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Charles Edaku

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Université
de Toulouse

THÈSE

En vue de l'obtention du

DOCTORAT DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE TOULOUSE

Délivré par :

Université Toulouse 2 Le Mirail (UT2 Le Mirail)

Cotutelle internationale avec :

Nkumba University (Ouganda)

Présentée et soutenue par :

Charles EDAKU

Le 16 décembre 2013

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A CASE OF COMMUTERS IN BUGISU REGION, EASTERN UGANDA

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**RURAL-URBAN INTERACTIONS FOR SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS:
A CASE OF COMMUTERS IN BUGISU REGION, EASTERN UGANDA**

BY

CHARLES EDAKU

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO UMR DYNAMIQUES RURALES FOR THE
AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ETUDES
RURALES EN SCEINCES DU DEVELOPMENT DE L' UNIVERSITE DE
TOULOUSE**

DECEMBER 2013

DECLARATION

I Charles Edaku, declare that the information contained in this thesis has never been submitted to any university or institution of higher learning for an award. This document is a result of my own independent research effort and investigations. Where it is indebted to other people's work, acknowledgment has been made.

Signature: **Date:**

Names.....

APPROVAL

I have looked through this piece of work and do affirm that it is original and by the author. The thesis presented to me is now ready for submission to the School of Postgraduate Studies for the award of the degree of doctor of philosophy in Development Planning and Management of Nkumba University/University of Toulouse-Le Mirail II.

Signature: **Date:**

Professor Bernard Charlery De La Masselière
(Supervisor)

APPROVAL

I have looked through this piece of work and do affirm that it is original and by the author. The thesis presented to me is now ready for submission to the School of Postgraduate Studies for the award of the degree of doctor of philosophy in Development Planning and Management of Nkumba University/University of Toulouse-Le Mirail II.

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Associate Professor Michael Mawa
(Supervisor)

DEDICATION

I dedicate this piece of work to God the Almighty, my late mother, Edith Ruth Apio and my family for the unthinkable support rendered to me during the making of this thesis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to acknowledge my supervisors Professors; Bernard Charlery and Michael Mawa for their tireless efforts in shaping my research work. Their guidance was so vital in the production of this piece of work. My thanks go to CREATING, CORUS and IFRA for financial support and research training. Their contribution was so significant in the building of this thesis.

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ACRONYMS

ADRA:	A local NGO in Uganda dealing with the Elderly
CFPED:	Committee of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
C.M.B:	Coffee Marketing Board
COMESA:	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DDBS:	Duty Draw Back Scheme
DENIVA:	Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations
DLG:	District Local Government
EAC:	East African Community
FGDs:	Focus Group Discussion
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GOU:	Government of Uganda
Ha:	Hectares
Habitat:	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
IUIU:	Islamic University in Uganda
LC3:	Local Council Three
LC5:	Local Council Five
LA:	Land Administration
L.M.B:	Lint Marketing Board
LSSP:	Land Sector Strategic Plan
MDGs:	Millennium Development Goals
MFI:	Micro Finance Institutions

MFPEd:	Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development
MISR:	Makerere Institute of Social Research
MTCS:	Medium Term Competitiveness Strategy
MSTs:	Medium sized towns
MUBS:	Manufacturing Under Bond Scheme
NAADS:	National Agricultural Advisory Services
NEPA:	National Electric Power Authority
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organisations
PEAP:	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PMA:	Plan for Modernization of Agriculture
RR/UA:	Rapid Rural/Urban Appraisal
SACCOS:	Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies
SMSEs:	Small and Medium Sized enterprises
SSTs:	Small sized towns
UBOS:	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
U.C.B:	Uganda Commercial Bank
UCDA:	Uganda Coffee Development Authority
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA:	United Nations
UPE:	Universal Primary Education
URA:	Uganda Revenue Authority
USE:	Universal Secondary Education
VAT:	Value Added Tax

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

- Bugisu:** Is a region in eastern Uganda and is surrounded by the districts of Moroto and Kapchorwa in the north; Tororo in the south; Pallisa in the west and Kumi in the north-west. It lies approximately between Latitudes 45°N, 1 35°N and Longitudes 34°E, 34 35°E.
- City:** The largest urban centre sometimes taken as the countries administrative capital.
- Commuters:** Persons who reside in one point of the rural-urban setting and derive a living in another or may have livelihood activities in both locations.
- Commuting:** A process by which, people move along the rural-urban continuum deriving a living in town, while remaining based in rural areas. It also describes a situation where people move from urban to rural areas deriving a living in rural areas and remain based in the urban and sometimes people move from urban to urban areas staying in one of the urban areas and deriving a living in another.
- Contextual Framework:** The context in which interactions between rural and urban settings were examined.
- Decentralization:** A development policy that allows for devolution of power and authority from the central government to lower arms of government.

Financial capital:	The monetary resources owned by households in terms of accumulated savings, physical cash at hand or in the bank, or near money such as money invested in the purchase of goods that can easily be turned to cash.
Gisu:	Natives of Bugisu region who speak a dialect of the Masaaba language called Lugisu, which is fully understandable by other dialects and is also understood by the Bukusu and Luhya of western Kenya.
Human Capital:	The physical and mental merits and inherent potential of a household.
Imbalu:	One of the unique social customs/cultural practices of the Bagisu during which the boys are circumcised.
Jua kali:	A term used to refer to local technology and its use.
Kamalewa:	Bamboo, a local delicacy/food for the Bagisu
Livelihoods:	The sum of ways and means by which individuals, households and communities make and sustain a living over time using a combination of socio-economic, cultural and environmental resources.
Merry-go-rounds:	A social Savings and Credit Scheme in Bugisu.
Mbale Town:	A town in the heart of Bugisu serving as the “hub” of eastern region connecting Bugisu to other parts of Uganda and the outside world in terms of flows of goods and services and flow of people.
Mt. Elgon:	A massive solitary volcanic mountain on the border of eastern Uganda and western Kenya. It is the oldest and largest extinct solitary volcano in East Africa, covering an area of around 3500 km ² .
Natural Capital:	Stocks of natural resources from which we build our livelihoods and make a living.

- Peri-urban:** A name given to the grey area which is neither entirely urban nor purely rural in the traditional sense; it is at most the partly urbanized rural area.
- Physical Capital:** Assets accumulated by households to counter vulnerability and or accumulate more assets to make livelihoods sustainable.
- Privatization:** Government of Uganda policy adopted in the early 1990s to divest itself of the majority of the 107 public enterprises that existed at the time.
- Rural:** Area generally regarded as a place of low population density with predominantly agricultural economy.
- Sectoral Flows:** Rural activities taking place in urban areas (such as urban agriculture) and activities often classified as ‘urban’ (such as manufacturing and services) taking place in rural areas.
- Spatial Flows:** Those interactions that take place across space between ‘urban’ and ‘rural’ areas. These include flows of people, goods, money, information and wastes.
- Social Capital:** The wider networks of social relations between individuals, households and communities, including systems of patronage, neighbourhoods and kinship.
- Trickle Down Effects:** Investment effects in which economic growth spreads from urban to rural areas.
- Urban:** Places with high population densities distinguished by a service economy.
- Urbanisation:** A process of growth and development of towns and cities with their cultures. It may refer to transformation of rural areas into urban.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Rural-Urban Interactions: Refer to spatial and sectoral flows between rural and urban settings, taking place in the form of; Flows of people commuting, Flows of goods and services, Flows of information, Flows of capital, Flows of natural resources and; Flows of wastes between rural and urban settings.

Rural-Urban Continuum: The grey space between rural and urban settings arising from growing trend of urbanisation.

Commuting: Refers to a process by which people move to and from rural to urban areas to derive a living in town, while remaining based in rural areas. It also describes a situation where people move from urban to rural areas deriving a living in rural areas and remain based in the urban. In some cases people commute from urban to urban deriving a living in one of the towns and yet staying in another.

A Commuter: Refers to a person who resides in one point of the rural-urban setting and derives a living in another or may have livelihood activities in both locations. A commuter may be residing in the country side and commuting regularly and deriving a living in town. At the same time s/he may have a garden in the rural area

and is running a business in town. S/he may be, residing in one town and yet deriving a living in another town altogether or s/he may be residing in town but deriving a living from the rural areas.

A livelihood: Refers to an activity households do to earn a living. Livelihoods therefore refer to the “*multiple activities households employ/do to earn a living*”. Usually livelihoods are short or long-term or both depending on the shocks and stress caused by poverty, seasonal factors, household’s objectives and the assets available.

Sustainable Livelihood: Refers to that livelihood which is in position to diminish shocks and stress. Thus; commuter livelihoods that enabled commuters to provide their house hold members with basic needs and or luxuries without strain were considered by this study as sustainable.

Assets: Refer to stocks of capital households utilised directly or indirectly to make a living and to improve their well-being.

Natural Capital: Refers to stocks of natural resources from which households build livelihoods and make a living. Land constitutes the major natural asset for rural households.

Physical Capital: Refer to assets accumulated by households to counter vulnerability and or accumulate more assets to make livelihoods sustainable.

Human Capital: Refers to the *physical and mental merits and inherent potential of a household* such as education, knowledge, skills, creativity, health, capabilities and adaptive strategies households use to make a living.

Financial Capital: Refers to the monetary resources owned by households in terms of accumulated savings, physical cash at hand or in the bank, or

near money such as money invested in the purchase of goods that can easily be turned to cash.

Social Capital: Also “*intangible asset*”, refers to the wider social networks and relationships we hold with others such as kinship systems, neighbourhood and friendships which allow participation and problem solving.

ABSTRACT

The study “*Rural-urban Interactions for Sustainable Livelihoods; A Case of Commuters in Bugisu Region, Eastern Uganda*”, is premised on the understanding that rising trends of urbanisation have led to increasing levels of interactions between rural and urban settings and vice versa across the developing world. It is also envisioned that, rural-urban interactions play a significant role in supporting livelihoods especially of commuters. The overall objective of the study was to analyse the role of rural-urban interactions in supporting livelihoods of the commuters in Bugisu region. The study contributes to the understanding of livelihoods across spatial and sectoral boundaries looking at the synergistic co-existence found between rural and urban and urban and rural settings. The study examined patterns of interaction and commuting activities in Bugisu region, looking at the influence of policy factors on commuting activities and commuter livelihoods strategies. The key concern was to establish a “fit” between rural-urban interaction and their potential for sustainable livelihoods.

This study was conducted in Bugisu region, eastern Uganda covering the five districts of the then greater Mbale namely; Mbale, Manafa, Budduda, Sironko and Bulambuli. The study employed both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis. The main methods used in data collection were in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), observation, questionnaire, rapid rural/urban appraisal (RR/UA) and review of secondary data. In order to establish the contribution of rural-urban interactions in supporting livelihoods and household well-being, a total of 760 respondents were selected as a sample population for the study. Data sources included primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected mostly from the commuter households, key informants, district local

government officials and urban authorities. Data was collected through the period of three years: 2009 – 2011.

In examining patterns of interaction and commuting activities in Bugisu, the study notes that rural Bugisu relates more closely with its urban centres. Mbale town, one of the oldest towns in the region serves as the hub of Bugisu region with, 69% of commuting activities in the area centred in it. The major flows that dominate the rural-urban continuum are; flows of people commuting, flows of capital, flows of information, flows of natural resources, flows of goods and services moving along the rural-urban continuum and flows of wastes from urban to rural areas. As the process of urbanisation continues to grow, it is expected that the dichotomies between rural and urban settings will narrow as much of the, would be urban culture gets diffused into rural areas. Flows of information have contributed enormously in bridging the dichotomies between rural and urban settings. Improvement in communication mechanisms and availability of transport services allows for easy access to rural areas by urban commuters. Conversely, commuters in the rural find it easy to commute back and forth along the continuum. Those in the urban are in touch with their rural counterparts through the phone.

Commuting in the region has been greatly influenced by many factors such as; pressure on land, market conditions, kinship ties, policy factors, household capabilities, assets accessed and owned by commuters, poverty arising from the declining role of rural economy in supporting livelihoods. Urbanisation has been envisioned by many households as a panacea to problems of poverty. The main livelihood activities undertaken by commuters are farming for rural households and commercial activities such as retail and wholesale, vending and services by the urban households. This however, does not mean that there is a clear divide on the livelihood activities by rural and urban commuters as the, would be purely urban activities have continued to be practiced in the rural and rural activities are carried out in the urban. The study notes that although policies are supposedly very important in influencing livelihood activities by the commuters and commuting in

general its influence is not very instrumental in shaping commuting activities in Bugisu region. The major drivers of commuting in the region are poverty and population pressure on land.

This study, observes that, though rural-urban interactions are crucial to regional development their contribution in supporting livelihoods has been constrained by structural rigidities and governance issues. Structural rigidities such as male dominance over females, nepotism, favouritism and tribalism have undermined the capacity of households in actively participating in development activities. Governance issues such as corruption, meddling into programme activities by politicians have become bottlenecks to successful implementation of programmes and thus undermining livelihood activities undertaken by the commuters. This broadens the scope of study especially for further research.

An assessment of commuting activities in the region reveals that about, 70% of commuters spend much of their income on meeting daily needs such food, medical care, housing and transport, an implication that most of the commuter livelihood activities are not sustainable. About 54% of commuter households experience food insecurity problems, five (5) to six (6) months after the harvest and another, 82% of rural households walk for 1-5kms to access safe water. It is also established that, 44% of commuters have shifted consumption from expensive items to cheap ones to fit their budgets within household income. About, 12% of respondents had difficulties in accessing medical care due to poverty and resorted to herbal medicine. This implies that most commuter livelihoods in Bugisu and Uganda as a whole are not sustainable. A deliberate policy aimed at supporting people's livelihoods and reducing the cost of doing business should be developed and sustained if livelihoods have to be sustainable.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The study “rural-urban interactions for sustainable livelihoods” is an attempt by the researcher to explore deeply into the opportunities offered by interactions between rural and urban settings in supporting livelihoods of commuters in Bugisu region; eastern Uganda. Specifically the study analysed the synergistic co-existence found between rural and urban/urban-rural settings of Bugisu region from the view point of commuting as a form of mobility and interaction between rural and urban areas. The study examined livelihood strategies undertaken by commuters and established their contribution in supporting well-being of their household members. Focus was also placed on the analysis of policy factors influencing rural-urban interactions and commuter livelihoods in the region. The main interest was, finding the “fit” between growing trends of interaction between urban and rural settings and their potential for sustainable livelihoods and improved well-being. In so doing Mbale, Manafa, Bududa and Sironko districts that form the then greater Mbale were selected as study centres. A triangulation of methods of data collection including both conventional methods such as expert interviews, questionnaires and traditional methods such as oral tete-a-tete were used.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Agriculture is the backbone of LDC economies. It accounts for between 30 to 60 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) among the LDCs and employs more people than any other sector (UNDP 2007). By the 1960s - 1980s there was a leaning towards agricultural production with a major development thinking that supported agriculture as a driver of growth, especially in the early stages of industrialization (Byerlee et al (2009). The view of agriculture playing a pivotal role

in the growth of world economies was stimulated by the emerging experience in Asia. With the Asian experience and success in agriculture as a backbone of the Asian economies it was recognized that traditional agriculture could be transformed rapidly into a modern sector. This would be possible with the adoption of science-based technology. The contribution of agriculture in towards the transformation of world economies was demonstrated in many Asian countries through the green revolution of 1960s – 1980s. The unprecedented fall in global poverty in Asia by this time reflected a large contribution from the successful agricultural transformation (Byerlee et al, 2005).

The success of agricultural revolution in Asia by the 1960s-1980s made economists stress of the strong linkages and multiplier effects between agricultural growth and that of the non-agricultural sectors. Agriculture was seen to have strong forward and backward linkages with the industrial sector. Earlier researches indicated that there was empirical linkage between the large manufacturing industries and agricultural growth (Pryor and Holt 1999). The effects of these growth-linkages proved most powerful when agricultural growth was driven by broad-based productivity increases in rural economy dominated by small farms. Small and medium-sized farm households typically had more favorable expenditure patterns for promoting growth of the local nonfarm economy, including rural towns, since they spent higher shares of income on rural non-traded goods and services, which were also more labor intensive (Byerlee et al, 2005).

High tide of globalization that hit the world by 1990s changed the status quo undermining the importance of agriculture in development. Apparently, the scope of globalization has widened beyond the realm of structural transformation to embrace the domains of social, cultural and political norms and practices. The growth of globalisation has been associated with far-reaching effects for economic well-being. The effects of globalization on rural economy particularly on agriculture are far-reaching. Globalization has undermined the role of small scale farmers with emphasis put on commercial agriculture. Most governments in the

developing world have put emphasis on commercial agriculture as a strategy of boosting the income of the farmers and promoting national growth. Globalisation has encouraged free trade increasing competition against local producers with limited capital for investment; it has discouraged subsidies for farmers making inputs expensive especially for poor farmers (Dharam Ghai, 1997). In regions where industrial agriculture has been introduced through globalization, higher costs are making it virtually impossible for small farmers to survive.

In the international scene global trade and investment flows largely by pass developing countries, despite the often considerable progress they have achieved in liberalising and deregulating their economies and opening their borders to international trade and investment (Ebba D. and Raundi H. Q. (1997). It is worth acknowledging the contribution made by globalization and trade liberalization in opening market opportunities internationally for the developing countries. This however comes along with its implications for the growth of third world economies. Many poorer developing countries are characterised by an undiversified export base limited to commodities. They have limited or inefficient industrial capacity. Their infrastructure (transport, telecommunications and energy) is inadequate or dysfunctional. Their entrepreneurial forces are nascent or weak. They have a shortage of managers, engineers and technicians. Their institutions are weak, and human capital is poorly developed (Ebba D. and Raundi H. Q. (1997). It should however be noted that third world countries have not adequately benefited from globalization. The increasingly stringent market demands arising from globalisation have favoured producers with more resources and information, education and capacity to cope with. Such demands have increased the vulnerability of households with limited resources, particularly poor farmers who traditionally have limited access to crucial services and opportunities because of persistent cultural, social, and political biases.

Over the past decade some 33 of the 49 poorest countries have undertaken significant economic structural adjustment reforms but their economic performance

has not really improved and if anything poverty incidence has increased. The agricultural sector has lagged as agricultural terms of trade have deteriorated and as the commodity terms of trade has declined (Gudgeon P, 2001). In analyzing the impact of globalization on the poor, Machiko N. and Thorbecke E (2005) assert that the risks and costs brought about by globalisation can be significant for fragile developing economies and the world's poor. The downside of globalisation is most vividly epitomised at times of periodical global financial and economic crises as it has become apparent of the recent times of economic transitions and hardships. The costs of the repeated crises associated with economic and financial globalization appear to have been borne overwhelmingly by the developing world and often disproportionately so by the poor who are the most vulnerable (Ibid)

Overall impact of globalization on rural economy is seen by the fact that the share of agriculture in GDP has declined over years especially in the developing world. In East and Southeast Asia the share of agriculture in GDP fell from 35 to 14 percent in the last three decades from the 1980s; in South Asia it has fallen down from 45 to 24 percent (Derek, Xinshen Diao and Chris Jackson, 2005). With a vibrant non-agricultural sector and rapidly expanding exports of labour intensive manufactured goods and services, the future role of agriculture in pro-poor growth remains questionable. In the middle-income countries of Latin America, the share of agriculture in GDP is now only 8 percent (Ibid). In Africa the share of agricultural growth in national development is well below the average as poverty rates are correspondingly higher.

The participation of the LDCs in international agricultural trade is insignificant and has been declining. Their share in world agricultural exports has dropped steadily, from 3.2 percent in 1970-79 to 1.9 percent in 1980-89 and a mere 0.9 percent in 2000-04. Their share in world imports is more or less at the same low level of 1.9 percent since 1980 up to 2004 (UNDP, 2007). This decline in agriculture's GDP share results partly because post-farm gate activities (such as taking produce to market becomes commercialized and taken over by specialists in the service sector)

and partly because producers substitute chemicals and machines for labour. Producers receive a lower price and in return for which their households spend less time marketing (Randy Stringer, 2001). The declining agricultural commodity prices in world markets and the predominance of rain-fed agriculture amidst the growing importance of trade in a globalizing economy raise the question about the future role of agriculture and rural economy in pro-poor growth.

Urbanization, the spatial concentration of people and economic activity is perhaps one of the most dramatic events in the history of globalization. While the timing and speed of urbanization have varied between countries, regions, and continents, urbanization is gaining pace everywhere around the globe. The rate at which urbanization is taking place is high. The process is faster in the third world than the developed. At the beginning of the twentieth century, just 16 cities in the world, the vast majority in advanced industrial countries contained a million people or more. Today, almost 400 cities have a million people or more and about 70 percent of them are found in the developing world. At present, 3.3 billion people live in urban centers across the globe. By 2030, this number is predicted to reach 5 billion, with 95% of this growth in developing countries. Over the next three decades, Africa's city dwellers will more than double from 294 million to 742 million, while Latin America and the Caribbean will see a slower rise from about 400 million to 600 million. Over the next years, cities of less than 500,000 will account for half of all urban growth, (UNFPA, 2007). All this growth is not necessarily a bad thing.

Linkages between rural and urban settings may enhance growth due to the role they play in facilitating the flow of resources to where they have the largest net economic and social benefits. Rural-urban interactions affect both rural and urban change and influence resource use and management. Interactions between urban centres and their surrounding rural regions include flows of people, of goods, of money and of information, as well as other social transactions that are central to social, cultural and economic transformation. Within the economic sphere, many urban enterprises rely on demand from rural consumers and access to urban markets

is often crucial for agricultural producers. In addition, a large number of urban-based and rural-based households rely on the combination of agricultural and non-agricultural income sources for their livelihoods. This may involve straddling the rural-urban divide from a spatial point of view moving between town and countryside or from a “sectoral” point of view such as engaging in agriculture in urban centres or in non-farm activities in rural areas.

The interactions between rural and urban settings are more pronounced in small and medium sized towns, notably seen to be closer to rural areas. The majority of urban dwellers in developing countries do not live in a megalopolis but rather in medium sized cities. Small and medium-sized towns therefore, play an important role as an intermediary point along the rural-urban continuum, linking and benefiting both rural and urban areas through consumption, production, and employment patterns as well as various types of economic and social provisions (Satterthwaite and Tacoli 2003). Small and medium-sized market towns and cities are extremely important to the economic activities of rural households because they provide the economic space for rural households both to purchase their inputs and household items as well as to sell their final products at local markets, thereby linking rural producers to the national and global economy. Small towns serve as conduits between rural and mega cities. They act as end points for rural residents seeking opportunities outside the agricultural sector by absorbing some of the agricultural labour and thus, alleviating the pressure put on already congested metropolitan centres while at the same time contributing to the growth of the national economy and transformation of agriculture. The assumed importance of small and medium sized towns in poverty reduction has drawn a large section of rural populations to urban settings, seeking livelihood opportunities in the nearby towns. The rate of rural-urban migration and commuting are both overwhelming making planning for resource allocation in towns difficult.

1.3 THE STUDY PROBLEM

Despite the strong linkage between rural and urban settings, policy makers seem not to recognize the importance of rural-urban interactions in livelihoods development. For long, development policy and related research have had the tendency of looking at rural and urban settings separately, treating them as independent entities. Policies have been designed by urban planners concentrating their efforts towards the development of the urban areas and neglecting both its impact and its dependence on rural areas. On the other hand, rural planners focus on agricultural related interventions while ignoring the connections agricultural growth in rural areas has with the urban areas. A number of factors have reinforced this artificial separation. On one hand, urban areas are seen as engines of growth and, therefore, the focus of most development policies. Although this may be agreeable, focus has been placed more on capital cities and large urban agglomerations. The role of small towns and secondary cities in economic growth and poverty reduction has been less explored. On the other hand where attempts have been made to deal with urban and rural areas as part of one system, efforts have been hampered by the administrative and sectoral division of areas into urban and rural (UN, 2005).

The study also notes that, despite the increasing levels of interaction, major rural-urban disparities continue to exist across the developing world, Bugisu region inclusive. As a result of adverse terms of trade between agricultural and non-agricultural products and urban biases in which governments spend on health, education, and physical infrastructure, major inequalities have continued to exist between urban and rural areas, not only in terms of income but also in asset endowment and human development (Eastwood and Lipton 2004). The inequalities between rural and urban areas continue to manifest in different ways; in terms of infrastructural development; in terms of income and asset accumulation and in terms of quality of life.

In Bugisu region just as many parts of Uganda the global trade systems coalesced with population pressure, poor market conditions and erratic climate have registered greater impact on rural economy of Bugisu region leading to un-sustainability of livelihoods and reduced household well-being. Openness to global trade has led to reduced economic potential of the rural sector in supporting livelihoods. With rapid global technological changes and increasingly integrated markets, prices are falling faster than the yields rise leading to a fall in rural incomes. Productivity growth is increasingly more difficult to achieve. A combination of population growth, lack of technical development and ineffective resource allocation mechanisms have led to rapidly decreasing availability of natural resources for many poor farmers in the region. Soil fertility is declining due to poor farming methods and population pressure placing a heavy burden on the carrying capacity of land. Water is becoming increasingly scarce due to world climatic changes and further affecting agriculture production in the area. The share of the contribution of agriculture to GDP and household poverty reduction has declined over the years. The region originally known as the food basket of Uganda due to the volume of livelihood activities undertaken by households has been reduced to a region of poverty, landslides, mudslides, famine, declining education and reduced household well-being.

According to the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005, the degradation of ecosystem services poses a significant barrier to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals and to the MDG targets for 2015. Many of the regions facing the greatest challenges in achieving the MDGs overlap with the regions facing the greatest problems related to the sustainable supply of ecosystem services. The question that remains unanswered is whether commuting as a livelihood strategy to cope with global dynamic is sustainable and whether commuter livelihoods support the well-being of their household members.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1.4.1 Main Objective

To, investigate the contribution of rural-urban interactions in supporting livelihoods of commuters in Bugisu region, eastern Uganda.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study were;

1. To analyse patterns of interaction between rural and urban settings of Bugisu region.
2. To examine the drivers of commuting activities in Bugisu region.
3. To evaluate the contribution of commuter livelihoods strategies in supporting the well-being of their household members.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions guided the study;

1. What are the existing patterns of interaction between rural and urban settings of Bugisu region, eastern Uganda?
2. What are the drivers of commuting activities in Bugisu region?
3. To what extent do commuter livelihood strategies support the well-being of their household members?

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The focus of this study was placed on the potential of rural-urban interactions in supporting commuter livelihoods. Particular attention was placed on patterns of interaction and commuting activities in Bugisu region of Mt. Elgon, eastern Uganda. The analysis was placed on commuting activities within the time frame of

five (5) years [2005 -2009]. The study explored deeply into the existing interactions between rural and urban settings of Bugisu region of Mt. Elgon, demonstrating how such interactions influence commuting activities and commuter livelihood strategies. It explored deeply into the synergies arising from such interactions and assessed their contribution in supporting livelihood strategies of commuters. Analysis was also made on drivers of commuting and how such drivers influence commuting activities in the region. The study concludes by analysing the contribution of commuter livelihoods in supporting the well-being of their household members.

1.7 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Most studies in East Africa and Uganda in particular in the area of rural-urban interactions have been limited to looking at livelihoods from the rural-urban divide perspective. Little has been done to evaluate livelihoods across spatial and sectoral boundaries. Even though this has been done it has been limited, to the contribution of towns towards rural development and poverty reduction. An assessment of the contribution of rural-urban interactions in supporting livelihoods remained a research gap that this study addressed. The study in question fills the research gap left out by the previous researchers and sought to establish the “fit” between growing trends of interaction between rural and urban settings and their potential for sustainable livelihoods and increased well-being of commuter households. A new paradigm in development practice seeks; to find a unilateral and holistic approach to both rural and urban development given the existing linkages and reciprocal role in the development process that this study provides.

1.8 CENTRAL ARGUMENT/THESIS

This study underscores the importance of rural-urban interactions in supporting livelihoods and household well-being of commuter households. It is hereby acknowledged that; interactions between rural and urban settings are central to

livelihoods development and increased well-being of commuter households. Rural-urban interactions contribute significantly to supporting commuter livelihoods and well-being of their household members across the rural-urban divide. Commuting as a livelihood strategy and form of mobility is fundamental in fostering mechanisms for sustainable livelihoods of rural and urban households and comes along with it, other forms of interaction namely; flows of goods, services, information, capital and new forms of technology that are crucial in the development of rural and urban settings. Diversified livelihoods and improved well-being of urban and rural populations is a product of these flows. Small and medium sized towns facilitate interaction between rural and urban settings through the urban industrial/service system and the rural agricultural system which fosters interdependence between urban and rural settings, creating a synergy that supports growth and development of rural and urban settings. Small towns serve as conduits between rural markets at the country side and mega cities linking, them to international market systems and bringing with it merits of growth and development. Important at this level is the role of government and other development partners in supporting the efforts by commuters to improve their well-being and bring about development. This calls for high level planning, transparency and accountability, focus and commitment by government together with other development partners. The people have an important role to play in fostering their efforts to achieve a desirable well-being by acting as active participants in the development process.

1.9 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This study was conceived with the conviction that there was a close relationship between rural and urban settings in Bugisu region. That urbanisation offers opportunities for growth and development in the rural areas. That increasing trends of urbanisation in the region have led to increased interactions between rural and urban areas. The interaction between the two is in the form of flows of resources, flows of people, flows of information, flows of capital, flows of goods and services

and flows of wastes. Interaction between rural and urban areas however, is made possible by the existing rural and urban systems namely; the agricultural/food chain system and industrial/service system in the rural and urban settings respectively. These systems play a pivotal role in facilitating rural-urban interactions and thus contributing towards sustainable livelihoods of commuter households. The system constitutes an integral part of the rural and urban economies respectively.

The environment marked by shocks, trends, participation, empowerment, government policies and programmes influence livelihood activities which in turn determine livelihoods outcomes. Livelihoods outcomes are a product of many factors namely; assets to households (human, physical, natural, social and financial capital), household decisions and capabilities, the environment, the rural agricultural and the urban industrial/service systems and livelihood activities undertaken by households. Livelihood activities influence ownership and accesses to assets by households, conversely the assets owned and accessed by households also influence livelihood activities namely; hawking, street vending, retail/wholesale trade, small manufacturing/processing. These in turn give rise to livelihoods outcomes (more income, increased well-being, reduced vulnerability, improved food security, more sustainable use of natural resources, recovered human dignity). Figure 1.1, illustrates the interaction between rural and urban settings and their outcomes.

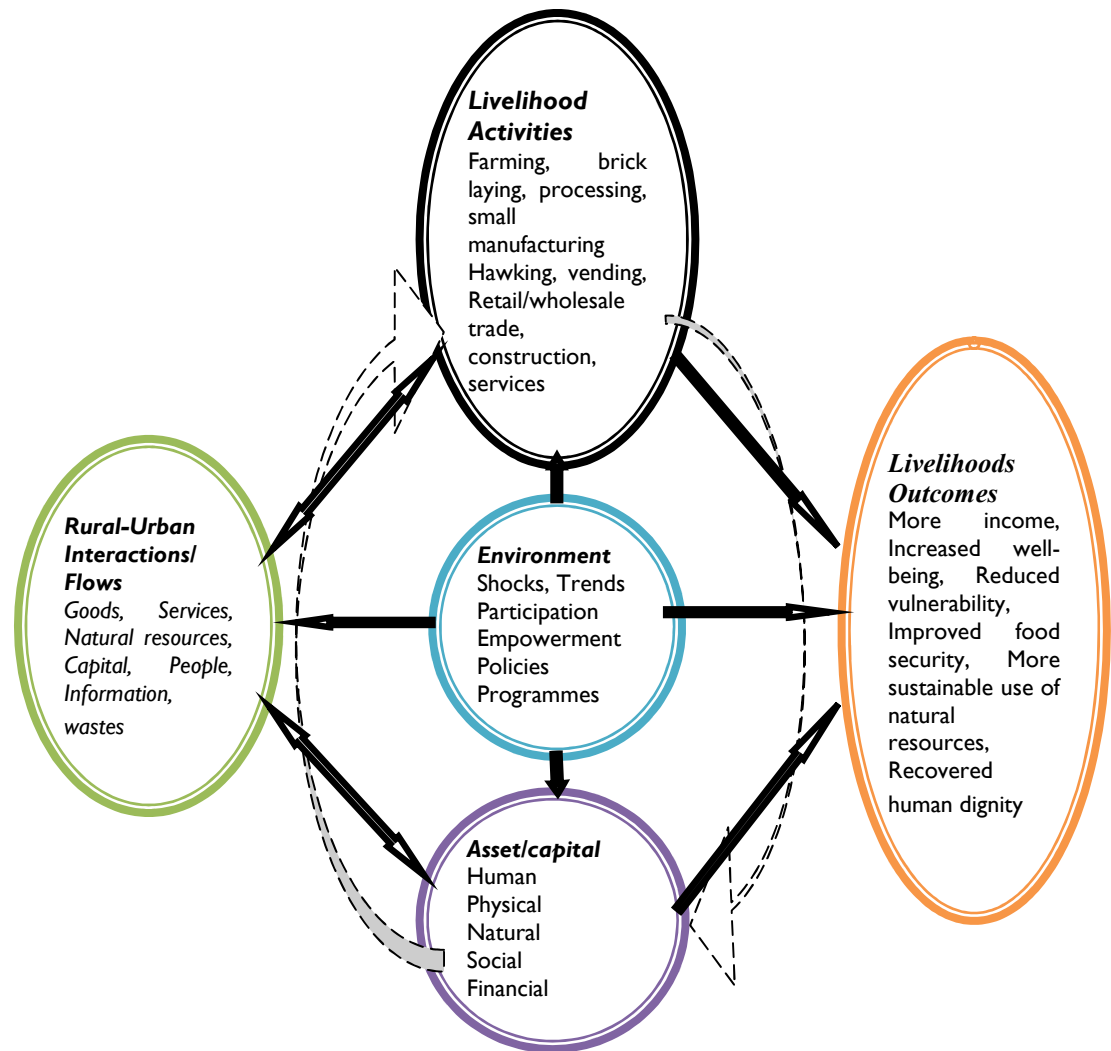


Figure 1:1 Diagrammatic Illustration of the Study Conceptual Framework

Source: The Author

1.10 CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

The study takes into account the concept of inter-territoriality. It is analysed in the context of assets and capabilities owned by commuter households in their efforts to make a living. The study takes into account both tangible and intangible assets and entitlements namely; social capital, natural capital, financial capital, physical capital and human capital. The study is further analysed in the dimension of policies putting into consideration the role of policies such as privatisation policy, liberalisation policy, decentralisation policy in influencing interactions between

rural and urban settings and commuting activities in Bugisu region. Policies influence rural-urban interactions in a myriad of ways and are crucial in determining livelihoods undertaken by commuter households. They are important in determining issues such as individual access to and control of assets, participation of households in economic activities, empowerment and security of household livelihood conditions. Table 1.1 illustrates this.

Table 1.1: Contextual Framework of the Study

General Topic	Concept	Context	Dimensions	Indicators
<i>Rural-Urban Interactions for Sustainable Livelihoods</i>	Inter-territoriality	Capabilities and Assets (Tangible, intangible assets and entitlements)	Privatization Liberalization Decentralisation	Individual Access to and Control of Assets ✓ Natural capital ✓ Financial capital ✓ Physical capital ✓ Human capital ✓ Social capital • Participation of Commuter households • Empowerment • Security of livelihood

Source: The Author

The contextual framework provides the context in which the interaction between rural and urban settings is examined. It highlights the fact that the key issue in examining rural-urban interactions is the concept of inter-territoriality, analysed in the context capabilities and assets owned by households.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Rural-urban interactions have become part of the continuous regional, national and international landscape bringing rural and urban areas together as one integral whole. Rural and urban areas are linked together through complex social-economic, political and environmental networks that are mutually re-enforcing. Rural development is increasingly taking place within a global urban matrix. Rather than considering the rural and urban as a dichotomy, they are more accurately part of emerging networks of rural-urban linkages within which flows of people, finance, production inputs, consumer goods, waste materials, technology, information, and decision-making array of constellations over space (Inkoom D K 2009).

