everett Lee's *Model of origin and destination factors and intervening obstacles in migration* (see fig. 2.2) (Parnwell 1993). This model shows what positive (+), negative (-) and neutral (0) factors that exist both in the place of origin and the place of destination. The individuals make their decision based on these factors, to either migrate or stay, according to which of the places that offers the best perceived conditions. Between the place of living and the place of destination there is, what Lee calls, the intervening obstacles, which consist of, for example spatial distance, cost of travel or family attachments (Ibid.). This model is just as, well as the theory of push and pull, a generalized picture that helps us to understand why people move. Parnwell (1993) explains that factors that are seen as negative or positive are largely subjective. Another aspect is that the information-flow between the place of origin and the place of destination differs. There is often a much better knowledge about one's domicile compared to the place of destination where the knowledge of the place may have to rely on secondary sources. The information flow differences between the places could therefore affect what is perceived as positive, negative and neutral about the places.
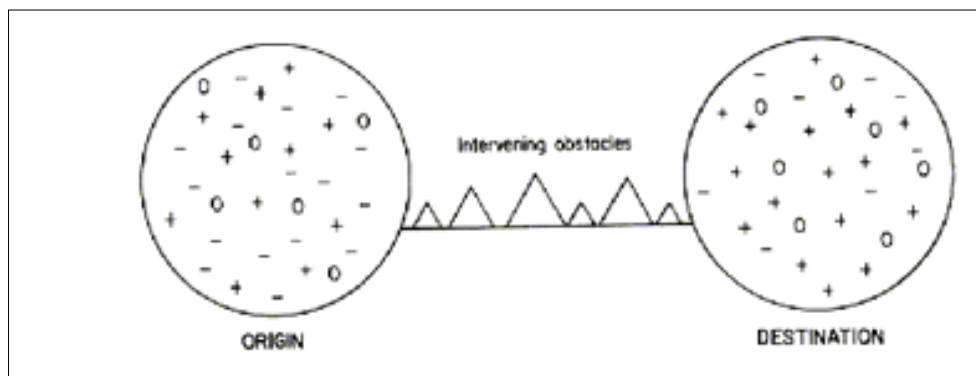
Figure 2.2. *Model of origin and destination factors and intervening obstacles in migration* (The Student Room 2013).

2.2.4 Urban bias
Epstein and Jezeph (2001) stress the fact that when developing countries (especially countries in Africa) gained independence from the colonial powers they sought to establish themselves among the western nations. They did so by using the economic models that had helped the western societies through industrialization and towards economic development. These economic models were concentrated on development in the cities and since many of the developing countries had economies based on the agricultural sector in the rural areas it caused complications for the rural areas as well as for the urban. The limited economic

resources that they had were thus concentrated on urban industrial development and thereby neglecting the rural areas, where the majority of population still lived (Ibid.). The concentration of a country's capital and resources in the urban area at the expense of the rural is explained by a theory called *urban bias* and is one explanation of why the development of rural areas in some countries has stagnated (Bezemer & Headey 2008). The educational opportunities and capital accumulation (both foreign aid and domestic capital) are sustained only in the cities at the same time as advantages are gained in the city such as lower food prices (due to subsidies) and cheap rural labor (Ibid.). However encouraging this seems, it does not only contribute with positive aspects for the urban areas, urban bias also causes enhanced urbanization which can cause environmental degradation, fiscal squeeze and administrative challenges (Lipton 1993). In the rural areas it becomes more challenging to get profit from agriculture due to the low market prices for the produce in the urban areas and the impoverishment of the workforce and working opportunities due to rural-urban migration. In the long run that makes it more difficult to develop the agricultural production. Urban bias has, since the independence in many developing countries, remained an obstacle for poverty reduction and economic stability (Bezemer & Headey 2008).

The structural processes that shape urban bias affect the rural individuals' abilities and strategies in their livelihood. It becomes a vicious circle when the neglect of rural areas and poverty leads to increasing levels of rural-urban migration (Epstein & Jezeph 2001). The urban bias is therefore an important driving force behind the very issues that this thesis is about.

3. Previous research

3.1 Introduction
As discussed in chapter one, most of the research on the effects of migration has dealt with the migrants and the changing reality for them. This chapter will therefore examine previous research that relates to how migration affects the left-behind and what kind of strategies there are to cope with the effects. This chapter will also present research of people's perception of the agricultural lifestyle.

3.2 How the left-behind are affected by rural-urban migration
The effects of rural-urban migration have, according to the geographer Johanthan Rigg (2007), often been spoken of as negative, especially for the people that are left-behind. The loss of the *able-bodied* people, the physically stronger and often of higher education, leads to a demographic imbalance in both the rural and the urban areas. For the rural areas this can for example be realized in the sense that the left-behind experience work loss on their farms.

The article *Migration and livelihoods in the Lao PDR* by Rigg (2006) dealt with the changed mobility in South-east Asia and especially Laos. Rigg brought up the aspect of the impact on the left-behind. He coupled the migration to the broader context and sought to explain how migration could lead to both individual and structural changes on different scales. Interviews and focus-groups were used as methods to communicate with the people staying in the rural areas. Some of the results pointed towards the fact that the possibilities in the urban areas could create incentives for the migrant to search for "the better life" in terms of work that generated more money and a lifestyle where the farm was not included. In a broader aspect, this of course has implications for the future of agriculture since agriculture is, in one way; dependent upon the individual decisions that the rural inhabitants make concerning migration. He also discussed the remittances that the migrants sent home to the village and that it was not only in terms of money but also of new cultural, social and political beliefs that affected the left-behind in different ways. The study showed that it was mostly the able-bodied that migrated to urban areas, which left the elders with labor shortages. Severe effects on the farm in the long run could therefore have occurred which also creates the necessity of new livelihood strategies.

Knodel & Saengtienchai (2007) write in their study *Rural parents with urban children: social and economic implications of migration for the rural elderly in Thailand* about the economic and social impacts and consequences for the left-behind parents in Thailand when young adults migrated to urban areas. The study was based on open-ended, semi-structured interviews with 44 parents. It mediates a more positive view on migration for the left-behind's sake and points out that the older generation in the rural areas did not sacrifice their own well-being by sending the migrants to the urban area. On the contrary, if the interaction between the migrant and the rural household remained, they acknowledged the gains the geographical extended family contributed to. Parents felt positive about the migration because the economic burden lightened when there were less family members to provide for. There were also hopes that the children would come upon work in the cities and thereafter send earned money (remittance) back to the left-behind. Some parents had to employ workers as a consequence of the migration the farmers experienced an enhanced workload that became too much for them to handle by themselves. According to them, this was not a big problem for the household because the land-areas were small enough and the migrant helped the parents to pay for the workers.

The study *The impact of Rural-Urban Migration on Household food security in selected villages in Chiradzulu and Mangochi District* (Chilimampunga 2006) made in Malawi, examined how the food-security in two villages was affected by rural-urban migration. The result from the study comes to the same conclusion as Knodel and Saengtienchai did; meaning to say that rural migration affects the local food security differently depending on the interaction between the left-behind and the migrant. A better food security could for example be established if the migrant sent remittance to the people left-behind.

3.3 Perceptions about agricultural lifestyle

As recently discussed, some patterns of migration are part of cultural and social beliefs and trends. Gella and Tadele (2012) have in their study *A last resort and often not an option at all: farming and young people in Ethiopia*, sought to get an understanding about youths' and their parents' perceptions for the younger generation to have farming as their future work. The study was made in Ethiopia in two regions and interviews were made with 99 participants. The conditions for the people in these two regions were not the best since they had had bad seasons without any good harvests, decreasing crop prices and higher price on fertilizers, the lands were losing fertility and they were also dependent on governmental support and funding to sustain their agricultural activities. On top of this, land was scarce, which meant that the more children that were born, the less the land for every child to cultivate for their own when they inherited the land from their parents. The data from the interviews spoke of the younger generations' expectations for the future and the desire or not to become farmers like their parents were. The results showed that most young had no desire to engage in agriculture, especially those who had studied or were studying. This was partly because the lives the farmers had were perceived as tiresome, hardworking, low yielding and bound in space to a specific place and therefore the people there were not free to do or travel as one pleased. To have an agricultural lifestyle was also not seen as giving the social status that many young people craved. Life in the city on the other hand was looked on with expectations of opportunities for jobs with higher status and yield, it was especially desired by the young who were going through or had gone through education. If one had an education there was no point in going back to agriculture, one studied to become something else. The study also spoke of the parents' wishes for their children and the older generation's view upon agriculture. First of all the older generation thought that the youth were being lazy and too arrogant to recognize that agriculture could be a resourceful livelihood. At the same time the parents wanted everything but an agricultural life for their children, instead they wanted their children to become educated so they could make a living in the city.

The wishes and expectations of both the youth and the older generation did not go hand in hand with what the labor market in Ethiopia offered and not with what the government wanted for the future development in agriculture either. The government seemed to think that modernization and making the agricultural sector more efficient was important for agricultural development. However, the government in Ethiopia seemed to be supporting some of the unemployed youth but, according to the data from the interviews, the support only gained the cities and not the countryside. The land scarcity was also a big problem for the youth, even if they would consider farming as an option; they had no chance of getting a piece of land big enough to cultivate. They rather decided to explore the options in for example trade, business and marketing when the options for becoming a farmer were small. Another problem that the youth insisted on was that their parents were still cultivating by traditional means in an old fashioned way when there existed methods that were modern and effective to use (Gella & Tadele 2012). This study can be seen as a typical example of how agriculture is viewed both by the young and the older generation in the rural areas.

3.4 Rural livelihood diversification

People are starting to embrace both farm work and rural non-farm (RNF) activities to make a living (Rigg 2007) and some researchers talk about rural livelihood diversification. It is defined as: "*the process by which rural families construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in order to survive and to improve their standards of living*" (Ellis 1998:4). Amongst others, Frank Ellis has done studies about livelihood diversification in developing countries. One specific study he has made that dealt with the subject of diversification in sub-Saharan Africa was the *Household strategies and rural livelihood diversification* (1998). The diversification can be viewed as a household strategy or as an involuntary response to crisis such as rural-urban migration and can have positive and negative effects on the rural development. The diversity takes on different forms but is mostly about having the agricultural base intact but adding up with other kind of activities to be able to sustain the same living standard (Ibid.).

In Zoomers' (1999) paper *Livelihood strategies and development interventions in the Southern Andes of Bolivia: contrasting views on development* it is analyzed why, despite development programs, two regions in Bolivia's rural areas were still accounted for as poor. Characteristics of both of these villages were that the households engaged in varying activities to sustain their livelihood. The majority had a small piece of land that they used for both own consumption and cash crops[4]. They also raised animals, sold labor (hard practical labor such as carpeting, bricklaying, mechanics etcetera), let land, made by-products (like milk or cheese) and worked in handicrafts. Most people also moved temporarily to other destinations in search of work. Zoomers (1999) talks of different categories of strategies that farmers can use to sustain their livelihoods. One is the *accumulation strategies*, where the farmers do things to improve their standard of living. The second one, *stabilizing and consolidation strategies* are about to maintain and uphold their current situation. The third one is the *compensatory and survival strategies* which is when the farmers adapt to survive. Income diversification falls under the last category: *security and risk-reducing strategies* where the farmers seek to spread the risks of for example market fluctuations, drought and reduced production capacity etcetera (see chapter 2.1 for coupling to this).

Zoomers (1999) also points out in the study that education of the farmers' children can be viewed as an important household strategy:

> *Myriad farmers spend much of income on their children's education and health. They perceive their children's education (often a reason for migration) as an important vehicle toward improving future prospects (Zoomers 1999:8)*

3.5 Livelihood diversification, remittances and rural development

Zoomers (1999) discusses, that it is important to point out that the people engaged in agriculture do perceive themselves as farmers and farming the main activity. They perceive themselves as farmers even though, in some cases, farming is not the main activity nor standing for the highest yield. What was concluded in Zoomers' study was that little attention from the development programs is directed towards the aspect of migration and the RNF activities and it is partly therefore some of these programs have failed to reduce poverty in the rural areas. In this debate it is important to discuss how the changed mobility of the farmer

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[4] Cash crop is defined as an agricultural crop which is grown for sale.

(for example that the farmer engage in rural-urban migration) can be included in the construction of development programs. Further Zoomers deems that it is neither recognized by the rural development programs nor by the farmer that the farming activities no longer may be the main activity that the farmer engages in and that all other activities are peripheral or back-up functions. This aspect can contribute to consequences in planning for rural development when the farmer is not recognized as something more than a farmer.