This chapter analyses literature of the previous authors in this subject of rural-urban interaction and sustainable livelihoods. The chapter has been divided into major themes and sub-themes for easy analysis and review of literature. The major themes include but not exclusive of the theoretical frame work, rural-urban interactions, the concept of livelihoods, policy frameworks that influence rural urban interactions and livelihoods

2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study “Rural-Urban Interactions for Sustainable Livelihoods” is derived from the controversial debate put forward by the Territorial Development theories of the 1950s, 1980s and 1990s focusing on regional development. The study is inherently based on the Growth Pole Theory of Development (Rondinelli, 1985; Unwin, 1989), Agropolitan Approach to Regional Development (Douglass, 1998), the Urban Bias theory (Michael Lipton 1977) and the Virtuous Circle of Rural-urban

Development (Tacoli 1998). It also borrows a lot from the concept and frameworks of sustainable livelihoods (Ashley & Carney 1999).

2.1.1 The Growth Pole Theory

The main idea behind the growth poles theory is that economic development, or growth, is not uniform over an entire region, but instead takes place around a specific pole. This pole is often characterized by a key industry around which linked industries develop, mainly through direct and indirect effects. The Growth Pole theory is based on the belief that “governments of developing countries can induce economic growth and welfare by investing heavily in capital-intensive industries in large urban centres or regional capitals” (Germán Adell 1999). This growth is supposed to spread to the rural areas in a process of regional development (Rondinelli, 1985; Unwin, 1989). To the theorists the expansion of key industry implies the expansion of output, employment, related investments, as well as new technologies and new industrial sectors. Growth centres were also historically viewed as central places at the bottom end of the central place hierarchy which contribute directly to the basic economic and social needs of agricultural producers (Manyanhaire I.O et al, 2011). The growth pole theory is underpinned by the belief that “free market forces” provide conditions for development through the existence of the so-called “trickle-down effect” that is meant to put together various economic forces, creating a virtuous cycle that spreads economic growth from urban to rural areas (Germán Adell 1999). A geographically dispersed pattern of investment, based on a network of secondary cities and market towns or rural villages, is seen as important to achieving widespread development (Unwin 1989 quoted from Germán Adell 1999). The Growth Pole theory has been related to “top-down planning” where a centralized planning system, in response to external demand and innovation impulses, heavily invests in “high technology” urban industrial development (Stöhr and Taylor, 1981 quoted from Germán Adell 1999). The centralized and “monolithic” planning system that makes possible this kind of strategy has not only allowed experiences in capitalist countries, but tempted socialist planners as well.

But experiences from Latin America and Africa have proved difficult to achieve success, especially because of the failure of the expected “*trickle down effects*”. These have been replaced instead by adverse “backwash effects” that have maintained or even increased inequality between urban and rural areas (Unwin, 1989 quoted from Germán Adell 1999).

Douglass (1998) affirms that one of the consequences of the rural-urban dichotomy is the very existence of a “curious divide in planning”. Their policies have a decisive “urban bias” (Lipton, 1977). On the other side, rural development planners tend to view cities as *parasitic* or alien to rural interests. Their policies have a “rural bias”, with “little or no interest in investigating how cities might be better brought into rural planning frameworks” (Douglass, 1998). However, for a rural household, daily life includes both rural and urban elements. Douglass (1998) quoted from Germán Adell 1999, looks at the rural-urban divide as the backdrop of growth pole theories in development planning coming from;

- *The 1950s discussions centred on parasitic or generative roles played by towns with their rural hinterlands, arguing that economic growth and modernization required a surplus transfer from the agricultural sector to industry, thus justifying the appropriation of rural resources, capital and labour by cities.*
- *The late 1950s discussions seeing an opposite model based on spatial polarization and core-periphery relations. Its thesis was that the benefits to the core were at the expense of the periphery, rural-urban linkages being part of a global chain of power that perpetuated rural conditions of poverty and underdevelopment. This trend originated the main policy response to the problem; the creation of growth poles, inducing urbanization into the periphery;*

- *The 1970s development policies, based on the central place theory, which proposed to promote market towns (rural towns) to fill the gap between the “evil city” and the countryside* (Douglass, 1998a quoted by Germán Adell 1999).

Douglass’ work on rural-urban interactions holds water especially, if development in the Third World countries has to gain pace. His critique raises critical questions about the potential contribution of growth centres towards the development of rural areas.

Despite the criticisms raised by the urban bias theorists against Douglass view of the growth pole there is vivid evidence about the role of growth centres. According to Doan (1995), “growth pole strategies were still the second more important development policy in African countries, after the small urban centres policy”. The researcher believes that urban centres apparently act as growth poles in the development of surrounding areas in the third world countries. The linkage urban centres have with rural areas and with other urban settings of different sizes far beyond regional and national confines are assumed to be important nodes through which development benefits from other regions can trickle down to the rural areas. It is important also the note that although urban centres may play a pivotal role in the development of the surrounding areas, the unequal exchange that has become a characteristic of developed and underdeveloped countries represented by the nature of co-existence between urban and rural areas sends signals of doubt whether rural areas in reality benefit from their interaction with urban areas. This philosophy is lauded by the proponents of the urban bias school of thought, the analysis of its merit is central to this study.

2.1.2 The Urban Bias Theory

In his analysis of the interaction between rural and urban settings, Germán Adell 1999 has it that perhaps the most influential and strong critique of uneven

development generated or maintained by urban-oriented policies in poor countries comes from Lipton M. To him, Lipton 1977 in his seminal book stresses that: *“the most important class conflict in the poor countries of the world today is not between labour and capital. Nor it is between foreign and national interests. It is between the rural classes and the urban classes. The rural sector contains most of the poverty, and most of the low-cost sources of potential advance; but the urban sector contains most of the articulateness, organization, and power”* (Lipton, 1977 p1 quoted by Germán Adell 1999).

Urban bias is a political economy philosophy which assumes that economic development in rural areas is hampered by groups who, by their central location in the urban areas, are in position to pressure governments to protect their interests against the will of others especially in the rural divide. ‘It is a structural condition of over urbanization and its growth leads to saturated urban labour market, truncated opportunity structures in rural areas, overburdened public services, distorted sectoral development in national economies, the isolation of large segments of the urban and rural population from the fruits of economic development, and retarded economic growth due to the high costs of urban development’ (Gugler J 1988).

Germán Adell 1999 also presents Lipton’s argument on “why poor people stay poor” on the rural-urban divide. To him Lipton (1977), “the development of urban areas and industrialisation in poor countries has been at the expense of rural areas”. Corbridge et al 2005 alludes to the history of urban bias and asserts that ‘urban bias’ in favour of the ‘modern’ was encouraged by a body of work which suggested that innovations would flow from bigger to smaller settlements. The model of central places that was developed by the German location theorist, Walter Christaller, in the 1920s further suggested that certain goods and services could be provided on a sustainable basis only by settlements of a given size or rank order.

Lipton’s urban bias theory raises a number of criticisms about the relevance and application of the growth pole theory. He presents critical issues pertaining to

power relations inherent in our societies, especially the role of elites in rural development. More recently, Lipton presented fresh evidence of what he sees as the continuing mal-effects of urban bias. Writing with Robert Eastwood (2000), Lipton maintains that structural adjustment and economic liberalization have not reduced urban bias, as it was expected they would do. Price twists against rural goods have been reduced, but distributional urban bias has increased significantly outside some parts of Latin America (Corbridge et al 2005).

Basing on the controversy surrounding the urban bias theory and the disbelief of medium sized and large sized urban centres acting as growth poles, the agropolitan theory attempts to provide some green light to the role of urbanisation in regional development. This study in particular felt it necessary to explore the possibility to linking regional growth to small sized towns rather than metropolis. It is the researcher's belief that small sized towns play a crucial role in regional development.

2.1.3 The Agropolitan Approach to Regional Development

The Agropolitan (meaning agrocitcity) approach to regional development is an approach to planning rural development from below rather than through growth poles. The agropolitan approach was developed by Friedman and Douglass in 1978. The approach has its roots in the paradigm of 'territorial development. Its sources of inspiration were the dissatisfaction with narrow materialistic concerns and the top-down approach to development with a strong sympathy in the ideals of self-reliance. *“The major characteristics of the agropolitan approach are integrated development involving complete physical and institutional support systems and optimal use of resources, integration of agricultural and non agricultural activities especially resource-based activities and development of local service centres as an interface with the whole urban, regional and eventually metropolitan centres”* (Buang et al 2011). The approach puts strong emphasis on internal development within the region and thereby harnessing from the synergies of cultural imperatives

extant in the region. Import substitution, local re-investment, capacity building and social networking are all important components of part of the agropolitan approach to regional development. The rural town is seen as the principal site for non-agricultural and political-administrative functions rather than as a growth pole and the district scale is seen as the appropriate unit for development (Germán Adell 1999).

Although it has only been partially applied, the agropolitan approach has contributed to the promotion of decentralization and participation in the planning agenda of developing countries.

The role of small sized towns in regional development is ultimately expressed in the context of rural-urban interaction and the synergistic co-existence that may ensue there from. This forms the central basis of this thesis in which the study investigates the forms of interaction between rural and urban settings and their contribution in supporting livelihoods of commuters. Thus investigating intra and inter-sectoral and settlement dependencies is important to this study.

2.1.4 The Virtuous Circle of Growth Model (Mellor 1976, Friedmann and Douglass 1978, Evans 1992, and Douglass 1998)

The virtuous circle model puts into consideration of inter sectoral (farm–non-farm) and inter settlement dependencies. The proponents of this model have it that growth could be propagated from sector to sector and place to place through linkages and interdependencies between sectors and regions. This model of mutual development operates as a result of various linkages that emanate from agriculture based growth in rural towns and farm households' demand for urban consumption goods and services. These linkages are variously termed as production, consumption, service linkages. Such a relationship is designated as a virtuous circle of rural urban development and forms the basis for regional development strategies adopted by many governments (Evans 1991).

The proponents of agricultural growth maintain that agricultural development is the key to overall development. Such line of argument, as summarized by Evans (1991:67), is as follows:

“...rising agricultural incomes spur demand for food and other consumer goods, which leads to the creation of non-farm jobs and the diversification of urban activities, especially in small towns close to areas of agricultural production. This in turn absorbs surplus rural labour, raises demand for rural produce, and once again boosts agricultural productivity and incomes.”

To Evans (1991) however, particular conditions must be fulfilled for agriculture to trigger a virtuous circle. These conditions are; access to farmland by the poor households, stabilisation of output prices, job creation upstream and downstream.

To understand the connections between rural economies heavily dominated by agricultural productivity and urban economies dominated by industrial and service activities there is need to critically examine livelihoods. Livelihood frameworks as presented in the subsequent paragraphs of this section will provide a deeper analogy of the role of frameworks in livelihoods planning something very vital to this study.

2.2 THE CONCEPT OF LIVELIHOODS

The concept of livelihood refers to the sum of ways and means by which individuals, households and communities make and sustain a living over time using a combination of socio-economic, cultural and environmental resources (Pain and Lautze 2002). Central to the understanding of the concept of sustainable livelihoods is an appreciation that poverty is not a stable, permanent or static condition. The poor move in and out of relative poverty as they respond to the opportunities, shocks and stresses; social, economic and environmental stresses which they experience (Moser, 1996, Chambers, 1995). In this light the concept of vulnerability, variously defined, but acknowledged to be a dynamic concept, is central to an understanding of the condition of the poor (DFID, 1998, Chambers,

1995, Moser, 1996, 1998, Lipton & Maxwell, 1992 cited in Moser, 1998). The poor survive in their precarious state by employing a variety of livelihood or survival strategies (Chambers, 1995, Rakodi, 1997, Wratten, 1995). Such livelihood strategies are multifaceted as men and women draw on their assets (DFID 1998, UNDP, 1999, Moser, 1996, DFID, 1998) which are both tangible and intangible (Chambers, 1995), and entitlements (Sen, 1992, Moser, 1998).

There are a myriad ways that individuals manage to build and contribute to livelihood systems of families, communities and larger societies (UNDP, 1997). In much of the developing world people are engaged in multiple activities rather than relying on a more limited range (e.g. one household member with full time paid employment) of livelihoods strategies to ensure their well being (UNDP, 1997 10). While such systems may incorporate paid employment this will not be the only, nor in many cases the most significant, strategy (Wratten, 1995, Chambers, 1995, Potter & Lloyd Evans, 1998, Korten, 1996). The more diverse and complex livelihood strategies become, the more they are likely to reduce vulnerability (Rakodi, 1997). Clearly, the livelihood opportunities offered by rural, peri-urban and urban areas are likely to be different from one another. While everywhere the livelihoods of the poor are diverse and complex, their content will vary according to the local opportunities available.

2.2.1 Livelihood Analysis

The basic unit of livelihood analysis is the household with attention being paid to the unit's inherent capacities and assets that is, physical, social, human, financial and natural assets. In short livelihoods approach provides a means by which to organize a large amount of data in order to come into an understanding of poverty (Pain and Lautze 2002).

A livelihood is considered to consist of the assets, activities and entitlements that enable people to make a living (Singh et al 1994). Assets are designed by human

capital, social capital, natural capital and physical capital. According to Ellis (2000), a livelihood comprises the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household. This study analyses livelihoods in the context of different assets, activities and entitlement that enable people to make a living.

Livelihood assets are the basic building blocks upon which households are able to undertake production, engage in labour markets, and participate in reciprocal exchange with other households (Ellis, 2000). In other words it can be described as stocks of capital that can be utilized directly, or indirectly, to generate the means of survival of the household or to sustain its material well-being. As mentioned above, there are five livelihood assets - human capital, natural capital, social capital, physical capital, financial capital. In this study, focus has been given to human capital, social capital, physical capital, financial capital and political capital. Political capital has been included in this analysis having its importance in influencing livelihood survival strategies.

2.2.2 Livelihoods Approaches

Livelihood approaches are conceptual frameworks that promote people-centered development. They are responsive and participatory, and they favour multidisciplinary and multilevel development interactions. Livelihood approaches generate deeper understanding of the wide range of livelihood strategies pursued by people that poverty reduction measures address (Ashley and Carney 1999).

Livelihood approaches acknowledge the connections and interactions of the micro-cosmos of the livelihood of individuals, household and/or communities with the larger socio-economic, cultural and political context at the meso and macro levels. Livelihood approaches help to reconcile a holistic perception of sustainable livelihood with the operational need for focused development interventions. In other

words, they give access to the complexity of poverty and livelihood while acknowledging the need to reduce complexity in a responsible way for drafting policies and designing programmes and projects. According to Ashley and Carney 1999 p7, the core principles underlying Sustainable Livelihood approaches are that poverty-focused development activities should be:

- *People-centred meaning that sustainable poverty reduction will be achieved only if external support focuses on what matters to people, understands the differences between groups of people and works with them in a way that is congruent with their current livelihood strategies, social environment and ability to adapt.*
- *Responsive and participatory in that poor people themselves must be key actors in identifying and addressing livelihood priorities. Development agents need processes that enable them to listen and respond to the poor.*
- *Multi-level in nature implying that poverty reduction is an enormous challenge that will only be overcome by working at multiple levels, ensuring that micro-level activity informs the development of policy and an effective enabling environment, and that macro-level structures and processes support people to build upon their own strengths.*
- *Conducted in partnership with both the public and the private sector.*
- *Sustainable in nature. There are four key dimensions to sustainability; economic, institutional, social and environmental sustainability. All are important - a balance must be found between them.*
- *Dynamic external support must recognize the dynamic nature of livelihood strategies, respond flexibly to changes in people's situation, and develop longer-term commitments.*

Livelihood approaches can be applied to work with any stakeholder group. To be effective in poverty programmes the sustainable livelihoods approaches must be underpinned by a clear commitment to poverty reduction, meaning that activities should be designed to maximize livelihood benefits for the poor. To capture the

complexity of factors influencing livelihood strategies and to make them operational, a number of analytical frameworks have been designed by different scholars that share basic common elements (Carney et al. 1999). To augment the discussion on livelihood frameworks this, study presents some of the many livelihoods frameworks developed by the UK Department for International Development (DFID).

One of the livelihoods frameworks developed by DFID (1998) attempts to analyse livelihoods in the context vulnerability to shocks, trends and seasonalities. Structures and processes play a pivotal role in determining livelihood outcomes. This framework was adopted for the Brazilian context (Carney 1998).

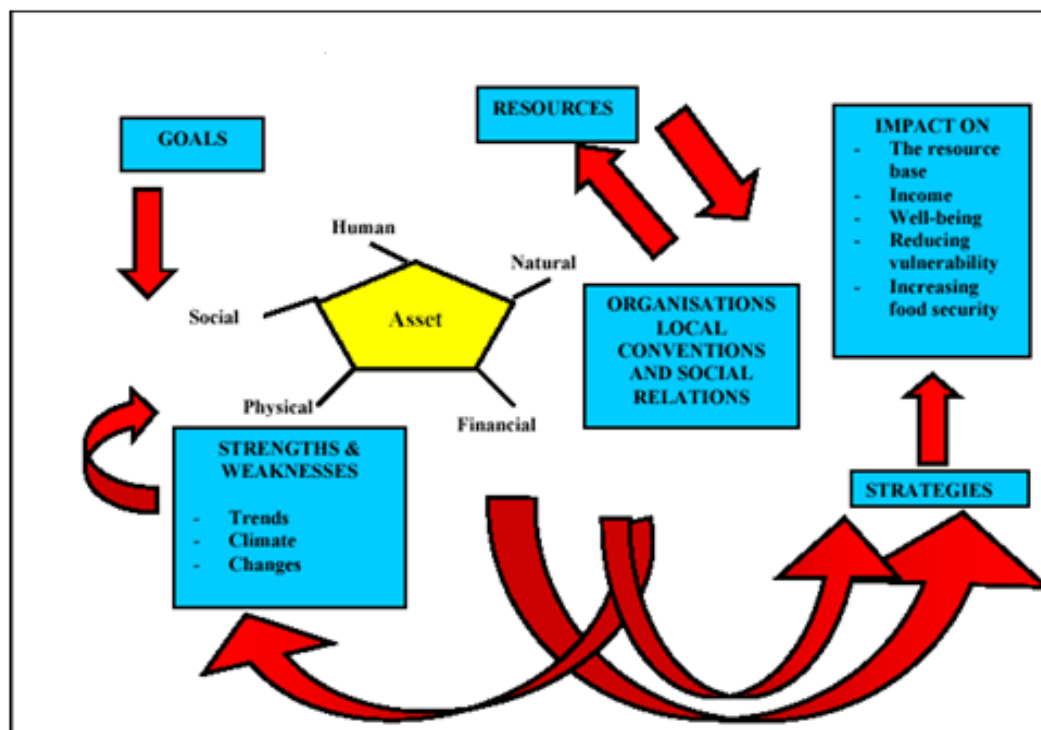


Figure 2.1: DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Framework 1998; Source: Carney 1998

In this case, SL framework is built around five principal categories of livelihood assets, presented in the form of a pentagon to show their interconnections. The

connections also show that livelihoods depend on a combination of assets of various kinds and not just from one category. Behind this analysis is the need to find out how people access different types of assets and their ability to put the assets into productive use. The framework also offers a way of assessing how organisations, policies, institutions, cultural norms shape livelihoods, both by determining who gains access to which type of asset, and defining what range of livelihood strategies are open and attractive to people (Carney 1998).

Another livelihoods framework by DFID quoted by this study from Meble et al, 1999 is presented in figure 2.2.

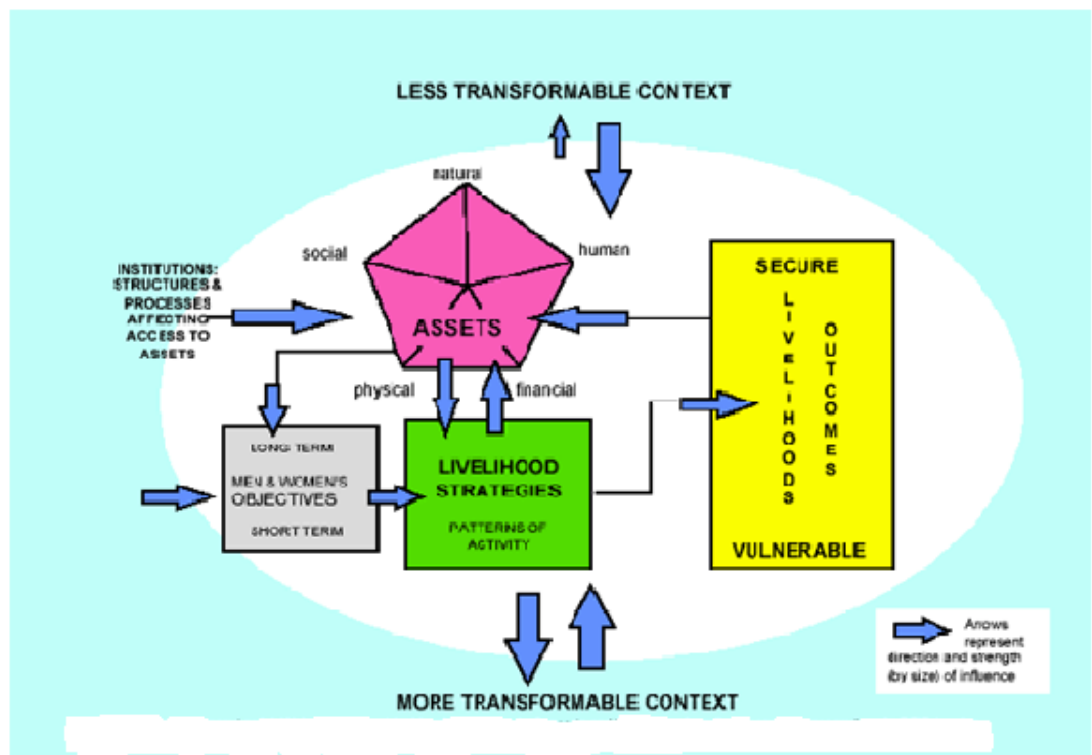


Figure 2.2: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework for DFID, 1999, Source: Meble et al, 1999

The framework focuses on household's livelihood strategy as a basis for the analysis of livelihoods. The asset pentagon, as depicted in figure 2.2, highlights the

capabilities of household members, the assets and resources to which they have access which also constitute a basis for household survival. It should therefore be noted that production and income activities are only a means to improving livelihoods and not, an end in themselves. To establish the changes that take place in the livelihood security status of households requires calls for a focus on the consumption status and asset levels of household members. It is due to additional information presented by different scholars that this study explores into the many livelihoods frameworks. The purpose is to derive a detailed understanding of what it takes for a livelihood to be sustainable. Figure 2.3 yet brings to our attentions additional information and analysis of livelihoods.

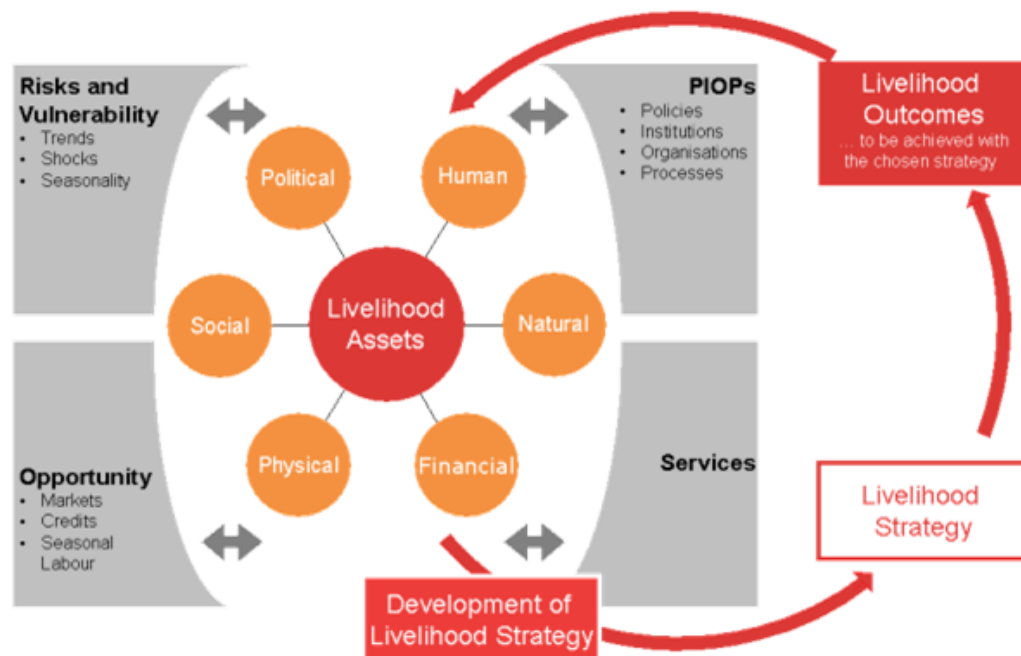


Figure 2.3: DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Framework 1999, Source: Carney et al. 1999

Noted from the DFID livelihoods framework is that, the central idea in sustainable livelihoods approach is the awareness that vulnerability to shocks and stress, rather than just lack of wealth, is a defining factor of poverty of the variety of assets that are used by the poor to overcome vulnerability; of the complex short and long term

strategies used by the poor to mobilize these assets; of the dynamic character of poverty and adaptability of livelihood strategies; of the need to understand livelihoods from the point of view of poor women and men and of the focus on household/families as a key unit for organising livelihoods(Carney et al. 1999).

While the DFID livelihoods frameworks (figures 2.1-2.3) emphasise more about livelihood vulnerability to shocks and stress arising from the type and size of assets accessed and owned by households, the Tyndall Centre highlights the multi-dimensionality, substitution of resources between sectors and the impact of cumulative feedbacks within livelihoods. This in itself broadens the focus of this study.

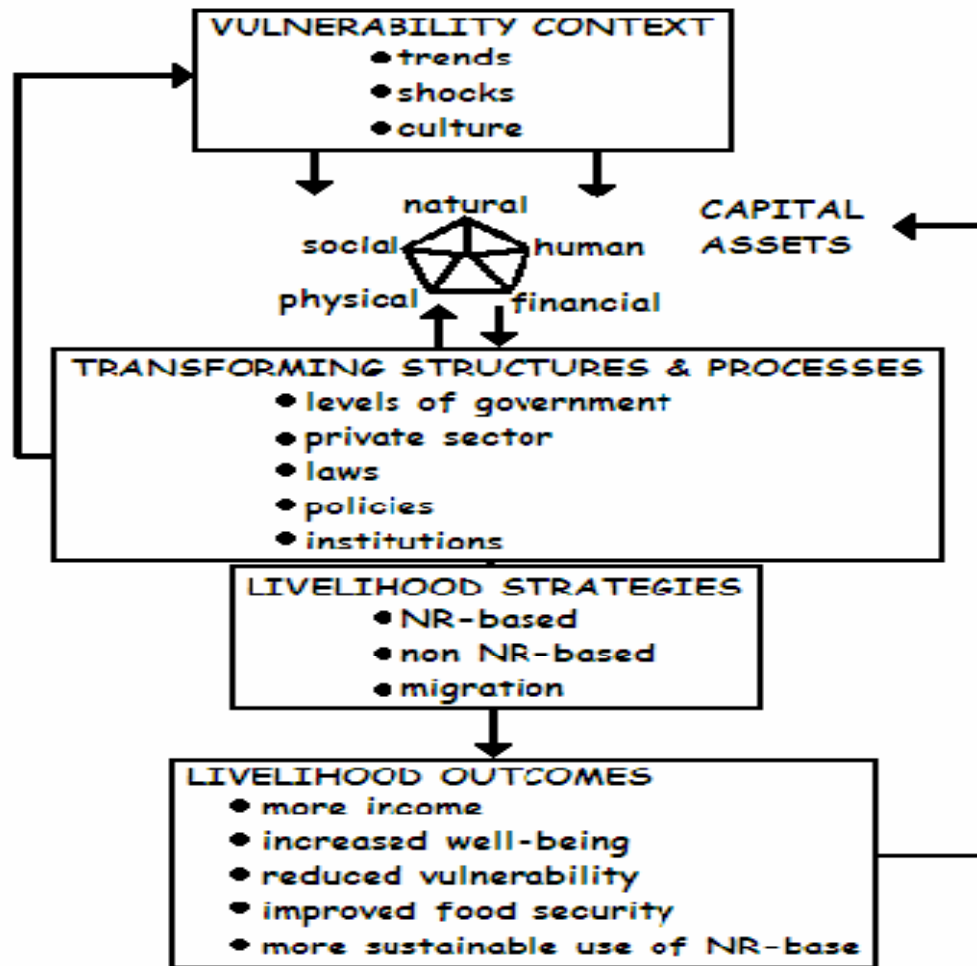


Figure 2.4: Tyndall Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, 2004; Source: The Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, UK, 2004

The Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, 2004 approach on sustainable livelihoods highlights the multi-dimensionality, substitution of resources between sectors and the impact of cumulative feedbacks within livelihoods. It adopts the conceptual framework designed by the UK Department for International Development to illustrate the interactions between vulnerability context, transforming structures and processes and household assets namely; natural, human, financial, physical and social capital.

According to Tyndall Centre, 2004, “natural capital is the environmental resource stock to which household members have rights of access. Financial capital is the

resource (savings, credit, remittances and market takings) available that provides different livelihood options, and includes flows as well as stocks. Human capital is the ability to pursue different strategies dependent on skill, knowledge, ability to provide labour and health. Physical capital is the basic infrastructure that enables the pursuit of a livelihood and social capital is the relations between people and includes networks, associational membership, exchange ties and trust”.

The Tyndall Centre, 2004 conceives institutions as the rules and patterns of behaviour that shape social interaction. Organisations are defined as groups of individuals bound by a common goal. In their positive sense, both institutions and organisations can facilitate collective action and enable individuals to transcend the limitations of acting in isolation (Stefan Baas 1997). Understanding the use of endowments, functioning and interaction of institutional and organisation mechanisms of natural resource-dependent societies is therefore of paramount importance (Ibid) in planning. Knowledge of how small the group is and its homogeneity, level of access to resources and supportive links to the external environment and distribution of benefits is an important asset to planning.

“Social capital is a contested concept, but one which facilitates people in acting collectively using the set of rules, obligations, norms, reciprocity and trust, flows of information, economic transactions and networks. Social ties can be ‘bonded’ (informal or horizontal networks as in kinship) or bridged” (Tyndall Centre 2004). Social learning, responsive experimentation and adaptation are made of collective activities such as discourse imitation, and conflict resolution, reinforcing social hierarchies, power and entitlement inequalities. Coping (often based on bonding social capital) does not facilitate pro-active adaptation and can restrict innovation (Tyndall Centre, 2004).

The vulnerability context of livelihoods refers to shocks, trends and seasonality with their potential impact on people's livelihoods. “The framework depicts stakeholders as operating in a context of vulnerability, within which they have

access to certain assets. These gain their meaning and value through the prevailing social, institutional and organisational environment (Transforming Structures and Processes)”, (Kollmair and Gamper, 2002). This context decisively influences the livelihood strategies that are open to people in pursuit of their self-defined beneficial livelihood outcomes. In other words, the framework provides a checklist of important issues and sketches out the way these link to each other, while it draws special attention to core influences and processes and their multiple interactions in association to livelihoods (Ibid).

The centre stresses the illustrative purpose of the framework as providing a structure and focus for thinking. It emphasizes the necessity to adapt the framework flexibly to the requirements of the actual situation under analysis and underlines the need to respect and follow the guiding principles in application. Poverty-focused development activities should be people-centred, flexible, responsive and participatory (Carney et al. 1999). They should be conceived as multi-level approaches and be conducted in partnership with both the public and private sectors. Finally, they should strike a balance between key dimensions of sustainability and recognise the dynamic nature of livelihood strategies (Ibid). Sustainable livelihoods approaches must be underpinned by a commitment to poverty eradication (Lasse Krantz, 2001). Although sustainable livelihood approaches can, in theory, be applied to the work with any stakeholder group, the principle for DFID is that activities should be designed to maximise livelihood benefits for the poor.

2.2.3 The Concept of Sustainability of Livelihoods

A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintains or enhances its capabilities and assets both in the present and future, while not undermining the natural resource base (Chambers and Conway 1991). At the core of all livelihood approaches are the people living in poverty themselves; their actions and efforts, their possessions, their needs, their interests,

their priorities, and the contexts in which they live (Robert Chambers and Conway 1992). The emphasis on human agency and capability in line with high sensitivity to different social, economic, spatial and cultural contexts provides a more comprehensive view on development than the purely economic viewpoints so prevalent in dominant 'traditional' approaches. Instead of portraying people as mere victims of structural constraints, their active role in exploring opportunities and coping with change are central to a livelihoods analysis (De Haan and Zoomers 2003).

De Haan (2000) stresses that people in developing countries and poor people in particular, undertake manifold activities which yield them food, housing and a monetary income. "The most common of these are the production of crops, livestock, clothing and housing for home consumption; the production of crops and livestock for sale; trade; handicrafts such as basket weaving, pottery, carpentry; seasonal or permanent wage labour, which includes children; remittances by kin who have emigrated; loans, gifts and sometimes corruption." Thus, a person's livelihood is not necessarily the same as he or she having a job. It does not even necessarily have anything to do with him or her working. Although obtaining monetary income is important, it is not the only aspect that matters in livelihood. It is quite conceivable for somebody with a low monetary income to be better off than someone with a higher monetary income.

To achieve a livelihood people make use of various assets and resources, which are called capital (De Haan, 2000). People apply various blends of capital, which represent various strategies that result in different livelihoods. Thus, the actual mixture may change per livelihood, but being distinguished are: human capital such as labour, but also skills, experience, creativity and inventiveness; natural capital like land, water, forests and pastures, but also minerals; physical capital such as food stocks, houses, livestock, jewellery, equipment, tools and machinery; financial capital such as money in a savings account at the bank or in an old sock, a loan or

credit; social capital, referring to the quality of relations among people (De Haan, 2000).

Livelihoods are considered sustainable when the outcome of the processing of different types of capital is meaningful in terms of human well-being, and viable in terms of securing people against shocks and stresses. “Shocks are violent and come unexpectedly; stress is less violent, but can last longer. Both have their impact on one or more of the vital ‘capitals’. An environmental shock like a flood or an earthquake has its impact on natural, human and physical capital. Drought is an example of a high-level environmental stress; seasonality is a well-known example of low-level environmental stress” (De Haan 2000). In west Africa, a major driving force of change in rural-urban interactions were the consecutive droughts of 1967-1975 and 1984-1986 that followed a period of relative high rainfall in the 1950s and 1960s. During the latter period, higher precipitation had allowed for higher rural population densities, the extension of farming to the North, and diminished the use of drought resistant crops. The subsequent periods of recurrent droughts not only forced agriculture southward, but also induced the flight of ecological refugees to towns in search of food and employment. Many of them stayed, and changed from rural to urban livelihoods (Ibid).

Precisely the economy was the second driving force behind the expansion of rural-urban interactions in West Africa, notably because increased market integration stimulated the flow of goods, services and finance between rural and urban areas. However, this occurred in an almost permanent state of shock and stress. “After independence the new West African states were plunged into the world markets and into a level of economic competition for which they were poorly prepared” (Cour and Snrech 1998). They continued to depend on the export of low priced commodities. Investments to increase productivity and to diversify the economy failed. Loans to cover increasingly expensive import bills after the 1973 oil crisis resulted in a debt crisis in the 1980s. Price policies, aiming at low food prices in the cities, chronically frustrated the income generation of food producers in rural areas.

Subsequent programmes of structural adjustment undercut social services and only reinforced the integration in low priced raw material markets. All the time, these countries remained heavily dependent on international donor transfers.

The impact of these environmental and economic shocks and stresses was aggravated by the third driving force; rapid population growth. Although sustainable development and population growth do not exclude each other by definition (see for an extensive argumentation De Haan, 2000), the average 2.7% annual population growth rate after 1960 made the shocks and stresses more dramatic. Next to higher precipitation, population growth had been the second reason behind the extension of farming to the North and the increased number of violent conflicts between farmers and pastoralists. After the drought, increased population densities hindered the southward drift of pastoralists and their flocks in search for wetter fall back areas. Nowadays, conflicts between farmers and pastoralists, resulting from competition over land and water resources, are frequent in southern regions too.

Sen (1981) has made an important contribution to the understanding of shocks and stresses that affect livelihood. His work demonstrates that livelihoods do not only depend on direct access to capitals but also on how the use of capitals is embedded in a wider social, economic, political and natural context. He noticed that droughts result in famine only under certain conditions. First of all, people can run out of stock, but if they find employment to earn money to buy food, there would be no famine. Sen (1981) has it that food is sometimes exported from famine areas, precisely because of a lack of purchasing power. Second, where food scarcity leads to increasing food prices, markets would normally attract enough food from elsewhere, unless they are malfunctioning. Thus, according to Sen, various contextual factors like market organisation, the labour market and price policy contribute to or even cause the stress in livelihood.