Rigg (2007) argues that RNF activities can be viewed in a positive or negative manner for the development on the farm and for the livelihood the farmer has. One view of this is that the money that the RNF brings can contribute to investments in agriculture. This in turn has effects such as enhanced income for the farmer, higher farm output, increased interest in RNF activities for others and also increased interest in local goods and services which can become a boosting factor for the rural area. From the other point of view, RNF activities are not perceived, by some researchers, as contributing to development for the rural areas. Instead, it reflects the transition of work in the rural areas and can result in agricultural decline. People do not have an option in the issue of RNF, they diversify because they have no choice.

de Haan (1999) makes a similar discussion but about remittances. The remittance can be seen from both from a positive and negative angle coupled to rural development. In his critical review of the migration literature he came upon authors who claimed that rural-urban migration could, through remittance, have a positive trickle-down effect on rural development. The farmers became dependent upon the money that their migrated relatives sent them and therefore it became as primary an income as the produce from the farm. Other authors pointed towards the opposite, saying that, remittances could create urban bias rather than developing the rural areas.

4 Method

4.1 Methodological approach
Since the purpose of the study was to seek understanding about the strategies the farmers in Kigarama use when the young people migrate from rural to urban areas it was thought appropriate to use a qualitative method. This method provides possibilities for the researcher to gain a deeper understanding for the scientific problem at hand than a quantitative method would have done (Clark 2005). As an epistemological approach this study used a hermeneutic perspective where the interpretation of the material has a central place. This approach is characterized by the seeking for understanding, beyond just explanations of phenomena. Examples of this are the underlying experiences and processes that underpin the human behavior that can be observed and is reflected in people's life-worlds (Thurén 2007). The approach provided a possibility to interpret the farmers' perceptions and experiences of their life-situation coupled to migration (Bryman 2011). The interpretation starts as early as during the interview and pervades all through the study with the data and the transformation from spoken to written words. The interpreters' prerequisites of the subject may be important and affect the processing and therefore the result (Kvale 1997).Within the qualitative method the objectivity is questioned, the purpose is rather to show that the social reality is in a constant change and that the individual creates and constructs that change (Bryman 2011).

This study used semi-structured interviews within the qualitative field as an approach, meaning to say that an interview-guide was used. To use focus-groups and field-observation would have worked in this case, but to reach the aim of this study it would have faced practical issues. It would have needed an interpreter that could gather information from many informants at the same time which seemed to have been difficult in our situation. Field-observation was not a planned method but out in the field, and especially when the interviews were conducted in the informants' homes, observations and informal conversations were made. Even though these cannot be accounted for as participatory observations they enhanced the understanding about the informant's livelihoods and the area's characteristics. The observations occurred as time passed by, ad hoc, and can therefore be accounted for as neither structured nor planned.

4.2 Semi-structured interviews
Interviews were used as a qualitative method for gathering primary-data and are suitable in studies where a deeper understanding of the informants' attitudes and feelings is sought (Clark 2005). The study-field in this case contained aspects that were unknown at the start, partly because of contextual differences. For example, there was an unawareness of the fact that most children in the study were sent to boarding-school and therefore only spend time at home during the holidays. Because of these unforeseen aspects it was perceived that a semi-structured interview was the most appropriate method to be used. It provided graphic answers and at the same time gave us opportunities to reflect and develop the guide gradually during and in between the interview sessions. A semi-structured interview does not follow a clear and pre-made list of questions as does a structured interview, but that does not indicate that it is completely informal either where there is no structure or control. It follows a general guideline with specific themes and opens up for broad answers and discussion (Bernard 2002). To be able to gain access to these deeper conversations a good way to go is to pose broad questions that gives the informant an opportunity to express him- or herself with own words (Valentine 2005).

Fourteen semi-structured interviews were conducted with farmers who have younger household members who had migrated to an urban area (one interview was made with two members of one household; see interview number 14a and 14b in table 5.1). Interviews were also made with personnel at the Kigarama People's SACCO[5] and personnel at the UCA headquarters in Kampala to explore those two organizations' views on rural-urban migration of the younger population.

4.3 Sample

4.3.1 Introduction
In this section the sampling methods and the sample will be presented. The study needed gatekeepers to reach the informants and it will be discussed what premises that were stated for the gatekeepers when the sample was made. The section also presents the size of the sample and its characteristics when interviews were made with both farmers and personnel from UCA and SACCO.

4.3.2 Targeted sample and gatekeepers
To achieve the aim of the study interviews have been made with farmers in the village Kigarama and are mentioned in this study as *informants*. The sample of informants was made by the personnel at the SACCO, who had good knowledge about the farmers who were members in the local bank. They also had knowledge about which families that had young relatives in the household who had migrated. According to Valentine (2005), an individual who have the knowledge and possibility to either grant or deny other people to participate in research is called a *gatekeeper*. This method of using individuals or organizations chosen, based on certain research-questions that the study orbit, is within the qualitative research called *targeted sample* (Bryman 2011). To use gatekeepers in this study was based on that the personnel at the SACCO considered that it would not be possible for us to find the informants ourselves that would want to participate (Kigarama people's SACCO 2013). Since this study is of a qualitative character, with goals to make a more detailed analysis of the subject, there was no need to make the sample representative (Bryman 2011). Thus, this sample-method was perceived relevant and realistic for implementation in the study. By regular communication and interaction between the farmers and the personnel at the SACCO, the people in the village quickly became aware of our presence. The farmers seemed to be talking about us amongst themselves and we were also invited and introduced to the farmers at a SACCO members meeting which made it easier for them to understand why we were there.

According to Valentine (2005), it is important to be accurate with the mediation towards the gatekeepers about the premises around the sample of informants and information. The personnel therefore got a few premises that had to be fulfilled before they chose an informant, namely: the informant had to have a child or young relative that had migrated from the household to an urban area; the informant had to have been a farmer for at least five years in Kigarama with surroundings We wanted them to have been farmers for this long because we assumed that they would have experience and understanding about the agricultural work (for example how different seasons affects the workload). This in turn can create a perception about the changes that occur when the youth migrate. Another premise was that we wanted informants from both male and female headed households. This was to open up for different angles of incidence about the subject.

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[5] Savings and Credit Cooperative Organization (SACCO) is a local cooperative micro-finance bank in Kigarama, (named Kigarama People's SACCO) owned by the cooperative members. This bank is referred to in this study as "SACCO". When many cooperative banks are used, this study will refer to "SACCOs".

Before the study focused on farmers with a membership in a SACCO, contact was also demanded with other gatekeepers that could direct us towards other suitable contacts. In Sweden contact was made with personnel at the Swedish Co-operative Center in Uganda, who gave us contact information to the personnel at the UCA headquarters in Kampala. UCA have a number of regional offices in Uganda and after consultation with the personnel in Kampala it was decided that the study would depart from the regional office in the city of Mbarara. With the help of personnel at that office we managed to select a village called Kigarama with sufficient distance (fulfilling the purpose for the selection) to the closest town and where there were people who could help us find informants.

4.3.3 Key informants
To be able to gain an understanding about the Uganda's cooperative movements, from both a national and local perspective, interviews were made with both personnel at the headquarters of the UCA in Kampala and personnel at the SACCO in Kigarama. Two different interview-guides were made for these two interviews (see Appendix 1 for SACCO and Appendix 2 for UCA). Another purpose of these interviews was that, since these people also acted as gatekeepers for this study, it was important to follow up what type of premises they used when the selection of region (Mbarara) and the sample of informants were made. As key informants these persons knew a lot about the issues this study brings up, partly because they experience the migration themselves, but also because they work towards preventing it.

4.3.4 The farmers
The study was estimated to consist of between 10 to 20 interviews to be able to reach the aim. According to Bryman (2011) the size of the sample is dependent upon when a, so called, theoretical saturation can be achieved. This means that no more interviews are made when the data-collection does not lead to any new relevant information about a certain category. In this study a theoretical saturation was perceived to have been achieved after 14 interviews when the collected data consisted of enough information about the farmers' strategies and experiences about the subject. Each interview took a long time to transcribe and according to Clark (2005) temporal factors is an important aspect to consider if one wants to make the sample size realistic.

4.4 Conducting the interviews with the farmers
In the district of Bushenyi the most common languages are Runyankole and English. To be able to understand the informants no matter what language they speak the study required an interpreter. A recorder was used in all the interviews (after approval from the informants) which made the transcription process easier since the data was saved on the device. In case the informant did not approve to be taped or in case the tape-recorder broke a notebook was carefully filled at each interview occasion. Before each interview we explained the rights of the informants (for example guaranteeing anonymity), the content and purpose of the study and also practical information about how the interview would go about. Each day in the field two interviews were made and we shifted responsibility equally between posing the questions and writing in the notebook. Each interview took about one hour, according to Boolsen (2005), this is a good time-frame both for the informant and the researcher to be able to keep the focus and attention during the session. The travelling time to Kigarama from Mbarara was about 1.5 hours single path and we used public means of transport and private taxis. It was a dirt road between Kabwohe (see chapter 5 for information about the areas) and Kigarama and since the data was collected in the middle of the rain season it was not always possible to reach the destination.

When conducting anthropocentric studies, knowledge about the foreign culture, like daily routines and power-structures, is important to have before the questions are posed (Kvale 1997). Before the data was collected a visit, in company of the UCA staff, was paid both to Kigarama and the Area Co-operative Enterprise (ACE)[6] office in Sheema. The interview-guide was tested upon members of the ACE in Sheema and was approved by the staff in the UCA office of Mbarara. Since UCA is in close contact with the farmers in Kigarama and have knowledge about them in the guide seemed appropriate to use after that encountering.

A two-sided interview-guide with specific topics and questions has been used in this study (see Appendix 3). The guide begun with some background information questions, the rest of the guide departs from the problem statement and consisted of questions that were meant to answer some bigger themes. The themes were divided into these categories: town; the migrant; children; governmental involvement; strategies and future goals; farm and work tasks; other activities. The questions were open-ended and descriptive to avoid simple *yes* and *no* answers. To avoid coloring the study with assumptions beforehand an explorative approach was priority in the interview-guide. One of the main purposes with an explorative approach is to seek new dimensions in the themes that were the subjects in the study (Kvale 1997). Therefore it was thought important to let the informants develop their answers and also ask follow-up questions to the topics they seemed more interested in. Kvale (1997) points out that the questions should be short and easy to understand and also preferably avoid academic language. This has been most important in this study considering that the informants have been of another language and often have not gone through University studies. The reliability can sometimes be questioned if leading questions are posed (Ibid.). In this paper there is a more positive view of questions of that sort. Sometimes leading questions can create opportunities for the interviewers to interpret the analysis better (Ibid.). The answer that the informants give is the most important root to knowledge, whether the question is leading or not.

4.5 Methodological reflections

4.5.1 Introduction
There are some ethical dilemmas that need to be considered when doing a field-study in a different contextual environment and this will be discussed in this section. We will also discuss what kind of methodological challenges that may have influenced this study and its results. This section also problematizes our role; the impact of the gatekeepers and the impact the interpreter have on this study. We as researchers are aware and have taken these challenges into consideration and reflection the best way possible.

4.5.2 Methodological challenges and practicalities
According to Bryman (2011), there is no way to avoid coloring the study's implementation and result with the researcher's values, attitudes and expectations. The scientific process cannot therefore be totally value-free and it is therefore necessary to be transparent with the role of the researcher. Positionality is about how the researcher's identity shapes the interaction with the informant during the interview situation (Valentine 2005) and is within the hermeneutic perspective and the qualitative research important to reflect upon. Graham (2005) means that identity can be created by for example gender, religion, social class, nationality, history and experience that in turn affects the worldview and power-position one person has. Further, Graham (2005) explains that studies made in a developing country

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[6] ACE is a cooperative, formed at a sub-county level and consists of 5-10 primary cooperatives that deal in maximum 3 agricultural products (UCA 2013).

context must consist of reflections about the privileged position the researcher from the west has in terms of, for example, education and health. There is also no way a study like this can avoid the embedded context of colonialism where our privileged position, to a certain part is, a product of the colonial history that has shaped how the world is structured today.

Reflections about positionality in this study are amongst others that we are two students born and raised in Sweden and that we, from a western perspective, have interpreted and analyzed the data that has been collected in a different context than the one we derive from. Our background differs from that of the informants, for example, we do not work within the agricultural sector and therefore some knowledge gaps concerning agriculture and the farmers' lives can affect the understanding of the thesis problem. This could in turn lead to unconscious misinterpretations and misunderstandings of the material. Educationally, there could also have been a power-imbalance when we are students from a University that interview people that, in most cases, do not have the same level of education. To minimize the power-imbalance we tried to, during the interview-situation, tone down our role as students at the same time as the interview was built upon simple language free from academic terms and expressions.

To understand the context the problem statement is a part of, it is important to make credible interpretations of the informant (Bryman 2011). Methods to understand the context in this study have been, for example, to read about Uganda's agricultural politics, history, global influences and cultural codes and manners. The interpreter has also been of big help when cultural codes needed to be explained and understood. It is, however, important to emphasize that we could not totally understand parts of the context the farmers live in because we are not a part of it. Our prerequisites about the subject rural-urban migration have also probably affected the interpretations that have been made. We are part of the younger generation in Sweden who has moved from the rural (or at least smaller towns) to an urban area and are therefore part of the rural-urban migration in Sweden. Our perception about the Swedish agricultural landscape and its biological diversity is that it is partly formed by long-term human exertion. Consequences when the potential famers in Sweden migrate could be that the biological diversity (which is upheld by the human interaction) is challenged.

According to Kvale (1997), the transcription from audio-file to print can result in many decisions and judgments. A transcription means translation from the spoken word to the written where each language has its own rules. Further, Kvale (1997) means that prints should not be seen as a copy of the original reality, but rather as an interpreted construction with the purpose of working as a tool one can use to mediate the informants story to the reader. To enhance the transparency of the transcriptions a mutual plan was made about how the transcription would be made and what sign that should be used when there were uncertainties or mishearing. In addition to that each interview was listened to twice so we could detect eventual faults and misunderstandings in the transcriptions. These methods are according to Kvale (1997) appropriate to use to enhance the reliability of the transcription process.

4.5.3 Problematizing the role of the gatekeepers
According to Willis (2006), the use of gatekeepers can be problematic since the sample can be collected by the gatekeepers for personal reasons and this can result in specific informants with specific values and opinions. The consequences can be that certain individuals are excluded in the sampling process and the opportunity of getting a varied picture of the subject becomes lost. To enhance the sample process' transparency, the personnel at the SACCO were, after the sampling, asked about the personal premises they had when the sampling was

made. Their response was that they choose farmers that were perceived as "good farmers" (Kigarama people's SACCO 2013). A deeper discussion was not made on the definition "good farmers". This could mean that the sampling process has been excluding farmers that have not been perceived as "good farmers" by the gatekeepers and therefore their voices are probably excluded in this study.

4.5.4 The interpreter's role and the mediation of words

Since this was a relatively small study with only a few interviews we felt that it was enough to have only one interpreter who could really engage in the material at hand and who we felt we could build up a trust for.

To choose the right interpreter is extremely important if the study is to be reliable. To have the local language, Runyankole, as the mother-tongue and to have good knowledge in English were the two main criteria to fulfill in the search for an interpreter in this study. The interpreter that was used, a University student in Mbarara, had Runyankole as mother-tongue and also had good knowledge in English and understood the study-field well. He was chosen by the staff at the UCA office in Mbarara since they had been encountered with him when he was an intern there before. An interpreter must be able to understand dialects, gestures, rhetoric and irony to correctly interpret (Bujra 2006). A big part of the human communication consists of non-linguistic communication like body-language and gestures. Some of the linguistic and non-linguistic communication is partly related to the cultural context (Espling 1999) which can get difficult to understand. Some social qualities are also important for the interpreter to possess to create a good dialog with the informant, for example to be a good listener and to be interested in what the informant has to say (Bujra 2006). Important is also that the interpreter and the researchers have a good collaboration so that both parts can be able to trust each other. The interpreter did not only work as an interpreter but was also a sort of guide when it came to cultural traditions, social manners and knowledge of the area.

There are some risks when using an interpreter which should be avoided. The researchers shall avoid becoming too dependent upon a person who can be of his or her own perception of the society that is studied or have strong political beliefs that can color the study, consciously or unconsciously. The person can for example present an opinion in a more positive manner because of the strong perception of it or even worse: filter out information about the conversation that that person does not seem to think is important for the study. There are also some other language barriers that the researchers needs to be aware of. Words and expressions in a certain language cannot always be translated directly from one to the other, sometimes because they do not exist in the other language. The more different the two languages are the bigger chance of encountering those problems (Bujra 2006). Reflections upon the problematic of the interpretations from Runyankole into English have been made. Misunderstandings could have been made in that transaction even though all parts tried to be as clear in the explanations as possible.

If payment is given to the interpreter, which it was in this case, a certain power-balance could have appeared. The researchers must have control over the situation at the same time as the interpreter can be experiencing pressure from them. On the other hand payment can create an incentive for the interpreter to work hard and prove his qualities. Finally it is of importance that a three-way-dynamic exist between the researchers' goal, the interpreter's capacity and interest and the view the informant have on these persons to get the best result possible (Bujra 2006).

4.5.5 Ethical dilemmas and ethical practices
Research with the human being as the study-object must, before starting, problematize about the ethical problems or dilemmas that can arise. This knowledge is important to have to minimize the unethical methods or events, both at the time of the collection of the data but also in the writing and the analysis. Halvorsen (1992) means that a fundamental dilemma within research is about how the researcher has the right to gather knowledge to solve social problems compared to the right for the individual to have a private life. In this study this ethical dilemma can be coupled to for example that one hour of practical interviewing could be equal to one hour work-loss for the, already, hard working farmer. To deal with this ethical dilemma the informants were, before each interview, made conscious about the option to participate in the study and that it was whenever they wanted, possible to discontinue the interview. They were also made aware of their right to not answer any questions they felt uncomfortable with.

When it comes to research in a different context more questions of an ethical character can arise. Within research or studies concerning developing countries it is important to make clear *who* owns the development. Mikkelsen (2005) is critical towards the, all too often, Eurocentric definition of development. When an expression is defined by someone from the developed world, the ownership the population has over their country's development is reduced. This study should be seen as a tool for the farmers to express their opinion and thoughts about the subject which in turn enhance the knowledge and understanding about how the rural-urban migration of the younger generation can affect the rural population. Binns (2006) insists that a lot of published research articles about development countries rarely will come to affect the informants or the country's poor population. With this in mind, the informants were made conscious about how the study would come to affect them and that the result probably would not directly touch or change anything in short terms for the farmers. Instead they should view the study as a knowledge-base which could in the future be part of a change and thereby affect the informants in the long-run indirectly. The informants also got information about the fact that the finished report would be printed and sent to the local SACCO office in Kigarama so that they will get a chance to read it if they want.

4.6 References and reference critique
Scientific articles, reports and literature in this study have been sought, foremost, on Google Scholar and at the University of Gothenburg's own search-engine SUMMON. Our supervisor and other personnel at the University of Gothenburg have also assisted with tip of relevant literature. By searching in databases the keywords have often been: migration, Uganda, rural-urban migration, urban-bias, push and pull factors, the left behind, livelihood framework, household strategies and agricultural development.

Factual and published sources have been pursued to maintain a discerning attitude. Mainly, it has been sought that the references should be based on a human geographical perspective, but also derives from researchers in fields such as development studies. For references related to Uganda and rural-urban migration from a global perspective, reports from government agencies and referrals from international bodies such as UN have mainly been used.

5 The context of the empirical study

5.1 Introduction
The subject of this study will, in this chapter, be operationalized in a geographical context. General information about Uganda and more specific information about the study field in the village Kigarama will be presented. The chapter will finish with a presentation of the actual sample that was made in this study.

5.2 Background Uganda

5.2.1 Demography and geography
Uganda, with its 33 million in population (UN Statistic Division 2013), is located in sub-Saharan Africa and is often referred to as "the pearl of Africa" because of its fertile land and favorable climate. Bordering countries are South Sudan, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Tanzania and Kenya. With the last two countries mentioned Uganda share the territory around the biggest lake in Africa, Lake Victoria. The capital city is Kampala with 1.66 million people registered in 2010 (UBOS 2010). The population in Uganda consists to a large part of young people, whereas approximately 60 percent is below 18 years of age (NPA 2013). The population growth in the country is approximately 3.3 percent per year which makes it one of the fastest growing populations in the world. A reason for the fast growing population in the country is due to Uganda's position in the so called demographic transition[7] where Uganda is found in the early stage (Haube & Gribble 2011). A woman in Uganda gives birth to on average 6.7 children. This causes problems when the high numbers of young people put high pressure on the public expenditures within for example the educational sector when a large part of the population have not yet reached a working age (NPA 2013).

5.2.2 Literacy and education
Literacy and access to education on all levels have in Uganda increased dramatically during the last couple of years (NPA 2010). The literacy rate for 2005/2006 was 69 percent for persons aged 10 years and above (UBOS 2010) but increased to 73 percent in the year of 2010 partly due to the implementation of universal primary and secondary education policies and programs (NPA 2013). Between the years of 1997 and 2008 the number of students going to Universal Primary Education (UPE) (a project with aim to get four children per household free tuition) increased from 2.5 million to 7.5 million students (NPA 2010). Adding to this it is, perceived by some smallholder farmers that training and education of their children can install, for the household, a better future and therefore the farmers are willing to make huge sacrifices to support training and education (Alluri & Zachmann 2008).

5.2.3 Economy and the state
Uganda became independent from the United Kingdom in the year of 1962 and the first couple of years after that they experienced economic boost and stability. That stability was diminished between the years of 1971-1979 because of mismanagement of the economy and civil conflicts during the dictatorship of Idi Amin. This led to that the government had to take bank-loans to finance the public expenditures (NPA 2010). A new economic reform took place after the economic downturn and in the year of 1987 Uganda confirmed the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) whereby the market was liberalized. Amongst things, SAP contributed to that the export taxes were abolished, regulatory and promotional agencies for

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[7] The demographic transition refers to the changeover from high birth- and death rates to low birth- and death rates (Dribe & Stanfors 2010). In the early stage of the demographic transition the mortality rate sinks but the fertility rate stays the same which leads to a high population growth.

key export crops were built and dissemination of quality control and information were made (Alluri & Zachmann 2008). According to Williams, Meth & Willis (2009), SAP leads to economic stability in the short run but in the long run social inequality, poverty and a hard time to gain economic growth in the countries that adopt the programs.

During the last couple of years Uganda has seen a positive growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and it is expected to grow by 7.2 percent per annum between the years of 2010 and 2015 which will mean that the per capita income will increase from USD 506 to approximately USD 900 by the years 2014/2015 (NPA 2010). In the year of 2005 the poverty in the country was expected to reduce from 31 percent to 24.5 percent of the population below the poverty line[8] in the future (UBOS 2006). Beyond these positive economic trends there are, however, large gaps and skewed distribution in terms of economy and social welfare in the country, especially between the rural and the urban areas. One out of three households fall beneath the poverty line in the rural areas, compared to one out of seven in the urban areas (Dorosh & Thurlow 2009). Fluctuations and uncertainty on the global market is for example expected to contribute to reduced private remittances, foreign direct investment (FDI) and loans from the surrounding world in Uganda (NPA 2010). Since the economic growth is still dependent on donor assistance from various developed countries (IMF & IDA 2002) these uncertainties have big effects on the economic situation in Uganda. When a developing country like Uganda is strongly dependent on export of primary commodities, in this case agricultural production, it can have severe effect on the economic stability in the country when unexpected fluctuations on the global market happen. Furthermore, to focus on primary commodities is not seen as a boost for economic growth because of the way it has been valued relative to goods and services in the global economy (Williams, Meth & Willis 2009). Even domestic problems cause challenges for Uganda's future growth since for example Uganda is ranked 130th out of 180 countries in the Transparency International's 2009 Corruption Perception Index where corruption within the government hampers the progress in both public administration and the public sector (NPA 2010).

5.2.4 Agriculture and the cooperative movements

Agriculture is an important sector whereas it employed 65.6 percent of the total labor force in the country in the year of 2010 (UN Statistic Division 2013). The agricultural sector is also the biggest export earner, out of which the total income from the exported goods in the country (47 percent) comes from agricultural products. Some of the largest amounts come from the production of coffee, bananas, tea and cotton. The agricultural production mainly derives from smallholder farmers (NPA 2013) producing the goods mostly by manual labor. In 2008 the agricultural sector was still the highest earner of the GDP in the country but other sectors were beginning to gain the same kind of importance (UBOS 2010).

The government of Uganda has made up national documents such as *Uganda Vision Plan 2040* and the *National Development Plan[9]* (NDP) which have clear goals to modernize and develop the agricultural sector in the country. The National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) is also a governmental financed program with the aim to develop agriculture in the rural areas; they help the farmers in various ways by for example grouping them together and helping them with new methods and crops (NPA 2010 & NPA 2013). According to the National Developing Plan, an increased productivity within the agricultural sector in Uganda would help the country's economy to grow but this is hampered by a number of things.

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[8] The poverty line according to UN's Millennium Development Goal standards.
[9] The plan has fiscal period of 2010/11 to 2014/15 and gives details of Uganda's development status, its challenges and opportunities (NPA 2010).

Amongst them are that the growing sectors do not contribute enough to value-adding export and are therefore not outwardly oriented enough to bring products to the global market. Adding to this is the slow development in infrastructure such as energy and transport which also narrows the possibilities for agricultural development (NPA 2010). According to Alluri & Zachmann (2008), the high rate of poverty in Uganda is partly due to the fact that the Information Communication Technology (ICT) and science within the agricultural sector have not been developed enough to deal with problems such as drought, weeds, market and soil infertility. However, more investments to raise the effectiveness and productivity within the agricultural sector would make it possible to reduce the poverty rate.