In short, the concept of livelihood not just refers to access to, and subsequent processing of, capitals but to the particular interaction of social groups, households and individuals with their wider context as well. Livelihood is dynamic because people process capitals not automatically but with an open eye at opportunities offered by the wider context, as they are sometimes forced by the same context to resort to particular strategies. Thus, people are neither powerless objects nor free agents who can become whatever they choose (De Haan, 2000).

Coping is generally regarded as a safety mechanism. Coping mechanisms are short-term responses to secure livelihood in periods of shocks and stress and are specific manifestations of the livelihood. In the variable climate of the Sahel, people know that droughts may occur. Therefore, pastoralists are mobile and constantly for other regions to pasture their livestock. When droughts persist such as during the 1967-1975 period, they fall back on wetter regions situated to the South (De Haan and Zoomers 2003). Thus, coping is a temporary response to shocks and stresses. If the latter are over, coping mechanisms fade away and normal livelihood returns. However, if the shock or stress becomes permanent, coping mechanisms will become permanent too and an adaptive livelihood will emerge. One might think that eventually the idea of adaptation will vanish and that adaptation will be considered as a normal livelihood.

2.3 RURAL-URBAN INTERACTIONS

2.3.1 Defining Rural-Urban Interactions (RUI)

Rural-urban interactions generally refer to the growing public and private capital/asset flows between urban and rural areas. It includes the flow of ideas and the flow of diffusion of innovation. Rural–urban interactions include flows of agricultural and other commodities from rural based producers to urban markets, both for local consumers and for forwarding to regional, national and international markets; and, in the opposite direction, flows of manufactured and imported goods

from urban centres to rural settlement (Cecilia Tacoli 2004). They also include flows of people moving between rural and urban settlements, either commuting on a regular basis, for occasional visits to urban-based services and administrative centres, or migrating temporarily or permanently. Flows of information between rural and urban areas include information on market mechanisms from price fluctuations to consumer preferences and information on employment opportunities for potential migrants. Financial flows include, primarily, remittances from migrants to relatives and communities in sending areas, and transfers such as pensions to migrants returning to their rural homes, and also investments and credit from urban-based institutions (Ibid).

2.3.2 The Dichotomy: What is Rural and what is Urban?

The distinction between rural and urban settings in the modern times remains a centre of controversy to many scholars in this field of rural-urban debate. Most definitions however explain the dichotomy from the spatial and sectoral dimension. National census reports and related statistical exercises define rural and urban settings in terms of population numbers. In this regard agriculture is assumed to be the predominant activity of rural populations while urban dwellers are thought to engage primarily in industrial and service activity. The difference between urban centres and rural areas may seem so obvious that definitions should not be an issue (DANIDA 2000). The two are often conceptualized in opposing terms to each other (Cecilia Tacoli 1998). However, there can be major variations in the ways in which different nations define what an urban centre is.

Sometimes administrative functions and infrastructure development such as secondary schools, hospitals and banks are also used. Population density and economic activity are the predominant criteria that have been used to define 'urban' versus 'rural' areas. Rural areas are generally regarded as places of low population densities with predominantly agricultural economies whereas "urban" areas are regarded as places with high population densities distinguished by a service

economy. However, the combination of criteria applied can vary greatly. Even the population thresholds used can be different. For many African nations it is 5,000 inhabitants, while for most Latin American and European nations it can be as low as 2,000 or 2,500 or even just a few hundred inhabitants (DANIDA, 2000). Hence small towns with even a minimum of 'urban' characteristics are regarded as urban (Patel Y, 2010).

Another controversy is in regard to what is urban and city. The term urban is typically used as a synonym for city. However the two are not the same, all cities are urban areas but not all urban areas are cities (Cecilia Tacoli 1998). "Urban" is a statistically variable concept. It is defined differently by different governments and there is significant variability between countries in the official classification of urban areas. For example, in the Philippines, urban areas are defined by the national census as all settlements with a population density of at least 500 persons per square kilometre, or having the following infrastructure: a parallel or right angled street pattern, at least six commercial, manufacturing or similar establishments, and at least three of the following: a town hall; a church or chapel; a public plaza, park or cemetery; a market place or a building where trading activities are carried out at least once a week; and a public building such as a school, library or hospital. In Benin a population of 10,000 inhabitants; and at least four of the following infrastructure qualifies a settlement as urban: a post office, a tax office, a public treasury, a bank, running water supplies, electricity, health care, and a secondary school. Characteristics such as infrastructure, population density and administrative function are often used in demarcating urban boundaries (World Resources Report" 1996/97; Cecilia Tacoli, 1998).

Important to note is fact that 'Rural' and 'urban' areas are but parts of a continuous regional, national, and international landscape and are interrelated through complex economic, social, political and environmental forces. Rural development is increasingly taking place within a global urban matrix. Cities, through revolutionary advances in transportation and communications are also changing in form and

make-up. These new forms are no longer represented by the image of the metropolis as a single urban node surrounded by the countryside, but rather by a more decentralised and vastly more complex system of rural-urban linkages. Rather than considering the rural and urban as a dichotomy, they are more accurately part of emerging networks of rural-urban linkages within which flows of people, finance, production inputs, consumer goods, waste materials, technology, information, and decision-making array in constellations over space (UNDP, 2000).

2.3.3 International Conventions and their Variation in Defining Urban and Rural

In demographic terms, a country's level of urbanization is conventionally defined as the proportion of the total population living in settlements designated as urban. There is no internationally accepted means of identifying urban areas, and even within a country definitions change and there may be more than one definition in use at any given time. The criteria through which people are identified as living in an area also vary, and as described below this can have a major effect on the estimated level of urbanization (McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006).

Most governments define urban centres in one of four ways: through population size thresholds; through population size thresholds combined with some other criteria (population density or the proportion of the population employed in non-farm activities); through administrative or political status; and through lists of settlements named as 'urban' in the national census (Satterthwaite, 1997). The level of urbanization depends not only on which of these four ways is being used, but the specific criteria applied, which also vary substantially. Minimum population density criteria commonly range between 400 and 1,000 persons per square kilometre; minimum size criteria typically range between 1,000 and 5,000 residents; and maximum agricultural employment is usually in the vicinity of 50–75% (McGranahan, Marcotullio, Bai et al., 2005). In each case, however, cut-off points outside these ranges can easily be found. In the United Nations international listing

for 2001, population thresholds for defining urban varied between 200 and 50,000 persons (United Nations, 2002).

Urban definitions and criteria also vary over time. For example, in Nigeria the 1952 census considered as 'urban' all centres with a population over 2,000, but this threshold was increased to 20,000 for the 1963 census, with the result that over 2,350 settlements lost their 'urban' status (McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006). There are related differences in the ways in which the boundaries of urban centres are set. In some nations, urban boundaries correspond to the built-up area, and as the urban centre expands populations clearly associated with the settlement find themselves outside the urban boundaries. In other nations, or even other urban centres in the same country, boundaries are set to include large areas into which urban development is expected to expand or over which urban centres are expected to govern, with the result that largely agricultural populations living at low densities may find themselves within the urban boundaries (Champion and Hugo, 2004). Very large urban centres often have different boundaries for the city proper, the metropolitan area and the urban agglomeration and total population can vary by several million inhabitants depending which boundaries are employed.

Equally important, urbanization can take various different physical forms, and some of these forms do not create a clear rural-urban continuum. Traditionally urban employment (in manufacturing and services) is increasingly found in areas with traditionally rural land uses (agriculture) and population densities, for example. Many experts argue that planners are being misled by the continued reliance on a somewhat artificial distinction between urban and rural (Champion and Hugo, 2004).

All these variations suggest that great caution is needed in international comparisons of urbanization, and in assessing urbanization trends over time. The basis for a more uniform definition may be emerging from work using remote sensing and geographical information systems. The Global Urban Rural Mapping

Project (GRUMP) provides urban populations for urban agglomerations identified spatially (<http://beta.sedac.ciesin.columbia.edu/gpw/>). While the population figures rely on national data, the resulting estimates provide populations and densities for all urban agglomerations, allowing different countries' urban statistics to be organised according to comparable urban population thresholds. This spatially organized data set also allows urban populations to be classified in terms of their location relative to environmental resources. For the foreseeable future, however, the international statistics reported by international agencies such as the United Nations will have to rely on national definitions.

2.3.4 The Ugandan Case

The Uganda 2002 Census defines urban areas to include gazetted cities, municipalities and town councils. The previous Census up to 2001 defined urban areas to include un-gazetted trading centres of 1000 persons or more. The Local Government Act (1997) however, empowers the Minister of Local Government to declare a place as a town if the place in question meets the following requirements;

- (i) A minimum population size of;
 - 2000 people (Town Board).
 - 25,000 people (Town Council).
 - 100,000 people (Municipality).
 - 500,000 people (City).
- (ii) Has a reliable water source;
- (iii) Has commercial buildings;
- (iv) Has administrative offices;
- (v) Has a master plan for land use or;
- (vi) If a place has been declared a district headquarters it automatically becomes a town council.

Different population thresholds have been used in Uganda over time and are being used to define urban areas. The minimum number of people in an area considered urban has been growing over time from 100 people in 1969 to 2000 people at present as shown in the table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Urban Defined as per Numbers by Census Statistics 1969, 1980, 1991 and 2002

Year	Number of People
1969	100 people
1980	400 people
1991	1000 people
2002/present	2000 people

Source: Census Statistics 1969, 1980, 1991 and 2002

2.3.5 The Evolution of the Rural-Urban Debate

In the 1940s changes on the fringe of the cities came under increasing attention from spatial disciplines, notably urban geography, both in the United States and in Western Europe. An important field of urban studies started focusing on the processes that were shaping the peri-urban fringe, considered as the place where urban and rural categories met (Germán Adell 1999). The term “urban fringe” was used for the first time by American geographers describing changes in the population composition of Louisiana, and during the 1940s and 1950s it was widely adopted in the academic literature, under the meaning of an area where the suburban growth was taking place and where urban and rural uses of the land were mixed, forming together a transition zone between city and countryside.. Soon it became evident that the heterogeneity of land uses, the morphological conditions and densities of the build areas, the complex functional relations and the changing social structure of that “urban fringe” was set to originate intricate discussions about its physical and conceptual boundaries (Ibid). The first attempt to achieve conceptual precision in the peri-urban phenomenon is due mainly to the American

experience, through an ensemble of rather empirical works. A morphological and functional approach of the urban fringe was privileged, based on the analysis of features such as density, morphology and land uses changing in an irradiating pattern from the urban side. This was in turn challenged by human and rural geographers arguing that the transitional landscapes between city and countryside were not necessarily the result of urban driven processes, thus coining terms as rural or urban (Germán Adell 1999).

In the late 1960s, Pryor (1968) challenged the resultant diverse and complex terminology used to define the changes in the peri-urban interface with a new categorization based on the analysis of different phases according to land use composition, used to differentiate “peri-urban areas” from the “urban periphery” (Germán Adell 1999). The former presented a higher residential, commercial and industrial density than the average for rural and urban areas, as well as higher rates of population growth, more dynamic processes of land conversion and fluid patterns of communications and transport between areas of residence and work (Ibid).

By contrast, the “urban periphery” was characterized by a lower population density, a higher proportion of vacant land and farming land. It also featured lower rates of population density and less dynamic processes of land use change and conversion and of daily commuting towards urban areas (Pryor, 1968 quoted from Germán Adell 1999).

2.3.6 Out Side City Boundaries; Definition of Peri-Urban

The term peri-urban is used frequently in the literature and in policy discussions, yet definitions are largely situational and case-specific. The definitions provide little basis for a unified understanding of what constitutes peri-urban (Laquinta and Drescher, 2000) The term "peri-urban area", cannot be easily defined or delimited through unambiguous criteria. It is a name given to the grey area which is neither entirely urban nor purely rural in the traditional sense; it is at most the partly

urbanized rural area. Whatever definition, it cannot eliminate some degree of arbitrariness." The importance of the concept of peri-urban emerged as a result of limitations in the dichotomy between rural and urban (Ibid). Much research has identified the inadequacy of this simplistic dichotomy, some authors even suggesting that it no longer has relevance to social analysis. Others have argued more specifically that only the dichotomous construct has outlived its usefulness, not the underlying distinction between degrees of ruralness and degrees of urbaneness (Ibid).

The search for a comprehensive definition of peri-urban can start from the concept of urban. Established theoretical definitions of urbanization and urbanism identify the following three components: the demographic component (increasing population size and density); the economic sector component (a primarily non-agricultural labour force); the social-psychological component that is consciousness of what it means to be urban (Laquinta and Drescher, 2000).

In sociology, the first two components are usually taken as the basis for defining urbanization, while the third is the core definition of urbanism - the social-psychological reflection or response to urbanization (Laquinta and Drescher, 2000). The social-psychological component essentially refers to those values, attitudes, tastes and behaviors that are seen to be characteristic of urban as opposed to rural dwellers. Earlier notions of this component tended to be associated with Westernization, reflecting the ethnocentric thinking of the time (Ibid). Other writers take a more neutral view of the process. For example, adapting the ideas of Friedman and Wolff (1982), Williams, Brunn and Darden (1983) define urbanization as a Process involving two phases or aspects: the movement of people from rural to urban places where they engage primarily in non-rural functions or occupations; and the change in life style from rural to urban with its associated values, attitudes and behaviours (Laquinta and Drescher, 2000). The important variables in the former are population density and economic functions; the

important variables of the latter depend on social, psychological and behavioral factors. The two aspects are mutually supportive.

According to Darden et al. (1983) quoted from Laquinta and Drescher (2000), "proximity to the city" seems not to be essential to the definition of peri-urban. The fact that many peri-urban areas are close to the city is substantively important and instrumental to a comprehensive understanding of peri-urban, but it is incidental to an elemental understanding of peri-urban. "Proximity to city" represents a further specification, which allows distinctions to be drawn among the types of peri-urban but does not define peri-urban per se. In addition, concentration on geographic location as a basis for defining peri-urban also undermines a clear understanding of the rural-urban spectrum as dynamic, interactive and transformative. The social-psychological component is the one most often omitted from peri-urban definitions. Yet, as some scholars and policy analysts have argued, to ignore this component is to overlook the full meaning of peri-urban, underestimate the prevalence of social change and misclassifies the experiences of numerous people and communities (Ibid). Typically, the researchers who have supported inclusion of this component have also been the most critical of definitions that rely solely on proximity to the city.

Authors such as Rakodi (1998) see the peri-urban interface as a dynamic interaction between the rural and urban. The peri-urban is seen as a transition zone between fully urbanised settlements and predominantly agricultural land. It is an area characterised by mixed land uses and indeterminate inner and outer boundaries, and typically is split between a numbers of administrative areas. It is also a zone of rapid economic and social structural change, characterised by pressures on natural resources, changing labour market opportunities and changing patterns of land use. The land area which can be characterised as peri-urban shifts over time as cities expand (Taibat L. et al, 2012).

RURAL >>		<< URBAN
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livelihoods drawn from crop cultivation, livestock, forestry or fishing (i.e. key for livelihood is access to natural capital) • Access to natural capital as the key asset and basis for livelihood • Access to land for housing and building materials not generally a problem • More distant from government as regulator and provider of services • Access to infrastructure and services limited (largely because of distance, low density and limited capacity to pay?) • Fewer opportunities for earning cash; more for self-provisioning. Greater reliance on favorable weather conditions. 	<p>Rural-urban interface</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livelihoods drawn from labor markets within non-agricultural production or making/selling goods or services • Greater reliance on house as an economic resource (space for production, access to income-earning opportunities; asset and income-earner for owners – including de facto owners) • Access to land for housing very difficult; housing and land markets highly commercialized • More vulnerable to ‘bad’ governance • Access to infrastructure and services difficult for low-income groups because of high prices, illegal nature of their homes (for many) and poor governance • Greater reliance on cash for access to food, water, sanitation, employment, garbage disposal.....
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban characteristics in rural locations (e.g. prosperous tourist areas, mining areas, areas with high value crops and rural areas with diverse non-agricultural production and strong links to cities....) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rural characteristics in urban location (urban agriculture, ‘village’ enclaves, access to land for housing through non-monetary traditional forms.....)

Figure 2.5: Livelihoods and the Rural-Urban Continuum; An extract from: DANIDA Workshop Papers: Improving the Urban Environment and Reducing Poverty; December 5, 2000; Copenhagen, Denmark.

Figure 2.5, shows two ends of the continuum between rural and urban settings with most urban and rural areas falling somewhere between these extremes. It outlines some of the most 'rural' characteristics of people's livelihoods in the column on the left and some of the most 'urban' characteristics in the column on the right. Important to note is that non-farm income sources are as important to many rural households just as it is for, agriculture for many urban households.

For all the contrasts between 'rural' and 'urban' highlighted in figure 2.5, there are many exceptions. It is also useful to see in the middle of the continuum between 'rural' characteristics and 'urban' characteristics a 'rural-urban' interface in which there are complex mixtures of 'rural' and 'urban' characteristics. Many rural areas also have tourist industries that have fundamentally changed employment structures and environmental pressures.

2.4 FORMS OF RURAL-URBAN INTERACTIONS

Interactions between rural and urban settings are seen in terms of spatial and sectoral interactions. Spatial interactions are those interactions that take place across space between 'urban' and 'rural' areas. They include flows of people, goods, money, information and wastes. Sectoral' interactions on the other hand include 'rural' activities taking place in urban areas (such as urban agriculture) and activities often classified as 'urban' (such as manufacturing and services) taking place in rural areas. As a consequence, they are often ignored, if not discouraged, by prevailing policies. Both types of interactions are influenced and often intensified by macro-level changes, including structural adjustment and economic reform, which affect both rural and urban populations. For example, in many countries job insecurity and general increase in prices in the urban areas make it increasingly difficult for urban dwellers to support their relatives in rural areas (Cecilia Tacoli, 1998). In rural areas, changes in agricultural production systems have often resulted in the marginalization of small farmers, who must turn to non-agricultural rural employment or migrate to the towns.

However, the nature and scale of rural-urban interactions also varies according to local historical, political, socio-cultural and ecological factors. Indeed, spatial development policies attempting to integrate rural and urban dimensions have often failed because they were based on inaccurate generalizations of the relationship between the two (Cecilia Tacoli, 1998). Despite the fact that, in some cases and for some groups, straddling the rural-urban divide is an important part of livelihood systems, policies have often neglected these linkages. This has resulted in increasing poverty and vulnerability for some groups. For instance in Brazil, urban housing strategies for low-income groups tend to neglect their need to diversify their incomes, for example through urban agriculture, or produce foodstuffs for household consumption, as well as maintain and/or expand their social networks with rural home areas, for example by hosting newly arrived migrants in their homes. Narrow controls over settlement and land use in public housing projects restrict the opportunities provided by these interactions (Ibid).

The areas surrounding cities have been attracting increasing attention in recent years. Peri-urban areas are considered as zones of transition between fully urbanised land in cities and areas in predominantly agricultural use. Although the interactions between cities and countryside are by no means restricted to the areas immediately surrounding cities, this is where the process is most intense (Cecilia Tacoli, 1998). These areas are characterised by changes in land use and farming systems, changing patterns of labour force participation, social change, changing demands for infrastructure, and pressure on natural resource systems to absorb urban-generated waste (DANIDA Workshop Papers, 2000). Metropolitan regions are a case in point. Their emergence in previously largely agricultural areas challenges the traditional notion of 'urban transition' based on the persistence of a relatively sharp distinction between rural and urban areas and on migration as the main factor of urbanisation. *Desakota* regions (a term which joins the Indonesian words *desa* – village and *kota* - town) involve the mix of land use (agriculture, cottage industry, industrial estates, suburban developments and other residential settlements) over a wide radius, as well as the extreme mobility and fluidity of the

population, including commuting, and the movement of goods within the region (Cecilia Tacoli, 1998). Spatial policies of regional development have repeatedly attempted to build on the interactions between rural and urban areas.

The positive view of the 'virtuous circle' of rural urban development underlies most of the different models of regional development (such as 'growth centres' policies in the 1960s, integrated rural development programmes and the 'urban functions in rural development' approach in the 1970s, and more recently the 'rural urban linkages' market-based development strategies). The 'virtuous circle' model emphasises efficient economic linkages and physical infrastructure connecting farmers and other rural producers with both domestic and external markets. This involves three phases namely rural households earn higher incomes from production of agricultural goods for non-local, and increase their demand for consumer goods. This leads to the creation of non-farm jobs and employment diversification, especially in small towns close to agricultural production areas which in turn absorbs surplus rural labour, raises demand for agricultural produce and again boosts agricultural productivity and rural incomes (Cecilia Tacoli, 2004).

It is now widely recognized that there exists an economic, social and environmental interdependence between urban and rural areas and a need for balanced and mutually supportive approach to development of the two areas. The discrete consideration of rural development as completely distinct from urban development is no longer valid. A new perspective, referred to as the rural-urban linkage development approach, is increasingly becoming the accepted approach (Okpala 2003).

Rural-urban linkages include flows of agricultural and other commodities from rural based producers to urban markets, both for local consumers and for forwarding to regional, national and international markets; and, in the opposite direction, flows of manufactured and imported goods from urban centres to rural settlements (Cecilia Tacoli, 2004). They also include flows of people moving

between rural and urban settlements, either commuting on a regular basis, for occasional visits to urban-based services and administrative centres, or migrating temporarily or permanently. Flows of information between rural and urban areas include information on market mechanisms – from price fluctuations to consumer preferences – and information on employment opportunities for potential migrants. Financial flows include, primarily, remittances from migrants to relatives and communities in sending areas, and transfers such as pensions to migrants returning to their rural homes, and also investments and credit from urban-based institutions (ibid).

2.4.1 Synergies from Rural-Urban Interactions

Urban and rural interactions are characterized not only by flows and synergies, but also by conflict, particularly at the urban periphery (peri-urban areas) and particularly over natural resources. Tacoli (1998) summarizes the main issues: Urban centres, especially medium-sized and large ones, have a significant environmental impact outside the built-up areas and often outside urban and metropolitan boundaries. Cities' ecological footprints (Rees 1992) usually comprise areas defined or considered as rural (Cecilia Tacoli, 2004). The ecosystem of the regions around large and prosperous cities is generally transformed by the demand for resources and the generation of urban concentrated wastes. For example, analyses of environmental degradation in the Jakarta metropolitan region in the 1980s have identified severe problems ranging from water pollution; loss and degradation of agricultural land through urban expansion; erosion; and threats to the remaining forest, coastland, and marine ecosystems from, among other things, the uncontrolled disposal of toxic wastes (Cecilia Tacoli, 1998). Air pollution from city based industries, thermal power stations and motor vehicles often results in acid rain precipitation that damages terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems and may affect crop yields outside the city (Marshall et al. 1997; Satterthwaite 1997).

As long as issues of social and spatial polarization (so often linked to economic reform, restructuring and the internationalization of trade and production) are not addressed, it is unlikely that regional economic growth policies can contribute to a more equitable development and more successful poverty reduction (Cecilia Tacoli, 2003). This is one of the main reasons behind the failure of so many past regional development policies focusing on the role of small and intermediate urban centres in local economic development (Satterthwaite and Tacoli 2003). These spatial flows overlap with inter-linkages between sectors both at the household level and at the level of local economies. They include backward and forward linkages between agriculture and manufacturing and services, such as production inputs and the processing of agricultural raw materials. Most urban centres, especially small and medium sized ones, rely on broad-based demand for basic goods and services from surrounding populations to develop their secondary and tertiary sectors. Overall, synergy between agricultural production and urban-based enterprises is often key to the development of more vibrant local economies and, on a wider level, to less unequal and more 'pro-poor' regional economic growth (Cecilia Tacoli, 2004).

Adequate infrastructure such as transportation, communication, energy and basic services are the backbone of the urban-rural development linkage approach. There is a positive relationship between adequacy of transportation infrastructure, ease of mobility and access to employment and enhancement of income. Adequate investments in infrastructure, particularly transportation infrastructure, also improve rural productivity and allow access to markets, jobs and public service by both men and women. It is important therefore that governments at the national or central level, at local (municipal) level of large cities, small and medium-sized towns and rural areas, recognize the potentials of rural-urban development linkages, the impact of their development actions on urban and rural areas and the positive role they can play in poverty alleviation. There is a need to gain better understanding of the relationships between urban and rural areas and the variety in the nature of these linkages (Okpala 2003).

Okpala 2003, further notes that the International Development Agenda is increasingly recognizing the potency of the rural urban linkage development approach to sustainable development and employment creation in developing countries. In its efforts to promote the eradication of poverty and sustainable development, UN-HABITAT (2003) considers this approach as having potentials both for promoting positive rural-urban development benefits and for generating substantial employment and therefore contributing to poverty eradication. The Habitat Agenda (paragraphs 10, 99, 141 and 147) clearly makes the case for economic, social and environmental interdependence and for the need for balanced and mutually supportive development between rural and urban areas. The Agenda reasons that by providing adequate infrastructure such as transport, communication, energy and other basic services mobility problems between rural and urban areas can be eased and access to markets, employment and other income earning opportunities can be enhanced.

Cecilia Tacoli 1998 alludes to this by asserting that to date, most development theory and practice have focused on either “urban” or “rural” issues with little consideration of the interrelations between the two. By contrast, several empirical studies show that the linkages between urban centres and the countryside, including movement of people, goods, capital and other social transactions, play an important role in processes of rural and urban change (Ibid). Within the economic sphere, many urban enterprises rely on demand from rural consumers, and access to urban markets and services is often crucial for agricultural producers. In addition, a large number of households in both urban and rural areas rely on the combination of agricultural and non-agricultural income sources for their livelihoods.

Okpala 2003 further notes that as rapid urbanization of developing countries is inevitable, particularly amidst the phenomenon of globalization, the capacity of cities and towns should be strengthened to enable them productively absorb excess rural population and to better manage urban development. This includes addressing problems of high urban unemployment rates, pressure on urban infrastructure and

services and in some countries, labour shortages in rural areas. While accepting the inevitability of urbanization, people remaining in rural areas should be guaranteed decent standards and conditions of living (Ibid). Rural development should not be based on policies that deter rural-to-urban migration but rather on the need to improve economic and social conditions of rural population and the need for the rural areas to effectively contribute to the national economic growth through increased agricultural and non-agricultural productivity.

An improved rural infrastructure is a necessary condition for improving productivity in rural areas as well as for enhancing access of agricultural produce to both urban areas and the export market. This brings to the fore the urgent need for developing countries to design and implement realistic urban-rural and spatial infrastructure policies within the context of a set of coherent national human settlements policies. In many developing countries, addressing rural-urban infrastructure gaps requires therefore more, rather than less, government action. The old orthodoxy of a discrete and dichotomous approach to urban development as distinct from rural development no longer accords with reality, considering the complementary functions and flows of people, capital, goods and services, employment, information and technology between the two areas. Rural and urban areas are economically, socially and environmentally interdependent (Okpala 2003).

While rural-urban linkages can play an important role in economic development and poverty alleviation in urban and rural areas, it is important to recognize that the nature of the rural-urban linkages differs from one place to another and from one function to another. As Douglas (1998) has pointed out, a particular urban centre may play a crucial economic role for the surrounding rural areas in one respect, while the rural area may completely bypass that same urban centre and link directly to more distant urban centres and cities in other respects (Yap Kioe Sheng, 2004). It is, therefore, dangerous to generalize about the nature of rural-urban linkages and to base policy interventions on such generalizations.

What is necessary is the recognition of the existence of a regional economy as a reality, irrespective of administrative boundaries, and the need to develop knowledge about such regional economies (World Bank, 2000). The development of this knowledge should be demand-driven, as urban and rural local governments come to recognize their shared interests and constraints. The political impetus for this process of knowledge development may be the decentralization process that is a new feature that distinguishes regional planning today from the top down and technocratic variety of yesterday. The knowledge about regional economies should include long-term perspectives such as population shifts and incorporate information on dynamic trends not readily available from existing data but known to the practitioners on the ground. Therefore, information needs to be developed through dialogue and partnership between public and private stakeholders. In addition, such knowledge would help to mobilize local resources based on actual or potential economic activity and this could empower local authorities (Ibid).

2.5 FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO RURAL-URBAN INTERACTIONS

2.5.1 Structural Adjustment and Change

Rural-urban interactions largely depend on structural conditions such as changes in the social, political and economic environment at the global, national and local levels which, in turn, are likely to affect the livelihoods of the rural and urban poor. At the global level, an increasing emphasis on structural adjustment and privatization by aid-giving agencies resulted in the expansion of private investment and radical changes in the composition of exports. In Indonesia for example, merchandise exports as a proportion of GDP has increased rapidly, from 5.6 to 9.9 per cent between 1980 and 1993, (Afsar 1999). The phenomenal growth in the export of ready-made garments, from an insignificant level in 1975 to 1980 54.3 per cent of merchandise exports in 1990 to 1993, contributed largely to such growth. Between 1989 to 1990 and 1994 to 1995, the manufacturing sector in Indonesia

registered 100 per cent annual average growth in private investment, suggesting exclusive monopoly by the private sector (Ibid). The development of the export oriented ready-made garment industry by private entrepreneurs is the most significant factor in the development of formal manufacturing, followed by shrimp, electronics and leather. Because of increasing demand and a liberalization policy, activities covering trade, banking and insurance, health, education and professional services are predominantly managed and owned by private entrepreneurs. There has also been a significant increase in the contribution of the trade and services sector to the GDP from nearly two-fifths in 1990 to nearly half in 1995, and private investment grew at an annual average rate of 69.3 per cent (Ibid).

Alongside structural changes in the composition of output and employment, the proportion of GDP contributed by agriculture has declined by 16.5 per cent, and a corresponding increase can be noted in the contribution of the construction, public administration and services sector between 1975 to 1976 and 1994 to 1995 (Afsar, 1999). However, GDP contributed by the manufacturing sector changed very little during this period. With the expansion of private investment and changes in the structure of the economy, the private informal and formal sectors are expanding rapidly, whilst the public and autonomous sectors are shrinking. Thus, between 1995 and 1996 the private informal sector absorbed 85 per cent of employed persons aged 15 years and above, the private formal sector absorbed 10 per cent, and the public autonomous bodies only 5 per cent (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (1995). Most of these were recent immigrants to the city.

2.5.2 Structural Changes in Employment

Structural changes in employment constitute one of the factors that have influenced rural-urban interactions around the world. In Indonesia the existing estimates from household level data suggest that employment in the rural non-farm (RNF) sector (excluding livestock, poultry, fisheries and forestry) grew by 5.9 per cent annually between 1988 and 1995 compared to a decline in agricultural wage labour of 1.7

per cent during the same period (Hossain 1988). The decline in agriculture was attributed largely to high rates of migration by functionally landless groups and to greater employment opportunities generated by the rural non-farm sector.

In Bangladesh non farm sector contributed 42 per cent to GDP in 1995 compared to 40 and 18 per cent, respectively, for the urban and agriculture sectors (Shilpi, Farhad, 1998) suggesting strong potential and high dynamism in the RNF and urban sectors. On the other hand, since 1996, agriculture related occupations gradually became more significant in urban areas. An expanded definition of the workforce, to detect women workers who had hitherto been bypassed by male biased survey techniques (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 1992) and the expansion of urban boundaries to include surrounding areas where agriculture was still the major occupation contributed to this changing pattern. On the other hand, although Dhaka has the highest urban population, a more significant proportion is engaged in agriculture than in Chittagong. This suggests that level of urbanization is not the sole determinant of occupational patterns.

Due to increasing interaction between rural and urban areas, and improvements in road infrastructure and transportation networks, there is a growing incidence of reverse investment as groups of migrants invest in and supervise agriculture in peri-urban and rural areas as their principal occupation. In her recent study of slum and non-slum households in Dhaka, Shilpi, Farhad, 1998 found that more than one-third of the migrant non-slum households have cultivable land in rural areas and small and intermediate towns, and more than a quarter derive regular income from that land. Both the manufacturing and services sectors, which traditionally were characterized as the major sources of employment for urban dwellers, have expanded rapidly in rural areas. The change is particularly significant in the case of the services sector, which absorbs one-fifth of rural workers. Many other countries in the ESCAP region, most notably Indonesia, share the same experience (Afsar 1999) and household-level surveys support this trend. Rahman et al. (1996) found that rural processing and industry, and services as sources of primary occupations

for adults, have increased by 10 and 5.5 per cent annually, respectively, between 1988 and 1996 (Ibid). The expansion of the financial and banking sector, micro-credit lending to women's self-employment and trading activities and the increasing number of rural teachers, NGO workers and para-medics can be identified as some of the important factors which help explain the growth in employment in the rural tertiary sector.

Afsar (1999) notes that in 1974, an overwhelming majority of the urban labour force was absorbed as domestic servants/workers in various personal and community services. The remaining labour force was mainly absorbed in the trade, hotel and restaurants (17 per cent) and manufacturing sectors (16 per cent), followed by the transport, storage and communication sector (8.5 per cent). By 1996, however, the size of the labour force absorbed in the community and personal services had declined sharply in urban areas from 41 to 23 per cent. Simultaneously, there was a significant expansion in the trade (23 per cent), construction (3.2 per cent) and transport sectors (10.5 per cent) as evident from the relative share of the urban labour force in each of these major industries (Ibid).

According to Afsar (1999), thirty-three per cent of men and 16 per cent of women of active age in the slum and squatter settlements were involved, respectively, in the transport sector and garment factories in 1996, compared to 19 and 6 per cent in 1991. Increases in the numbers of rickshaws, cars, *tempos* and private buses that employ poor migrants as drivers, conductors and helpers were illustrated by the annual growth rates for rickshaws, auto-rickshaws and buses between 1990 and 1995 which stood at 6.7, 13.8 and 5.1, respectively. However, public sector buses constitute a fraction only (nearly 1 per cent) of the total buses on the road (bid). Labour force survey data suggest a significant (13 per cent) annual average growth rate for the country as a whole in this sector for the same period, (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 1996) while business, trading, hawking and related self-employed activities remain almost the same because the slight decline found in

men's employment is compensated for by the slight increase in women's employment in this sector between 1991 and 1996.

2.5.3 Role of Transport, Social Services and Social Networks in Rural-Urban Interactions

Transport in all its forms is an important factor in influencing rural-urban interactions. Afsar (1999), in her study notes that although Bangladesh lags far behind its neighbours and other rapidly urbanizing South-East Asian countries in terms of infrastructural base, the types of quick and cheap modes of transport available and the increasing mobility were unthinkable in the past. According to Afsar, there are now three vehicles and nearly three televisions per 1,000 head of population, a near three-fold increase over 1974 levels. People also have hitherto unthinkable access to cheap modes of transport such as buses, *tempos* and to the mass media, and education and health services are also becoming more widespread although the quality of these services varies significantly. These developments help reduce the gap between rural and urban areas.

In her findings Afsar (1999) alludes to it that in Bangladesh, 97 per cent of secondary schools are privately run, and the role of private bodies and NGOs is increasingly assuming greater importance in universalizing primary education. To her, between 1990 and 1995, the number of mainstream private registered schools increased from 6,266 to 17,151, a 20 per cent average annual increase as compared to a 0.03 per cent increase in the number of government schools for the same period. Moreover, a number of NGOs such as the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), the Dhaka Ahsania Mission (DAM) and the Centre for Mass Education in Science (CMES) which started innovative non-formal education programmes for children and adolescents enrolled 1.3 million pupils, mainly in rural areas, up to 1995. Evidence suggests that poorer pupils have greater access to both private registered and NGO run schools than to government run schools (Alam, M., Begum, K. and A. Rahman, 1997).

Micro-level studies show that enrolment is higher among rural poor children than among urban poor children from slum and squatter settlements (Afsar, 1999) with nearly one-half of children from landless and two-thirds of children from functionally landless households being enrolled compared to two-fifths of children from urban slum and squatter settlements, in 1996. In addition to the private initiatives, work opportunities created for the illiterate and semi-literate girls and women by the export oriented ready-made garments sector in the mid-1980s can be considered an important reason for the spread of education among poorer households and an equalizing of gender disparity in enrolment rates in rural areas. More than 90 per cent of the garment workers are rural migrants, mostly women (70-75 per cent), a large majority of whom (about 75 per cent) come from mainly landless and land-poor households. Thus, compared to slum women aged 15 and over in Dhaka who, on average, have less than one year's schooling, rural women in garment factories have 2.3 years schooling, even if they belong to landless families (Ibid).

The above analysis shows that an informal face-to-face communication system and culture has become more widespread whilst retaining a personal touch. Over time, new demands are generated by market forces at the international, national and local levels. The balance between demand and supply is mediated by the flow of information and the intensity of social networks, transportation levels, physical and social infrastructure and responses from government, individuals and corporate bodies and families. Mediation at the family level depends on gender and the age composition of members, on the level of resources, more particularly, land controlled by the family, and on the intensity of social support both within and outside the village (Afsar, 1999).