Uganda has a long history of cooperative movements with the first one started by farmers as early as in 1900 and by the middle of the 20th century the cooperative movement in Uganda had a big influence. The government offered the cooperative movement monopoly status in agriculture marketing. The liberalization of the market, thus, in the 1980s resulted in a declined interest in the cooperative movement. Despite this, cooperatives exist today in many different shapes in Uganda. According to estimations, 10,678 cooperatives were registered in 2008 (Kyazze 2010). Uganda Co-operative Alliance (UCA) was established in 1961 as an umbrella organization for all cooperatives throughout the country. UCA serves as a voice of the cooperative movement both nationally and internationally, it also serves as the main cooperative advisor for the government. The services of the UCA are amongst other things supporting the youth and women to create employment through cooperatives (UCA 2013). Cooperatives that the UCA is supporting are, among others, the micro-finance bank-cooperative SACCO where farmers on a local level can become members and apply for private micro-loans.

5.3 Field-study in Kigarama

The field-study was operationalized in Kigarama[10] (see fig. 5.2) a village located 10 kilometers from the closest town, Kabwohe, in the Bushenyi district (see fig. 5.1) that is a part of the Ankole region in western Uganda. In the Ankole region the people are called Banyankole people and their language is Runyankole. The Bushenyi road between Mbarara and Kasese leads to Kabwohe where there is a dirt-road called Masheruka road that leads to Kigarama. From Kabwohe to Kigarama it takes about 45 minutes with "boda-boda" (Ugandan word for motorcycle) or taxi. The landscape is hilly with a lot of cultivable land but also consisting of wetlands and plains which are not used for agricultural activities. During the rainy-seasons the road can become somewhat hard to travel on because of big collections of pounding water which means that public transport, in form the minibuses[11], rarely goes there. The biggest economic sector in the Sheema district is agriculture where 32,075 out of the total 42,259 households were involved in the year of 2012 (Sheema District 2013). In Kigarama village most farmers still use the farms for subsistence but according to Kigarama Peoples SACCO (2013), many of them have lately also started farming cash crops, where the foremost crop is *matoke* (which is a type of cooking banana) and dairy production. In the village a small town-center exists with facilities such as hairdressers, small shops, bars, restaurants and a local SACCO office (according to our observations). The bank has about 2 000 farmers that are members and most of these have relatives or members in the household that have migrated to urban areas (Kigarama people's SACCO 2013). Kabwohe is a small town where some more facilities exist compared to Kigarama but it is perceived that if the farmers in Kigarama need medicines, clothing, equipment for the farm or their other income-generating activities they rather travel to Mbarara where most products can be found (according to our

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[10] Kigarama (region 3), Sheema (region 2), Bushenyi (region 1).

[11] In Uganda, minibuses are used as a public mean and are called "taxis".

observations). In the Bushenyi region only 2.8 percent use electricity for lighting, the larger part comes from paraffin. For cooking, 94 percent use firewood. Some 58.3 percent have access to safe drinking water in the region compared to the average in Uganda which lies at 60.9 percent (UBOS 2006). According to our own observations, it is not unusual that one household in Kigarama consist of six to eight children. It is also often that the families live together with other relatives and/or take care of the relatives' children whose parents work someplace else or have passed away. If the household employ workers, sometimes even the workers stay with the families on the farm. The head of the household is often the male but more than one of the informants were the female head of the household because the male had passed away.
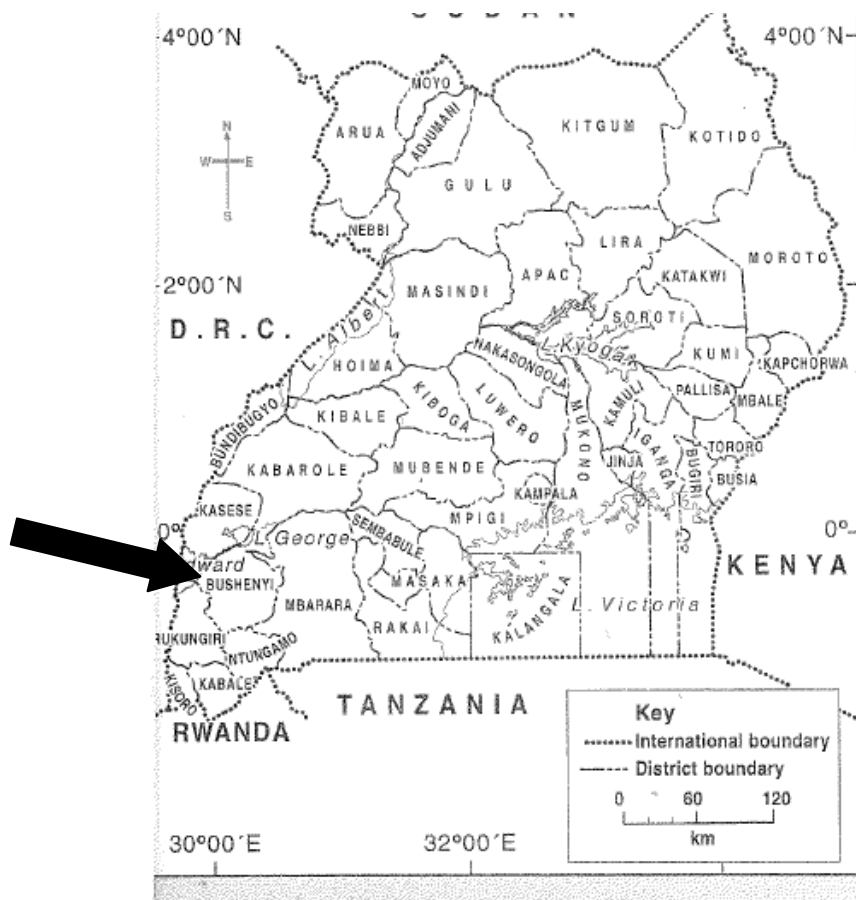
Figure 5.1. *Map of the districts of Uganda* (Rwabwoogo 1998; the pointing arrow is added by the authors). (See figure 1.1 for placement of Uganda in Africa)
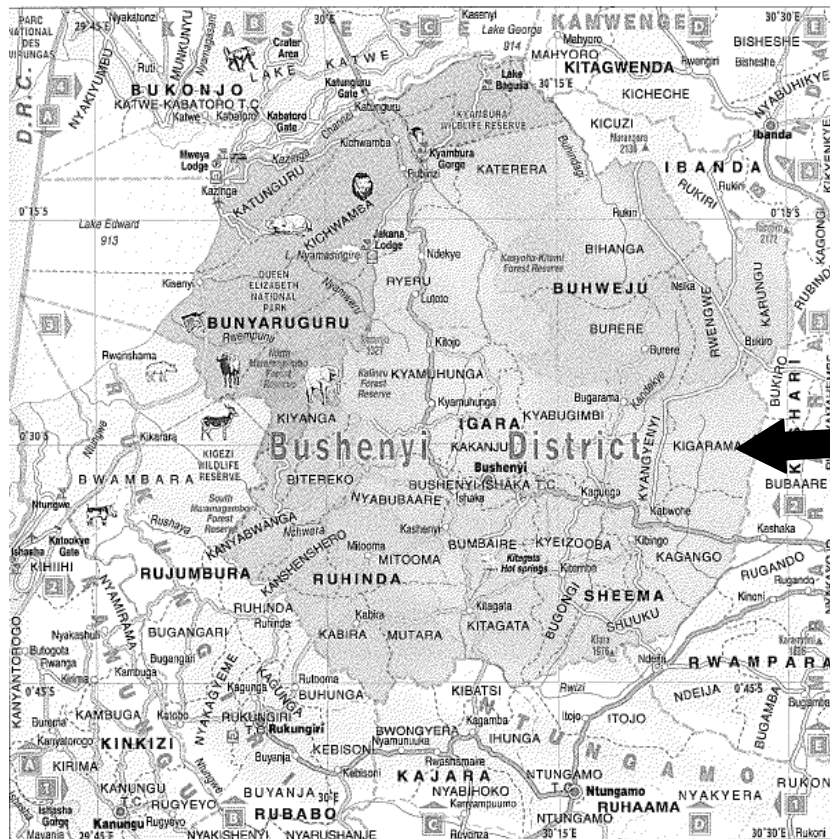
Figure 5.2. *Map of Bushenyi District and the village Kigarama* (Fountain
Publishers 2007; the pointing arrow is added by the authors)

5.4 The actual samples

Interviews were made with 5 men and 10 women who were considered to have the main
responsibility over the farm (see table 5.1). The ages of the informants ranged between 30 and
79 years. All of the informants have children they are responsible for that have migrated for
work and, mostly, school. It is important to remember that the sample was made of the
SACCO personnel and that they chose informants who were perceived as "good farmers".
The fact that every household in this study could send children to boarding school may
therefore not be representative for the whole village since these farmers may have had a better
average economic status compared to others in Kigarama. But as mentioned about a
qualitative study, the purpose is not to get a generalized picture. Eight interviews required an
interpreter and the rest were made in English. Some of the informants have other activities
they engage in besides farming. It is often the younger children, who have not yet reached the
age when they start primary school, that are staying with the parents or relatives in the rural
areas on the farm, the other children have for the most part migrated.

Table 5.1. *Interviewed farmers in Kigarama*

Interview no.	Fictitious name	Language during the interview	Female /Male	Age interval	No. Migrated children	No. Younger relatives migrated
1	Margaret	Runyankole *	F	50-59	6/7	0
2	Randol	English	M	40-49	5/5	0
3	Donald	English	M	70-79	1/1	0
4	Christina	Runyankole	F	50-59	8/8	0
5	Thomas	Runyankole	M	80-89	7/8	3/3
6	Irene	English	F	40-49	3/6	0
7	Barbara	Runyankole	F	60-69	8/8	1/2
8	Sarah	English	F	40-49	1/1	4/6
9	Penny	English	F	40-49	6/6	0
10	Lela	Runyankole	F	50-59	No data	No data
11	Carolyn	Runyankole	F	40-49	5/6	0
12	Andrew	English	M	70-79	10/10	0
13	Ann	Runyankole	F	40-49	3/8	0
14a	Gina	Runyankole	F	50-59	3/6	1/4
14b	David	Runyankole	M	60-61	3/6	1/4

*An interpreter was used when the interview was made in Runyankole.

In the write-up of the data, we have been using fictive names to keep the informants anonymous. The names were chosen randomly via an English fictive-name database.

6 Results

6.1 Introduction
In this chapter the gathered data and results will be presented. The results are based on the research questions that were posed in the beginning of the thesis which comprises the effects on the farmer's livelihood and the strategies used that rural-urban migration contributes to. This section will also present the farmers' thoughts about the future for the agricultural sector in Uganda and also the future for Kigarama both from an individual and a structural perspective. The decision to include these thoughts is based on the fact that it is important to make the analysis with a holistic perspective based on these results. The livelihood framework (LF) is also mentioned in this section to enable the coupling between the framework and the strategies the study resulted in. The interviews held in Runyankole were interpreted by the interpreter in third person and therefore they have been changed so that it is easier to understand the quotes from the farmer's point of view.

6.2 Effects on household and livelihood

6.2.1 Introduction
The results show a clear pattern of six different effects on the farmers' livelihoods that are contributed by the rural-urban migration of the younger generation. In summary, the effects concerned: (1) the workload on the farm, (2) decreased number of potential workers in the village, (3) increased vulnerability (mostly for the older generation), (4) emotional effects and also (5) effects concerning the farmers' visits to the urban areas. In fine, the migration also leads to (6) economic effects for the household that in certain cases can be perceived as positive and in other cases negative. The economic effects can also be interpreted as strategies that the farmers use when migration is a fact and the results of these effects will therefore be presented in chapter 6.3.6, to avoid reiterates.

6.2.2 Reduced labor-force on the farm
Many farmers expressed that the effects were that the workload became bigger compared to when the migrants still lived at home. Two of the informants told us that:

> *Of course when they [the migrated children] are gone, it is when more work*
> *is realized...*
> *(David & Gina, Interview 14)*

One apparent reason for the younger generation to migrate was education, when many children and young people in Uganda perform their studies in boarding schools. Although the children came home and helped with the farm-work during their holidays (approximately twice a year), the work-loss from their leaving was prominent. Irene has her six children in boarding school and explained the work-loss in the following way:

> *Ok, when they [the migrated children] are at school, at times we face*
> *difficult, because we need people to take milk for the diary...*
> *(Irene, Interview 6)*

The help or the extra work resource that the visiting migrant could contribute with when they were home thus became strongly dependent upon the time-period of the holidays and not necessarily when the farmers needed the help according to growing seasons.

6.2.3 Loss of the able-bodied

Another effect of rural-urban migration of the younger generation that came to light during the interviews was that the countryside and areas surrounding Kigarama were depleted of the, so called, able-bodied people. One apparent group that remained on the farm was the older generation or the so called, less-energetic people. Carolyn is a farmer in her 40s with all her six children in boarding schools and is, because of this, in need of external labor to manage the work on the farm. She considers it hard to find workers she can employ and she explained that the reason for this is that,

> *They [the potential workers] get lost, because now most of, like those who are supposed to be working they resorted to education, so you actually cannot find anybody to employ.*
> *(Carolyn, Interview 11)*

The problem of finding able-bodied workers to hire can therefore sometimes be a self-generating phenomenon. The farmers invest in their children by giving them an education which in turn results in a need for hired labor to be able to maintain the farm. That a lot of youth leave the rural areas for educational purposes result in a depletion of the able-bodied and this in turn leads to a lessened manpower of potential workers. The effects of this in the rural areas, like one informant expressed, can be that there emerge difficulties to secure a reasonable food-production for everybody in the urban areas but also for the people in the local community.

There were also some farmers who feel that it is hard to find persons who can stay for the amount of time demanded by the farmers. When we asked Barbara if someone was replacing the work that her children had been doing on the farm she said:

> *[I] got them, but actually they [the workers] are jumping. Sometimes they are here and some other time they decide to leave shortly. So [I am] is still in that, they do not stay for long time, the workers.*
> *(Barbara, Interview 7)*

Barbara, in her 60s, is part of the aging generation in the rural areas. She told us that there exists a certain kind of worry about the absence of young people in Kigarama when it could lead to an increased number of burglaries.

> *...So labor is limited actually because the able people move to towns and [we] also go ahead to get some other challenges of thieves. Because these other people [the thieves] are sure the able people are moved to town they [the thieves] can easily come around to [my] home and steal some of [my] matokes and things around because they know there are no strong person around.*
> *(Barbara, Interview 7)*

6.2.4 Vulnerability coupled with disease or ageing

A third effect coupled to the migration proved itself to be that the left-behind were exposed to higher vulnerability when they were, for example, sick and the younger members in the household had left. The informants were therefore dependent upon that the migrant would come home and help on the farm in these situations. The same vulnerability was experienced in terms of the workers the farmers employed. One farmer expressed concerns about his workers and how dependent he is on them. If one of them becomes sick he has to take from

the yield the farm provides to pay for health-care for the workers, just because they were the only manpower around. Informants who were getting older expressed a concern over who was going to take care of them when they become old and could not work on the farm as hard as they once had. Lela describes the situation accordingly:

> *The elders actually fail to get people to take care of them as the youth keep on migrating to the villages so it is a challenge they are facing around. The young and energetic are migrating to town and these other people that are now growing elderly lack people to help them out /.../ Like if like this other sons of [mine] had also like migrated, where would [I] be?*
> *(Lela, Interview 10)*

The informants are therefore dependent on the staying relatives or children in the areas to manage their daily chores.

6.2.5 Effects on visits to the cities
A fifth effect was that migration could affect the informants' visit/errands to/in the cities. Some informants experience that they no longer have the time they used to have to go to the cities since the migrant left because the other activities and the work at home takes too much time.
> *... Before they [the children] left I would go there [to the city] in most of the time. But since they are not around there at times I feel that I would go but I have to keep at home, looking after those things.*
> *(Irene, Interview 6)*

The migration therefore leads to a locking of the informant's movement or the interaction between the urban and the rural space which in turn could have affected the informant's assets that only could be bought in town such as medicines, resources to the farm or the like.

On the other hand, rural-urban migration could also open up for an increased movement between rural and urban areas. Some of the informants told us that because of the fact that the children nowadays live in the cities the informants have the opportunity and reason to visit the cities more often. This could lead to opportunities for the informants to widen their contact-network. Another informant goes to the cities more often now than before because she no longer needs to spend as much time as before on cooking for the household.

6.3 Strategies

6.3.1 Introduction
Coupled to the *livelihood framework* the farmers need to adapt to the changes the migration leads to. When one part of the framework is affected the farmers either need to adapt by changing the pieces in the puzzle, like adding up with rural non-farm activities or get help from outside. In the framework the farmers have a certain amount of assets and conditions that they base their livelihoods on and when one part diminishes another part amplifies.

In the data-collection six main strategies were found that the farmers use to maintain their livelihood when their children or relatives have left the rural areas and these results answers for the second question presented in chapter 1.2. The farmers combined different strategies as best suited their economy, time and abilities. Some farmers had the resources to employ workers whilst others had but the opportunity to work harder. Many farmers seem to have gone from subsistence farming to cash crops to be able to pay for the school fees with the

money they earn from the produce. In a question to one of the farmers about what they made out of their produce she answered:

> *So, [we] sell some and the rest is for consumption. Those ones [we] sell,*
> *[we] use that to raise fees, school-fees yeah, for the studying students.*
> *(Ann, Interview 13)*

6.3.2 Longer working days and/or other work related burdens
Since the migrants usually helped out on the farm with the farm-tasks before they left, some farmers explained that they spend more time now on the farm compared to before.

> *So [I am] actually now spending a lot of time on the farm to cover the part*
> *that they used to cover when they were around /.../ so [I am] now adding in*
> *like three hours, yeah, [I am] investing in more three hours.*
> *(Margaret, Interview 1)*

Their strategy was therefore, partly, to add in more hours for the daily work on the farm. One farmer who cannot afford to employ any worker nor has more hours to add on simply explained that:

> *...[I] put no help apart from working harder.*
> *(Ann, Interview 13)*

The tasks that the children used to perform on the farm are sometimes covered by additional workers or/and by the left-behind themselves:

> *So, [I try to] cover what they should actually been covering so [I go] with*
> *the workers and [we] are covering up that...*
> *(Carolyn, Interview 11)*

Carolyn was also explaining that she has gained other tasks on the farm since they left:

> *Weeding the banana plantation, taking care of the cows and looking after*
> *[our] home.*
> *(Carolyn, Interview 11)*

Even though these farmers are now working longer days, have gained additional tasks or have to work harder on the farm, many of them seem satisfied with it because they see the chance for their younger relatives to go to school.

> *...If you require a worker and also require your students going to school, so*
> *you must struggle, look for money to get all of them [education] /.../ nothing*
> *is easy to achieve.*
> *(Carolyn, Interview 11)*

6.3.3 Rural-non-farm activities
As explained in our chapter about rural non-farm activities many farmers see their chance of making some extra money on other activities than the farm could bring about. For some of the farmers interviewed, these extra activities are a necessary means to maintain their livelihoods but for others the extra income is just a welcome resource that they could manage without. Every farmer, though, seemed to be keen on having other activities than the farm; the problem

is however, for some, the resources like for example lack of time and/or money it takes to make it happen.

> *I would like to have another activity, since I am still alive I need more. If I have, if I get a chance I take. That is why I have decided to done a school so if I have an opportunity of getting another activity which can let me also deal with these ones I also take. Because I need more, my kids are still studying, so if I can get.*
> *(Penny, Interview 9)*

Penny is an example of a farmer who makes it clear that she always is looking for ways to engage in other activities so that she can expand the farm and send her children more money to provide for their education. Before she and her husband inherited their farm from her husband's father she worked as a teacher. Together with her husband she owns a private school, where she teaches some classes.

Some farmers experience troubles finding other income generating activities, the reason being lack of time, trouble finding them or as in Andrew's case, a farmer aged 70-79 years:

> *...so there are no other income-generating activities. You know the age matters a great deal, to occupy in another activities you cannot manage, age matters.*
> *(Andrew, Interview 12)*

Christina, a widow with eight children to support, find time to manage her own business:

> *...Then [I] also make cakes, they can be wedding-cakes. [I] also deal in, in gowns...*
> *(Christina, Interview 4)*

The gowns have been bought by her and she let them to people around Kigarama. When she has a lot of orders in cakes and gowns she spends less time on the farm and let the workers she has help her out more so the farm-work does not lag behind.

Another farmer, Sarah, worked on her relatives' farm before she went along to buy her own plot of land where she raises pigs. She explained that the extra activity she has does not bring in so much extra money but she is still happy for the extra money it provides.

> *[I] actually went for a saloon-training. Yeah, [I do] salooning /.../ Yeah, yeah, yeah, when I have no customers I go to my farm.*
> *(Sarah, Interview 8)*

She sees her work in the saloon as her main activity, even though she spends maximum two hours there every day. Sarah, who was also taking care of the children of her brother who had passed away, had another way of gaining extra money she could use to pay the school-fees or as she would like to, expand her pig-farm.

> *Like, that late brother left there some premises, so they are rentals /.../ So I go there to take home the [money].*
> *(Sarah, Interview 8)*

6.3.4 Employ workers

Eight of the farmers that were interviewed have workers to help them cater for the farm. They employ one to four workers at a time but have different approaches on how to employ. Some of the farmers only employ when they have certain jobs they need help with or when the high season for example seeding or harvesting were there. Others employ full-time workers constantly and even have them staying at the farmers' residence. One thing that many of the farmers have in common is that they have to employ more workers since the migrants had left.

> *So when [we] are overloaded with work after like when [the] students have gone back to school [we] go ahead to like go around this home place. And when [we] get these other persons who do like a day whatever, like who are hired for a day, [we] employ those ones and they can help out. But [we] do not have these one that work and stay permanently.*
> *(David & Gina, Interview 14)*

Thomas, a farmer who seems to be well off economically compared to others in Kigarama and have children who migrated approximately 20 years ago, have employed workers since his children left. Apart from him and his wife's work on the farm they have two workers whereas one works with the household chores and the other one have other tasks to do on the farm. Both of them live with them there on the farm permanently.

> *[We] look for workers, [we] employ those full-time workers, [we] even go ahead to employ part-time workers to come and work on their farm. So [our] work does not die out totally. (Thomas, Interview 5)*

Donald was clear about the absolute necessity of employing workers to cater for the farm:

> *We use some local people to work for us, otherwise you cannot manage it, they work for us and we pay them with the money, from the money from bananas, coffee and even milk from cows.*
> *(Donald, Interview 3)*

6.3.5 Sell off cattle/land or change crops

To be able to pay for the school fees the farmers need money and one strategy many of them use is to either sell off some of their land or their cattle, or to change the crops they have to some that provide more income.

> *So before [I] concentrated on planting like beans, millet and g-nut but /.../ when [I] realized that the price were not that exciting [I] then had to change to matoke, coffee and then yeah cattle-keeping as well. So that is the only changes [I have] made /.../ for [me, I] did not study and then [I] wanted [my] children to study so [I] had to change because [I] wanted enough earnings to push [my] children to school. [I] did not want [my] children to suffer like [I] did. So [I] changed when they were still here.*
> *(Thomas, Interview 5)*

David and Gina, who do not have any non-rural farm activities they engage in, had to sell off part of their cattle:

> *So with crops, [we] have not changed because [we] have managed to keep*
> *beans and that but for animals like pigs, [we] are actually selling off to pay*
> *school fees for the students.*
> *(David & Gina, Interview 14)*

When the farmland was sold, the farmers, of course, got less land to cultivate and therefore gained less income and that could in the near future create problems. As a short-term solution, though, because of the lack of money that was what they had to do.

> *...farm is reducing because [I] sell of most of those animals to cater for, for*
> *their fees.*
> *(Ann, Interview 13)*

Since the farmers see the education of their children and young relatives as an investment the farmers hope that they, when they get a job, will send the farmers money so the farmers will be able to buy back or expand their farms again.

6.3.6 Help from outside
Some of the farmers spoke of other help they get from non-governmental organizations and people around the village. In some cases the help that the farmers need have a clear connection to the migration. Since many farmers are in the same position, where they have relatives or children who have migrated, some of the farmers help each other out if someone is in need and that favor could thereafter be returned some other time.

> *[The neighbors] do help in a way that when a neighbor comes around and*
> *helps in one's garden, like the following day the person can also go there*
> */.../ That is what [we] use since like, since like the children went, [we] try to*
> *do [our] work in an organized way, [I] can decide to help on this person*
> *today and the following day the other person, like that.*
> *(Ann, Interview 13)*

It is recognized that if they work together it is more effective. Sarah also points out that they help each other out on knowledge and how to do certain tasks in the best possible way.

> *Like in the methods of farming you can see that here needs to be put in such*
> *and such a way.*
> *(Sarah, Interview 8)*

Women's groups are also a way for the women to engage in cooperatives to help those in need in the group, in terms of for example loans that they can use for the farm.

> *Because we have our women-groups where we sit, we contribute money,*
> *then we buy some things we do not have from the collections we have*
> *collected from our members. Then we go for banking, we get loans as groups*
> */.../ then we engage in the NAADS program.*
> *(Penny, Interview 9)*

We asked the farmers if they got any help from the government and some of them claimed that the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) program help them since it gives them knowledge from the workshops and some new grains and methods they can use. Others are glad for the help they get but recognize that the NAADS program could be of more help if the system was better formed. There were also those who are very skeptical about the

government's handling of the agricultural future in Uganda. The NAADS program, they claimed, is ineffective and does not help them at all.

Help from the Uganda Cooperative Alliance (UCA) is perceived positive by Margaret:

> *Yeah and they [UCA] have been bringing [us] several work, workshops and actually they have helped [us] learn new things like making vine which is strictly saying it is how [we] even manage to come up with vine-making.*
> *(Margaret, Interview 1)*

The vine-making for Margaret started after her children had migrated to the cities for education, work and marriage.