According to Tacoli (2004), some factors can be generalized as having a key role in the increase in the scale of rural-urban linkages. Decreasing incomes from farming, especially for small-scale producers who, because of lack of land, water or capital,

are unable to intensify production and switch to higher value crops, mean that growing numbers of rural residents engage in non-farm activities that are often located in urban centres. For those who continue farming, direct access to markets is essential in the wake of the demise of parastatal marketing boards – and markets are also usually located in urban centres (Ibid). Better access to markets can increase farming incomes and encourage shifts to higher value crops or livestock. Population growth and distribution patterns affect the availability of good agricultural land and can contribute to rural residents moving out of farming. With the expansion of urban centres, land uses change from agricultural to residential and industrial, and in the peri-urban interface these processes go hand in hand with transformations in the livelihoods of different groups – with the poorest often losing out (Ibid).

Tacoli (2004) further notes that perhaps more significant than the absolute availability of natural resources in relation to population numbers and density are the mechanisms which regulate access to, and management of, such resources. These include land tenure systems and the role of local government in negotiating the priorities of different users and in providing a regulatory framework which safeguards the needs of the most vulnerable groups while, at the same time, making provision for the requirements of economic and population growth. Such mechanisms continue to call for attention, to make it possible for more vulnerable groups to successfully plot a course through this increasingly complex “landscape”.

2.5.4 Migration and Mobility

Migration between rural and urban areas is an important factor in promoting interaction between rural and urban settings. In Nigeria migration has had a significant impact on both the rural and urban areas because of the number of people involved and the fact that most of these have been the young, often male, most productive members of the rural population (Okali et al, 2001). Inequality of opportunities for economic advancement and neglect of the infrastructure of rural

areas are the major factors that compel rural-urban migration. Many people may move to the city for better economic or educational opportunities due to a lack of markets, good transportation facilities, schools, health facilities, and so on, in the village (Okali et al, 2001). From their survey of rural infrastructure in Nigeria, Idachaba *et al.* (1981) found that wide urban-rural disparities were a major reason for the massive rural-urban migration of the 1970s, and they emphasised that looking at wage differentials alone was misleading (Ibid). The Directorate of Food, Roads, and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) was set up by government in 1986, largely in response to the findings of the survey.

However, the complexity of migration should not be underestimated. Trager (2000) suggests that migrants can often be described as ‘multi-local’, as they participate in social activities and organisations in more than one place and move among these places (Okali et al, 2001). It should also be noted that migration patterns are not restricted to rural to urban movement. There is growing evidence that urban to rural migration is on the increase in Nigeria, and includes not only the retired people who formed the majority of earlier return migrants, but also of younger people. A number of factors, many of which were exacerbated by the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) initiated in 1986, account for return migration, including disillusionment with urban conditions, declining business fortunes, loss of work, serious ill-health, death of the family breadwinner, disgust with urban noise, congestion or other urban living conditions (Okali et al, 2001).

In Nasarawa State of Nigeria, Yunusa (1999) found that many urban informal sector workers moved to the rural areas with their businesses to avoid the increasingly stiff competition in the cities. In her study in a northern Kaduna State village, Meagher (1999) reported a trend towards return migration in a significant number of rural households (Okali et al, 2001). She noted, however, that, *‘this process does not appear to be bringing skills and capital back into the community. On the contrary return migration has involved a retreat from collapsed opportunities outside’*, (Meagher, 1999: 62).

Rural to rural migration is another important feature linking different areas. Some activities, such as palm or rubber-tapping, lumbering, trading in farm produce or working as a hired labourer, require regular movement between rural areas. Many people migrate from rural areas due to a shortage of farmland because the family land allocated to them is too small to feed their families, or because of soil impoverishment and severe erosion (Okali et al, 2001).

2.5.5 Economic Exchanges

According to Okali et al, 2001 economic exchanges are an important link between rural and urban areas. Many rural households depend on economic help from relatives in the cities in different ways namely; in terms of financial support, medical aid including education of their children. In a reciprocal way, rural households offer support to urban households in the form of gifts especially food and cash offered to urban relatives. The exchange of cash and gifts between the rural and urban households has been to some extent affected by the current economic hardships facing both rural and urban areas. There are also changes in social and economic relations between urban and rural residents. The rural dweller now places a high premium on the small piece of land that, in years past, he could offer as a gift to an urban kinsman for building a house (Ibid).

2.5.6 Social Networks

Social networks are looked as a set of relations, or ties among households which altogether constitute social organisations and social groups among households. According to Haan and Quarles (2001) social relations or ties may range from kinship, friendship and village membership to patron-client relationships, union or political party membership and ethnic bonds. Social relations are not confined to a local scale. Even kinship becomes increasingly multi-local, with relatives migrating to various urban and rural areas. Any social relation can be mapped as a tie having both content and a form. It should be noted that social relations can overlap and that

people may be part of various networks. It is also important to include economic actions as embedded in social relations, which means that economic behaviour can only be understood as part of social behaviour. Markets, for example, have to be considered as social institutions as well. This implies considering the supposed non-rational residue factor of an actor's behaviour in economic analysis, as a rational choice instead (Ibid).

The content of a tie can include anything from goods, services, friendship or love, money, information and advice. The form of a tie concerns the strength of the relation and may range from weak to strong. Relations between family members, friends and close colleagues are considered to be strong ties. It concerns people who frequently communicate with each other and with other actors in the same network, and who highly value their relation. Weak ties occur between members of different networks, i.e. between people who have less contact and who less value their relation (Haan and Quarles, 2001).

Haan and Quarles (2001) have it that interactions are facilitated by the strong social support network transcending rural and urban areas. Members of the extended family living in both localities provide a base from which their relatives can move back and forth. Increasing transportation costs in recent years, however, have reduced the frequency of home visits for many people, particularly the poor (Ibid). Social support networks have however continued to play a pivotal role in linking rural households with their urban relatives and vice versa. It is partly through such social networks that some households from either side have been able to sustain their living through mutual help. Characteristics such as age, gender, ethnic background, socio-economic status, educational status and religion influence the decision to migrate to the city or to remain in or return to the village, practice urban agriculture or provide an urban service in the rural areas, visit home regularly or not at all, and so on (Haan and Quarles , 2001). The social norms and values in a locality may be significant determiners of the type and intensity of such reactions.

2.6 RURAL-URBAN INTERACTIONS AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Small and medium sized towns have continued to play a positive role in development acting as centres from which innovation and modernization trickles down to the rural areas. A more recent and highly influential contribution to this positive view was the development of the concept of “urban functions in rural development” (Rondinelli and Ruddle, 1978; Belsky and Karaska, 1990) for which the most effective and rational spatial strategy for promoting rural development is to develop a well articulated, integrated and balanced urban hierarchy (Tacoli 2003). This network of small, medium sized and large urban centres is described as “locationally efficient - it allows clusters of services, facilities and infrastructure that cannot be economically located in small villages and hamlets to serve a widely dispersed population from an accessible central place” (Ibid). The location of more service supply points supplying a variety of services, agricultural inputs and consumer goods to the rural areas is seen as playing a crucial role in rural development (Tacoli 1998).

The contribution of rural–urban linkages to livelihoods varies depending on households’ and individuals’ wealth and status – and therefore on their gender, age, ethnicity and, in many cases, religious and/or political affiliation. Several authors in this field point to a process of increasing social polarization, whereby wealthier households use both rural and urban resources as part of an accumulation strategy, whereas poor and vulnerable households and individuals negotiate the rural–urban continuum for survival.

2.6.1 Towns as Markets for Regional Agricultural Products

Exchanges of goods between urban and rural areas are an essential element of rural-urban linkages. The ‘virtuous circle’ model of rural-urban local economic development emphasises efficient economic linkages and physical infrastructure connecting farmers and other rural producers with both domestic and external

markets (Tacoli 2004). This involves three phases; rural households earn higher incomes from production of agricultural goods for non-local markets, and increase their demand for consumer goods; this leads to the creation of non-farm jobs and employment diversification, especially in small towns close to agricultural production areas; which in turn absorbs surplus rural labour, raises demand for agricultural produce and again boosts agricultural productivity and rural incomes (Ibid).

Access to urban markets is a key to increasing incomes for rural and peri-urban farmers. Three aspects are crucial: physical infrastructure, including road networks and affordable transport; relations between producers, traders and consumers; and information on how markets operate, including price fluctuations and consumer preferences (Tacoli 2004). Poor physical infrastructure can have far-reaching consequences on producers' prices, as inadequate roads usually entail prohibitive transport costs. Traders, often perceived as inherently exploitative, can in fact play an important role in providing credit and information to producers. In areas where production volumes are small and scattered between several small farms, local traders operating on a small scale are often the only link with markets. However, lack of storage and processing facilities and high transport costs increase the vulnerability of these trade networks (Ibid).

According to Tacoli 2004, spatial proximity to markets does not necessarily improve farmers' access to the inputs and services required to increase agricultural productivity but access to land, capital and labour may be far more important in determining the extent to which farmers are able to benefit from urban markets. In Paraguay, despite their proximity to the capital city, smallholders' production is hardly stimulated by urban markets as their low incomes do not allow investment in cash crops or in production intensification to compensate for the lack of land. Patterns of attendance at periodic markets also show that distance is a much less important issue than rural consumers' income and purchasing power in determining demand for manufactured goods, inputs and services (Tacoli, 2004).

Infrastructure provides the bridge between rural and urban areas and creates a rural-urban continuum. By ensuring goods and services move efficiently and effortlessly, it ensures higher prices for producers and lower prices for consumers. Development of markets in rural areas creates further opportunity for farm and non-farm growth. Institutions that govern rural markets need to update and change once integrated into the rural-urban continuum. Limited evidence available at the local level in Bangladesh shows a statistically significant positive relation between agricultural output and rural roads and growth centers. In general, there is also evidence that rural road development is a critical factor in farm and non-farm employment, especially of the rural poor and of women. The role of other types of infrastructure, such as the construction of bridges, electricity, and of telecommunications, remains to be examined (Garrett and Chowdhury 2004)

In a free-market economy, producers should not only be concerned about the production of goods and services, but also about demand and marketing. In the past, farmers and other rural producers often relied (or had to rely) on public- or private sector intermediaries to market their products, because of the inadequacy of the transport and communication links and the lack of market information. This not only forced them to accept smaller profits, but also made them vulnerable to exploitation by the intermediaries (Garrett and Chowdhury 2004). In some cases, market information may not even have been important as prices were fixed by regulations.

Today's reductions in transport costs and improvements in information and communication technology make it easier for producers to obtain information about market conditions. They are now in a better position to respond to changing market demand and to negotiate higher prices with intermediaries and end-users. However, to do so requires not only that the infrastructure for transport and communication is in place and that the necessary information is available, but also that the producers adopt a market-oriented attitude. Such attitude is even more necessary, because

trade liberalization and improved infrastructure will bring the global economy to markets in the smallest towns and the rural areas (Cecilia Tacoli 2003).

Nonetheless, studies show that urban areas often obtain goods not so much from the surrounding rural areas, but either directly from more distant rural areas or through other urban centres. The reason why urban areas do not have to rely on the surrounding rural areas may be the cost of the product, its quality or the availability. The local producers need to ensure the competitiveness of their products in terms of quality, price and availability and to expand their marketing efforts to make the urban consumers aware of the local products. Bajracharya 1995 justifies this well by alluding to it that, Banepa [a small town in Nepal] does not act as a collection centre for local produce as significantly as it does as a distribution centre for urban consumer goods. Only small rice mills collect rice and maize from nearby villages; the larger rice mills obtain their inputs directly from the *Terai*. The retail fruit and vegetable market in Banepa often gets its supply from the Kathmandu wholesale market owing to the irregularity in the supply of vegetables from surrounding villages. Large surpluses of rice, potatoes and fruit belonging to rich farmers from surrounding villages often go directly to Kathmandu, by passing the small town. In contrast, the small farmers often sell their limited produce directly to the retail establishments in Banepa to pay for items such as salt, kerosene and other daily necessities.

Urban centres can play a role as centres for the trading of rural products at urban, national and global markets. However, there is a need for urban local government to remove market imperfections, as Gaile (1992) calls them, and develop infrastructure and services in the urban area that can support the marketing of rural produce from the surrounding rural areas. This includes markets, storage, transport, communication and information infrastructure linking the small centres with towns and cities, and eventually with the global market. However, Douglas 1998 earlier warning that it is not possible to develop small urban centres in a uniform way has

to be kept in mind. Each region needs to be developed according to its own assets and opportunities.

Gaile (1992) calls for small town development programmes that identify specific project package elements directly linked to tapping unmet economic potential as opposed to previous regional planning programmes which generally called for a standard package of infrastructure. He points out that farmers with poor access to markets will grow crops for home production only; by improving their access to markets, such farmers could become more productive. However, what is lacking is not only physical infrastructure to markets. The capacity of producers to compete in these markets needs to be strengthened for instance through credit and marketing organizations for farmers and other rural producers.

2.6.2 Towns as Rural Service Centres

One of the main aspects of rural poverty is the lack of access to basic infrastructure and services, such as roads, communication infrastructure, health care, credit, education, and market information. Governments tend to develop infrastructure and provide services initially in the urban areas only, because of their economies of scale (Tacoli C. 2004). The scattered settlement pattern of the rural areas renders the provision of infrastructure and services too expensive. Urban centres are expected to play a role as service centres for the rural areas. Towns and secondary cities, therefore, require more investments in infrastructure and services for both the growing urban population and the population in the surrounding rural areas.

The “urban functions in rural development” (UFRD) approach aimed at rural development through the establishment of hierarchically organized networks of small, medium-sized and larger centres each providing centrally located functions, such as infrastructure and services (UNDP 2000). However, the model relied too much on generalizations about the role of urban centres and did not take account of

the variety in the roles of urban centres, which are determined by both the rural and regional context (Yap Kioe Sheng, 2004).

The development of urban settlements into rural service centres requires special attention for the actual nature of the rural-urban linkages and their impacts rather than the simple assumption that they are relevant and beneficial in any and all circumstances. Even where urban services can reach rural households, they may do so in such an uneven manner that they increase rather than reduce rural inequality and rural poverty. As Douglas (1998) points out, unless the infrastructure or service meets the conditions, needs and priorities of the end-users, in particular the poor, they will not alleviate poverty, but only benefit those who already have the means to make use of them, usually the rich (Yap Kioe Sheng, 2004).

It is important to see which infrastructure and services can be centralized in urban centres and which have to be provided locally in the rural areas. The recent developments in the information and communication technology (ICT) are creating new opportunities for the delivery of services in remote areas. However, it is important to understand that ICT is only a vehicle for information and that the relevance of the information for the user is the more important aspect. This applies not only to ICT, but also to other kinds of infrastructure and services: it is the service provided through the infrastructure that is important, not the infrastructure itself (Tracey-White 2005).

2.6.3 Transport and Communication

In much of the developing world, mobility in rural areas is hampered by the lack of all forms of transport facilities and by poor roads which discourage the use of personal transport. Thus, in looking at market channels it is also necessary to understand how they are influenced by transport systems. The best way to gain an understanding of access issues is to start with the agricultural production area – to understand farmers' concerns – including how their relationship with their

suppliers, transporters and buyers is influenced by transport (Tracey-White 2005). Tracy 2005 further alludes to this by asserting that, improvements in transport and communication across the Asia-Pacific region have brought urban and rural areas much closer together than they were ever before. It has facilitated the movement of rural produce to the urban areas and of urban industrial produce to the rural areas. It has also facilitated the movement of people between urban and rural areas and this may in turn have increased the transfer of capital in the form of remittances by migrant labour. Improved transport and communication facilitates internal (as well as international) migration to the extent that migration is becoming much more circular rather than a single permanent move, with people constantly moving between places where the opportunities of the moment are best .

Improvements in communication technology (radio, television, telephone etc.) have made it easier for migrants to stay in touch with their relatives in the rural areas, but also for the urban culture to spread to the rural areas. Economic and educational development and exposure to modern means of communication result in changes in lifestyles and consumption patterns in even the smallest settlements. This and rising demand for urban-style public services such as solid waste collection turn previously predominantly rural centres into urban settlements. In order to meet the demand for urban services, governments across the region are reclassifying villages into (urban) municipalities (Tracey-White 2005).

Improvements in transport have made it easier for people living in the rural areas and urban fringe areas, to commute to the urban areas where they can be involved in typically urban occupations. In addition, companies are relocating some labour-intensive manufacturing plants to the rural areas encouraged by de-concentration policies of the government and resulting in factories in the middle of rice-fields. The villages where commuters and factory workers live, though rural in terms of natural environment and population density, become urban in terms of lifestyle and sources of income and economic activity. McGee called these fringe areas *desakota*,

because they combine characteristics of urban (*kota* = town) and rural (*desa* = village) areas (Yap Kioe Sheng, 2004).

The multi-spatial household; household with members living in different locations in order to make use of employment or educational opportunities, is not a new phenomenon, but may become less socially disturbing due to improved means of transport and communication. With some household members living in rural areas and others living in urban areas, the flow of goods, services and capital between urban and rural areas also increases. Yap Kioe Sheng, 2004, further illustrates this well when he alludes to it that during the Asian financial crisis, people in urban areas who lose their employment and income, would return to the rural areas and re-integrate into the rural community, at least temporarily until the situation in the urban areas improved. The trends described here raise questions about the relevance of the distinction between “urban” and “rural”. Settlement size and population density are the traditional criteria for urban settlements, but they lose their significance, when the source of income and the life style in rural settlements are typically urban (Ibid). Economic activity and lifestyle also lose their significance as criteria for “urban” settlements, when people live in a typically rural area and commute to the city for work. Further still, a typical rural activity as agriculture in the form of urban agriculture is also more common in urban areas than earlier recognized. The result of these trends would be the growth of an “urban” culture and lifestyle in rural areas as well as of “urban” economic activities in rural settlements. In order to minimize the negative effects of these urban lifestyles and activities such as increases in the volume of solid waste and wastewater, rural settlements require urban services and an urban or municipal- administrative organization.

2.6.4 Financial Flows

Financial flows include, primarily, remittances from migrants to relatives and communities in sending areas, and transfers such as pensions to migrants returning

to their rural homes, and also investments and credit from urban-based institutions (Tacoli, 2004). These spatial flows overlap with inter-linkages between sectors both at the household level and at the level of local economies. They include backward and forward linkages between agriculture and manufacturing and services, such as production inputs and the processing of agricultural raw materials. Most urban centres, especially small and intermediate ones, rely on broad-based demand for basic goods and services from surrounding populations to develop their secondary and tertiary sectors. Overall, synergy between agricultural production and urban based enterprises is, often key to the development of more vibrant local economies and, on a wider level, to less unequal and more 'pro-poor' regional economic growth. Contacts in urban and rural areas are important for both migrants and their families who remain in the villages (Tacoli, 2004). In Bhuyan et al (2001) study, 88 percent of migrants visit the village occasionally to meet with family and 24 percent go to look after their property (which also maintains the tie). Rahman et al. (1996) found that 20 percent of households had migrant members who lived away from their families but got assistance from them at times and also provided assistance to them. Temporary as well as permanent migrants, and married and unmarried individuals, send and receive assistance (Kuhn 2000). Although Kuhn (2000) found that most remittance income is used for consumption, not investment in productive activities, he also found it can be a substantial aid. In his review of studies, for those households with members in urban areas or abroad, remittances were often at least one-fifth and frequently up to one-third of total rural household income.

2.6.5 Changing Farming Systems in Peri-Urban and Rural Areas

Urban expansion has a significant impact on farming systems in the surrounding peri-urban and rural areas, where agriculture is often residents' traditional and primary occupation. Increasing demand from urban markets and consumers stimulates the intensification of production, especially high-value and perishable horticulture (Acharya, 2010). Availability of fertile farming land and water is a precondition for agricultural intensification, but urban proximity also often entails

increased competition for natural resources. Access to land is regulated by land tenure systems which, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, are often multiple: customary systems, where land management and allocation is the responsibility of traditional authorities such as village chiefs and councils are common in rural areas (Cecilia Tacoli 2003). In the urban centres, formalized land titling and registration tends to prevail. Under both tenure systems, formal and informal land market transactions are increasingly important, especially in peri-urban areas. As a result, low-income groups with limited access to credit are often squeezed out as competition for land intensifies. Farming on “idle” land around the Nigerian city of Ibadan used to be relatively frequent, especially for local women; but now, with the decline in the availability of land, it is almost entirely abandoned.

2.6.6 Livelihood Diversification

Transformations in the ways in which households and individuals make a living are perhaps the most striking aspect of rural–urban linkages and, in many cases, involve multiple occupations ranging from farming to services to processing and manufacturing (Cecilia Tacoli 2004). Diversification can be described as a survival strategy for vulnerable households and individuals who are pushed out of their traditional occupations and who must resort to different activities to minimize risks and make ends meet (Baker, J 1995). Conversely, wealthier groups with better education and skills can be pulled by new opportunities, and their accumulation strategies aim to draw maximum benefits from the changing context. But the reality is more likely to be some combination of “push” and “pull” factors, along a continuum between these two opposite poles. Moreover, occupational patterns are largely influenced by gender, age, education and skills, inclusion in social support networks facilitating access to specific activities and, of course, location. The paper by Lacabana and Cariola (2003) describes the extent to which the livelihoods of different groups in Caracas are determined by their residential strategies in an increasingly spatially segregated city.

In peri-urban areas, diversification overlaps with dynamic processes of transformation in land use and labour markets which, in turn, vary between different segments of the peri-urban interface (Lacabana and Cariola, 2003). Where farming is still a significant activity, trade in agricultural produce is also likely to be an important income generating activity for local residents. Being closer to built-up areas, service activities, including commuting for domestic service to urban households, can be important, as can industrial employment in firms relocating to the urban periphery or outside the urban boundaries in order to reduce their costs and often to avoid more stringent or more carefully enforced pollution controls.

2.7 LIMITATIONS TO RURAL-URBAN INTERACTIONS

In Ethiopia rural-urban interactions in terms of economic linkages have much room for growth. Agriculture provides limited surplus to the market. Gabre-Madhin Wolday A. (2003) reported that only 17 percent of the agricultural production is marketed. On the other hand, the manufacturing structure in Ethiopia is dominated by food, beverage, textile, leather, and tobacco producing factories, which have strong potential linkages with the agricultural sector. Despite the huge potential for linkages, these manufacturing industries are dependent on imports of raw materials. Moges and Gebeyehu (2006) found that of the gross value of output of agriculture about 10 percent is used as inputs for manufacturing industry and mining, about 10 percent is used for export, and the remaining 80 percent is used largely for consumption. On the other hand, they found that agriculture acquires 30 percent of its inputs from imports while manufacturing imports 45 percent of its inputs.

The main reason for this poor linkage is the subsistence nature of agriculture. About 55.7 percent of the farming households in the country cultivate less than 0.5 hectares and about 80 percent of the farmers cultivate less than 1 hectare. Only 4.1 percent of the farmers own more than 2 hectares of land. The average size of holding is 0.81 hectare. In addition, the sector is characterized by fragmented farm plots. Plots are at some distance from one another with others' holdings in between.

The average number of parcels of land per holder of the 0.81 hectare average holding is 3.3 plots (Central Statistical Authority, CSA, 2008).

The subsistence nature of agriculture in Ethiopia not only limits the flow of goods from rural areas to urban areas but also has evolved into a constraint of the flow of goods from urban areas to rural areas. Subsistence agriculture creates poor markets for urban products and services. Purchase of manufacturing outputs and use of urban services are very limited in rural areas because people have very little to sell to generate money to pay for urban products and services. Because of the limited marketed surplus, utilization of modern inputs such as improved seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, or irrigation systems is also low (Getnet, 2009).

The use of manufactured farm implements and inputs by the agricultural sector is another form of linkage that can exist between industry and agriculture. In Ethiopia, however, this type of linkage is low. A study conducted in Tigray found that the backward and forward linkage at the household level of the agricultural sector with the nonfarm sector is small (Gebre-Egziabiher, 2007). This is due to the subsistence nature of agriculture, rural poverty, and the lack of industries that manufacture farm implements.

In addition to the snowballing impact of the subsistence nature of production, the fragile nature of the market, lack of efficient domestic transport, and absence of competitive wholesale and retail agricultural inputs also impact the flows of goods and services. In a similar vein, Gebre- Egziabiher (2007) argued that "... grain marketing is constrained by a number of factors such as subsistence production, poor infrastructure, lack of information, limited storage capacity of traders." Physical infrastructure is another constraint for smooth flows of goods between rural and urban areas. Despite growing efforts by the federal government and regional states, the poor road network in the country is an indication of limited rural-urban linkages. This limits the amount of marketed surplus and adversely affects the flow of goods from rural to urban areas. Globally, rapid advances in

transport and communication increasingly bind together geographically distant communities and open new opportunities for exchange. The statistics on infrastructure in Ethiopia, however, reveal that the country's current capacity for creating a reasonable basis for rural-urban economic linkage is limited (Getnet, 2009). This has an adverse impact on the nonfarm economy. Poor labor and land productivity cannot release labor and transfer capital for nonfarm activities.

2.8 POLICIES INFLUENCING RURAL-URBAN INTERACTIONS

Attempt here is made to highlight the policies that influence rural-urban interactions and commuting in Bugisu region. This is done as a step towards formulating appropriate recommendations for interventions necessary in enhancing positive, interactions, all aimed at contributing towards poverty eradication and increased well-being. Policy factors range from land holding policies, liberalization, decentralization, industrial/urban and agricultural/rural development policies. All these affect interactions between rural and urban settings differently. For example the failure of development strategies based on import-substitution industries in many Latin American and African countries and the successes of countries that pursued agricultural-led growth such as China have demonstrated that agricultural productivity growth is essential to launching an economy-wide growth, especially in predominantly agrarian societies. Indeed, agriculture growth engenders both backward linkages in the form of increased demand for farm inputs such as fertilizers and farm equipment, and forward linkages, as increased farm households' income translates into increased demand for consumption goods and services (Mellor 1995; Hazell and Röell 1983; Joachim von Braun, 2007; Diao et al. 2007; de Ferranti et al. 2005). These linkages can subsequently lead to rural transformation, with an expansion of the rural nonfarm economy (RNFE) and better linkages with the rest of the economy, with increasing sectoral and spatial flows between rural and urban areas.

In the last couple of decades, significant gains in agricultural labor productivity have been achieved; agricultural value added per worker in low- and middle-income countries increased by approximately 43 percent from 1985 to 2003, going from US\$405 to US\$5805 (Joachim von Braun, 2007). Additionally, globalization of agriculture has led to enhanced agricultural trade and the commercialization of traditional agricultural processes. And, as a part of the general trend toward the liberalization of markets, many developing countries have reduced the level of government intervention such as, elimination of price controls on agricultural commodities, reduction of export taxes, privatization and/or dissolution of state owned enterprises, reduction of subsidies in the agricultural sector. As a result of these reforms, some countries, especially those where reforms were fully implemented, experienced an increase in trade and higher levels of competition, as well as reduced marketing margins, although in some cases, marketing margins remain high due to inadequate transport infrastructure and high levels of uncertainty (see Kherallah et al. 2002 for an overview of market reforms in sub-Saharan Africa, and Gabre-Madhin 2001 for grain market reform in Ethiopia).

An additional outcome of the increased opportunities brought about by globalization and the liberalization of the 1980s and 1990s is the expansion of the rural non-farm employment (von Pandya-Lorch and Braun, 1991). Indeed, the RNFE now accounts for approximately 25 percent of full-time employment and about 30 to 40 percent of rural household income in developing countries (Haggblade, Hazell, and Reardon 2007), and in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America nonfarm activities account for 40 to 45 percent of average rural household income (Barrett et al. 2001).

Another feature of the globalization of agriculture is that consumer preferences across the globe have become major driving forces of agricultural production systems. The retail industry caters for the global demand, while the food-processing and trading industry supplies the retail sector and procures from the farm sector, which in turn is supplied by agriculture input industries. Rising consumer incomes

and urbanizing lifestyles have increased the demand for high-value agricultural products, which include meat and fish, fruits and vegetables, and dairy products. To meet these demands, agricultural producers in developing countries are diversifying toward these products. In Indonesia, for instance, the production of high-value products has been increasing faster than that of cereals. However, this diversification is spatially limited to certain locations (Chowdhury, Gulati, and Gumbira-Said 2005).

2.8.1 Policies Aimed at Controlling Rural-Urban Migration

A recent international review of government policies towards internal migration found that most governmental attempts to intervene directly to stop or redirect migration have, as in China, involved limitations on migration out of rural areas or into urban areas (Joachim von Braun, 2007). Controlling rural-urban migration directly requires registration, identification, and inspection systems that can easily become administratively cumbersome, socially intrusive, and economically inefficient. Where significant controls on migration are instituted, they are almost inevitably part of a broader system of government control, such as those associated with a centrally planned economy or the policing of territorial boundaries.

China's internal controls on rural-urban migration are grounded in the household registration or hukou system. The hukou system has a history that stretches back many centuries, and controlling rural-urban migration has never been its sole or even primary purpose (McGranahan and Tacoli - 2006). Rather, it is a location registration system that over time has provided a means to monitor and selectively intervene in a wide range of household activities, of which migration is just one. Starting in the 1950s, the hukou system was adapted to meet the needs of China's central planning system, and a number of these adaptations helped create important administrative distinctions between rural (agricultural) and urban (non-agricultural) populations. Urban registration, for example, entitled holders to centrally administered grain rations and other benefits that rural dwellers were meant to

obtain through their communes. This administrative distinction created both a motive and a means for controlling rural-urban migration.

The household registration system (or hukou) that has been used in recent decades to try to control migration in China and rural-urban migration in particular has accentuated the growing urban-rural disparities brought on by market led growth. A large 'floating population' has emerged, made up of migrants who do not have a permanent urban registration. From an international perspective, the challenge for China is not just to reform the hukou system, but to find the means to assimilate rural-urban migrants in an equitable and environmentally sustainable way (McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006).

The hukou system that emerged with China's centrally planned economy had more in common with the now defunct internal passport system (propiska) of the Soviet Union and Vietnam's household registration system (ho khau) than it had with the plaques that the Ming government required residents of fortified cities to hang by their doors, disclosing their hukou information (Wang, 2005). With the shift towards a market driven economy, the basis and justification for many aspects of this hukou system have also been undermined. Yet in the early 2000s, the system was still backed up by about 300,000 hukou police field officers. It remains a far greater influence on migrants and their movements than registration systems in other countries, and indeed than most other means of intervening directly in the lives of actual or aspiring rural-urban migrants.

International migrants to affluent cities are often subject to very strict controls, including some based on residential registration, even in countries with no restrictions on internal migration (McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006). The 25 countries of the expanded European Union have a total population of approximately 450 million (well under half of China's) and have historically had tight controls on international migration. Many of the concerns over international migration controls in the more economically successful European countries mirror those in China's

more successful provinces: tight regulation, restrictions based on qualifications, and measures restricting benefits to migrants are considered by many to be unfair and economically unwise; on the other hand, loose regulation is considered to be a threat to existing benefit systems and to social harmony.

The potentially negative impact of policies that restrict international migration is illustrated by the case of Italy (McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006). Current immigration legislation links residence permits to employment contracts. These, in turn, depend on quotas established by the Ministry of Labour in consultation with employers' associations and trade unions, which determine the maximum number of foreign workers allowed into the country. Quotas are divided into seasonal and non-seasonal jobs and are allocated on a geographical basis both within Italy (ie the locations of employment) and amongst migrants' countries of origin. This system has been heavily criticised by employers' associations. In the industry sector, the mismatch between employers' demands for migrant workers and the established quotas in 2003 was 79 percent, making it difficult for small and medium sized enterprises, the main source of demand, to survive (Laganà, 2005). In the agricultural sector, migrant workers accounted for 78 percent of seasonal workers in 2004, but lengthy bureaucratic procedures to obtain work permits and low quotas are cited as a severe problem by employers' associations. The result is a large number of migrants without residence permit and working without an employment contract. Illegal work often translates into heavy and underpaid work, in many cases in dangerous conditions. Whilst injuries at work in Italy decreased by 1.6 percent and fatalities fell by 5.1 percent in 2003, migrants' work accidents increased by 16.2 percent and deaths by 30.8 percent (ibid).

Migrants without local registration are referred to as temporary migrants, or the floating population, though as the terms imply these migrants can be hard to locate and count or even define (McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006). On the basis of the 2000 census, from which floating migrants can be defined as people who have lived at a destination for at least six months without local household registration status, of the

estimated 79 million inter-county migrants about 59 million were part of the floating population (Liang and Ma, 2004). Overall, the inter-county floating population accounts for about 6% of China's population, and while they are found throughout the country, they are concentrated in the more economically successful regions along the coast – with 27% of the inter-county floating population in Guangdong Province alone.

Migrants who obtain local hukou when they move to urban centres are, as one would expect, more educated and affluent than the 'temporary' migrants (Liang and Chen, 2004) and are more likely to have government or at least formal and white collar jobs (Guo and Iredale, 2004). To the extent that the hukou system creates obstacles for the movement of workers, one would expect it to create economic inefficiencies, and this is indeed what the evidence indicates (Hertel and Zhai, 2004; Whalley and Zhang, 2004). Removing the hukou could help to create a more integrated labour market (Fang and Dewen, 2003). There are also indications that it would provide migrants with better access to housing and urban services, and that the current disadvantages faced by temporary migrants lie more in the institutional restrictions linked to the hukou system than with socio-economic factors (Wu, 2004).

2.8.2 Urban Growth Policies and Rural-Urban Interactions

In China urbanization and urban growth are closely linked to economic growth strategies and their uneven spatial dimension (McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006). In the 1980s, small towns in China played a major role in 'in-situ' urbanization and industrialization, developing a relatively balanced distribution of urban centres with strong functional and administrative links with their surrounding rural region. Since the mid-1990s, however, economic liberalisation has exacerbated differences between remote regions and the mainly coastal emerging extended metropolitan regions.

China's current urbanization trends reflect its national economic strategy more than any urbanization strategy. There have been policies to encourage urban economic activities in smaller towns, and to discourage excessive rural-urban migration, to large urban centres in particular. These policies have had an effect on how urban areas are designated and on who is registered as an urban dweller. Increasing economic liberalism, integration into the global economy and the policies designed to support these economic goals have favoured rapid urbanization and economic growth in the coastal regions, and these have become the dominant trends (McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006).

The increase in the number of uprisings caused by seizures of farmland without reasonable compensation in rural and peri-urban areas is a key reason for the growth of instances of social unrest in China in the past few years (McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006). A partial response to rural frustration is the establishment of a 'new socialist countryside' as one of the primary objectives of the 11th Five Year Plan (2006-10) Guidelines for National Economic and Social Development. The policy was approved in March 2006 by the 10th National People's Congress, with the additional rationale that the slow increase in the incomes of farmers (who make up nearly 60 percent of China's population) is keeping the overall economy from developing any faster (Ibid).

The new policy will increase rural spending by 14 percent and focus on the construction of rural infrastructure (including roads and irrigation systems), improving rural education, enhancing medical cooperatives and social security systems that will include landless farmers and migrants. The policy is likely to play an important role, provided implementation at the local level is in line with the national guidelines, and local governments, especially in remote rural areas of the poorest provinces, have access to adequate revenue and capacity support (McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006). Reducing rural poverty in China is clearly a critical objective for both economic growth and equity. It should not, however, be seen as an alternative to addressing urban poverty and the welfare of migrants.

2.8.3 Experiences of Globalisation-Led Urbanisation

Much of the economic growth in low and middle income countries since the 1970s has been driven by the restructuring of the world economy, and the delocalisation of industries and services previously located in high-income countries. Concentration of foreign direct investment and a focus on export manufacturing have resulted in increasing regional inequalities within countries, the growth of large urban centres, and accelerated rural-urban migration (Sien and Perry, 2003).

Mexico is one of the countries that has undergone some of the most radical economic liberalization and integration into regional and global economies in recent decades, and its growing regional economic inequalities are revealing (Rodríguez-Pose and Sánchez-Reaza, 2005). Mexico City and the states bordering on the United States have benefited disproportionately. While North-South disparities have been evident since the industrialization of the early 20th century, there were indications of convergence in the 1970s and early 1980s. Regional inequalities started to increase again, however, as Mexico signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in 1985, and then went on to join the North American Free Trade Agreement.

The experience of economies in transition is also of particular relevance to China, and a recent study of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Russia also found that the major cities and urban centres well located and connected for trade with Western European markets have fared well while remote areas have done less well or have actually lost out (Förster, Jesuit, and Smeeding, 2005, p. 336). These countries were far more urban than China at the time of liberalization, and these spatial differences did not have the same implications for urbanization. They do reveal a common pattern, however.

In Southeast Asia there are also indications that well connected regions have been benefiting disproportionately from export-led growth as in Indonesia, for example,

where poverty has been more responsive to economic growth in Java and Bali, than in the more remote islands (Friedman, 2005). Extended metropolitan regions are also a striking outcome of recent growth patterns, including for example the regions surrounding Bangkok, Jakarta and Manila. Also called *desakota* regions (from the Indonesian terms *desa* village, and *kota* town) these regions can expand for up to a hundred kilometres from their urban core and see the expansion of non-rural activities in urban peripheries and in the corridors between cities (McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006). This process is driven largely by the penetration of global market forces into the countryside near successful urban centres, and is typically unplanned, resulting in a lack of integration between infrastructure provision and population. Neither core urban centres nor the *desakota* regions provide adequate employment, shelter or basic infrastructure services such as sanitation, water or electricity to the majority of their expanding population. This is especially the case in the urban fringes, where much of the lower-income population is forced to move as city centres are converted to financial centres and low and middle-income housing is replaced by high-profile, prestigious buildings. At the same time, self-contained suburban developments for the emerging middle-classes sit next to informal, semirural settlements for low-income original residents and migrants, often with latent conflicts over the control and use of resources such as land and water.

2.8.4 Challenges of Globally-Driven Industrialisation, Migration and Urbanisation in Southeast Asia

Not unlike China's coastal provinces, in most of Southeast Asia's export manufacturing industries working conditions are poor, workers' organisation is circumscribed and remuneration often very low. Their attractiveness to migrants can be explained by the limited alternatives on offer (Gordon McGranahan and Cecilia Tacoli, 2006). For national governments, it is rather the belief that this form of industrialisation can lead to the economic growth experienced by nations such as Singapore and Malaysia.

However, the experience of the joint Indonesia-Singapore Batamindo Industrial Park, on the Indonesian island of Batam, suggests that the problems can outweigh the benefits. Based on the combination of Indonesian cheap labour and Singaporean administration and infrastructure, the industrial park sought to attract transnational corporations; but at the same time, it also attracted a wave of migrants that swamped the island's infrastructure and capacity to provide employment, housing or basic social facilities. Its population grew from about 50,000 in 1985 to over 350,000 in 1999, a likely large underestimate due to the mushrooming of illegal squatter housing (McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006). Employers preferred single women with school qualifications and under the age of 24, leaving the majority of the population (migrants and nonmigrants) forced to turn to the informal sector. Hence far from becoming a new Singapore 'Batam, has rapidly acquired the traditional problems of low-income cities with all the social and infrastructure problems associated with poor squatter communities' (Ibid).

2.8.5 Policies Aiming at Developing Small and Micro-Enterprises through Clustering

Small towns can play a role in overcoming the constraints of small and microenterprises. They can stimulate growth by offering markets, infrastructure and facilitate access to medium sized towns and cities linking rural areas to international markets. There is currently much interest in industrial clustering and local economic development, where local and regional institutions, usually located in small and intermediate urban centres, can play a key role in supporting local enterprises and connecting them to national and international agencies and markets (McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006).

Much of the recent research on small urban centres points to the significance of their connection to wider market networks that go beyond their immediate region, and to sufficient population densities that support demand for food, goods and

services as well as an increase in the non-agricultural labour force supply (McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006). In Vietnam's Red River Delta, proximity to the capital city, Hanoi, and to the major northern port, Haiphong, has helped farmers intensify and diversify their production to meet urban demand for high value fresh vegetables and meat. This, in turn, has spurred demand for agricultural services and inputs in the local small towns, increasing opportunities for non-farm employment (Hoang, Dang, and Tacoli, 2005).

There are similar examples of such 'in situ' urbanisation in China, where it concentrates in the eastern region and coastal provinces (Webster and Muller, 2002, quoted from McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006). Although TVEs in China are often portrayed as examples of rural industrialisation in remote areas, the most successful ones were established in peri-urban areas, outside built-up areas but often in the proximity if not within the administrative boundaries of urban centres (Webster and Muller, 2002). With economic liberalisation, TVEs have to some extent benefited from declining levels of output from urban State-owned enterprises (SOEs), and some laid-off SOE workers have moved to TVEs. However, while some TVEs have benefited from economic liberalisation and restructured as private or corporately owned enterprises, many others have not survived competition and market pressures. One success case is that of Jinjiang municipality, in Fujian province (Zhu, 2000). Remittances from overseas migrants invested in joint household enterprises became the main local employer in the early 1980s. Since 1988, most of these TVEs are foreign funded, and investors have helped improve production techniques and the enterprises' export capability (Ibid). There is also a degree of geographical and sectoral concentration of enterprises (clustering), as in Vietnam's CVIs.

In Indonesia the Asian financial crisis of 1997/98 had a devastating impact on its urban economy with bankruptcies, lay-offs and massive unemployment. The sector that showed the most resilience during this period was that of the small and medium-sized enterprises producing and trading agricultural products. Because of

their increased competitiveness as a result of the currency devaluation, this sector was able to explore new export markets (Yap Kioe Sheng 2004).

In China, the discovery of the small and medium-sized enterprises as a vehicle for development led to the Poverty Alleviation through Rural-Urban Linkages (PARUL) project, a nationally executed project under BAPENAS, the National Development Planning Agency, funded by the UNDP with technical support from the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat). The challenge of the PARUL project is to bring more benefits to the rural population in regions of Indonesia being left behind by the economic growth of the nation. It was assumed that a reason for this exclusion from the benefits of development is the poor linkage of rural areas to larger market networks in a far-flung country like Indonesia (Yap Kioe Sheng 2004).

PARUL is a pilot project to introduce a market-led approach to local economic development through the establishment of commodity-focused public/private partnership organizations in selected provinces and districts under the aegis and leadership of the local government, especially the local planning organization. The task of the organizations is to identify the constraints facing a selected local export commodity, to mobilize public and private resources required to remove these constraints, and to improve the linkages and business arrangements between poor rural producers and urban processors and exporters. The PARUL approach provides a stark contrast to development efforts of the past. Past efforts focused on rural development or urban development with inadequate consideration of the systematic and pragmatic linkages between the two (Yap Kioe Sheng 2004). Like in many other countries, previous development policies tended to be driven by an emphasis on production at the expense of consideration for marketing. With little consultation with the private sector, government dominated the development planning and implementation process and the process was highly centralized.

By contrast, PARUL stresses that the local economic development process must be market-led, decentralized and participatory focused on strengthening practical linkages between rural producers and urban processors and exporters (Yap Kioe Sheng 2004). To strengthen the linkages between rural producers and urban-based exporters, PARUL operates at two levels of local government: the province and the district. At the province level, it creates a Cluster Development Partnership (CDP) bringing together a broad representation of people concerned with the selected commodity. In selected districts, PARUL assists in the establishment of the *Kabupaten* Implementation Team (KIT) that also is composed of a cross section of people interested and involved in the selected commodity. PARUL assists these public/private partnership organizations to develop their action plans and to strengthen their capacity to address constructively the challenges facing their commodity. At the sub-district level, PARUL assists in organizing networks of farmer groups linked to the KITs. Additionally, PARUL staff work to identify specific linkages between producers and markets, essentially helping to put together business deals between, for example, a group of coconut farmers and a potential charcoal exporter, or a group of fishermen with an ice producer and a shrimp exporter (Ibid).

2.8.6 Challenges of Small Town-Based Economic Growth

Although small towns play a significant role in enhancing growth and development by linking rural areas to urban and beyond, they are faced with a number of challenges. Small and micro-enterprises in small towns have acted as major air and water polluters. Their size often does not allow them to enter small industrial zones where adequate infrastructure may be provided (Gordon McGranahan and Cecilia Tacoli (2006). Another problem facing small towns is Solid waste management. Such problems have grown due to increase in population growth and thus leading to open dumping and irregular collections of solid waste. In Pakistan, poor solid waste management practices, lack of funds and irresponsible behavior of dwellers are reflecting the worst scenario in the country. Faulty solid waste management system

is creating negative environmental impacts like land and water pollution, infectious diseases, blockage of open drain and small canals and loss of biodiversity in Taxila city (Naeem E. and Nasir S. J, 2012).

Small towns may seem to have fewer and smaller problems, but they also have fewer and smaller resources to deal with those problems. Compared to bigger communities, they typically have smaller staffs, less revenue, and less available expertise, particularly in areas such as finance and planning (David H and Danielle T., 2002). To overcome such challenges, small towns must aggressively search out and utilize those community assets that are present. In the context of community planning, the most important local assets are the residents themselves.

2.8.7 Economic Reforms Policies

The movement of population from inland to the coastal in China reflects declining restrictions on population mobility, but is also an outcome of China's economic strategy, in both a strong and a weak sense (McGranahan and Tacoli, 2006). Thus one reason that economic growth has been concentrated disproportionately in the coastal provinces is that coastal settlements are more strategically located with respect to international markets and foreign investment. Past strategies focussed on inland development, but since China's economic reforms have been designed around markets, exports and foreign investment, they inherently favour the coastal regions, which are in a better position to take advantage of new market-driven opportunities. This is the weak sense in which China's economic strategy is driving the rapid economic growth of the coastal provinces, and the resulting coastal direction of rural-urban and urban-urban migration. Coastal settlements have also benefited from policies that have given them greater capacity to respond to market opportunities through the creation of special economic zones and the like. This is the strong sense in which China's economic strategy has spurred urban growth in the coastal regions (Ibid).

2.8.8 Land Policy and Mobility

Abebe and Reinfried (2003), assert that in Ethiopia the current land policy demands permanent residence in a farming community to be eligible for a use right over a piece of land. The ‘confinement’ view accuses the policy of having shackled farmers and forced them to permanently stay in rural areas. A typical argument that could characterize this claim looks like the following. “The land system has discouraged peasant mobility and trapped the population in the rural areas. Improvements in livelihoods are impossible unless a considerable portion of this population is released from the land and moves out of the rural areas (Ibid). The greater mobility of peasants out of agriculture will stimulate the greater mobility of land. Land will be able to move “freely” from those who cannot use it efficiently to those who can. The destination of a mobile peasantry will be the urban areas” (Ibid).

2.9 THE UGANDAN CASE

Uganda has been undergoing a major transformation towards economic growth and poverty reduction since independence. By independence (1962) Uganda’s macro economy was booming with agriculture, manufacturing and service sectors being mutually re-enforcing and complementary. By the 1970s, Uganda began to experience economic decline due to war and political upheavals; affecting all sectors of the economy. During the 1980’s, the country’s economy was at stake. By June 1987 the per capita GDP of Uganda was at 40%, inflation was recorded at 240% (Government Handbook 2005). The prevailing crisis in the country pre-empted the government of Uganda to adopt an economic recovery program in the 1980’s with the aim of promoting economic growth, rehabilitation and restoration. Changes were initiated in the structure of Uganda’s economy namely; currency reform; liberalization of the economy; privatization; civil service reform and social infrastructure. The objective here was to improve the overall performance of the economy by boosting the country’s rate of growth (Ibid).

2.9.1 Decentralization in Uganda

In 1987, Uganda began the decentralization process, a year after President Museveni and the team took over power in 1986. Launched in October 1992 through a presidential policy statement, the decentralization process was formalized in 1993. At this time, the government of Uganda enacted a revised law facilitating financial and administrative decentralization which was shortly followed by another Act which provided for human resources decentralization. The promulgation of the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, and the enactment of the Local Government Act in 1997 further entrenched decentralization as a main system of local governance (Villadsen and Lubanga 1996). A key policy objective of Uganda's decentralization is empowerment of local populations through democratization, participation, accountability, responsibility, efficiency and effectiveness for the long-term goal of improving the well-being of the people. However, over time, implementation of decentralization has concentrated more on administrative objectives as a means of promoting popular democracy and less on economic transformation for poverty eradication and increased well-being.

Decentralization in Uganda was designed as a highly ambitious and far-reaching reform with transfer of extensive power and responsibilities to the local level. If decentralisation was implemented and functioned as it is provided for by law, it would have much potential for poverty reduction and increased well-being through popular participation, responsive policy-making, and efficient service provision (Steiner Susan 2006). Despite the exceptional reform efforts, a gulf remains between principles and practice of decentralization which pose a serious challenge to its implementation. Such gaps raise concern whether decentralization can facilitate rural-urban interactions leading to poverty reduction and increased well-being of the people. One of the major challenges to decentralization process in Uganda is that local governments do not dispose of full autonomy in local decision-making. Although, responsibility for the majority of publicly provided services is transferred downwards the central government and especially the line ministries,

still exert considerable influence. On the one hand, the centre sets national priorities and determines sectoral guidelines, which have to be adhered to by local governments even if they would set their priorities, differently (Steiner Susan 2006). Suffices it further to note that, most of the financial resources available to local governments are conditional grants from the centre. Local governments are constrained in the flexible allocation of these funds and basically only administer them. Hence, despite the fundamental assumption in the decentralisation debate about the informational advantage of local governments over the central government with regard to local needs and preferences, the centre ultimately decides how much money is transferred and used at the local level and for which purposes.

Decentralization in Uganda is further faced with the challenge of low levels of human and financial resources which is by and large restricted in local governments. Both politicians as well as civil servants often cannot fulfil their assigned functions effectively, as they are either insufficiently trained or have insufficient funds at their disposal (Steiner Susan, 2006). Due to low levels of education and experience, local officials frequently do not fully understand the instructions and procedures related with decentralisation. Given the initial situation of an extremely centralised government system and the fast growth in responsibilities, functions, and funds that now have to be handled at the local level, this is not particularly surprising. In contrast, it would have been astonishing, if decentralisation were put into practice without any difficulties. Nonetheless, the highly sophisticated reform basically overstrains the implementation capacity on the ground, which makes local governments unlikely to implement the reform properly even though they might be motivated to do so. Unrealistic planning and budgeting, failures in accounting, and delays in submitting reports inhibit the smooth functioning of decentralisation. Low levels of financial resources and prevalent corruption further aggravate the situation. All these, have had impact on growth and development and therefore affect the level of flows between rural and urban areas and has a significant implication on the well-being of rural households.

2.9.2 Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture and Land Tenure Issues in Uganda

Recognizing the importance of a multi-sectoral approach in reducing mass poverty, the Government of Uganda in 2000 started implementing the Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA) as a key policy initiative aimed at reducing poverty to a level below 28% by 2014 (Benin Samuel, et al, 2007). PMA, whose overall objective is to enhance production, competitiveness and incomes, has an ambitious agenda of policy and institutional reform across seven pillars, a key one of which is improving delivery of agricultural extension through the new National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) program (MFPED 2004). NAADS became operational in 2001 and is an innovative public-private extension service delivery approach. NAADS promotes development of farmer organizations and empowers them to procure advisory services, manage linkage with marketing partners and conduct demand-driven monitoring and evaluation (M&E) of the advisory services and their impacts.

NAADS was initiated in 2001 in six trailblazing districts (Arua, Kabale, Kibaale, Mukono, Soroti and Tororo), within which the NAADS program began working in 24 sub-counties. NAADS rolled out in 2002/03 into ten new districts (Bushenyi, Busia, Iganga, Kabarole, Kapchorwa, Kitgum, Lira, Luwero, Mbarara and Wakiso), in which it covered 46 sub-counties; it also expanded to 54 additional sub-counties in the trailblazing districts (Ekwamu et al. 2005). In 2003/2004 to 2004/2005, NAADS expanded into 13 new districts (Hoima, Kamuli, Mbale, Nakapiripit, Rakai, Apac, Kanungu, Kumi, Masaka, Moyo, Rukungiri, Yumbe and Bugiri), bringing NAADS coverage to a total of 29 districts and 280 sub-counties¹ (Ibid).

Empowering farmers, targeting the poor, mainstreaming gender issues and deepening decentralization are some of the key defining principles of NAADS (NAADS Secretariat 2000). The goal of NAADS is increasing the proportion of

market oriented production by empowering farmers to demand and control agricultural advisory and information services. The specific objectives are (MAAIF 2000; MFPED, 2004):

- Increasing effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability (including financing, private sector participation, farmer responsiveness, deepening decentralization, and gender sensitivity) of the extension delivery service;
- Increasing farmers' access to and sustaining knowledge (education), information and communication to the farmers;
- Increasing access to and sustaining effective and efficient productivity enhancing technologies to farmers;
- Creating and strengthening linkages and co-ordination within the overall extension services; and
- Aligning extension to Government policy, particularly privatization, liberalization, decentralization and democratization.

The NAADS program targets the economically-active poor —those with limited physical and financial assets, skills and knowledge, rather than destitute or large-scale farmers— through farmers' forums based on specific profitable enterprises. In 2005, a total of 13,202 farmer groups were registered in the NAADS program and engaged in enterprise development and promotion (NAADS Newsletter, 2005). Under the NAADS approach, farmer groups contract private sector service providers (including non-governmental organizations (NGOs)) who are awarded short-term contracts to promote specific enterprises and provide advisory services. There is a coordinator at the district (LC5) level who works with the sub-county (LC3) and the village level (LC1) to identify priorities, manage the allocation of contracts, and monitor and evaluate performance and accountability of service providers and farmer groups.

Based on observed differences across selected NAADS and non-NAADS sub-counties, it appears that NAADS program is having substantial positive impacts on

the availability and quality of advisory services provided to farmers, promoting adoption of new crop (vanilla, groundnuts, maize, and beans) and livestock (goats and pigs) enterprises as well improving adoption and use of modern agricultural production technologies and practices, including use of improved crop and livestock varieties, fertilizers, and disease and pest control measures (Benin S. et al 2007). Although current rates of adoption and intensity of use among households are still low, the increase in rates of adoption between 2000 and 2004 in NAADS sub-counties was very dramatic in many cases. NAADS also appears to have promoted greater use of post-harvest technologies and commercial marketing of commodities, consistent with its mission to promote more commercially oriented agriculture. Although it was not found that NAADS had more impact than other service providers in increasing awareness of new technologies and practices, it did have more impact on adoption among those households whose awareness of such technologies and practices improved (Ibid). Despite positive effects of NAADS on adoption of improved production technologies and practices, no significant differences were found in yield growth between NAADS and non-NAADS sub-counties for most crops, reflecting the still low levels of adoption of these technologies even in NAADS sub-counties, as well as other factors affecting productivity. However, NAADS appears to have helped farmers to avoid the large declines in farm income that affected most farmers between 2000 and 2004, especially in the trailblazing NAADS districts. Given the generally limited and mixed impacts observed of NAADS on yields of different crops, this beneficial impact (avoiding large declines in farm income) probably was due to encouraging farmers to diversify into profitable new farming enterprises such as groundnuts, maize and rice than increases in productivity caused by NAADS.

Shortage of capital and credit facilities was often cited as a critical constraint. Other constraints commonly cited include the scarcity of agricultural inputs, lack of adequate farmland, unfavourable weather patterns and problems of pests and diseases.

2.9.3 Trade Regime and Reforms

According to DENIVA, 2005, Uganda has, since 1987 implemented significant economic reforms, including liberalization of trade which reforms have attracted direct foreign investment, mainly in manufacturing. Such direct foreign investments have facilitated the growth of Uganda's economy whose real GDP is estimated to be growing at 6% per annum. One of the factors contributing to growth in Uganda is regional trade, Uganda being a member of the East African Community (EAC) and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) in which she enjoys reciprocal preferential trade arrangements. WTO Secretariat report, 2001, places agriculture as a leader in providing employment in Uganda with about 80% of Ugandans employment in the sector. As a result of diversification efforts the share of industrial sector (including manufacturing, mining and quarrying, public utilities and construction) in real GDP has increased, from about 17% in 1986 to around 20% in 2004. The share of services in real GDP has increased to 42% in 2004 from around 20% since 1986 (DENIVA, 2005). While these figures seemingly appear promising the wellbeing of those employed in this sector is no better. The rural population, most of whom derive their living through farming are the most affected by poverty than the urban populations who derive their living from service and industrial sectors. GDP growth figures are also not commensurate to growth in human development something that raises questions about Uganda's growth.

Foreign trade has been viewed as an important stimulus for economic growth to Uganda with trade policies aiming to contribute to poverty reduction, promotion of employment and diversification and promotion of exports particularly of non-traditional products. While foreign trade has these beautiful intentions the practice is not the same. Terms of trade especially between the south and the north have not been favourable thereby undermining the good intentions of Ugandan policies in foreign trade. DENIVA, 2005 report on trade liberalisation in Uganda note that, insufficient infrastructure coupled with Uganda's land locked status has impaired the growth of its exports and its economic progress. Other factors affecting trade in

Uganda are high production costs, non tariff barriers in Uganda's main export markets, drought, crop diseases and security problems in the region. Thus while Uganda would benefit from international and regional trade such limitations have undermined its abilities in promoting human development through trade policies.

DENIVA 2005 report also asserts that decline in world prices of most of Uganda's traditional exports (coffee, cotton, tea and tobacco) have contributed to a fall in export earnings despite an upward trend in the share of non-traditional exports resulting from diversification efforts. In September, 2000 Uganda revised its regulations on public procurement for purposes of greater transparency and decentralization; open tendering procedures are generally preferred. Oliver Morrissey et al, 2003 share the same view and have it that between 1992/93 and 1998/99, coffee contributed between 54 and 77 per cent of total exports, earning US\$457m at its peak in 1994/95. This was however followed by bust as coffee export prices fell by almost 70 per cent in dollar terms between 1998/99 and 2001/02. Up to date coffee share of exports has fallen dramatically with earnings of about US\$85m, five times less than in 1994/95. Other traditional crops such as cotton have also experienced a decline and thus affecting Uganda's export earnings and the attempts to fight poverty through liberalization and exports.

Uganda's trade liberalization has taken the form of lowering and binding of tariffs, simplification of trade procedures and abolition of licensing as well as administrative controls, elimination of state controls and monopoly commodity marketing boards and state companies, liberalization of the foreign exchange market as well as an attempt to open rural areas to markets through improvement of infrastructure. Despite the attempts by the Ugandan government to adopt full scale trade liberalisation with the aim of accelerating growth and fighting poverty, the benefits accruing from it are not measurable. The intentions here were good except the fact that full scale liberalisation has its own implications for the country's growth and development. Cheap imports have made many local industries and firms to close and thus retrenchment of thousands of workers, there is a problem of

dumping of cheap low standard goods and competition for the few available job opportunities with foreigners and thus exacerbating the problem of unemployment.

Winters et al. (2004) outlines five areas for examining the relationship between trade liberalization and poverty namely; economic growth and stability; households and markets; markets and prices; wages and employment; and lastly Government revenue and expenditure. Consistent with theory, trade liberalization has affected different sectors differently, some positively and some negatively, and to different degrees. There are intervening factors regarding the impact of liberalization. These are particularly the unpredictable climatic conditions and vagaries of weather as well as security.

Overall, the impact appears mixed. The key notable effect of liberalization in Uganda has been the collapse of the cooperative movement and system. In turn, this has negatively affected productivity and contributed to worsening rural poverty. The key conclusions are that (DENIVA, 2005); firstly, while tremendous gains have been achieved in the areas of economic growth and stability as well as government revenue, it is also quite clear that liberalization of the economy has achieved marginally in terms of the international competitiveness of domestic production especially in agriculture. Secondly, although domestic markets appear to be working, the poor households seem to have benefited little in terms of income growth and better prices. Thirdly, rapid liberalization has greatly increased the overall exposure of the economy to global markets. Consequently, the vulnerability of the poor households, particularly farming households has greatly increased. Fourthly, it appears primary that any future additional liberalization measures should consider the existing domestic capacity of a sector to effectively engage international market forces.

2.9.5 Tax Policy in Uganda

Tax policy refers to the choice of tax instruments, the rates at which taxes are set, the nature of exemptions and the assignment of taxes to different levels of government. Taxation has four main purposes or effects: revenue, redistribution, re-pricing and representation. A good tax system should be defined so as to meet the requirements of equity in burden distribution, efficiency in resource use, the goal of macro policy and ease of administration. It should also allow the country's authorities to implement tax policy in the most efficient way. Fiscal policy focuses on stimulating economic growth, strengthening tax administration and raising tax revenue. A flexible fiscal regime has been maintained to respond to volatile movements in the foreign exchange market, unrealized revenue performance and shortfalls in the external budgetary support. Fiscal policy has experienced problems of supplementary expenditures which often exceeded the regulatory level of three per cent of the total approved budget. Fiscal deficits have been an important aspect of fiscal policy as a result of the tax system not being revenue-productive (Ayoki M. et al (2004).

The national planning framework which guides public action to reduce poverty is contained in the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP). The PEAP was formulated in 1997 aimed at reducing the population living in absolute poverty to 10 per cent by 2017. Tax policies support poverty reduction through creating more growth and reducing the cost of goods mainly consumed by the poor. Tax policy actions have been in line with the PEAP objectives through supporting increased production, minimizing distortions, promoting human development and generally exempting the poor from paying certain taxes.

The impressive growth in GDP appears to have benefited the masses through translating into a significant reduction in headcount poverty. Yet the dramatic decline in coffee prices partly reversed the positive poverty reduction trends evident until 2000. Land shortage owing to population pressure is also a contributing factor

to poverty incidence in Uganda. Lack of material opportunities such as jobs, credit, and public services like schools and health services is a direct cause of poverty. Metered water, electricity and telecommunication services are available and, in addition, telecommunication services attract excise tax (Ayoki M. et al (2004). This implies that the urban poor are disproportionately burdened.

The broad legal framework as laid out in the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda mandates Parliament of Uganda to impose taxes but this may be subject to a presidential veto. Parliament's powers are restricted in financial matters. The amendment power of Parliament on taxation policy depends on the effectiveness of the Committee of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (CFPED) which suggests amendments to the House. This Committee's oversight and scrutiny function on taxation is not well developed and in most cases it is performed on an ad hoc basis (Ibid).

Taxes create distortions in the choices made by producers and consumers. Tax policy should neither be too restrictive to discourage private investment and growth, nor too accommodative to create high inflation and crowd out private investment. Government has supported increased output through exemption of taxes on agriculture and exports, tax incentives, low tax rates, emphasis on consumption taxes and generation of high revenues. There is virtually no correlation between changes in gross revenues over time and changes in GDP at market prices (Bahiigwa G. et al 2004). The international trade tax reforms could have had a positive impact on growth. Uganda's tax regime does not appear to affect growth which may be attributed to the structure of Uganda's economy which has a significantly large agricultural sector. This implies that wide, overriding tax policy changes may not generate increased outputs; which calls for selective policy interventions. The tax system was also found to have elements of pro-poor and non pro-poor growth. Low domestic revenue generation, high exemptions and imposing taxes on goods consumed by the poor do not support the notion of pro-poor growth (Ibid). However, the introduction of broad-based taxes, zero rating of education and

health services and taxes on consumption are a characteristic of a pro-poor tax system.

Headcount poverty as a percentage of the total population has reduced significantly from 56 per cent in 1992 to 31.1 percent in 2006. Income per capita has increased from UGX 285,860 in 1995/96 to UGX 824,742 in 2007/08. On the other hand, the disparities in income levels have remained wide as measured by the gini coefficient indicator (Bahigwa G. et al 2004). There is a strong regional dimension to poverty with much of the chronic poverty and descent into poverty occurring in the northern region. Poverty is still more prevalent in the rural areas. The tax system does not have any special mechanism specifically targeting the poor.

Value Added Tax is an important component of Uganda's tax system contributing around 36 per cent of the total domestic revenue. A recent study by Ssewanyana & Okidi (2007) found that increasing VAT while other taxes remained constant would increase the tax burden of the poor but the non-poor households would continue paying more taxes relative to their expenditures than the poor households. Commodities like sugar, soap and matchboxes consumed by the poor in Uganda are vat able. Direct taxes do not affect the poor directly because of the low income levels. Complex and non-transparent tax laws drive up compliance costs and invite tax evasion and tax avoidance which are not pro-poor (Bahigwa G. et al 2004). The broad-based VAT is not generally regressive, partly because of the use of exemptions and zero rating. Thus, lack of off-farm opportunities may contribute to keeping poor households in a poverty and land degradation trap.

2.9.6 Privatization Policy

The Government in the early 1990s adopted a programme to divest itself of the majority of the 107 public enterprises that were in existence at the time. The public enterprises were inefficient and unable to generate enough resources to finance their operations and save for re-investment. They were increasing the public debt through

indirect and direct subsidies which amounted to UGX 0.208 billion in 1994 (MFPED, 2000a). As result, GOU has reduced its direct role in the economy especially in the production of goods and services. The process had led to the reduction of subsidies from UGX 208 billion in 1994 to only UGX 51 billion in 2001 (with direct subsidies reducing by 50 per cent and indirect subsidies by 78 per cent. However, the problem of subsidies is re-emerging as evidence shows that subsidies amounted to UGX 207.6 billion in 2006/07. The recent resurgence of subsidies in the energy sector has resulted in more than the pre-privatization subsidy levels. The economy has benefited in terms of expanded tax base, improved productivity and competitiveness and job creation. The privatisation process has resulted in increased government revenue generation. Enterprises that were formerly a burden to the Treasury now contribute taxes, as examples in Table 1 below indicate.

2.10 CONCLUSION

A review of literature detailed in this chapter presents a positive gesture about interactions between rural-urban and urban areas in promoting rural development; reinforcing livelihoods and in poverty reduction especially among rural populations. The level of interaction found between rural and urban settings is becoming increasingly important. The two areas definitely are not living in isolation but in a synergistic and reinforcing manner something that has drawn the attention of many authors to explore into the nature of interaction; the benefits and or challenges accruing from such interactions; the contribution of small and medium sized towns towards development. As David Satterthwiate and Cicilia Tacoli (2003) have strongly emphasised, the role of small and medium sized towns towards poverty reduction is important. Satterthwiate (1997) asserts that, about 60-70% of the country's GDP even for developing countries is generated from urban centres. Rondinelli and Ruddle, 1978; Belsky and Karaska, 1990, stress the importance of the concept of "urban functions in rural development". Tacoli, 2003 has it that, the

analysis of the synergies arising from urban-rural interactions is the most effective and rational strategy for promoting rural development.

Review of related literature strongly brings out the concept of livelihoods and details some of the planning frameworks for supporting livelihoods. Key in these frameworks is the DFID frameworks (1998, 1999) and the Tyndall Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, 2004. In the analysis, assets come out prominently as building blocks from which we support livelihoods. De Haan, 2000 has it that to achieve a livelihood people make use of various assets and resources, which are called capital. Therefore interactions between rural and urban settings are best re-enforced by assets available to households and the ability of households to transform these to meaningful outcomes in terms of goods and services.

The gap in literature review is in assessing the contribution of rural-urban interactions towards sustainable livelihoods which this study fills. Much of the literature has focused more on analysing the contribution of small and medium towns in supporting livelihoods and in poverty alleviation as presented by Cecilia Tacoli 2003, 2004; Marshall et al. 1997; Satterthwaite 1997; Okpala 2003; UN-HABITAT, 2003. The contribution of rural-urban interaction in supporting livelihoods of commuters remained a gap that this study fills.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Methodology constitutes an important part in social investigations especially in determining the results of the study. Studies of this nature employ diverse methods to arrive at conclusions. This chapter presents the various methods that were used by the researcher to gather and analyse data. It specifically describes research design adopted by the study. The chapter also provides a brief description of the sampling techniques and procedures, methods that were used in data collection, data processing and analysis.

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study in question adopted a case study design in investigating the role of rural-urban interactions in supporting livelihoods of commuters in Bugisu region. The use of a case study design was due to its merit of “*richly describing, explaining, or assessing and evaluating a phenomenon [event, person and program]*” (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996, p. 549). In particular, a case study design allowed for deeper inquiry into the nature of interactions between rural and urban settings in the region, the drivers of interactions and commuting activities, synergies arising from such interactions, commuter livelihood strategies and the contribution of such livelihood strategies in supporting the well-being of commuter households.

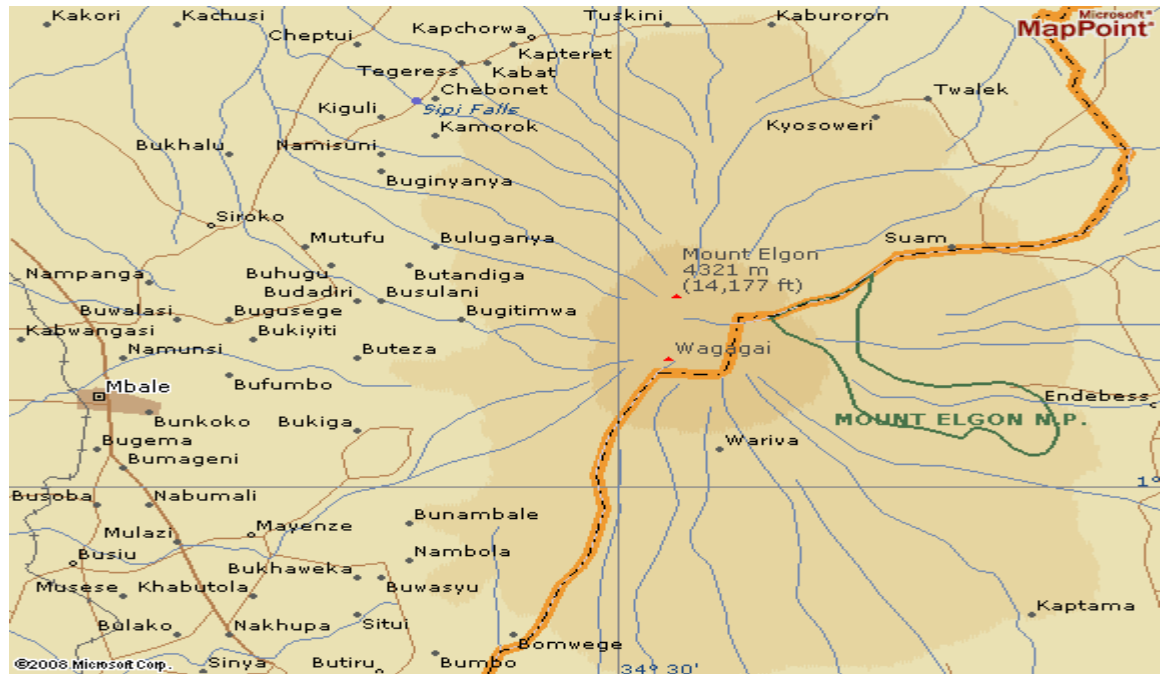
The study relied on primary and secondary sources. It adopted a triangulation of methods, combining information from different sources of data collection namely unstructured expert interviews, focus group discussions, review of secondary literature, use of questionnaires, rapid rural/urban appraisal and observation. Photographs were also taken to validate primary data collected during field visits.

3.2 STUDY AREA

3.2.1 Mt. Elgon

Mt. Elgon is a massive solitary volcanic mountain on the border of eastern Uganda and western Kenya, map 3.1. It is the oldest and largest extinct solitary volcano in East Africa, covering an area of around 3500 km². Its vast forms eighty kilometers in diameter and rises 3070m above the surrounding plains. Its mountainous terrain introduces variety to an otherwise monotonous regional landscape. Its cool heights offers respite for humans from the hot plains below and its higher altitudes provides a refuge for flora and fauna.

Mt. Elgon is named after the Elgeyo tribe, who once lived in huge caves on the south side of the mountain. It was known as "Ol Doinyo Ilgoon" (Breast Mountain) by the Maasai of Kenya and as "Masaba" by the Bagisu of Uganda. It has one of the largest intact calderas in the world flanked with warm springs of Suam River. It consists of five major peaks: Wagagai (4,321m) in Uganda; Sudek (4,302m) in Kenya; Koitobos (4,222m), a flat topped basalt column (Kenya); Mubiyi (4,211m); Masaba (4,161m).