From the local SACCO office, that deals with loans to farmers for farming, school-fees etcetera, many farmers perceive that they gain help. When we asked Penny if she had taken on any loans from the local SACCO office and how she felt it helped her she said:

> *Mm, very much so, it has helped me a lot. I even have one there /.../ for school-fees at times, and even paying the workers, when the produce is not, are not yet ready. I just go, get their school-fees, pay the workers then I sell my goods, then I [pay] back*
> *(Penny, Interview 9)*

Thomas explained that he has not got the time to diversify his activities, but instead he uses the SACCO office if he is in need of the extra money:

> *So, [I have] no extra job [I am] doing, if [I] want any extra money [I] go to the SACCO, that bank of [ours], where [I] can get a simple loan and adds in [my] farm.*
> *(Thomas, Interview 5)*

6.3.7 Economy and remittances

As mentioned before, the money in form of remittance that the migrant send back to the household can both been seen as an effect of rural-urban migration and as a strategy for the farmer. Migration of the younger generation could result in effects such as an enhanced economic supply if the migrant succeeds to find a job that could generate enough money so they could send some back to the household in the rural area. To diversify the working opportunities, meaning to say that someone stays and work on the farm and some migrate to the cities in search of work, could also be seen as a strategy to improve the income opportunities. For some of the farmers who have relatives/children that had finished school much of their economic existence depend on if the migrant was employed or not. The migrants who have a job often send remittance in form of money or other resources to their former resident household. The money that is sent is in some cases used to pay for the education of the migrant's younger siblings in the household or as security if the farmers get sick or if more workers on the farm are needed. Christina described that she use the money she is sent in many different ways:

> *So, [I] use the money [the migrants] send to [me] sometimes to pay school-fees for the siblings, then to also take care of [my]self in case [I] becomes sick. So that money looks after [me] /.../ the money they send [me][I] use that money to pay part of the workers' wages on the farm, then the other*

> *money [I] get from the farm it combines and [I] can pay some other things*
> *like fees.*
> *(Christina, Interview 4)*

The effects of the migration could therefore be perceived as positive, some migrants also invests in the land in the rural area which in turn the informants can benefit from.
On the other hand big risks are taken when the migrating children fail to get a job in the cities. The money the farmers invest in their children's education comes, in many cases, from the yields of the farm. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, in some cases the farmers have to sell either their land or cattle to afford the school-fees. For the migrants who remain unemployed in the cities or does not earn enough money to send back to their families in the rural areas an enhanced economic burden occurs to maintain a good/acceptable livelihood from the farmers' point of view. Andrew have children who have not yet found jobs in the urban areas, he clearly described how hard it was for him and his wife to make a living out of the yields from the farm and that they also have to provide for their grandchildren:

> *...I look after my land, the plantation. And the other task is to look for money*
> *in order to pay for school-fees of both my children who are still at school.*
> *These my grandchildren I help them financially whereas my son is not, he*
> *cannot support himself.*
> *(Andrew, Interview 12)*

6.4 The future in agriculture

6.4.1 Introduction
Questions we posed about the perceived future for the informants' agricultural businesses and the future for agriculture in Uganda as a whole do not answer for the problem statements but are in any case important to discuss since it touches upon the *livelihood framework* and contributes to the understanding of the effects and strategies used. It is here described what the informants anticipate, their wishes and perceived solutions for agriculture in Kigarama and Uganda.

6.4.2 Individual thoughts about the future for agriculture in Kigarama
The farmers are persistent in that the farm is not to be sold, even by their offspring, since they want their children and/or younger relatives to own it as a sort of insurance for the future. Every farmer also expects their children to inherit the farm after them as children have done for generations. Some of them do not, however, want their children to become farmers *per se* but to own and develop the land at the same time as they pursue work in the cities and towns. Diversifying their activities was therefore seen as the best strategy for the younger generation to pursue. When they eventually reach the senior age they could settle on the farm and live off the outcomes from their work and the produce from the farm. To be working in the city is thus perceived as the best future for their children and younger relatives since it provides an income and makes use of the education that they engage in.

> *Actually what [I] would prefer is them go and try to look for money and*
> *when they come back they can invest that money in the farm but then still go*
> *back to work, for more money. Not remaining on the farm /.../ if they finish*
> *studying and they get jobs actually [I] wish /.../ they remain there working or*
> *that they keep coming to check on [me].*
> *(Christina, Interview 4)*

It is also expected, or hoped for, that the children or younger relatives, who had been given the opportunity of an education by the paid fees from their caretakers in the household, to in one way or another pay back when they have earned money from their work.

> *If they [the children] become successful get jobs and work [I] think they can help [me] like [I am] helping them.*
> *(Carolyn, Interview 11)*

What is wished for and what the perceived reality for the informants' parts, concerning their farms, are sometimes divided. The future is depending on many aspects, for example if their children will be coming back and if they will send remittances, if the government is viewed as helpers or not, if the matoke or coffee wilt (that some of the farmers had troubles with) would disappear etcetera. The total migration from Kigarama to cities creates new burdens for the left-behind in a sense that for example,

> *Actually, like because energetic people go to town, and few energetic people remain behind production of food reduces and since they [the farmers in the area] are "digging up", since they are in a cultivation for a bigger number of people in town so they [the farmers in the area] are facing a challenge.*
> *(Christina, Interview 4)*

Some farmers anticipate tough years to come for their farms since their land for cultivating is scarce, they do not get the help they need, the income they get from their produce is not enough or because they cannot afford the medicine they need to fight the wilt that was attacking their plants. Others saw a brighter future since they anticipate the migrants' help and since they (the migrants) got education they would know more about how they could cultivate more effectively.

Most of the farmers that we spoke to have wishes to expand the farm they have:

> *[I am] actually wishing, at one time like expand it to a bigger size /.../ So [I am] now currently /.../ digging up more land to make more banana plantations and after that [I am] thinking of as well expanding the coffee plantation. Then as times goes on when the number of students, when the number of [my] students are reduced as in, as those ones in school [I am] thinking of buying more cows to put on [my] land.*
> *(Christina, Interview 4)*

Thomas sees other opportunities of making the farm more effective:

> *So [I am] actually wishing /.../ for this farm /.../ that like if it would be a bit more modernized like if [we] could like get those other cows that can be milked over twenty liters just a single cow. Like those ones they used to import from Germany, from Kenya. So [I am] wish[ing] [my] farm could be more that style, very modernized like it used to be long time ago when the government they would actually secure [us] cows from Germany, Kenya and give [us], this other artificial inseminator, you know? So that's what [I am] wishing.*
> *(Thomas, Interview 5)*

Opposite to what was expected from the start, when this study was in its "cradle", people have thoughts about their far-off future. It was first perceived that the farmers that we were

supposed to interview only thought about the future in terms of seasons for harvesting. This quote probably shows best how wrong we were:

> *...[I am] [wishing] [I] could like get money, expand on [my] farm, buy more cows, expand on [my] plantation and plant more crops and even go ahead to purchase like a simple plot around town [I] construct there so that [I] can /.../ A rental /.../ So when [I am] very old and [I] [have] no more power [I] can go there, fetch some money from [my] rentals and come around and enjoy [my] sweat. [I] also likes simple life...*
> *(Ann, Interview 13)*

6.4.3 Push effects causing migration

The farmers were asked about their thoughts about the causes behind rural-urban migration and in what rate it is happening. Here we were talking to them about the total migration and they could express free-thoughts about migration.

> *I can see that they are increasing because people here in the village have no land, enough land to stay with, and these Africans produce more children, like me I have 6. So when you produce many it means you have to give them big part and yet /.../ we do not have big big portions of land so that is why you find some girls or boys set migrate because the land is small, they cannot get enough food, enough work. So I think the number is increasing, the number is increasing because we are producing in a high rate.*
> *(Penny, Interview 9)*

Amongst some is Barbara who sees the need for the younger to migrate to town, there simply is nothing for them in the villages. One of the biggest challenges seems to be the lack of land to cultivate in the rural areas:

> *So, more youth are leaving currently compare from the past because their fathers do not have enough land where they can do the cultivating and the raising of the animals so they go to the town to look for more money and when they come, they can invest in the land and then can decide to carry out the cultivating and raising.*
> *(Barbara, Interview 7)*

Although many farmers see the migration as a big problem, both for the left-behind and the migrants, they also see the positive outcomes. They encourage people to go to town in search of work,

> *...because there is no money in the village.*
> *(Barbara, Interview 7)*

Others were more willing to point out that the migration derives from negative thoughts about agriculture. From the migrants' perspectives (according to the informants) agriculture is seen as the traditional that demands hard work and little yield.

> *Most of the people that migrate they see this kind of work we do as as if we are failures in life not knowing we are, not knowing that we are earning something much more than they will earn if they go anywhere else.*
> *(Sarah, Interview 8)*

For the farmer, the education of their children, and therefore the rural-urban migration is seen as an investment for the future.

> *So it is a group of young, the youth, and the ones moving from village to town /.../ It is increasing. Because we have got /.../ now the capacity to educate our children because we have seen it as a one way of financing these young boys and girls for tomorrow.*
> *(Andrew, Interview 12)*

What could be seen as a problem is, however, that there are uncertainties when the younger ones migrate, about if they can manage to find a job or not. They also acknowledged the fact that it is a rough environment in the cities where not all, even though educated, could find work. The ones who cannot find jobs could be ending up getting "bad habits", like drinking, gambling and some (as written about in chapter 6.2.2) even end up as thieves:

> *So [I] would be more comfortable if the migrating to town was of a good purpose like them getting work, doing some work there. But if it's not that [I do not] encourage migrating to towns and leaving out work in their own places.*
> *(Ann, Interview 13)*

6.4.4 Agriculture - the backbone of the Ugandan economy

> *The future of the farming /.../ as I told you it is the backbone of the economy...*
> *(Randol, Interview 2)*

That agriculture is the indeed the "backbone" of Uganda is hard to argue with considering that it stands for the highest part of export and occupation. Some of the farmers acknowledged this and expressed concerns about the future of agriculture in Uganda and therefore also the economy. Thomas is one of the farmers who expressed the most concerns about the situation in Uganda:

> *So [I am] actually very worried for this Uganda. One time [we] were organized by the UCA and [we] were taken to Kenya, the chairman of different SACCOs, [we] were taken to Kenya and when [we] reached there [we] were challenged. Kenya is a dry country but actually their harvests are very high because they full-time water their gardens and [we] found that they were a bit more modernized than Uganda which is just in the neighborhood and it is never a dry country.*
> *(Thomas, Interview 5)*

> *Most of the laws, they are laws that actually lag [me] behind /.../ the government is totally doing nothing to look for market for the farmers crops, so that is also another challenge /.../ any success on [my] farm or any success on the farmers' farm it is their manual power, not with the help of the government.*
> *(Thomas, Interview 5)*

He thinks that the government plays a big part in the making of a more effective and modernized agriculture and therefore is able to help the farmers to achieve good results. Some of the government officials, however, are experienced by him as corrupt and only care about things surrounding their own offices. This explains why only the cities get developed.

Andrew, who had been a teacher in the city, also expressed how he thought about the rural versus the urban in Uganda:

> *...during our learning and teaching they said that the town has got a million chances and the village has got one /.../ Because many jobs are in towns rather than in the villages, yet the villages is the same, if you do not know how to tail the soil you cannot maintain yourself. That is why we kill the soil in order to educate our children.*
> *(Andrew, Interview 12)*

Although, other farmers thought that the government helped them, via the NAADS program and that the president was making an effort to develop agriculture. From their point of view, the government did not at all disable them in their work on the farm.

6.4.5 Perceived solutions to make the rural areas and agriculture more attractive

> *The solution should be like one or two. One, to love what we have and then praying for what we cannot get. Because when you have something you love it then you plan for it and it will bring you up to that very thing we expect. You will earn much.*
> *(Sarah, Interview 8)*

When speaking to the farmers they recognized the troubles that the migration caused for the left-behind people and the agricultural survival. Solutions that they see can, at least, help agriculture in Kigarama to sustain or to make it more attractive to the younger generation are mainly three. One is to make the government create work in the villages:

> *...If the government would actually create some projects that are employing the youth, [we] would clap for [our] God and [we] would be actually very happy for that because it would maintain that very youth in this village.*
> *(Lela, Interview 10)*

Because of the high produce of children in many rural areas it is believed by the farmer and preacher Penny that family-planning could help the rural areas to sustain agriculture. The biggest problem was that there is not enough land for everybody and for every child that the family get, the less piece of land each child have to split amongst them.

> *People should be taught how to, how to go through family-planning, how to use /.../ family planning. But some of these Africans believe in producing more, but I think that one will help: teaching people about family-planning...*
> *(Penny, Interview 9)*

Penny also problematized the fact that the cultural and social structures and norms meant that women are neither allowed to inherit land nor to make the decision about the farm if a man is present in the household.