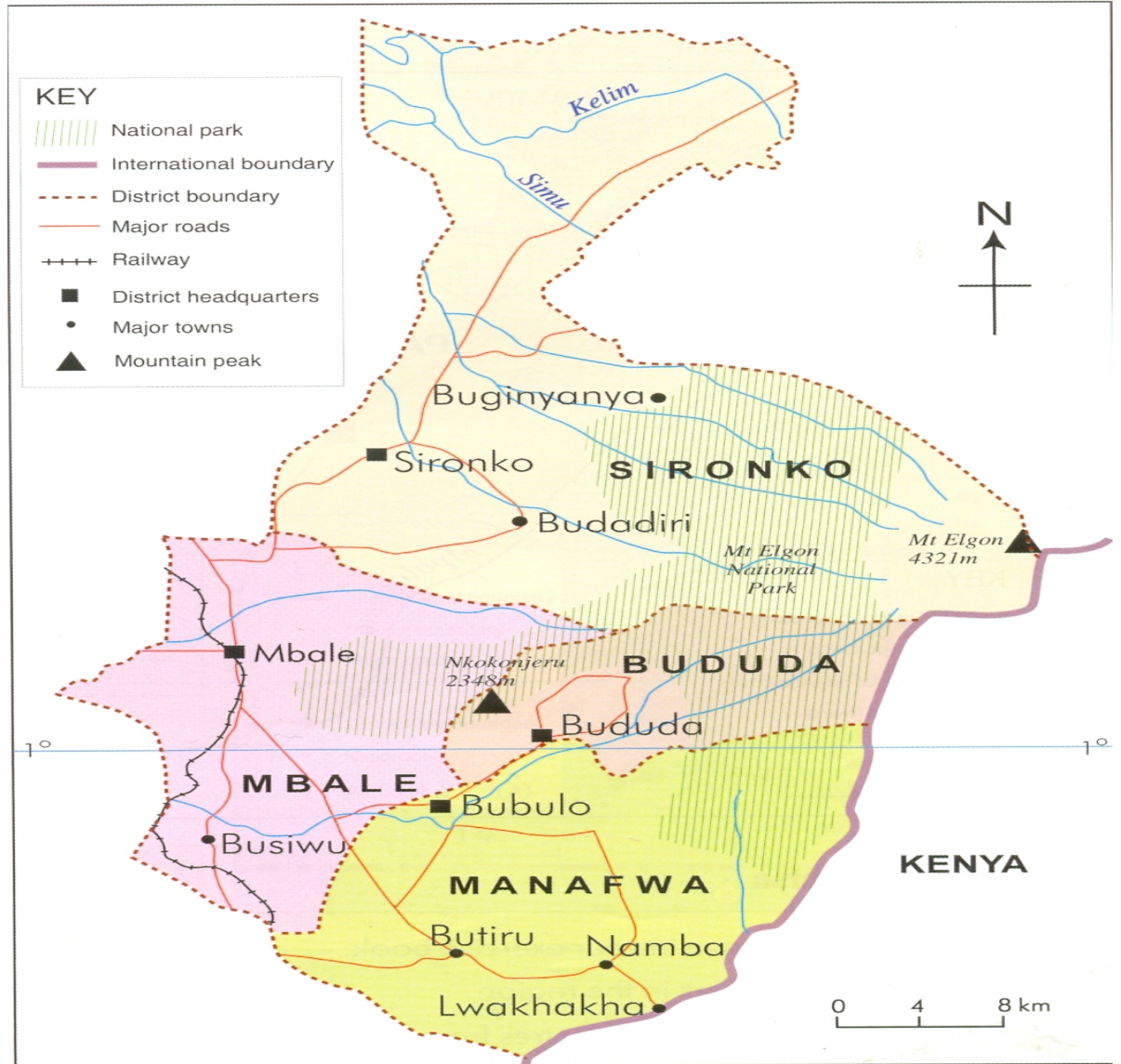
Map 3.1: Mount Elgon Region; Source: CREATING WP6, 2008 Presentations

3.2.2 Bugisu Region

The study was conducted in Bugisu region of Mt. Elgon comprising of four districts namely; Mbale district, Budduda district, Manafa district and Sironko district. The districts of Mbale, Manafa, Budduda and Sironko were purposively selected for the study due to their inherent potentials as samples for the analysis of the contributions of rural-urban interactions towards sustainable livelihoods of commuter households. The towns and their surrounding areas served as useful nodes for the analysis of interactions between rural and urban settings, the flows and commuting activities.

Factors that influenced the selection of the urban centres as study centres were; their large population size compared to other small commercial centres in the region. The substantial national links of the study centres and strong labour market influence on surrounding areas were important factors that influenced their selection as study centres. The towns in particular play the traditional role of growth poles in their zones and function as essential nodes in the national economy given the fact that the

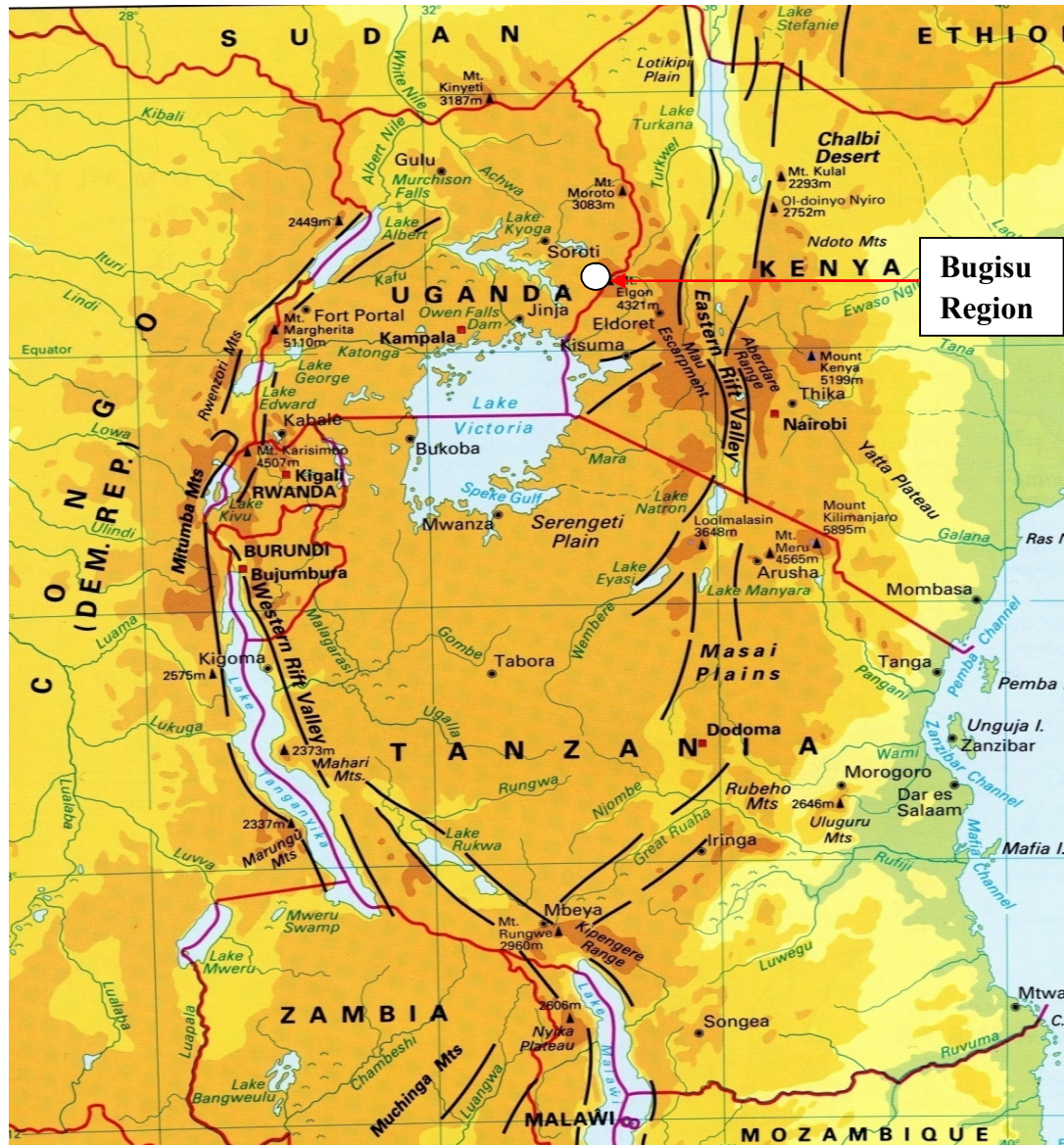
linkage between urban and rural areas in the mountain is in terms of flows of daily commuting of people, movement of goods and services.



Map 3.2: Bugisu Region; Source: BMK Atlas, 2010

The region is situated in eastern Uganda and is surrounded by the districts of Moroto and Kapchorwa in the north; Tororo in the south; Pallisa in the west and Kumi in the north-west. It lies approximately between Latitudes 45'N, 1 35'N and Longitudes 34'E, 34 35'E. The region covers a vast area of 2.467 sq km. As a whole

Bugisu region of Mt. Elgon has an average population size of about 1.012.831 people (Uganda National Census Statistics, 2002).



Map 3.3: Location of Study Area in the Map of East Africa; Source: CREATING Presentations, 2008

3.2.3 Geology and Soils

Mt. Elgon is thought to have been formed during the lower Miocene period (10-25 million years ago) similar to the geological formation comprising a series of other

volcanoes to the north. The rock system is made up of volcanic ash, soda rich agglomerates, tiny amounts of lower and tuffs which were extruded by volcanic activity. The same system of rocks occurs on the lower relief of Mbale plain and upland especially in the area south-east of Mbale Town. Associated with the Tertiary rocks, there are sedimentary rocks which are of pre-Elgon age but non-pre-Cambrian and underlie the Mount Elgon rock system (Mbale District State of Environment Report 1997).

There are a total of ten soil series, two catenary types, three complexes, one undifferentiated type and one papyrus peat. The seven most important include: Benet series, Bubutu series, Sipi catena, Masaba series, Sironko series and Bududa series (Mbale District State of Environment Report, 1997). They all comprise about 78 percent of Mt. Elgon region. Most of the soils are developed on volcanic rocks, contributing to their fertility. Given the fact that rainfall is moderate to high in most parts of the region, the soils are agriculturally productive. Soils in the northern and southern parts of the region are more fertile than the soils in the central parts especially on the lower topographic levels.

3.2.4 Climate

The climate of the region is characterized by the Mt. Elgon rainfall zone which is a westward extension of the conditions which prevail on the plateau and mountains of neighbouring Kenya. The sub-region has two distinct seasons. The wet season is prolonged from March to September on the lowland areas, and March to October on the mountain slopes, while the dry seasons occurs between October to February on the lowlands and from November to February on the mountain slopes. The short dry spell is least experienced in the area.

Both factors increase the rainfall and decrease severity of the dry period. The measurement of climatic conditions in the region has not been very efficient. Mbale meteorological station and Bugusege Agricultural Station are the only two stations

that have offered meteorological and climatic measurement on a more continuous basis, although a number of parameters at these stations have not been measured.

(a) Rainfall

The rainfall pattern is bimodal with the wettest period being the months of April to October. Generally, the area receives high rainfall which is supportive to agriculture, the backbone of Bugisu economy. The mean annual rainfall for the plain areas is 1186mm (Mbale meteorological station). This is more representative of the central and south Mbale lowlands because northwards rainfall decreases due to the increasing effect of the mountain rain shadow. The rainfall amounts range between 1500mm-2000mm annually. The highest annual rainfall recorded is 1775mm and 2168 mm for Mbale and Bugusege meteorological stations respectively while the lowest annual records are 881mm and 1143mm for the respective stations. Generally, rainfall decreases from south to north with the northern parts falling into some kind of rain-shadow of the mountain. The effect intensifies further north in Kapchorwa and Moroto lowlands. The foothills of Mt. Elgon in the south east receive over 1250mm; the southern slopes receive 1500mm, whereas the northern slopes get only 1000mm or less (Mbale meteorological station, 2010).

(b) Temperature

The temperature variability in the area is affected by altitudinal differences. On the plateau the average maximum temperature ranges from 27°C (warm) to 32°C (hot). The minimum temperatures are generally cool (15°-17°C). There are no extremes in temperature ranges which is due to the fact that the district is close to the equator and altitudinal variations. The highest temperature recorded at Mbale station is 37.3°C during the month of February while the lowest recorded is 10°C in September (Mbale meteorological station).

(c) Humidity

The average relative humidity of Bugisu region is 76% during morning hours and 57% during the afternoon hours (Mbale meteorological station, 2009). The lowest relative humidity values are experienced during the dry months of December and January and higher relative humidity early in the morning than in the afternoon.

3.2.5 Vegetation

The natural vegetation is mainly forest and savannah. Many of the forests have remained as patches due to population pressure resulting in increased agricultural activities and settlement. The forest reserves are categorised into the protected area (Mt. Elgon National Park), the central forest reserves and local forest reserves. Some farmers also have woodlots while others practice agro forestry.

3.2.6 Administrative Divisions of Bugisu Region

Bugisu region is composed of five districts; Mbale, Manafa, Budduda, Sironko and Bulambuli, all carved from the then Mbale district. Details of each district are described below:

(a) Mbale District

Mbale District is named after the largest town in the district; Mbale, which also serves as the main administrative and commercial centre in the region. The town lies to the northwest of Mbale District. The coordinates of Mbale district are: 00 57N, 34 20E. The district has an area of 2,467 square kilometres.

The national census of 2002 estimated the population of Mbale district at 332,200, with an annual population growth rate of 2.5%. The 2010 statistical estimates put the population of the district at 410,300. The district population is 92% rural. The

main ethnic group in the district is Bagisu with Lugisu also known as Lumasaba being the main dialect.

Mbale Town

Mbale town is the hub of Bugisu region and connects the region to other parts of Uganda and beyond. Plates 3.1 and 3.2 provide a snapshot of what Mbale town was and is as of now.



Plate: 3.1: Mbale Town in the 1960s; Source: Sunday Vision, 23rd April, 2006



Plate 3.2: Mbale Town (Market Street as of 17th July 2011); Source: Field Photo

Mbale town has a total of about 150,000 people. The town serves as the “hub” of eastern region connecting Mt. Elgon to the rest of Uganda and the outside world in terms of flows of goods and services and flow of people. Its sphere of influence covers the districts of Teso, Karamoja, Sebei, Bugwere and Tororo. Most of its population comes from within the districts of Bugisu but as a commercial and administrative center, Mbale town draws businessmen and workers from the neighbouring sub-regions of eastern Uganda. Mbale town is known for its social life marked with traditional dances like “Imbalu” usually conducted during circumcision periods. Mbale town also serves as an educational centre for eastern Uganda with many private and government primary and secondary schools situated in the city centre of Mbale. It has one of the largest Universities in eastern Uganda; Islamic University In Uganda (IUIU). To the north east on the slopes of Nkokonjeru Wanale ranges of Mt. Elgon at a place called Ngagama lies the tomb and home of the then colonial expansionist figure; Kakungulu.

(b) Bududa District

Bududa district is bordered by Sironko district to the north, the Republic of Kenya to the east, Manafwa district to the south and Mbale district to the west. The district headquarters is in Bududa town; located approximately 23 kilometres (14 mi), by road, southeast of Mbale town. The coordinates of the district are: 01°01'N 34°20'E.

Bududa district was created in 2006, by Act of Parliament. It was originally part of Manafwa district. The district consists of one county, seven (7) sub-counties; Bukalasi, Bukhabusi, Bumboli, Bubungi, Khabutola, Bulucheke and Bukigai and one town council; Budduda. The district of Bududa is largely rural with the seven sub-county headquarters listed above serving as urban growth centers and is in the process of turning into town councils. Budduda district lies at an average altitude of 1,800 metres (5,900 ft) above sea level. It has unique relief consisting of ridges, cliffs and bamboo forest. It has a bimodal rainfall pattern with no dry season. Mount Elgon National Park covers approximately 40% of the district.

The 2002 National Census estimated the district population at 123,100. At the time the district was created in 2006, the district population was estimated at about 146,000. The male to female ratio is 1:1. The major language spoken in the district is Lumasaba.

The district has a total of 164 government aided and 150 private primary schools, 12 community schools. It has over 26 secondary schools, 8 of which are government, 5 private and 13 community schools.

Budduda district has 1 Government dispensary (II), 19 health centres (III) at county, 3 health centres (IV) at sub-district with 1 hospital. It has 6 private/NGO dispensaries, 1 clinic, 2 health centres (III) and no hospital

(c) Bulambuli District

Bulambuli district is named after its town; Bulambuli which was before its declaration as a district was the sub-county headquarters. The town now serves as the district headquarters. Bulambuli District is bordered by Nakapiripirit district to the north, Kapchorwa district to the east, Sironko district to the south and Bukedea district to the west. Bulambuli, the district headquarters, is located approximately 30 kilometres (19 mi), by road, northeast of Mbale, the largest city in the sub-region. The coordinates of the district are: 01°22'N 34°09'E. The district was created by Act of the Ugandan Parliament, in 2009, and became operational on 01 July 2010. Prior to that, the district was part of Sironko district. The terrain in the southern part of the district is mountainous and is prone to flash flooding. The northern part of the district, closer to Nakapiripirit district, is drier and is prone to water shortages. Bulambuli district is composed of nine (9) sub-counties; Bulago, Bunambutye, Masira, Muyembe, Bukhalu, Bulegeni, Bulugunya, Sisiyi, Buginyanya. The national census of 2002 estimated the population of the district at about 97,300. The exact population of the district in December 2010 is not known.

(d) Manafwa District

Manafwa district has its headquarters located at Manafwa. Manafwa district is bordered by Bududa district to the north, the Republic of Kenya to the east and south, Tororo district to the southwest and Mbale district to the west. The district headquarters at Manafwa are located approximately 26 kilometres (16 mi), by road, southeast of Mbale, the largest city of in the sub-region. The coordinates of the district are: 01°01'N 34°21'E. The total surface area of the district is estimated at 451 square kilometres (174 sq mi). The district was created in 1999 and was part of Mbale district, together with Sironko district, before 1999. In 2006, the northern part of Manafwa district was carved off to form Bududa district.

The national census of 2002 estimated the population of the district at about 264,000 inhabitants. In 2006, Bududa district was peeled off to form a separate district, taking an estimated 146,000 inhabitants with it. In 2010 the estimated population of Manafwa district was approximately 153,000. Its population density is estimated at 339.2/km² (878.5/sq mi)

Manafwa district has three major climatic zones; Lowland Manafwa which closes to the border with Kenya in the east and close to the border with Tororo District in the south. The main natural vegetation is savannah grassland. Upland Nanafwa which is in the center of the district. The natural vegetation is tropical rain forest and Mountain Manafwa which is to the west and north of the district. The natural vegetation is alpine mountain vegetation. A significant portion of this part of the district is part of Mount Elgon National Park, a protected natural wildlife reserve.

(e) Sironko District

Sironko district was created in 2000 carved from Mbale district. Sironko district is bordered by Bulambuli district to the north, Kapchorwa district and Kween district to the northeast, the Republic of Kenya to the east, Bududa district to the southeast, Mbale district to southwest and Bukedea district to the west. Its 'chief town', Sironko, is located approximately 22 kilometres, by road, northeast of Mbale, the largest city in the sub-region. The coordinates of the district are: 01°14'N 34°15'E. The district has a total area of 421 km². The district lies between approximately 1,299 metres and 1,524 metres above sea level. Mafuni, Nakaloke, Mutufu and Budadiri are the main trading centers Sironko district. Part of Mount Elgon National Park lies within Sironko district. One of the two main trails in the park, Sasa trail, starts near the Budadiri trading center located within the district.

Sironko district comprises Budadiri County and two municipalities; Sironko and Budadiri. The county is further subdivided into 10 sub-counties; Budadiri, Buhugu, Buteza, Buyobo, Bukhulo, Bumasifwa, Busulani, Butandiga, Buwalasi, Zesui. The

national census in 2002 estimated the population of Sironko district at 291,900, with an annual population growth rate of 1.5%. The 2010 Census by Bureau of Statistics put it at 324,000 with population density of 770/km².

3.2.7 Ethnic Composition

The largest ethnic group in the sub-region is the Bamasaba tribe also known as the Bagisu. The Bagisu constitute 92% of the indigenous population. The second largest ethnic group is the Banyole who constitute 1.8% of the total population. The remaining smaller ethnic groups (32 tribes) make up 6% of the indigenous population. The Bagisu occupy exclusively extensive vast parts of Mt. Elgon in eastern Uganda. The other ethnic groups are mostly found in urban centers and partly the low lying areas of Bungokho, Bulambuli and the south eastern part of Bubulo counties. The Banyole have large numbers in the sub-counties of Bumbo, Bubutu and Butiru in Bubulo County.

A big number of the Bagwere, Basoga and Iteso are in Nakaloke, Buwalasi, Muyembe and Bungokho sub-counties. Mbale Municipality is dominated by Bagwere and Banyole. The Sebei are found in Bulambuli County especially in those parishes bordering Kapchorwa district. There are also foreigners who constitute about 7% of the total population. These are mostly composed of Kenyans, Somalis, Sudanese and Asians.

3.2.8 Population Density, Growth and Age-Sex Distribution

The 1991, Population and Housing Census estimated the population of Bugisu region of Mt. Elgon at 721,000 persons of which 664,000 live in the rural areas. Between 1969 and 1980 the growth rate was 2.7%. This declined to 2.2% between 1980 and 1991. It is lower than the national average of 2.5%. The sub-region is one of the densely populated areas in the country with an average land density of 284 persons per sq km. (Uganda National Housing and Population Census, 1991).

The 2002 Population Census estimated that 92% of the population is rural relying on subsistence agriculture as the main economic activity. The highest population densities occur in the sub-counties neighbouring Mt. Elgon National Park in Manjiya and Budadiri counties and those neighbouring Mbale Municipality. The most densely populated sub-counties in the district include Bungokho and Buwalasi sub counties. Favourable climate combined with fertile soils contribute to the high densities, although the existence of Mount Elgon National Park has also contributed to the concentration of the population on the fringes. The age distribution indicates a high proportion of children (46% of the population). Children contribute to the high dependency ratio (50%) in the area.

3.2.9 Brief History of the Bagisu Tribe

The Bagisu occupy the western slopes of Mount Elgon in the districts of Mbale, Sironko, Manafa, Bulambuli and Bududda that constitute the then Greater Mbale. The Gisu speak a dialect of the Masaaba language called Lugisu, which is fully understandable by other dialects and is also understood by the Bukusu and Luhya of western Kenya.

The origin of the Bamasaaba is not known but traditions carried over generations by oral history points at Egypt (Misri) as the traditional homeland, but this could be the similar epicentre where other migrations from the lower Nile and north-western Ethiopia took place at the close of the millennium, approximately 900 AD. These groups include the Nilotics and Hermitic communities that constitute the Hima-Tutsi peoples of western Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. Indeed it is difficult to place the Bamasaaba among the Uganda communities because they relate to both Ugandan and Kenyan communities. The language architecture is close to the Baganda and Bakonjo of western Uganda while their cultural traits are close to the Hermitic groups of north-western Ethiopia.

The current Babukusu of western Kenya are believed to have migrated from the Bamasaba, particularly from areas around Bubulo, in current Manafwa district. Many clans among the Babukusu have their origins among the Bamasaba, a testimony to this linkage. Masinde Muliro, once a veteran politician and elder of the Babukusu from Kitale, was from the Bakokho clan, with its base at Sirilwa, near Bumbo in Uganda. Other clans common to both sides include Batiiru Babambo, Baata, Bakitang'a and Batiiru. There are other clans whose names, however, that are only on one side, such as Babichache and Balonja who are mainly among the Babukusu. The common cultural ties are a further indication of close relations among the two sister ethnic groups. During the Constituent Assembly that led to the 1995 Constitution of Uganda, Mulongo Simon, a Delegate from Bubulo East, introduced Babukusu as one of the ethnic groupings of Uganda, acknowledging the fact that both groups, Bamasaba and Babukusu are intertwined.

(a) Political History

Before colonial administration in Uganda, the Bagisu had a loose political structure (segmentary) based on clans. Every clan had an elder known as Umwami we sikoka (chief of the clan). The clan heads were chosen on the basis of age and wealth. They were responsible for maintaining law and order, unity and the continuity of the clan. They were also responsible for keeping and maintaining the cultural values of the clan and making sacrifices to the ancestral spirits. Often, stronger chiefs would extend their influence to other clans but no chief managed to subdue other clans into one single political entity.

The Bagisu maintained strong clan system that brought them together as a community. They had a strong fighting force of youths, whose pre-occupation was to herd livestock and to train in warfare. They warded off attackers from neighbouring communities such as the Luo, Iteso, Elgon Masaai (Sabot and Sebei). Earlier, when the Maasai were still dominant in the eastern part of Mt. Elgon, they were the traditional hostile neighbours. The dual economic activity of both crop and

animal husbandry generated a resilient economy that supported their livelihoods and developed into an independent cultural community that endured centuries of hostility.

The advance of the European missionaries in late 1890s, facilitated by Kakungulu, a British Uganda agent, established a base for the British colonial rule in the area. This changed drastically the geo-political settings of the Bamasaaba from there onwards. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) led by Bishop Tucker, assisted by Kakungulu, established British and particularly Anglican systems in the area. They built, through forced labour, road infrastructure and established administrative units.

By independence in 1962, the Bamasaaba had had several western educated personalities with prominent schools, such as Nabumali High School, Masaba Secondary School and Mbale Secondary School that greatly excelled in national examinations. George Masika, the Chief Justice and Masette Kuuya, a youthful minister during Obote II in 1980s, James Wambogo Wapakhabulo, the foreign Minister in the Museveni regime are examples of leading personalities from the Bamasaaba.

(b) Circumcision as a Cultural Practice

One of the unique social customs of the Bagisu is male circumcision. The actual origin of this practice is mysterious even among the Bagisu themselves. One of the respondents, has it that circumcision started in Bugisu as a condition put forward by the Banpa (Kalenjin) when Masaba, the great grandfather of the Bagisu tribe, wanted to marry a Kalenjin girl. The condition was he was to be circumcised first before marriage. Another source has it that the first person to be circumcised in Bugisu had medical problems with his sexual organ and that circumcision started as a surgical operation. Another source has it that, the first person to be circumcised had it done as a punishment (partial castration) for seducing other people's wives

and had circumcised. Despite the mystery circumcision of boys (men) has become a common custom for the Bagisu.

Circumcision as a cultural practice used to be carried out yearly and now occurs biannually during leap years after government regulation. It is mandatory that every male has to undergo this cultural exercise upon reaching puberty age. This is to prepare them for manhood. Those who try to dodge are hunted for and forcefully and scornfully circumcised. Before the circumcision day the candidates are made to walk around dancing for three days visiting their relatives who in turn give them gifts as a way of motivating them for the exercise. They are accompanied by their relatives especially brothers and sisters who enthusiastically dance around the candidates. The candidate's foreheads are painted with cassava flour mixed with yeast paste. Before circumcision, the candidate is given herb medicine called "ityanyi" to arouse the candidate's interests for circumcision. Often the "ityanyi" is tied round the candidate's big toe or it is put in a strategic place to which the candidate can easily cross over unawares. It is believed that "ityanyi" arouses the candidate's interest for circumcision such that if it is delayed or barred from circumcision the candidate can easily circumcising himself due to the influence of the herbal medicine.

After circumcision, the candidate is made to sit down on a stool and he is wrapped in a piece of cloth after which he is taken to his father's house and made to move around the house before entering it. For three days, the candidate is not allowed to eat by himself and is fed by the maids. This is to demonstrate that he is not yet fully initiated into manhood. After three days, the circumciser is invited to perform the ritual of washing the candidate's hands. It is after this ritual that the candidate is allowed to eat with his hands. During this ceremony the candidate is instructed on the duties and demands of manhood. He is told of the importance of agriculture to a family. He is also advised to behave like a man.

After healing, a ritual (Iremba) is performed in which the candidate is declared a man. As custom, he will be fit for marriage. All the new initiates in the locality are usually invited to attend such a ceremony. During the ritual proceedings, the candidate is free to pick on any girl and have sexual relationship with. The girls are not supposed to refuse in that if she did, she would never have children.

3.2.10 Economy

The Bagisu occupy the well-watered western slopes of Mount Elgon with fertile volcanic soils and the abundant rainfall averaging 1,500mm/year. The main economic activity is farming although trade and small scale manufacturing and processing are becoming common. The Bagisu grow beans, groundnuts, sorghum, millet, cassava, bananas, rice, sweet potatoes and corn for subsistence, and coffee and cotton as cash crops. The Bagisu also grow fruits and vegetables which include passion fruit, tomatoes, carrots, onions and cabbage. The Bagisu also raise cattle and other livestock on a small scale. Bugisu has the highest population density in the nation, rising to 250 per square kilometer. As a result, almost all land in Bugisu is cultivated, and land pressure causes population migration and social conflicts.

A large number of Bagisu were drawn into the cash economy in 1912, with the organization of smallholder production of arabica coffee and the extension of Uganda's administrative network into Bugisu. After that, the Bagisu were able to exploit their fertile environment by producing large amounts of coffee and threatening to withhold their produce from the market when confronted with unreasonable government demands. One of the mechanisms for organizing coffee production was the Bugisu Cooperative Union (BCU), which became one of the most powerful and most active agricultural cooperatives in Uganda. Bugisu's economic strength was based in part on the fact that coffee grown on Mount Elgon was of the highest quality in Uganda, and total output in this small region constituted more than 10 percent of the coffee produced nationwide.

Land pressure during the early decades of colonial rule caused the Bagisu to move northward, impinging on the territory of the Sebei people, who have fought against Gisu dominance for over a century. The Bagwere and Bakedi people to the south have also claimed distinct cultural identities and have sought political autonomy. Land has remained a major problem to most households in the region. Population pressure coupled with poor land tenure have served to deepen the crisis. There are three main types of land tenure namely; customary, leasehold and individual freehold. More than 80% of the land is under customary ownership where rights of land are regulated by the local customs. About 10% of the land is held under leasehold while the other 10% is under freehold.

(a) Household Economy and Organization

The economic activities in the district include agriculture, trade, services and construction. The main economic activity is agriculture and 90% of all economic activities revolve around farming. Agricultural products include both food and cash crops. The traditional cash crops are coffee, cotton and cashew nuts, while food-crops which also play a major role in the cash economy are maize, cassava, Irish potatoes, finger millet, rice, beans, soya and groundnuts. Vegetables and fruits like cabbages, onions and passion fruits are also major sources of income to the households. The contribution of agricultural produce to the GDP of the region is estimated at 70% of total income and includes mostly taxes on produce marketed both within and outside the district. Other activities in the trading sector involve the buying and selling of agricultural products like maize, cassava and simsim. The service sector includes transport, health, hotel and catering, civil service and education. Trade and service sectors account for 20% of revenue for the districts.

(b) Agronomic Practices

In the highland areas, a typical farm holding comprises of ‘matooke’ and coffee as the dominant cover crop while there are scattered trees like avocado, jackfruit and

papaws. There are also fuel wood trees especially eucalyptus. Annual crops like beans, peas and Irish potatoes are sometimes intercropped with bananas although they are often found as mono-culture at the edge of banana plantations and down the valley. In the lower areas particularly Bulambuli and Bumbo, the dominant crops are maize and beans. Significant rice growing has been experienced in Bungokho and Bubulo areas although there has been a decline in crop yields in the past three years, prompting farmers to resort to vegetable growing.

Like in many other parts of the country, agriculture is dependent on the weather. The majority of farmers hardly use any fertilizers. They rely on simple traditional hand tools like hoes, machetes, axes, slashes and spades. They also depend on their own seed which they save from the previous season although they buy horticultural and maize seeds from the shops. Agricultural inputs are normally bought from private dealers and agents. Agricultural chemicals are mainly used for controlling pests and disease affecting vegetables and coffee crops. Some of the reasons why agriculture in the region has remained of a subsistence nature are; high population densities, poor marketing infrastructure, low levels of technology and farm management skills, lack of credit facilities; and inadequate extension services.

(c) Livestock Rearing

Bugisu region is known for crop husbandry rather than the rearing of livestock. Nevertheless, it is increasingly becoming an important economic activity. Livestock comprises mainly cattle, goats, sheep, pigs and poultry. Until 1992 livestock population was very low due to cattle rustling by the Karamojong. Livestock populations started growing in 1992 when the act was curbed by Government. Nevertheless, the fall in livestock population particularly in 1989 affected the market by increasing the prices of livestock products in the region. Many families then took up livestock husbandry which made the activity competitive with other forms of land use in the region. Those households with big numbers of animals keep them on free range particularly along river banks and fallow land. The practice

is common in the lowlands of Bulambuli and Bungokho counties. In such circumstances different families group their animals together and entrust them to a herdsman who is paid for the job.

3.3 SAMPLE POPULATION

The study considered a sample population of seven hundred and sixty (760) respondents comprising of; five hundred and twenty (520) commuters, one hundred (100) District Local Government Officials, one hundred (100) Urban Authorities, twenty (20) Civil Society Organisations officials and another twenty (20) officials from financial institutions in Mbale town.

Table 3.1: Categories of Study Population

	Category Label	Sample Population	Methods of Sampling
1	Commuters	520	Cluster , purposive and snowball sampling
2	DLG officials	100	Purposive sampling
3	Urban authorities	100	Purposive sampling
4	CSO officials	20	Purposive sampling
5	Financial Institution officials	20	Purposive sampling
	Total	760	

Source: Field Data

3.3.1 Calculation of the Sample Population

A sample size of 760 respondents was arrived at on the basis of mathematical calculation of the levels of poverty assumed to be the major driving force behind commuting in Bugisu region. The study adopted the U.S Department of Agriculture, Cooperative Extension Service; University of Florida (2009) formula to calculate its sample size. *See Annex I for more details.*

3.4 SAMPLE SELECTION

Purposive sampling was used to select the twenty four (24) key informants. The selection of key informants was based on their knowledge-ability of commuting patterns and livelihood activities in the selected areas. Cluster sampling, purposive sampling and snowball sampling were used to select the seven hundred and thirty six (736) commuter respondents. The researcher mapped the study areas and classified them into clusters (one rural village and one urban centre treated as a village) per district from which the respondents (commuter households) and key informants were selected. The use of snowball sampling technique proved useful in the selection of respondents. Snowballing was used especially where it was not easy to identify “commuter households”. Through snowball sampling, the identification of one “commuter” enabled the identification of others, making the selection easy.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Use of methods of data collection enabled successful collection of primary and secondary data for the study. Both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection were used. Use of different methods also enabled adequate validation of information, logical analysis and presentation of data obtained through both qualitative and quantitative methods. The key methods used for data collection were interviews, observation, questionnaires, rapid rural/urban appraisal (RR/UA) and review of secondary data. The purpose of using different methods was to minimize weaknesses inherent in each method so as to obtain accurate data for the study.

3.5.1 Using RR/UA Methods for Data Collection

Before making use of RR/UA, the researcher had to design key issues required to be assessed during the study. Key in the agenda was household well-being, analysed in the context of household income and expenditure levels, morbidity and mortality levels, food insecurity levels, access to education and access to clean water. The

assessment of commuting patterns and livelihoods strategies undertaken by commuters was also very paramount to establish the level of effectiveness of such livelihood activities by commuters in supporting the well-being of their household members.

Second in the agenda was to constitute a team of experts ready to go, explore and investigate key issues of concern contained in our guide. Four (4) research assistants were trained in research methods to assist in data collection and preliminary report writing (while in the field).

While in the field, a triangulation of methods was adopted. Key in these methods were; review of secondary data, familiarisation of the study areas, direct observation taking note of the key issues vital for the study, foot transects to map the study areas and locate respondents, interviews with key informants, group interviews with the local population, mapping and diagramming indicating the major physical features for the study, collection of local stories from the local population, ranking and scoring rather than measuring especially for sensitive information such as personal income and wealth and rapid report writing were considered important. The local population played a significant role in mapping of the villages where the studies were conducted and diagramming the key physical features including study variables such as houses, type of crops grown, animals reared and other livelihood activities such as trade.

In the villages of Wanale, Bubulo, Bukigai and Buyobo participatory mapping by the local population was conducted. The local community was asked to draw maps of the villages indicating the key physical features. Provided with markers and sheets of paper, village maps were generated within the time frame of 30 minutes. The maps indicated the major and minor roads/routes, schools, health centres, administrative centres, water points and houses. Maps were drawn and labelled with different colours to illustrate different items for example, grass thatched houses

were painted brown, iron sheet roofed houses were painted white while tiled were painted red.

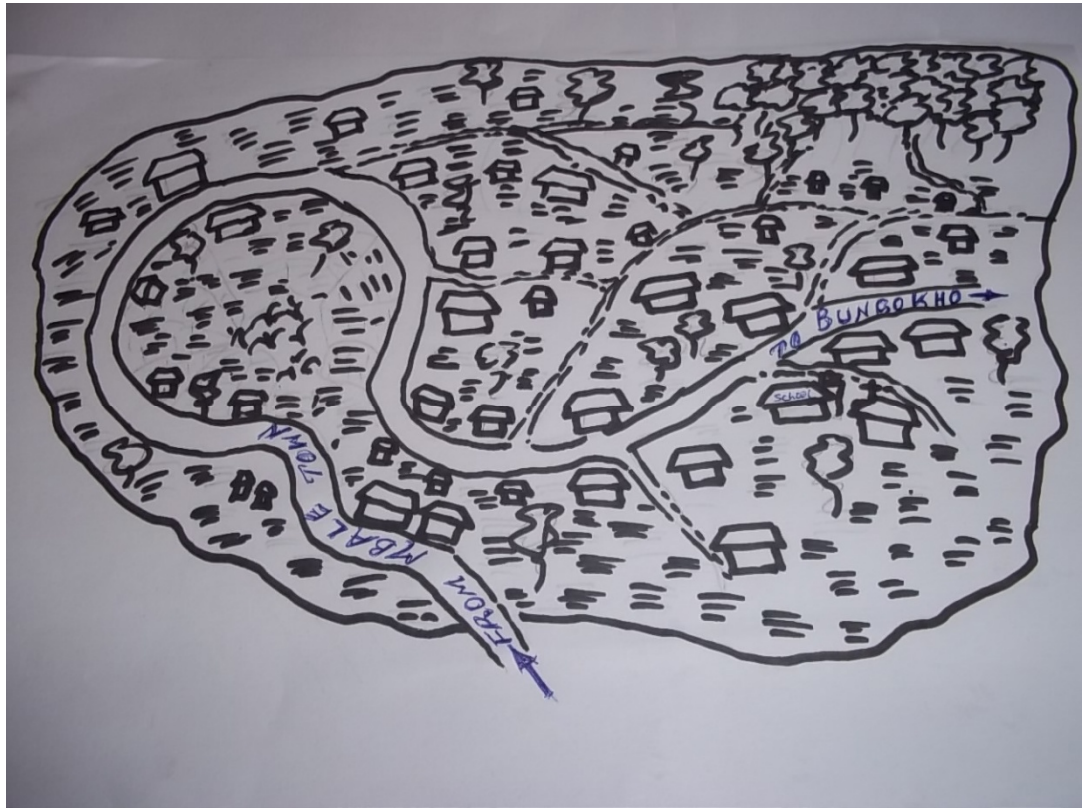


Plate 3.3: Part of Bunkhokho Mutoto; Source: Field photo

(a) Use of Group Interviews under RR/UA

RR/UA was used with the local people in the study areas of Wanale/Bunkhokho, Mbale town, Budduda and Buyobo. Local people were often left to choose their most convenient time for the meetings. Nonetheless, RR/UA discussions took them away from their other tasks for up to two or even three hours. One important thing the researcher learnt by use of RR/UA methods is that they require a researcher to have confidence in himself and confidence in the ability of local people to articulate and discuss issues. The presence of an outsider in a place raises questions and expectations among the local population. This however, faded with time. After initial curiosity people grew accustomed to seeing me carry out the same routine

tasks day after day and accepted my explanations that the research would have no effect on them and it was only for academic purposes.

(b) Ranking of Wealth and Well-being

As regards to wealth, village mapping was conducted to identify the existing households and the names of household heads to be later used for wealth ranking. Villagers were asked to diagram households with different assets such as land, vehicles, houses and cattle ownership. They were asked to mark households with relative wealth and poverty.

As regards to well-being, knowledgeable informants were presented with slips of paper, one for each household and asked to place them in piles according to their wealth or poverty. The piles, that amounted to four in number were realised and checked by the research team. To validate the information and decision to put the piles where they were placed, questions were asked, for example, why each household in the worse-off pile, was placed there. This was done to identify the poorest and the most at risk households.

(c) Morbidity Mapping and Ranking

In a similar procedure villagers were asked to mark households with malnourished children under the age of five (5), households that rely most on herbs for treatment, those who obtain treatment from drug shops and those who obtain treatment from clinics and big hospitals. They were also asked to list and rank common diseases in their order of incidence and prevalence. They were also asked to paint households that frequently suffered from preventable diseases such as malaria, cholera and diarrhoea.

Table 3.2: Morbidity Mapping and Treatment Ranking for Wanale, Mbale District

Type of	Prevalence	Places in which households obtain treatment
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health problem	of problem	Drug shop	Clinic	Hospital	Local herbalist
Malaria	x x x x x x x	x x x x	x x x	x x	x
Measles	x	-	x x x	x x x x	x x x
Typhoid	x x	x x x	x x x x x	x x	-
Cholera	x x	x x x	x x x x x	x x	-
Worms	x	x x x	x x x	x x	x x
Malnutrition	x	x	x x	x x x	x x x x
Meningitis	x	x	x x x	x x x x x	x

Source: Field Data

(d) Mapping and Ranking for Literacy Levels

The key issues diagrammed here were the educational status of children in each household including those whose children never went to school, those who dropped in primary or secondary and those whose children completed studies and are now working. Participants (villagers) were also asked to draw and label households with no adult literates. Other pertinent issues on education standards such as the quality of teachers, infrastructure including the rate of school dropout and enrolment were recorded through interviews with expert respondents or during group interviews

(e) Seasonal Analysis

Villagers showed ability in estimating and ranking conditions that vary seasonally. Festivals, major seasons, months were used to define times of the year and intervals. Months were used, represented by 12 stones. Sticks were used to measure required lengths of seasonal occurrences and to estimate and rank such conditions as numbers of days/months of rain in a year, hectic seasons in a year for agricultural activities, income, expenditure, the availability of food. The prevalence of diseases by season was one of the conditions indicated showing the months with high

number of cases of different diseases during the year. When presented as a histogram, this information points clearly to the months of greatest difficulty and vulnerability for the local population.

(f) Matrix Ranking and Scoring

Matrix ranking and scoring was used to assess entities in each village in which the study was conducted. Such entities included but not exclusive of sources of treatment for diseases, number of meals consumed per day per household, different types of assets owned by households, number of households considered rich or poor, sources of income for different households, type of flows. The entities were selected and their good and bad qualities listed to elicit criteria and then ranked or scored for each criterion.

3.5.2 In-depth Interviews with Key Informants

Key informant interviews were conducted in two major phases namely; during the RR/UA interviews with the village respondents in Bubulo, Wanale and Bukigai and later with the commuters, urban authorities, civil society organizations officials and the financial institutions officials operating in Mbale town.

Before conducting key informant interviews the researcher defined the study objectives by listing relevant questions. Greater thought was put in streamlining questions in accordance with the study objectives and in determining the range of questions for the study. The number of study questions was kept to a minimum of three (3) general ones from which secondary questions were generated. The general ones focused on rural-urban interactions and commuting patterns, livelihoods and policy factors.

After formulating study questions the researcher conduct a review of the available data on rural-urban interactions, livelihoods and policy factors. The purpose of this was to obtain a deeper understanding of background information about the study

area and the key issues under investigation. During interviews, the researcher was able to obtain a number of documents from Mbale Municipal council, Mbale district headquarters, Manafa and Bududa district local government headquarters. Such documents included but were not exclusive of; maps of the study area, reports on development programmes and activities conducted by the municipality and district local governments, population statistics of the study areas, economic activities, government programmes.

This information was relevant in that the researcher was in position to ask relevant questions and better interpret the observations made by respondents. The researcher felt confident about the validity of his findings once the interview findings agreed with data from secondary sources. Disparities observed during interviews with the key informants often raised additional questions and made it necessary for further probing and clarification.

(a) Selection of Key Informants

The first thing the researcher did in selecting key informants was to identify the relevant places and groups from which the key informants were drawn. Such places were villages and towns where the study was conducted. The groups included local government administrators, Municipal authorities, commuters, local community at the village level, financial institutions and the civil society organizations officials. Selection of the required key informants was done in consultation with the leadership of the various groups. A list of key informants generated was large enough to include substitutes in case some informants were not able to participate in the interviews. A scenario was found in which during interviews, key informants could suggest names of other potential persons considered vital for the study. As a result a provision for such unplanned interviews at the outset of the study could be organised. Snowballing became important in the selection of commuters for the key informant interviews.

The decision on the number of key informants to be selected for the study was based on the complexity of issues involved and the information available from other sources. One of the most important considerations made by the researcher was the intimate knowledge-ability of of the respondents about the subject under investigation. Such knowledge required was based on respondent's experience on issues such as rural urban interactions, commuting activities and policy factors influencing rural-urban interactions and livelihoods in Bugisu region. Others were selected due to their professional expertise as development workers or financial experts. Commuters in particular were selected because they were the target team for the study especially in assessing the role of commuting in supporting the well-being of their households.

(b) Conducting In-depth Interviews with Key Informants

Two approaches were adopted to reach out for key informants; making appointments with key informants and arranging for an interview without a previous appointment. These all depended on the situation at hand and the category of informants.

Creating rapport with key informants to build an atmosphere in which key informants could be willing to communicate their views and opinions and contribute positively to the study became a pivotal weapon in conducting interviews. Introductory letters from the University and office of the Town Clerk, Mbale Municipality were often used for introduction. Brief and precise explanations were often made during introductions detailing the background of the study, objective of the interview and the use of information and ideas provided by the key informant. Key informants were also assured of the confidentiality of information.

Sequencing of questions made interviews successful. The interviewer often started interviews with a brief general conversation to create rapport and then ask questions

on a subject of the study. Often times the researcher could also begin with questions about the present and then move to those about the past.

3.5.3 Observation

The researcher used observation as additional technique of data collection. Observation was of great importance in that the researcher was able to gather silent but important data that would otherwise not be obtained through other techniques of data collection. Observation was also meant to supplement and validate data from other techniques used. The technique was very useful especially during interviews in which the researcher was able to observe the facial expressions of the respondents and other key issues that would not be correctly stated by the respondents and yet the evidence on the ground indicates otherwise. Observation as a technique of data collection was conducted by use of observation checklist as an instrument for data collection. The key issues of concern observed were listed down to guide the researcher in collecting the right data. Such issues were poverty indicators such as the quality of life in terms of housing, body appearance of the respondents, assets available seen and livelihood activities by the commuters.

3.5.4 Review of Secondary Data

This method was particularly used to supplement information obtained from the respondents by use of other methods. It was also meant to provide the study with a clear and true picture of what is on the ground as regards rural-urban interactions, commuter livelihoods and effect of policy factors on livelihoods. Thus the researcher reviewed documents such as development and action reports, official memos from district headquarters, maps of the study area obtain from the Municipality and National Bureau of Statistics Entebbe. By this the researcher was in position to obtain a true picture of commuting patterns, livelihoods and policy factors influencing rural-urban interactions in Bugisu region.

3.5.5 Questionnaire

Due to the fact that some respondents were not able to find adequate time for interviews and yet would provide information at their own leisure time, the researcher used questionnaires to generate data from such respondents. A list of structured questions were drawn capturing questions about patterns of interaction between rural and urban settings of the region, policy factors influencing commuting activities; commuter livelihoods and their contribution in supporting wellbeing of their household members. A structured questionnaire was designed and administered to the respondents by the researcher and his assistants. The questionnaires were distributed by the researchers to avoid misplacement or a situation where the questionnaires could get lost. Questionnaires were pretested and standardized to make it possible and easy for the respondents to answer the questions without misinterpretation. In particular local government officials and urban authorities took part in the filling of the questionnaires.

3.5.6: Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) with Respondents

The investigators conducted three (3) focus group sessions designed to elicit perceptions from various respondent groups in the study areas of Bukigai, Buyobo and Mbale town. These focus groups were conducted during the first six months of the study. A total of 22 respondents took part in the FGDs as indicated in Table 3.2

Table 3.3: Category of FGDs Respondents

	Category of FGD Respondents	Totals
1.	Commuters	10
2.	Local council chair persons	4
3.	Religious leaders	4
5.	Community development officers	4
	Total	22

Source: The Author

Focus groups brought together different categories of respondent with varied knowledge and understanding of poverty, commuting patterns, livelihoods and policy factors influencing rural-urban interactions and livelihoods in Bugisu. Focus groups provided an opportunity for the researcher to explore shared beliefs in respect to household well-being, commuting and livelihood activities among the Bagisu, merits and problems associated with rural-urban interactions.

(a) Selection of Focus Groups

The researcher selected a total of three (3) groups to provide opportunity for discussion about household well-being, commuting and livelihoods. Three focus groups were arranged and conducted during the specific dates as follows:

Study Area	Date of FGD
• Bukigai	December - 12 th - 2009
• Buyobo	January - 30 th - 2010
• Mbale town	May - 14 th - 2010

(b) Selection of Participants to Focus Group Discussions

The researcher held the first focus group in Bukigai by conducting a discussion with the selected respondent namely; the local council officials, commuters, religious

leaders and other influential persons selected because of their wide understanding of the local conditions, commuting patterns and livelihood strategies in the sub-region.

Questions addressing specific objectives placed under specific themes/topics of the study namely; rural-urban interactions; commuter livelihoods and policy factors influencing commuting and livelihoods were designed before the focus groups were conducted and administered accordingly.

The investigator arranged the next two (2) focus groups for January 30th and May 14th 2010. A team of 22 respondents six (6) for Bukigai, Six (6) for Buyobo and eight (8) for Mbale town participated in the focus group discussion.

The last focus group conducted in Mbale town consisted of respondents from Mbale Municipal council, Mbale district local government offices and commuters/vendors thought to be useful in the analysis of rural-urban interactions and their contribution towards sustainable livelihoods.

(c) Data Collection under Focus Groups

Respondents interviewed during the focus group sessions completed a profile sheet with qualitative questions set for the discussions in the selected study areas.

The investigators developed separate profile sheets for each focus group to match the data needs for the study with the various focus groups especially for rural and urban FGDs. The profile focused on the three study objectives; rural-urban interactions, commuter livelihoods and policy factors influencing interactions and livelihoods in Bugisu region.

In Mbale town, the focus was on the livelihoods activities carried out by the commuters, factors facilitating commuting, benefits including assets obtained by the commuters out of their livelihood strategies, challenges faced by the commuters.

These questions enabled the researchers to establish commuting patterns, various livelihood activities by commuters, the role of commuting in sustainability of livelihoods.

Prior to each of the focus groups, the researcher always developed interview questions for each session which were first pretested with selected participants. These questions often guided the interview process and helped in the generation of required data for the study. Each focus group was facilitated by the researcher and interviews always lasted for 60 to 90 minutes only. The principal investigator with the help of the research assistants at each session wrote a detailed description of comments made by participants during FGDs.

The researcher created a database from these three summaries and used database management software to manage the data collected. The investigators defined a set of coding categories based on the actual data. Specific coding categories were broadly defined as rural-urban interactions, commuter livelihood strategies and policy factors influencing rural-urban interactions and livelihoods. The research team used coding as a suitable means of analyzing data obtained from FGDs. As a result of this analysis, the research team was able to query the database for specific incidents of particular factors without losing focus on the data content from a holistic perspective.

3.6 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF INSTRUMENTS

Validity of instruments was arrived at by originating the right indicators. To generate the right indicators, a thorough scrutiny of the questions was done by the researcher and colleagues and also with the supervisors. The purpose was to ensure that the indicators generated and the questions set were addressing the key issues required by the study. Specific focus was made to specific objectives when designing these indicators and questions.

Reliability of instruments on the other hand was done by testing instruments with a small number of 25 respondents from the study sites during the pilot tour of the study areas. The purpose was to eliminate ambiguities, errors and sensitivities in the questions. After testing the instruments adjustments were made accordingly to allow for accurate generation of data.

3.7 DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS

Data processing for both qualitative and quantitative data was conducted before actual analysis. Editing of data was done by the author to check for and eliminate obvious errors such as omissions, duplication, illegibility, and inconsistencies. Coding of categories, assigning numbers/codes to particular data was done by the data analyst. Quantitative data was entered into a computer software package – Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) in preparation for data analysis. It was then analysed by use of descriptive statistics namely; frequencies and percentages. Frequency tables were used to show the relationship between variables and to generate percentage differences among the variables. Cross tabulations and regressions were done for background information of respondents against variables such as distance covered by commuters to places where they derived a living; food security and health status of commuter households. Qualitative data was analysed on the basis of themes and sub-themes drawing subjective conclusion from the verbatim responses generated from the field.

3.8 PROCEEDURE FOR DATA COLLECTION

A letter of introduction to the field was obtained from the office of the Academic Registrar Nkumba University. While in the field another letter of introduction from Mbale Municipal Council; office of the Town Clerk was obtained that was used wherever in the districts of Bugisu region. A pilot tour of the areas of study was done early in 2008 especially with the help of the CREATING team. This exposed the researcher adequately to the proposed areas of study. A team of four (4)

research assistants was selected, trained and deployed to help the principle investigator in data collection. While in the field ethical considerations were observed particularly discipline, respect for respondents and their cultures. Data was collected through the period of three years 2009 – 2011. Processing and preliminary analysis of data started right in the field. However, after collection, data was delivered to the statistician for analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

PATTERNS OF INTERACTION AND COMMUTING IN BUGISU REGION

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapters four (4), five (5) and six (6) of this thesis focuses on data presentation, interpretation and analysis. The chapters present to us the synthesis raw data from primary sources analysed alongside secondary data. The researcher in these chapters makes a diagnosis of rural-urban interactions covering all the three (3) objectives investigated and brings out the synergistic co-existence found between rural and urban settings of Bugisu region. It presents a formidable assessment of the contributions of rural-urban interactions supporting the livelihoods of the commuters.

The analysis presented in these chapters is a result of the two approaches (quantitative and qualitative paradigms) that the researcher took to arrive at his conclusions. The statistical data presented in tables has been derived from the two hundred and seventy (270) questionnaires that were distributed to and collected from the respondents. This also forms the statistical analysis of this thesis from which frequency tables and cross tabulations were made. Qualitative data was derived from the four hundred and ninety (490) respondents reached through interviews, FGDs and group discussions. This in total gives us a sum of seven hundred and sixty (760) respondents reached by this study.

4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

Demographic characteristic of respondents were generated to help in establishing the extent to which such factors as age, sex, education influence rural-urban interactions and commuting activities in Bugisu region.

4.1.1 Age of Commuters

Commuting as a form of mobility and livelihood strategy is dominated by people of varying ages and consists of both children and adults.

Table 4.1: Age of Commuters

Age of Commuters	Number of Responses and their Percentages	
	N	Percent
Below 12	4	1.48
12 – 23	20	7.4
24 – 35	118	43.7
36 – 47	92	34.1
48 – 59	34	12.6
> 60	02	0.74
Total	270	100.00

Source: Field Data

The most active ages of commuting as presented in table 4.1 were the ages between 24 – 47 accounting for 77.8% of commuters sampled for the study. Most of the respondents aged 24-47 reached by this study were those who had finished school or at the prime ages of marriage or already married trying their best to build a future. At this age, most men and women have families to support and have to explore opportunities wherever they may be found to make a living and invest for the future.

Children of ages below 12, accounting for 1% of commuters reached through questionnaires were also found taking part in commuting and engaged in informal business activities. Sometimes, children worked independent of their parents and relatives trying on their own to earn a living. Children commuting were engaged in jobs related to casual labour while a few others sold fire wood, bamboo, polythene bags and bananas. Their inability to undertake other tasks occupied by their elders

was constrained by age, lack of skills and capital. Children also found to be commuting to nearby towns rather than distant ones.

4.1.2 Sex of Commuters

Males dominated commuting. Table 4.2, shows that most of those involved in commuting in Bugisu region of Mt. Elgon were males constituting 60% of the 270 respondents reached by the study through questionnaires, with women taking a share of 40% of the total number of commuters.

Table 4.2: Sex of Commuters

Sex of Commuters	Number of Responses and their Percentages	
	N	%
Male	162	60
Female	108	40
Total	270	100.00

Source: Field Data

Culture plays a significant role in determining who commutes or migrates to town. In African tradition, men take care of their families and have the responsibility of making decisions on what type of livelihood is suitable or can make the well-being of household members attainable. Often men are in position to do jobs outside their homes or regions as women take on tasks related to home management; taking care of children and other domestic work. It is not a common practice to see women do businesses outside their localities especially for young families. A few of those women who commute to distant towns beyond 16km could be mothers who have gone beyond the reproductive age or those who were household heads. This explains why men dominate commuting covering long distances of even over 30 km.

4.1.3: Marital Status of Commuters

Marriage confers upon someone sense of responsibility and the need to support a family. Considering the current economic hardships in Uganda, commuting to a majority is seen as a panacea to household poverty. Households commute as a way of diversifying sources of income by taking on non-farm activities in town other than rely on proceeds from agriculture alone.

Table 4.3: Marital Status of Commuters

Marital Status of Commuters	Number of Responses and their Percentages	
	N	%
Single	48	17.78
Married	154	57.03
Widowed	26	9.63
Divorced	6	2.22
Cohabiting	22	8.15
Separated	14	5.19
Total	270	100.00

Source: Field Data

Most (57%) of the commuters in Mt. Elgon region reached by this study were in the category of the married. Aggregating the married including divorced, separated and widowed who at one time were married and the cohabiting who have hopes of getting married, accounts for 88% of the total households reached by the study through questionnaires as presented in table 4.3.

4.1.4: Education Level of Commuters

There is a close relationship between education level of a household and commuting. Education does not only widen one's level of perception of the world around him/her but also exposes households to challenging life experiences and

alternatives. The decision to commute to nearby or distant town is greatly influenced by one's level of education and exposure. Most households who never went to school including those that stopped at the foundation (primary) level of education have parochial tendencies especially in dealing with people outside. They are usually crowned with fear, suspicion and low risk taking abilities than their educated counterparts.

Table 4.4: Education Level of Commuters

Education Level of Commuters	Number of Responses and their Percentages	
	N	%
None	34	12.59
Primary	52	19.26
Secondary	108	40
Tertiary	76	28.15
Total	270	100.00

Source: Field Data

Table 4.4, shows that most commuters (over 87%) at least attended school. Aggregating numbers for those who attained secondary and tertiary education shows that over 68% of the commuters at least attended secondary education. It also follows that most of those who did not go to school or stopped at the foundation level of education find farming as an alternative economic activity. Commuting with its own challenges does not seem necessary or convincing to many who did not go very far in education. This scenario also explains why such a category of households would prefer to conduct business within their localities than venture into tasks that seem unfamiliar to them.

4.1.5: Commuter Status at Household Level

Commuting is a livelihood activity closely linked to household heads and usually males. Unlike their partners, the female spouses, household heads (especially

males) are the decision makers and are at liberty to engage into any business activity they feel is necessary as a livelihood strategy.

Table 4.5: Commuter Status at Household Level

Commuter Status at Household Level	Number of Responses and their Percentages	
	N	%
Male household heads	116	42.96
Female household heads	37	13.70
Wives	11	4.08
Son/daughters	92	34.08
Relatives	8	2.96
Helper	6	2.22
Total	270	100.00

Source: Field Data

This study reveals that most commuters are male/female household heads accounting for 57% as opposed to wives (4%), table 4.5. Household heads have the responsibility placed upon them to make sure they are able to provide for those under their care in terms of basic needs such as education, medical care, feeding. The honour is on the household heads to look out for opportunities that can sustain their households.

4.1.6: Commuter Household Size

The larger the family size, the less the number of those who commuted and vice versa, table 4.6. One would think that the burden of taking care of large families plays a role in influencing commuting. Faced with challenges of feeding large families and meeting other needs such as education, medical care, household heads would be compelled to look out for opportunities elsewhere to allow for meeting of household needs.

Table 4.6: Commuter Household Size

Commuter Household Size	Number of Responses and their Percentages	
	N	%
1-4	118	43.70
5-8	112	41.48
9-12	32	11.85
13-16	8	2.97
Total	270	100.00

Source: Field Data

While this looks strange to many, it is also possible that family sizes might have declined over time considering the current economic pressures on families. One can also assume that most families range between 1 – 4 rather than 13 – 16, something of the past dictated by polygamous practices. Perhaps another fact is that large families have a low asset accumulation rate due to large expenditures on basic needs. This might hinder their abilities to raise enough financial capital to engage in business across the rural-urban divide.

4.2 RURAL-URBAN INTERACTIONS

4.2.1 Definition of Rural-Urban Interactions from the Researcher’s Point of View

The question that dominates the debate about rural urban interaction is whether there is truly any linkage between rural and urban settings or it is an assumption, an imaginary expression. People often ask; “how are rural areas linked to urban settings or how are urban settings linked to rural areas”, “are rural areas linked to urban settings anyway”?

This study defines rural-urban interactions to refer to “spatial and sectoral flows between rural and urban settings, taking the form of flows of people commuting

along the rural-urban continuum, flows of goods and services, flows of information, flows of capital, flows of natural resources and flows of wastes between rural and urban settings. Rural-urban interactions are dominated by flows of people (commuting) from rural areas of Bugisu region to towns along side with agricultural and other commodities from rural based producers to urban markets for local consumption and for forwarding to regional, national and international markets. It includes the flow of natural resources such as timber/firewood, bamboo and other services such as medical services from rural areas to urban. In turn, manufactured and imported goods from urban centres flow to rural settings. Flows from towns to rural areas include, but are not exclusive of the flows of people moving from urban settlements to rural areas transacting business in the rural areas. It includes flows of services, flows of information and flows of capital. Among others are flows of wastes from urban to rural areas, figure 4.1. Rural-urban linkages have come to play a significant role in linking rural and urban areas together bridging the dichotomies that exist between rural and urban areas.

4.2.2: Flows between Rural and Urban Settings of Bugisu Region

Urban growth and development in the east African region has led to increasing levels of interaction between rural and urban settings. The originally independent spatial settings have been hooked together. The flows of people along with other resources dominate the continuum. Urban residents with roots in rural settlements do not only keep close links with their rural homes but also invest in land and agriculture in the rural homes. Rural households often move to town to visit their relatives or to transact business. In Bugisu region, Mbale town established in 1906, has become a hub for the region. Due to its central location and linkage with other important towns like Kampala – the capital city of Uganda, Malaba and Busia at the border between Kenya and Uganda and towns in northern Uganda connecting to Juba in south Sudan, Mbale town has become an important commercial centre in the region linking rural and urban settings. Locally, Mbale town connects with other towns such as Sironko, Bulambuli, Buginyanya, Siipi, Kapchorwa and Bukwa to

the north. It links with towns such as Manafa, Budduda, Bukigai and Lwakaka to the east and towns in Teso region to the north. It also links the region to Palisa, Budaka, Bunyole and Iganga to the south. This linkage with both small and medium sized towns in the region makes Mbale town an important conduit for spatial and sectoral flows to and from Bugisu region.

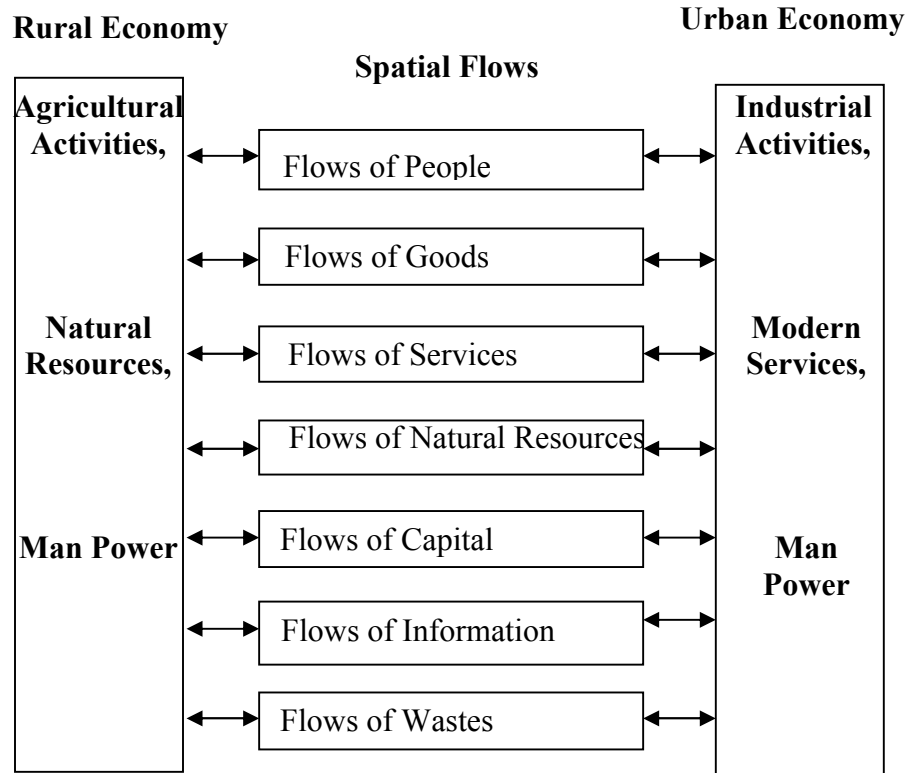


Figure 4.1: Spatial Flows between Rural and Urban Settings of Bugisu Region; Source: Field Data

Spatial flows between rural-urban settings overlap with inter-linkages between sectors both at the household level and at the level of local economies. The flows promote backward and forward linkages between agriculture in rural areas and manufacturing and service sector in town that have become important in the growth of rural and urban economies, supporting livelihoods and household well-being, figure 4.1.

(a) Flows of Goods

Flows of goods refer to movement of goods along the rural-urban continuum. Rural-urban interactions are dominated by flows of agricultural products and other commodities from rural based producers to urban markets, both for local consumers and for forwarding to regional, national and international markets, plate 4.1.



Plate 4.1: Agricultural Goods from Rural Areas Sold in Mbale Town; Source: Field Photo

In the opposite direction are flows of locally manufactured and imported goods moving from urban centres to rural settlements, plate 4.1.



Plate 4.2: Industrial Products from Urban Areas Sold at Kamus Market in Sironko District; Source: Field Photo.

(b) Flows of Services

Flows of services here refer to services provided by both urban and rural households to rural and urban households respectively. Such services may include education and medical services, commercial activities or development programmes provided by the urban authorities or local governments aimed at promoting rural development. Medical centres in the urban areas such as Mbale referral hospital, Budduda hospital provide extension services to the rural areas on weekly basis. On the other hand urban households benefit from services provided by the rural communities such as tourist services in Sipi falls and Mt. Elgon, lodging services for tourists, local herbs, casual labour in the construction industry and garages.



Plate 4.3: Siipi Falls Tourist Centre and Lodging Services; Source: Field Photo

(c) Flows of Natural Resources

Flows of natural resources also dominate the rural-urban continuum. Natural resources such as timber, firewood, charcoal and bamboo (kamalewa) move from rural to urban areas of Mt. Elgon region. The growing construction industry and population in urban areas has increased demand for natural resources particularly timber and charcoal. Most of these resources come from Mt. Elgon national park.



Plate 4.4: Firewood Coming from Rural Mt. Elgon; Source: Field Photo

There are 10 forest reserves in Mt. Elgon, divided into two categories, namely: natural high forest and pole and fuel wood plantation. These cover a total area of 53.361 ha, with Mount Elgon National Park accounting for at least 95% of the total area (Mbale District Environment Profile, 1997). The Mount Elgon National Park and Namatale Forest are the only two significant natural high forest reserves in Mt. Elgon region. The rest are fuel wood reserves which have been planted with eucalyptus. Due to shortage of land, and high population density, all forest reserves in the sub-region are subjected to a lot of pressure from encroachment and over-exploitation.

Records from Mbale regional office (2010) show that “*the rest of the forest reserves have been heavily encroached upon and a lot of tree cover had been lost without replanting. The areas mostly affected include Namatale, Mutufu and Bubulo where tree cover has been completely lost due to over harvesting and not allowing time for adequate regeneration. Bulambuli County is sparsely forested with most of the forests occurring high up on steep mountain slopes which are not easily accessible. The area is also an extension of Mount Elgon National Park*”.

Budadiri county still has a fair forest cover, although Nakiwandwo forest reserve is in the middle of a heavily populated area and therefore under threat of encroachment. The request by the people to de-gazette the area (10 ha) for human settlement, is still being resisted by government.

Table: 4.7: Distribution of Forest Reserves by County

County	Reserve	Area (ha)	Status
Bungokho	Mt.Elgon National Park		Replanting
	Namatale	663	Encroachment
	Mbale Central	562	Replanting
	Kolonyi	23	Encroachment
Manjiya	Mt. Elgon National Park		Protected
	Bukiga	18	Forest plantation; eucalyptus
	Bubulo Bubulo	21	Replanted
	Busumbu	10	Replanted
Budadiri	Mt. Elgon National Park		Protected
	Namatale		Heavily encroached
	Mutufu	21	Encroached
	Nakiwondwe	10	Encroached
Bulambuli	Mt. Elgon National Park		Degraded
	Kaptokoi	85	Degraded

Source: Mbale District Environment Profile, 1997

(d) Flows of Information

Flows of information between rural and urban areas include information on market mechanisms indicating market prices for agricultural and industrial products. It also includes information on employment opportunities for potential migrants to town; plate 4.5 highlights the role of pay phones in facilitating communication. Information flow may also take the form of physical oral communication from one

person to another as rural households visit their relatives or come to town and urban households visit their relatives at the country side.



Plate 4.5: The Role of Pay Phones in Facilitating Communication; Source: Field Photo

(e) Flows of Capital

Flows of capital, takes the form of financial flows or capital investment from urban to rural areas or rural to urban areas. Financial flows include primarily, remittances from urban households to relatives in the country side. It includes transfers such as pensions to migrants returning to their rural homes. It also includes investments and credit from urban-based institutions and entrepreneurs to rural populations. Such investments may take the form of capital investments in education, health centres, housing and farming activities usually by the urban population in rural areas. There are also scenarios where rural entrepreneurs at a certain point of capital accumulation move to town and prefer to invest in town rather than in the rural due

to the anticipated market and profits from urban areas. This usually leads to permanent migration from rural to urban areas.

Reports from Mbale district local government (2004) show that the current economic growth in Mbale town is as a result of capital flows and investment that have also become a source of employment to many youth in Mt. Elgon region. *Accordingly the report has it that, the economic growth based on industries in Mbale town is determined by three factors namely:*

- (i) Increased private investment in industries financed by foreign and local capital flows.*
- (ii) Retained earnings as savings which are re-invested in agriculture and industries.*
- (iii) Increased access to financial and micro-finance institutions credit for investment into industries, agriculture and commerce.*

NB: These have been accompanied by increasing labour productivity and efficient utilisation of resource inputs.

The report however alludes that, *there is need for increased efficiency in resource use for economic growth in industries to be sustainable with particular emphasis put on agro-processing. To have balanced economic growth it is imperative that the industrial sector be developed to effectively compliment agriculture through forward and backward linkages.*

(f) Flows of Wastes

Another common type of flows between rural and urban areas is flows of wastes. Over time rural areas have been made dumping grounds for wastes from nearby towns. Most of the wastes from urban areas in the form of garbage find itself in rural areas dumped in areas assumed to be waste lands, swamps and or rivers. Such

have instead posed a threat to the environment and health of rural population including aquatic animal that live in the waters where wastes are dumped.

Through review of secondary data the study established that *“a lot of waste is generated in the municipality and this includes solid waste, liquid and gaseous waste. Solid waste is both organic and inorganic and is not sorted thus its management is quite difficult. The municipality does not have gazetted landfills thus waste is dumped near Namatala wetland. This poses a threat to rice and cocoyam farmers downstream who absorb the effluents directly. The farmers absorb chemicals in their skins and some of the chemicals are absorbed by cocoyam which when eaten directly affect the consumers. The chemicals also drain into the water sources and poison fish obtained in River Namatala. The wastes also attract a lot of rats and stalks as the smelly gases are emitted during decomposition”* (Mbale District Local Government Report, 2004).



Plate 4.6: Wastes from Mbale Town Dumped in Namatala Wetland; Source: Field Photo

(g) Flows of People

Flows of people, refers to movement of people between rural and urban settlements, commuting on regular basis along the rural-urban continuum or moving occasionally visiting their relatives and friends in the urban or rural areas. In Mt. Elgon region people commute mainly to transact business in town or rural areas. People also move to town to obtain urban-based services. They may also move to rural areas to obtain rural based services particularly traditional medical services. Sometimes people may migrate temporarily or permanently to town or rural areas, depending on the circumstances from where one migrates to and from.

NB: Flows between rural and urban settings bring the two spatial areas together as one entity and thus bridging the dichotomies. The linkages however are made possible by the agricultural and industrial systems in the rural and urban settings respectively, figure 4.2.