Some farmers believed that what pull the young towards the cities are the facilities it provides like electricity, mobile network and cinemas. Therefore the farmers thought a good solution for making the migrants stay in the village is for the government to facilitate such assets:

> *...because they move to town, as I said, for enjoyments: to watch films, to enjoy good environments like living in town where there is no bushes, if we*

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can get electricity in our villages, good water, health centers and
entertainments so I think we control that rural-urban migration.
(Irene, Interview 6)

7 Analysis

7.1 The livelihood framework and the results

As previously mentioned the livelihood framework can function as just a framework to understand how people's livelihoods are created and how they are affected. Every household is dependent upon the *transforming* (see fig 2.1) category in form of the structural components in society and what the government provides in terms of laws and politics.

Politics concerning agriculture, for example market-prices and the support the farmers receive from the government, further affect the *assets* that the individual will have. It was perceived that the informants did not have enough land to share amongst themselves and the support from the government was deficient and therefore many households considered a change was necessary in their livelihoods. The individual wishes and/or the societal norm also played a big part if the individuals wanted their children to work with something else than agriculture or the importance of education. Migration is one of the *strategies* used in the livelihood framework. If the livelihood framework is seen as the actual framework in which the households make their decision how to manage their daily lives, the strategy for many people is to send their children to migrate to urban areas in search of work, education and others. This affects other parts of the framework, such as the *assets*. The *human capital* for one is affected when the migrant leaves since it creates work-loss on the farm. The *financial* assets are also affected since the farmers gain other expenses such as the school-fees if the migrant went to boarding school. This also have effects on the money the farmers have left to invest in the farms. When the migrants, that went in search of work, did not succeed in finding a job extra finances are also sometimes needed for the left-behind to be able to pay for the subsistence of others in the household, such as the migrant's children (for example the grandchildren of the farmers). To cover for these losses of assets the household or the left-behind therefore need to make up changes in their livelihood. These changes concern the other two strategies: *natural resource based* and *non-natural resource based.* Some farmers choose to work harder, with other tasks, to hire workers or to sell off cattle or land. These strategies can be placed under the natural resource-based strategies. Other farmers have other non-natural resource based activities, income diversification strategies (or rural non-farm activities), that they already pursued or had to pursue due to the migration, such as work in a saloon, baking cakes and rentals that they earned money from. Since the farmers had to sacrifice resources to pay for the migrant the outcome for the household was also dependent upon the success of the migrant, in form of for example remittance.

In the following sections the four main pillars in the framework: *transforming, assets, strategies* and *outcome* (see fig. 2.1) are discussed in a deeper manner. The results from the study are therefore analyzed departing in the livelihood framework and coupled to the theories and previous research.

7.2 Determining conditions

In the livelihood framework one of the pillars that affect the farmers is the *transforming* aspect, meaning to say how the individual livelihood is affected by the structures and processes in society in terms of for example politics, laws and norms. The *push and pull theory* and theories of *modernization* and *urban bias*, explain why people choose to migrate from the rural to the urban areas, can be seen as parts of the transforming pillars even if the very migration both can be viewed from the individual and structural perspective.

In this study the results showed that the biggest reason for the rural-urban migration was that the youth in the household became old enough to attend boarding schools. Before we went to Uganda we had the perception that migration foremost occurred because the younger generation sought work in the urban areas, this was also the results from previous research that have been presented. According to Parnwell (1993), migration in purpose of finding a job is one of the biggest factors behind rural-urban migration. However, as one can see in the results, most of the informants have had educational purposes as the biggest reasons to migrate and not the search for work immediately. From a theoretical perspective, migration because of education can be viewed as a pull-factor where the city with its facilities (schools etcetera) attracts people to the destination. Parnwell (1993), however, emphasizes the complexity of theorizing people's choice to migrate and where especially push and pull factors sometimes can be troublesome to separate. Migration because of work or studies can therefore, in this case, also be seen as a pushing factor when the rural areas sometimes do not perceive to have the same range of opportunities, in form of for example workplaces and schools, as the urban areas. Therefore, the youth do not have any other choice than to migrate when they have to provide for themselves and the household. This was also evident in the interviews that were made with the farmers when they expressed concern about future and also considered that no possibilities to livelihoods in the rural areas existed for the younger generation.

In Gella and Tadele's (2012) research they found that the informants had troubles with scarce land when more and more people have to share the same piece of land. In the results of our study some of the informants expressed that they experienced the same problem in terms of land scarcity. Some informants (e.g. Randol and Penny) expressed that when a family consists of many children, troubles with splitting the land areas will appear in form of that every child will, in the future, just get a small piece of land to cultivate. The more generations with household consisting of many children that inherits the land the less land for each individual to cultivate. Penny provides a solution to this by saying that family-planning can be an option in the rural areas. This would mean that each family would give birth to fewer children in order to sustain their livelihood in a more advantageous way for both the household and management of the land-areas there are. In the context of Uganda there are both cultural and social beliefs and norms behind how many children each family should consist of. The problem of land scarcity is a distinct push-factor that contributes to the migration of the youth to the urban areas.

Tacoli (1998) deems that another angle of the theory of push and pull factors is to ignore that the individual migrates based on their own decisions; instead the theory can be derived to underlying structures in society that indirectly affect the decision. This can be coupled to the spatial distribution of, for example, working opportunities, facilities such as healthcare etcetera, which also is a central thought in the theory of urban bias. From this perspective on rural-urban migration, the individual's own choices have little meaning; instead the migration should be viewed as a forced process where the societal space and political structures are the decisive factors. According to Bezemer & Headey (2008), there exists a structural warp of capital and resources that stay in the urban areas which contributes to the underdevelopment of the rural areas. Urban bias can also be part of creating incitements for people to work in other sectors than the farm if resources are not put in the rural areas. If the government invests in the cities, the agricultural sectors in the rural areas often get a harder time creating yields. It appears in the Ugandan National Development Plan, that an important part of getting the country to develop is to invest in agriculture and the rural areas. In practice the perception of

the informants was, however, that no such investments were made on rural development and that the resources instead were put in the urban areas.

The informants also described the cities' modern offers in terms of, for example, pleasure and electricity sometimes could be reasons for the migration of the youth. That the city with its "bright light" attracts people to settle there can, according to Parnwell (1993), be seen as a pull-factor. Push and pull factors, coupled to modernization theories, can be based on the view upon the rural as retrograde and old-fashioned when, at the same time, the urban couples to modernity and development (Potter et al. 2008). The facilities that the urban, and not the rural areas, provide create this divide and therefore work as a pull-factor to the city. As Rigg (2006) mentioned in his article, about rural households in Laos, the migrants sometimes send remittances to the rural household in form of cultural, political and social ideas. If analyzed on a bigger scale, these ideas could enhance the will to migrate to the cities for the left-behind when they get fed with positive images of the urban and modern lifestyle. In this study many of the informants experience an increased, compared to before, rural-urban migration of the younger generation. The fact that more people migrate from one area to the other may create a bigger social acceptance and therefore could be an incitement for other people in the areas to also migrate.

Modernization theory can also be seen as the basis for the theory of urban bias. The investment of resources in purpose of modernizing the urban areas could lead to an uneven distribution of wealth between rural and urban because the same investments are not made in the rural. The chance for development for the rural areas therefore diminishes. As showed in the result, the farmers stressed that fact, that the rural areas had fewer chances than the urban, for example that roads, facilities and development were in focus in the urban areas but not in the rural. This view upon modern and traditional can also explain why the parents do whatever it takes to send their younger relatives to school. Gella and Tadele (2012) also found this in their study in Ethiopia where the farm-life was perceived as traditional and hard working. Neither the younger generation nor the older wanted the children to have an agricultural lifestyle. In our study's results it was found that the farmers have wishes for their children or younger relatives to educate themselves towards a "better future", a future where they could earn more money. At the same time, many farmers have hope for agriculture to develop and modernize and the migrants also have their part in this because they have to either send remittance or will inherit the farm.

7.3 Assets and strategies in the livelihood framework

7.3.1 Work-loss and strategies to deal with it
This study shows that rural-urban migration of the young generation often have effects such as lessened work pool within agriculture. In the livelihood framework this can be operationalized when the individual's asset change as the migration is used as a strategy. In Knodel and Saengtienchai's (2007) study, the most frequent strategy to solve the lessened work pool was to employ workers. This strategy proved itself to be equally important for the informants in our study. One apparent problem was, however, that certain farmers perceived it hard to find potential workers. This could be grounded in the fact that many young able-bodied in the area already had migrated to the cities. Rigg (2006) described the consequences of this in the rural areas is that the left-behind on the farm in turn consist of an aging population. The consequences this has, as a whole, for agriculture is difficult to speculate in, but if only the older generation stays in the rural areas as the able-bodied migrates an important constituent in the economy of Uganda may be lost. Another clear strategy that was

apparent in the data was that some farmers personally needed to put in more hours on the farm. This was a strategy foremost used by the informants who did not have the resources to employ workers. It is distinguishable how the different economic conditions the farmers have are of great importance for the strategies used.

7.3.2 Income diversification
The result in this study turns out to be that many farmers that participated in the study have other income generating activities on the side of agriculture to earn some extra money. Ellis (1998) means that the farmers diversify their income with so called *rural non-farm* activities. Diversification is also one of the *strategies* in the livelihood framework that belong to the category *non-natural resource* based activities since they do not concern the very agricultural work but instead activities that contribute to the income of the household in other ways. Ellis (1998) sees the rural non-farm activities as income generating activities geographically bound to the rural areas. But rural-urban migration can, in itself, also be seen as a rural non-farm activity based on the perspective of the household if the contact is held between the migrant and the left-behind (as a so called geographical extended family). Just as Knodel and Saengtienchai (2007) and Chilimampunga (2006) deem, there are gains for the rural household if the interaction is kept between the rural household and the migrant in the urban area, foremost considering remittances. Coupled to this, the rural-urban migration can also be viewed as an income generating activity where the income of the household is based not only on the yield from the farm but also on the money earned by the migrant in the city, in form of remittance back to the rural household.

At the same time as rural-urban migration can be viewed as a way of diversifying a household's income, there is a big risk taken in the left behind's livelihood. Education in Uganda at higher levels is not free of charge and most of the farmers in Kigarama have many children to provide for. This contributes to that a large amount of capital has to be put on education for the children and to be able to get these kind of finances, the farmers sometimes needed to sell some of their land or cattle. This could in turn create consequences for the informant's farm since future yields from the farm declined when lessened land to cultivate or cattle to make produce of was the outcome. This may seem to be a temporary decline for the farmers' livelihood when they in the wider perspective have chosen to invest in the education for the expectations of future profit in form of remittance but in the current state when the children have not received jobs yet the left-behind could experience a hard time of sustaining their livelihoods. If the farmers have focused on the strategy to let their children or younger relatives, to go through education, failure of finding a job after education could create economic consequences and their livelihoods might become at stake.

7.3.3 Emotional effects of migration and migration as a long-term strategy
This study shows that many informants feel happy and content over being able to give their children an education and therefore the migration created positive feelings. The same results showed itself in Knodel and Saengtienchai's (2006) study about farmers in Thailand even though they experienced a work-loss on the farm. The farmers, in our study, that have younger family-members who work in the cities get, if the migrant could afford, remittances in form of money or other resources sent to the household. The farmers, who have children still in school, hope for them to send back remittance if or when they find a job. To migrate because of studies can be seen as a security for the migrant, if only for a while, when he or she knows what to expect from the years in school. There would be a difference if they had migrated to the city in search of work not knowing if they would find a job or not. The farmers who have children or relatives that have migrated and have not succeeded in finding a

job (even if they have got an education), those farmers feel that they, despite that, want the migrants to stay in the cities and not come back to work in agriculture. One of the informants even posed the question: "Why would the migrants come back to agriculture if they have an education?" If a household has invested in the education of someone in the household there are few incitements for that person to come back to the farm. Meaning to say, there are no reasons for the migrant to be educated if they would work on the farm, because there you do not need it. The rural household rather sees the advantage to invest and hope that the youth in the end get a job in the city instead. Migration can therefore be seen as a livelihood strategy towards a long-term improvement or insurance of one's livelihood.

7.4 Outcome for agriculture and the society
In the livelihood framework the *outcome* is coupled to the result from all the other categories from the perspective of the individual or the household. The focus in this study has not been on the outcome *per se* since the questions posed were about the effects and strategies coupled to rural-urban migration. Some kind of reasoning is although important about the outcomes for the society concerning rural-urban migration from the scientific perspective and it also possesses the key to agricultural development.

What Gella and Tadele (2012) discussed in their paper about farmers in Ethiopia and the problem concerning the contradictions between what the city offers, what the individual wants and what the government is planning for. To couple this to what patterns and processes there are in Kigarama and Uganda is very interesting. The households in Ethiopia perceived the migration as their best strategy since the future was perceived to be in the cities. What the government wanted, however, was agricultural development in terms of modernization and efficiency, and that demanded that the rural households were interested in this development as well. In Kigarama hardly anyone see the agricultural lifestyle as the future for the younger generation other than that the farmers want them to own land so they can have a secured future income. The ambition in Uganda about agricultural development, from the government's point of view, seems to be equally important as in Ethiopia. For example the *Uganda Vision Plan 2040,* the NAADS program and the *National Development Plan* (see 5.1.3) have goals for the agricultural development in Uganda in form of modernization. The Uganda Co-operative Alliance also works towards these goals when they try to engage the youth in agriculture to bring back the interest in it. Since the agricultural sector is the biggest in Uganda, both in occupation and export, it is understandable why it is important to the government to head for exactly this. Problems, though, occur when the rural people and the government have different wishes.

Another aspect of this is also what kind of capacity the cities have in terms of providing jobs and places to stay for the youth. Early in the study the problem of *urbanization* was discussed. Some informants in this study expressed concerns for others in their community who had migrated in search of jobs in the cities and towns. They were concerned about for example what would happen if the migrants did not receive jobs. Chances were that they would become homeless or even end up as thieves to survive. Urbanization, as discussed in chapter 1, also leads to overcrowding and environmental consequences such as pollution, problem of handling garbage etcetera. Another aspect is also what base the government has to modernize when, for example, agriculture in Uganda is affected by the hampering aspects such as bad transportation routes to the rural areas and that the ICT and science within the sector are not developed.

7.5 Income diversification, identities and development programs

An important aspect decoupled from the livelihood framework is how income diversification can affect the identity of the farmer and lead to the creation of new identities. This is important to analyze from the perspective of development programs that try to deal with rural poverty. What Zoomers (1999) found in her study was that the farmer kept on identifying him/herself as a farmer and that the farming was the main activity even if other non-rural income generating activities in fact was the most profitable activities. According to Zoomers (1999), both national and international developing programs also have this view. The results in this study cannot constitute a generalized picture over how the informants identify themselves but our interpretations of the data show the opposite from what Zoomers present. Margaret, who was partly a farmer but also a wine-producer saw the wine producing as her main activity. Andrew that before he received his pension, was a school-teacher at the same time as he was a farmer did not consider himself as mainly a farmer until he received his pension. We also have Sarah who owned her own saloon and the agricultural land she had came second. Like Zoomers (1999) indicated, it is important to understand how the rural people's livelihoods look like and create development programs accordingly. Development programs in purpose of developing agriculture may take a long time to establish at the same time as the rural people's livelihood strategies often are decided on the basis of opportunities and conditions for the individual at the moment. The importance of income diversification in the rural areas therefore has to be understood by development actors so that management of this issue effectively can take place.

8. Conclusions and further research

8.1 Conclusions
The aim of this study was to explore the strategies the farmers use to maintain their livelihoods when rural-urban migrations of younger household members occur.

The first research question in the study departs from the effects the rural-urban migration leads to for the farmers that are left-behind to cater for agriculture in the rural areas. The results that are presented in this study are that they experience work-loss, loss of able bodied people, enhanced vulnerability for the older generation, emotional effects and effects on the visits the farmers makes to the urban centers. One needs to remember that the results from the migration and its effects have different impacts for different farmers. For one farmer the effect was perceived as positive when for someone else, negative. The thoughts about the effects need to be considered in the light of the farmers' life-situation and background.

The second research question is coupled to the strategies the farmers use to deal with the effects they experience when the able-bodied young migrates. The strategies that are presented in this study are: to employ local people, work more or harder compared to before, sell off land or cattle, rural non-farm activities or to use help from outside (such as non-governmental organizations and microfinance banks). The strategies that are used are coupled to the resources the farmers have, in terms of money and time. This is also dependent on, like our first research question, their goals and individual thoughts.

The results are also presented in the light of the thoughts that the farmers have about their future and the future for agriculture in Uganda coupled to rural-urban migration. The results showed hopes for rural development and faith is placed in the government to achieve this, even though the thoughts about the governmental involvement and previous achievements are divided. At the same time there are concerns about both the individual survival (foremost for the younger generation to come) on agriculture and structural concerns in a country where agriculture is the backbone of the economy.

8.2 Reflections and further research
As previously mentioned in the analysis the government of Uganda and the rural people has different visions about the future of agriculture. Even if the informants want to modernize their country, a lot of resources are put on letting the youth get an education and migrate to the cities to search for work. If, however, the government would invest in agriculture, some of the informants would be positive about staying in the rural areas. The government's inability to provide action for agricultural development and modernization can lead to a reaction with the rural inhabitants' will to migrate to the cities. It is therefore important to invest in the creation of job opportunities in the rural areas for the educated young generation. The Uganda Co-operative Alliance has goals to get the youth to be more a part of the cooperative movement in the rural areas, which can be a strategy to reduce the depletion of young in the rural areas. To be able to strengthen the farmers' opportunities to sustain their livelihoods, different collaborations between the farmers in, for example, cooperatives or women's groups can be a solution. There are also opportunities to develop the agricultural sector by micro-finance loans from the SACCOs. To collaborate can therefore be a strategy to manage the effects of an increasing rural-urban migration.

What also was made apparent from the interviews and can be seen as a big problem for Uganda is that the cultivable land is split among too many people and therefore each

individual gets too little to manage their own livelihood. Wishes to modernize agriculture were there through, for example, more mechanical handling, but the economic means were not available. If agriculture would become modernized maybe it would, to a certain part, become more effective so that each piece of land could be utilized for the benefit of more people. Regarding the conditions in Uganda, a land with fertile soils and good basis for agriculture one could ask why the farmers perceive or believe that Kenya with less climatic advantages, and less fertile soils, managed agriculture better than Uganda.

The results of the study also display that an important strategy to be able to cope with the work-loss of the rural-urban migration is to employ workers. Some of the informants who cannot afford to employ have to, personally, put in more time on the farm. From a socio-economic perspective, the ones that cannot afford to employ have therefore less possibilities to develop their farms which could lead to a bigger divide between the poor and rich in the rural areas. Most of the informants expressed a will to expand their farm but the question needs to be posed: At whose expense can one expand, who will have to sell their land and for what purpose? In long-term thinking an important question is also how agriculture in the rural areas and each individual are affected by this. It is hard for us, who are not economists, to say something about the development of Uganda's economy, if agriculture no longer would be the biggest yearning sector. Do conditions exist today, that can create the base for other sectors in Uganda to cover for what agriculture stand for? Another thought that hits us is that, even if the left-behind get remittances, it is not positively sure that this money will be invested back into agriculture. When more and more people realize that the higher income comes from working in the urban centers, many may abandon agriculture, at least as a main activity to pursue. In the end it is the individual choices that create the conditions for Uganda's future in agriculture. Further research is therefore recommended about how the government's visions concerning agricultural development in the country can be coupled to the individual visions and strategies to maintain a personal good livelihood.

As the environmentalists we are, we also find it important to pose further research about modernization of agriculture coupled to sustainability. Modernization may be the future for agriculture in Uganda and it is therefore important to study if modernization contributes to effects that, from a sustainable perspective, do not adventure the capacity of the environment.

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Appendix 1 - Interview guide (Kigarama people's SACCO)

1. What's your name?
2. What position do you have at the local SACCO office in Kigarama?
3. What does SACCO stand for?
4. For how long have this SACCO office existed?
5. How many work in this office?
6. How many members does this SACCO have?
7. Can you explain the process of taking a loan?
What are the qualifications to get a loan?
Do you have to be a member to get a loan?
In that case, what is the member fee?
Does this SACCO have a limitation of the number of members?
8. How does the future for this SACCO look like?

1. Our essay is about rural-urban migration of young people, what are your thoughts about this on SACCO?
What could be the challenges for SACCO in this matter?
2. Do SACCO see any change over time concerning the loan-takers?
In which age are the normal loan-taker? Have that changed over time?
Have the number of loans increased or decreased the last couple of years? Why?
3. What are your experiences of strategies that the farmers use when the young people migrate to the cities/towns?

To our big help you have found farmers we could interview about rural-urban migration, now we would like to know how the process of the selection went through.
1. Which criteria did SACCO follow when selecting the farmers?
2. Was it hard to get in touch with farmers?
Anybody who said no?
Why do you think they declined?
3. Did the selection have anything to do with distance?
4. Did you ask if the farmers you picked had any children that had migrated or did you knew that since before?
5. Do you think the selection could have been done in any other way?

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix 2- Interview guide (UCA)

1. What is your name?
2. What position do you have at the UCA in Kampala?
3. What does UCA stand for?
4. For how long have UCA existed?
5. How many works at the office?
6. How many regional offices are there in Uganda?
7. Can you explain the purpose of the UCA?
8. How does the future for UCA look like?
9. What is the connection between UCA and like the SACCO that we were in contact with in Kigarama?
Do you support those kind of SACCO financially, knowledge wise etc.?
Is UCA an umbrella- organization above SACCO?

Our essay is about rural-urban migration of young people, what are your thoughts about this on UCA?
1. What could be the challenges for UCA in this matter?
2. Do UCA in any way work against or promote rural-urban migration?
3. Do UCA see any change over time concerning the number of migrating young people?

1. Which criteria did UCA or you follow when choosing Mbarara (the region where the essay was conducted in)
2. Why do you think Mbarara is a good place to gather this sort of information?
3. Do you think Mbarara was the best possible start-point for this study?

Appendix 3 - Interview guide (farmer)

Personal Information
1. What is your name?
2. Which year were you born?
3. Did you go to school?
What class have you finished?
Do you have any other education or training?
4. Where do you live?
5. Who are you in the household?
6. Who lives with you? (one by one)
Explain relationships in the household, age, gender, what they do during the day, what their responsibilities in the household are. Example questions: Are you married? To who? Have children? What are their names? Which year were they born? Are there other children in the household? Are there any other adults in the household? Who is in charge of money, the farm, children, kitchen etc...
7. Has anyone from this household migrated to the city/town? Who?

Children
8. Do they go to school?
Yes? How many hours per day are they in school?
No? Have they been going? To what class?
Why don't they go to school? (Work on farm etc)
9. Do the children help out on the farm?
How often?
Have their time spent on the farm changed since the migrant left?
10. What do you want your children to do?
For example: Do you want for them to go to school in the city? Get a job in the city? Or would you rather want for them to work at the farm? Stay on your land? Describe.

Town
11. Do you visit the nearby towns or cities? Which ones?
In that case, how often do you go there?
What is your purpose for going there?
12. How do you transport yourself to the town?
Do you go there more often compared to before the migrant left? Why?

The migrant/s
13. What year was the migrant born?
14. When did the migrant leave?
15. Why did the migrant leave? For example school, work, marriage, other?
16. Does he/she send you any resources? (remittance, food, equipment)
If yes, how are these resources mostly used?
17. What kind of responsibilities did he/she have on the farm?
If he/she worked on the farm, is someone replacing her/him?
If not, how do you solve the work on the farm with the assumed work-loss?
18. Did the migrant engage in any other income-generating or productive activity?
19. How often does the migrant come 'home' to the village?
Does he/she help on the farm?
How much and with what?
20. How do you feel about the migration of that person?
What are the benefits?
What are the losses?
21. If you think about others here in the community, what do you think of the total migration of the young people from the village?
What kind of changes do you se over time, are more/less people migrating to town?
What are the challenges for the village when young people migrate?
What kind of solutions do you see to the challenges? Free thoughts.

The Farm and work tasks
22. For how long have you been a farmer?
23. Who owned the farm before your household did?
Who will inherit the farm?
24. What is your main activity on a normal day?
25. Can you describe a regular day at the farm?
Number of people working, routines, do you have employees? etc.
What tasks do you have?
Have you gained any other/more tasks at the farm since the migrant left?
What kind of tasks?
How much time per day did you spend on the farm when the migrant lived here?
Do you see a difference compared to today? Please, describe.
26. What crops does the farm that you work on produce?
27. What do you do with the produce from the farm?
Do you use them for your household's consumption? (Subsistence farming)
Food crops? (sell on the local market)
Exchange with other products?
From town or from neighbors?
Cash crops?
Have the prices for your crops changed over the last couple of years? (subsidies?) Can you describe the change?
Have you changed the crops because of the price changes?
28. Have you changed the crops/number of cattle etc on your farm since the migrant left? Why?
29. Tell us again about... Have the work-situation on the farm changed since the migrant left?
How? And how do you deal with these changes?

Other Activities
30. Do you have other kind of income-generating activities?
How much time are you spending on these activities per day?
Is it more or less than the time spent on the farm?
Could you explain the change over time?
Is it more or less important now than before to have other activities than cultivating that generate money?
Why do you think that?
Does this have anything to do with the migration of the person? Please describe.
Would it be possible to just have farming (as it is now) as your only income source?

Governmental involvement and supporting activities
31. Do the neighbors engage in each others farms?
In what way?
If you do, what is the purpose?
In what way do you think that migration will affect or is affecting the
32. What governmental interventions are there to support the agricultural sector?
Do you feel that the governmental laws/policies disable/enable the farm-work in any way?
How?
33. Do you receive any other help from non-governmental organizations or the like?
If so what kind of assistance?
From which organizations and what is the gain?

Approach / sustainable agriculture
34. How does the future for this farm look like?
Who will take care of the farm after you?
What are your thoughts about this?
35. What are your expectations or wishes for your farm?
How do you work towards those future goals that you just described?

Final Questions: Can we come back if we have more questions