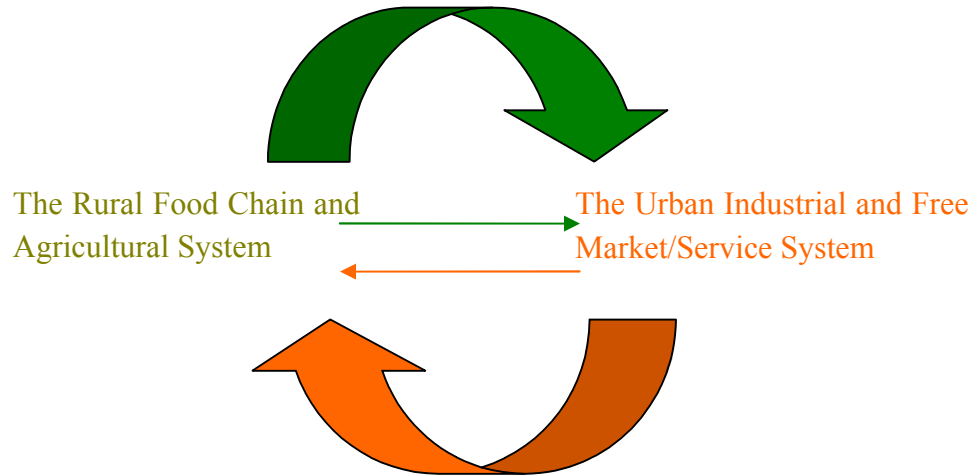


Figure 4.2: The Agricultural/Food Chain and Industrial /Service System; Source: Field Data

The food and agricultural system in rural areas, links with the industrial and free market/service system in the urban settings. The system makes it possible for the interactions to take place bringing rural settings together with the urban.

4.3 THE CONCEPT OF COMMUTING

Over the last decade the phenomenon of urbanisation has been growing steadily in eastern Africa estimated at the rate of 4.1% per annum (UBOS 2010). As the process of urbanisation continues to grow with no adequate measures taken to improve the potency of rural economies, commuting is expected to more than double in the next decade. World Bank, urban specialist Onyach-olaa has it that, Kampala’s night population stands at 1.5 million out of the 2.5 million day population (Monitor News Paper, June14th 2011). Mr. Olaa’s findings indicate that commuting is a growing phenomenon in the third world. Mt. Elgon region has had this phenomenon of commuting for long. In the beginning it was assumed that “*the Bagisu go to Mbale town to eat porridge and to be served by the waitresses in urban restaurants*”. This is a common assumption held by many Gishu in Mt. Elgon region up to the present day. Some assert that the “*youth after realising some*

financial proceeds from coffee sales go to town to look for the urban girls demonstrating strength of their manhood". Obviously many have it that "people commute to town as a livelihood strategy given the declining role of rural economy in supporting rural livelihoods and the promise offered by towns in addressing challenges of poverty in the region". The actual forces behind commuting in Mt. Elgon region are not yet clearly defined as this study finds it inevitable to explore into commuting patterns in Mt. Elgon region and establish the drivers of commuting and the contribution of commuting towards sustainability of commuter livelihoods.

4.3.1: Commuting Defined

Commuting is defined by this study to mean the process by which people move to and from rural to urban areas to derive a living in town, while remaining based in rural areas. It also describes a situation where people move from urban to rural areas deriving a living in rural areas and remain based in the urban. Some people also commute from urban to urban deriving a living in one of the towns and yet staying in another. The first case however, is the most common phenomenon in Bugisu region. Commuting has become an increasing phenomenon in the developing world at the height of poverty and urbanisation.



Plate 4.7: Commuting Activity in Mbale Town; Source: Field Photo

In Bugisu region, many households have adopted commuting as a livelihood strategy trying to cope with challenges of poverty and rising cost of living. Many households traverse the rural-urban continuum regularly deriving a living from the nearby towns. The picture in plate 4.7 illustrates commuting and shows people moving to town early morning to transact business. The picture was taken before 7.00 am along Kumi road in Mbale town capturing commuters coming from the northern parts of Mbale town including the suburbs such as Nkoma, Namakwekwe and other distant places such as Namunsi, Nakaloke, Kachumbala, Sironko and some from Kapchorwa. Through interviews with Municipal authorities in Mbale, it was established that Mbale's night population ranges between 30% and 40% with 60% - 70% commuting from the nearby suburbs and villages during the day.

Table 4.8: Places Where Respondents Commute to and Derive a Living

Places Where Commuter Households Derive a Living	Number of Responses and their Percentages	
	N	%
Bududa	14	5.19
Busia	4	1.48
Jinja	2	0.74
Kampala	2	0.74
Lwakhakkha Boarder	2	0.74
Malaba	4	1.48
Mbale	185	68.52
Manafa	11	4.08
Sironko	40	14.81
Soroti	4	1.48
Tororo	2	0.74
Total	270	100.00

Source: Field Data

Asked of the urban centres to which they commute and derive a living, most respondents about, (69%) indicated that they commute to Mbale town. Mbale receives a big number of commuters due to its strategic location both, as a commercial and administrative centre and thus, attracting a sizeable number of people from the surrounding regions as one of the respondents had this to say;

Mbale is the heart of Mt. Elgon region. People come as far as Kapchorwa, Buginyanya, Budduda, Bugwere, Butaleja to do business here. It is the only place where as a business man you can be sure you can find market for your products and buy something to take to your village (Respondent Mbale Town).

Most of the farmers produce from the surrounding areas such as rice from Doho in Butaleja, Irish potatoes, maize, barley, wheat, cabbages, tomatoes, beans, coffee

from Kapchorwa and Bugisu regions of Mt. Elgon are brought and marketed in Mbale town. It is from Mbale town that coffee, rice and maize are processed and later sold to other nearby and distant towns as far as Kampala city, Juba in south Sudan and Kenya in general.

4.3.2: Forms of Commuting

Commuting takes two major dimensions namely; commuting as a form of mobility and commuting as a livelihood strategy. As a form of mobility, commuting takes the form of interaction that exists between rural and urban settings in Bugisu region marked by the flows of people along the rural-urban continuum moving along with other flows such as goods from the rural areas to urban and vice versa, flows of capital for investment and in the form of remittances by the urban relatives to the rural families, flows of services mostly from the urban to the rural areas. Flows of people (commuting as a form of mobility), constitutes one of the major flows that dominates the interaction between rural and urban areas of Mt. Elgon.

As a livelihood strategy, commuting takes the form of activity that characterises the interaction as rural and urban households traverse the rural-urban continuum regularly residing at one point and working and or deriving a living from another. Most households have adopted this as a survival strategy adopted out of necessity to cope with challenges of poverty; sometimes diversifying livelihoods as one operates in at least two places. It is common practice to find one having gardens in the village where he/she resides and at the same time taking on non-farm activity in the urban.

4.3.3: Who is a “Commuter”?

This study defines a commuter, as that person who resides in one point of the rural-urban setting and derives a living in another or may have livelihood activities in both locations. As earlier described; a commuter may be residing in the country side

and commuting daily or regularly and deriving a living in town. At the same time s/he may have a garden in the rural area and is running a business in town. S/he may be, residing in one town and yet deriving a living in another town altogether or s/he may be residing in town but deriving a living from the rural areas.

4.3.4: Categorisation of Commuters

Commuters are categorised according to places of abode namely; rural and urban commuters. Rural commuters are those who live in rural areas but who work in urban areas, or those who work in their rural farms but commute to town to sell produce or to purchase essential items in town. Rural commuters also include people who live in the rural areas but move to town for recreation purposes and later return to their rural homes where they reside.

Urban commuters, on the other hand are those who live in town or peri-urban settings and work in town where they reside or work in another town altogether. It also includes those people who live in town and yet work in the country side. This category of commuters spend much of their time engaged in non-farm activities in urban settings or in rural areas from which they derive a living only to return to their homes in town in the evenings.

By use of questionnaires respondents were, asked to indicate where they reside namely; urban or rural. From their responses we were able to establish that most commuters reside in the country side and only commute to nearby towns taking advantage of the economic opportunities offered by towns. Table 4.9, illustrates this.

Table 4.9: Places Where Commuters Reside

Places Where Commuters Reside	Number of Responses and their Percentages	
	N	%
In town	92	34.07
In the village	160	59.26
Both in town and village	18	6.67
Total	270	100.00

Source: Field Data

Table 4.9, confirms that commuting is a growing phenomenon in the east African region. About, 59% of those who reside in the country side and yet derive their livelihoods in town corroborates well with the records held by Mbale Municipal authorities asserting that *“they receive about 60-70% of commuters daily”*. The small variation in percentages may arise from the fact that our data was collected from the four (4) urban centres in Bugisu region namely; Budduda, Manafa Sironko and Mbale town. The figure, 59% puts Bugisu region at a higher state of commuting than Kamala’s commuting population of about 40% as quoted by Mr. Olaah. *Such numbers have made planning of towns and urban populations difficult especially in terms of provision of services*, (Town Clerk Mbale Municipal Council, 2010).

4.3.5: Who Commutes?

For purposes of understanding who commutes this study disaggregated commuting by age, sex and activity. By use of questionnaires, interviews and through focus group discussions, it was established that commuting is an activity by people of different ages, sex and occupation. Children below the age of 12 commute and account for about, 1% of the total percentage of commuters in Mt. Elgon region, table 4.5. Both males and females commute although males dominate commuting accounting for 60% as opposed to females (40%), table 4.2. Reasons for male dominance of commuting are provided in the subsequent paragraph of table 4.2 of

this study. The study also established that commuters engage in a wide range of livelihood activities as shown in table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Commuting by Occupation

Occupation of Commuters	Number of Responses and their Percentages	
	N	%
Hawking	24	8.89
Street vending	62	22.96
Retail/ wholesale	44	16.29
Small manufacturing	20	7.41
Construction	18	6.67
Services	78	28.89
Farming	24	8.89
Total	270	100

Source: Field Data

Different categories of people commute for different reasons as engaged in different activities. The largest number of commuters is in the service sector working in the areas of transportation (boda-boda, taxi, transportation of goods), hotel industry, hair dressing, telephone operators and office work). This category constitutes 29% of respondents reached by this study.

Street vending is another important livelihood strategy undertaken by the commuters. Vending takes second place to service sector in providing for livelihoods with 23% of the respondents reached by this study engaged in it.

Farmers commute to town in search of market for their produce and to look for farm supplies such as seeds, tools, insecticides and pesticides. They return to their homes with essential necessities such as soap, sugar, paraffin, salt, shoes and clothes, as they are able to buy these goods more cheaply in town. Businessmen commute to

transact business in town or villages as middlemen and thereafter return to their respective areas of aboard after the day's business.

Asked of what particularly draws them to the nearby towns, varied responses were generated from the respondents as presented in Box 4.1. Asked of what takes people to town especially what they do in nearby towns, varied responses were generated as shown in box: 4.1.

"We go to the centre to relax after the day's work, Respondent in Buyobo, Sironko district". "I go to town to buy home items like sugar, soap, salt and other foods such as meat" Respondent in Bukigai, Budduda district. "I go to town to meet my friends and discuss important issues Respondent in Bunkhokho South, Manafa district". "I am a businessman. I go to town to trade" Respondent in Ngangama, Mbale district. "I work in town as a teacher in Buyobo Primary School, Respondent in Buyobo, Sironko district". "I go to the centre to sell my produce, Respondent in Buginyanya, Sironko district". "I work in Budduda town as a carpenter, Respondent in Budduda district".

Box 4.1: Varied Responses on What People do in Nearby Towns of Bugisu Region; Source: Field Data

Box 4.1 presents a summary of various voices giving justification for commuting to town. Various groups of people commute for various reasons namely; just to relax after the long day's work in the village, to buy home items, to meet my friends, to trade and to work. It is here noted that some people go to town for leisure to spend time talking to friends in town or to be entertained in the recreation centres in town. These categories of commuters were those that lived in the outskirts of the towns and therefore found it very easy to commute to and fro town.

The least commuting activity established by this study is small manufacturing and processing which accounts for only 7% of the commuting activities in Mt. Elgon region.

These findings corroborate well with the earlier findings by the district researches on the state of economic activities in Bugisu region. The 1997 Mbale district report has it that, *“the economic activities in Mt. Elgon region are; agriculture, trade, services and construction. The main economic activity is agriculture and 90% of all economic activities revolve around agriculture. Agricultural products include both food and cash crops. The traditional cash crops include coffee (Arabica), cotton and cashew nuts, while food-crops which play a major role in the cash economy include maize, cassava, Irish potatoes, finger millet, rice, beans, soya and groundnuts. Vegetables and fruits like cabbages, onions and passion fruits are also major source of income in the region. The contribution of agricultural produce to the treasury of the region is estimated at 70% of total income and includes mostly taxes on produce marketed both within and outside the district”*.

In addition to income generated from agricultural production, *“about 50% of the urban population is involved in petty trading, selling groceries, household utensils and cosmetics, mainly imported from Kenya. Others deal in construction and building materials like bricks, cement, roofing sheets and tiles, sanitary fittings”*. Other activities in the trading sector involve the buying and selling of agricultural produce like maize, cassava and “sim-sim”.

The services sector includes *“transporters, health workers, caterers (hotel), secretaries and those working in beauty salons. Trade and services sectors are estimated to contribute at least 15% of the proceeds to the district treasury”*.

The percentage of commuters engaged in small-scale manufacturing and processing is low due to the fact that the levels of industrialisation and technological development in the region are low. Asked of the reasons for limited engagement into small manufacturing and yet the region has a technical institution that would train people in such areas, one of the respondents had this to say;

“Elgon technical that would be training the local population in such areas of manufacturing focuses more of its courses on electrical and motor care/mechanical engineering producing more graduates for electrical and motor care services” (Respondent in Mbale town).

Table 4.11: Age of respondent * Distance covered Cross tabulation

Count								
		Distance covered						
		1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26<	Total
Age of respondents	0-11	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
	12 – 23	20	0	0	0	0	0	20
	24 – 35	68	28	14	8	0	0	118
	36 – 47	0	0	0	40	26	26	92
	48 – 59	0	0	0	0	0	34	34
	60 +	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Total		90	28	14	48	26	62	268

Source: *Field Data*

The mean average distance covered by commuters is 17.5 km. By use of questionnaires, respondents were asked to present distances they covered to places of work. Through interviews and FGDs, responses generated indicate that commuters cover short and long distances from their areas of aboard to places of work. Some of the commuters lived in town or in peri-urban areas and thus covered distances of between 1 – 5km while, others travelled for long distances of above 25km. The purpose for which respondents were asked of distances covered was to establish the influence of factors such as age, sex, education and marital status on commuting.

Table 4.12: Influence of Age, Sex, Education and Marital Status on Distance Covered by Commuters

		Coefficients ^a				
Model		Un standardized		Standardized	T	Sig.
		Coefficients		Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-3.099	.208		-14.913	.000
	Age	.436	.112	.187	3.893	.000
	Sex	1.578	.138	.386	11.469	.000
	Marital status	.025	.056	.017	.446	.656
	Education level	.904	.078	.436	11.658	.000
2	(Constant)	-3.149	.175		-17.995	.000
	Age	.462	.094	.199	4.894	.000
	Sex	1.576	.137	.386	11.477	.000
	Education level	.911	.076	.439	12.001	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Distance covered

Adjusted R Square = 0.890, (F = 720.428, d.f. = 264, 267 and Sig. = 0.000)

Source: Field Data

Basing on the analysis on table 4.12, we note that factors such as age, sex and education other than marital status had a significant influence of 89% on distance covered by commuters to places of work/ where they derived a living. Ages, 24 – 47 were found to be the most active in commuting and covered both long and short distances to derive a living and accounted for 78% of commuters sampled for the study. Most of the respondents aged 24-47 reached by this study were those who had finished school or at the prime ages of marriage or already married trying their best to build a future. At this age, most men and women have families to support and have to explore opportunities wherever they may be found to make a living and invest for the future.

Children of ages below 12 also took part in commuting most of which covered short distances especially to the nearby rural towns. In total they accounted for 1% of commuters reached through questionnaires and were engaged in informal business activities. Sometimes, children worked independent of their parents and relatives trying on their own to earn a living. Children also found to be commuting to nearby towns rather than distant ones.

The study also found that most women commuting cover short distances compared to their counterparts the men. Women especially married ones operated businesses within their localities in the nearby village towns. Men were found to cover both short and long distances to small and medium sized towns. On the other hand low levels of education were found to limit household's possibilities of exploring far beyond their geographical locations/home areas.

4.3.6 Level of Interaction between Rural and Urban Settings

Earlier studies by Tacoli 1998 indicated that there is high level of interaction between rural areas and nearby small sized towns than it is with distant and large sized towns. This study in question had interest in establishing the levels of interactions between nearby and distant towns with rural areas. Households interact with both nearby and distant towns and derive a living from any towns seen to offer opportunities of growth to households especially in terms of household's ability to sustain its livelihood activities in a given town.

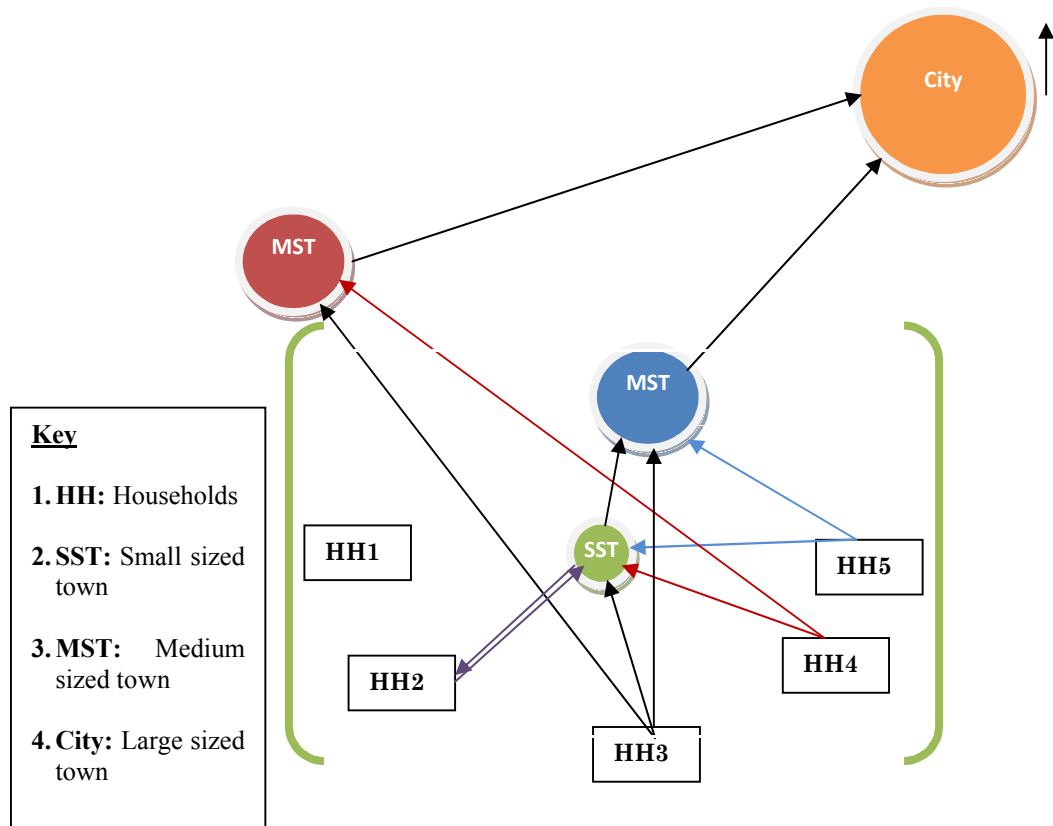


Figure 4.3: Interaction Levels between Rural and Urban Centres in Bugisu Region; Source: Field Data

Figure: 4.3 shows five (5) categories of households interacting with small sized, medium sized and large sized (cities) towns. Category one (HH1) is not directly linked to any town. Category two (HH2) directly interacts only with the nearby small sized town (SST), category three (HH3) links up with SST in the neighbourhood but also directly links up with MST at a modest distance and also MST at a long distance. Category four (HH4) is linked to SST in the neighbourhood and MST at a distance. It does not link up directly with MST at a modest distance. Category five (HH5) is linked to SST and the nearby MST at a modest distance. SSTs however link rural areas to other distant towns through trade, flows of information, flows of goods and services from the city to rural areas.

There is high level of interaction between rural areas and nearby small towns than distant towns. The level of flows of people, goods and services between rural areas

and nearby small sized towns is high. This also confirms the earlier findings by Tacoli (1997) that there are high levels of interactions between rural areas and nearby urban centres.

Importantly, most of the nearby/rural towns in Bugisu region are small sized with exception of Mbale town. People commute to nearby towns to trade in agricultural produce in exchange for industrial products. They also go to nearby towns for recreation purposes and to work as earlier presented in the reasons for commuting. The level of interaction between rural households and nearby towns most of which are small sized towns (SSTs) is high because of their proximity to rural areas. SSTs are closer and or situated within the rural settings, making it easy and convenient for rural households to interact with them than it is for medium sized towns (MSTs), most of which may be at a distance away from rural areas.

Suffices it to note that, although there are high levels of interaction between rural households and nearby towns most of which are small sized, the volume of economic activity in SSTs is lower than MSTs and cities. This is because MSTs and cities attract big numbers of commuters from a far allowing for potential marketing of goods and services. MSTs and cities have more vibrant economies than SSTs due to the volume of activity in the service and industrial sectors that have become increasingly important in MSTs and cities.

This study also notes that with increasing levels of interaction found between rural and urban settings and by the fact that this type of interaction has gained pace between rural areas and the nearby towns, in one way or the other all rural households (HH2 – HH5) at one point or another have interacted with the urban. Therefore, household category (HH1) as presented in figure 4.3 represents only those households living in Mt. Elgon forest leading a very unique life style as compared to other categories of households HH2 – HH5. Households categorised as HH1 do not often interact with other households (HH2 – HH5) and lead “isolationist wild” life style. It is this study’s submission that, categories of

households [HH1] also considered as non-commuter households has not benefitted and does not benefit from commuting activities since they are not part of this pattern of interaction.

4.4: LIMITATIONS TO RURAL-URBAN INTERACTIONS

The overall challenge affecting rural-urban interactions and commuting activities in Bugisu region is in the context of exchange agricultural products from the rural areas against manufactured industrial products. Although beneficial, interaction between rural and urban settings has been characterized by exploitation of rural households by middlemen who offer meagre gate prices for agricultural produce and services and yet charge exorbitant prices for urban manufactured goods and services in exchange. The challenge also lies in the fact that most products from rural areas are exchanged in their raw form and therefore fetch low prices compared to urban industrial products.

Poor transport compounds the problem making marketing far beyond local markets difficult. The roads are in a poor shape due to ragged terrain that makes road construction, maintenance and other improvements very difficult. Most rural roads have been affected by the rains making them impassable throughout the year. Most of them are laced with potholes, which makes it difficult for vehicles to get to the farm sites to collect produce. The poor state of roads has led to higher transport costs hindering access to markets and flow of market information. This has led to increase in transportation costs and a rise in consumer food prices.

Other related hindrances to rural-urban interactions and commuting activities are related to market instabilities that affect pricing of locally produced goods. The volatility of crop prices has stressed both farmers and farmer institutions. Current market fundamentals centre on demand and supply operations made worse by unscrupulous middlemen whose aim is to extort from farmers in order to make abnormal profits by paying low for farm produce and selling to urban households at

abnormal rate. The collapse of cooperative movement and lack of agricultural market information has served to deepen the crisis. This has been made worse by the farmers themselves who sell their produce during the harvesting season, the time of bumper harvest bringing prices much lower than ever. During bumper harvest farmers fetch very low prices for their produce because all the surrounding areas of the region, will be supplying the same products.

Price fluctuations in the international market have affected the marketing of cash crops such as coffee that depend most on the international market conditions. Farmers dealing in coffee have often reported fluctuation of coffee prices at the international market as a hindrance to their farming activities in the region, affecting their farm gate prices. The average price of commodities fluctuates a lot and this obviously is a major factor determining the level of profitability for producers and, therefore, the value of land used for the production of these commodities. The annual variation in price level, then, will influence the annual variation in profitability. The inter-year variation in prices may also have important implications for decisions relative to pricing annual production.

Problems of storage have often affected farmers and businessmen dealing in farmer produce. There is general lack of storage and warehousing facilities such as lock-up stores, silos, barns in which farmers would store produce and sell when prices have appreciated. Very few marketers store produce more over in jute bags and baskets which do not allow storage for a long time before produce goes bad. Insufficient storage facilities often lead to produce loss due to premature germination, fungal and bacteria attack, insects and rodents attack. All these often account for increased marketing cost leading to higher retail prices and reduced marketing efficiency.

The level of and magnitude of variability of crop prices have important implications to rural-urban interactions and commuting activities. General level of market prices influences the amount of capital or credit that traders will require to buy and inventory crops. Higher prices increase capital requirement to own a fixed amount

of inventory for a specific length of time. If capital or credit limitations emerge, dealers may choose to own smaller inventories or own inventories for a shorter period of time. Second, the magnitude of volatility in prices within a marketing year will influence the amount of capital or credit needed to maintain margin accounts. For consumers, the most important implication of the magnitude of price volatility is on the timing of purchases. This is especially the case for end users who are not able to profitably price the end product at the same time that forward contracts for crops are made.

Theft of produce, high taxes, unfavourable weather conditions and lack of farming equipment and inputs have served to undermine interactions between rural and urban settings. Farmers have increasingly been affected by a rise in theft of crops, livestock, farm tools and implements. Respondents indicate that incidents of crop theft followed the growth cycle of crops. Theft of livestock and farm equipments occurred throughout the year. Farm equipment is usually stolen during the day while livestock takes place at night.

Theft of crops threatens the ability of households to survive, particularly in times of food shortages. Theft of crops in rural areas is largely related to food insecurity. The problem of theft was stated as having escalated with declining landholdings, poverty and unemployment among the youth. The changing times included prolonged hunger periods, food shortage and the exorbitant cost of food and other essential household items.

High taxes on business transactions have had an impact on the production and marketing of both industrial and agricultural products. Taxes range from indirect to direct taxes in the form of fuel prices, trading licenses, market dues let alone rent for operating space. This in itself has affected profitability of businesses and thus discouraging production and business activities. The failure rate of business enterprises is high, thus affecting commuting activities and the level of interaction between rural and urban settings.

It should be highlighted here that positive synergies between rural and urban settings would contribute significantly towards the development of both urban and rural areas. The role of policy is crucial in facilitating this interaction.

CHAPTER FIVE

DRIVERS OF COMMUTING ACTIVITIES IN BUGISU REGION

5.0 INTRODUCTION

An investigation of drivers of commuting activities in Bugisu region was presumed to be important in livelihoods analysis. Several factors including policies play an important role in guiding the process of development. Efforts were made by this study to establish factors influencing rural-urban interactions and commuting activities in the region. The purpose was to examine in detail the role of such factors in supporting livelihoods. A number of policies and other factors having a direct bearing on commuting activities in the region were investigated. Such policies were land policy, taxation policy, liberalization policy, cooperative development policy, decentralization policy, industrial development policy, financial services policy, employment policy and PEAP. Other factors were pressure on land, assets owned and accessed by households, household decisions, market conditions, household capabilities, gender relations and poverty. To arrive at its conclusions, two main methods of data collection were used by the researchers to generate data namely; review of secondary literature on policies operationalised in the region and having a direct bearing on commuting activities. The other was interviews with the respondents. Interviews took three forms namely; in-depth interviews, structured questionnaires and FGDs. An investigation into such factors enabled the researcher to appreciate the role of such factors in determining the type and level of economic activities undertaken by the urban and rural households on either side which in turn influences linkages between rural and urban areas.

5.1 Policies Influencing Commuting Activities

It is a known fact that policies play an important role in influencing what people do and how people do it. Good policies support people's efforts to achieve their destined goals, they create a conducive environment for prosperity. Asked to name policies that influence their activities, various responses were generated from commuters as presented in table, 5.1.

Table 5.1: Policies and Commuting Activities

Which of the following policies influence your activities?	Responses and their Percentages	
	f	%
Land policy	147	15.34
PMA/NAADS	121	12.63
Decentralization policy	111	11.59
Trade liberalization	114	11.90
Cooperative Development Policy	144	15.03
Financial services policy,	59	6.16
Privatisation	12	1.25
PEAP/National development policy	94	9.81
Taxation policy	156	16.28

Source: Field Data

Taxation policy, trade liberalization policy, land policy, and cooperative development policy featured prominently accounting for 46% of responses on the role of policies in influencing commuting activities in the region. The policy that respondents considered to have had little impact was employment policy and financial services policy, all together accounting for 7% of the total responses of the role of policies in supporting commuting activities. In general, there was lack of understanding of policies and their impact on commuting activities. The study notes that little is usually done by the policy makers to consult with the local population during the policy making process. Where consultations are made policy makers do

not labour to explain in detail to the local population of what the policy is all about namely; reasons for formulation, merits and demerits of such policies. Even after policies have been formulated little or no effort is made to make these policies known to the public through seminars, workshops or policy briefs. Policies are also not translated into local languages for easy understanding by the local community as one of the respondents remarked;

Every time we see people around that they are doing research, research... When they go, they don't come back to give us the feedback. Only you can hear is there is now a land policy, taxation policy. We don't understand what these policies are all about
(Respondent in Mutufu Village).

Another respondent remarked;

I have heard about "Kibanja" policy that allows people who have stayed on land as squatters to own land but I don't have the details. Nobody here including our local leaders has bothered to come and explain to us about these policies. We just hear of these policies on the radios.

The voices raised above corroborate with the voices recorded by earlier researchers on policy issues. In her report on impact of trade liberalization policy on food security Nyangabyaki Bazaara 2001 found out that most people in Kapchorwa and Kabale had limited understanding of policies as some of their respondents reported; *"we have been hearing about it (agriculture liberalisation) only as stories. I haven't understood what it is all about.*

To generate more data on the role of policies in commuting amidst limited understanding of policy factors, we felt it necessary to ask respondents to

illustrate the manner in which policies affect their activities. Varied responses as presented on table 5.2 were generated.

Table 5.2: Influencing of Policies on Commuting Activities

Ways in which Policies Influence Commuting Activities	Responses and their Percentages			
	Yes	%	No	%
Promoted ownership of land	83	12.01	187	12.73
Boosted agricultural activities	58	8.39	212	14.43
Brought services nearer	194	28.07	76	5.17
Increased competition	63	9.12	207	14.09
Promoted trade and investment	144	20.84	126	8.58
Easy access to financial services	19	2.75	251	17.09
Reduced poverty	12	1.74	258	17.56
Promoted agricultural production	118	17.08	152	10.35

Source: Field Data

Basing on the alternatives provided in the questionnaire, respondents were asked if policies had any influence on their activities and if so in which way. Respondents were asked to tick alternatives, Yes or No. The responses were disaggregated in terms of ownership of land, agricultural production, business activity and marketing, income and poverty reduction and access to financial services. It was established by the study that policies influence commuting activities in various ways. Liberalization policy had greater influence on commuter activities in that it has promoted trade, investment and has brought services nearer to the people, all together accounting for 50% influence on commuter activities. Policies were seen not to be playing a significant role in poverty reduction accounting for 1% influence in as far as efforts towards poverty eradication were concerned. Policies have also had little impact in boosting agricultural production and access to finance accounting for 11% influence in total on these activities. Influence of policies on commuting activities are analysed in detail in the subsequent paragraphs.

5.2:1 Tax Policy and Administration

The main objective of the tax policy in Uganda is to raise public revenue rapidly; targeting to increase tax revenue by 0.5% point of GDP p.a. Tax revenue comprises; domestic indirect and direct taxes and international taxes. Direct taxes constitute PAYE, corporate taxes, license fees, withholding taxes, rental income and presumptive taxes. Indirect taxes comprise excise duty on goods and VAT on goods and services.

Taxation is a driver of the economy first by generating revenue for governments and second by regulating and or guiding investments to priority areas. Taxation policy also stood as the most popular policy by the respondents who had an understanding of role of policies in commuting. One however, would assume that taxes had a positive bearing on what the commuters do. Responses raised however, showed the contrary, table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Ways in Which Tax Policy Has Influenced Commuting Activities

Effect of tax policy on commuter activities	Responses and their Percentages	
	f	%
Promoted investment and production	26	3.87
Undermined investment and production	119	17.71
Undermined profits and income	258	38.39
Made goods expensive	263	39.14
Has made no impact	6	0.89

Source: Field Data

Most commuters, 95% expressed pain inflicted upon them by the taxes. The impact ranged from multiplicity of taxes to cost (amount charged). Such taxes include; trading licenses, daily market dues and quite a number of indirect taxes on fuel, food items, clothing and rent. The burden of tax is heavy and leaves commuters with barely any profit. One of the respondents had this to say;

We pay a lot of taxes here ranging from “emposa”(tax on sale of goods) which we pay on daily basis, rent for operating space, trading licenses’. We also incur a lot of costs in terms of transportation of goods and our selves daily from home to work and back. Much of that we would call profits is spent on meeting the dailies (Respondent in Sironko).

Respondents attribute high rate of failure of businesses in the region to high and multiple taxes. They call for reduction of taxes if at all they have to make better their living. Respondents also complained of high cost of living seen to be ever increasing. This, to them, makes their livelihoods unsustainable, leaving them with low profit margins that cannot adequately sustain their needs. This corroborates well with the discussion on profitability of businesses, expenditure and levels of capital accumulation on table 6.3.

5.2.2 Land Policy

Land is one of the fundamental factors of growth and development. Its influence on agricultural growth and livelihoods development is enormous. In examining the influence of land policy on commuting and livelihoods development, key focus was placed on access to land, control and ownership of land. The availability and accessibility of land to farmers contributes enormously to rural-urban interactions. Access to land by farmers offers opportunity to farmers to actively engage in the production process which in turn leads to increased output in the agricultural sector. A rise in output means increase in supply of agricultural produce to the local and international market. Forces of demand play an important role in evoking production and supply of agricultural products to the market.

In the event that farmers do not have access to land due to distributional factors or in the event that the available land has declined in fertility or that natural calamities such as harsh climate have affected farmers produce, the flows of agricultural

products from rural to urban markets declines. What usually follows such a decline is importation of agricultural foods from the neighbouring countries. This creates imbalance in the levels of interaction and undermines the development of rural areas.

Land policies have had a bearing on commuting activities. Notable of these policies is the 1966, land policy, 1975 land decrees and 2005 land policy that granted people the right of ownership of land under individual freehold and customary tenure systems. Of the total number of respondents reached through questionnaires, 97% acknowledged that, land policy has had influence on commuting activities. Customary land tenure system was named as the dominant land holding system in Bugisu region just as it is in many rural parts of Uganda. This finding corroborates well with the report by MISR, 2000; that in Uganda evidence suggests that in aggregate land is more likely to be obtained through inheritance than through purchase. Land in Bugisu is owned by clans who sub-divide it among families. Families also have a right to sub-divide these pieces of land further amongst their sons and grandsons. Leatherdale and Palmer, 1999 in their study on land tenure systems in Uganda reported that tenure insecurity has not been commonly identified as a problem in Uganda, even though the legal rights of the majority of the population are inherently insecure. This study found out that although much of the land in Bugisu is under customary tenure most respondents found satisfaction in this traditional system of land tenure except, for urban populations whose holding system was transformed into individual free hold. The influence of this policy on commuting activities was seen in various ways as presented in table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Effect of Land Policies and Decrees on Commuter Activities

In what ways have land policies/decrees influenced your activities?	Responses and their Percentages	
	f	%
Increased access to land	217	37.29
Increased ownership of land	233	40.03
Improved land management	21	3.61
Has made no impact	18	3.09
Undermined access to land	47	8.08
Undermined ownership of land	33	5.67
Undermined management of land	13	2.23

Source: Field Data

The key effect of land policy on commuting activities was considered to be access and control of land. Aggregating impact of land policy on access and control of land reveals that the existing tenure allows for access and control of land, accounting for 77% of responses. Of the total responses, 16% indicated that the existing tenure undermines access, control and management/use of land. Although the figures seem high at 77% in favour of access, control and ownership of land, over 98% of land in Bugisu region is owned under customary tenure.

Bugisu has three dominant land tenure systems namely; customary, individual freehold and “kibaanja” land tenure systems. Customary land tenure is the most popular in the rural Bugisu in which sons inherit their father's land. Land is usually divided among the sons. Sons will also sub-divide this piece of land into very small plots amongst their sons, making it more fragmented and less useful for large scale farming. This system of land tenure coupled with population pressure, have made land a scarce resource among the Bagisu. Interviews with rural commuters, reveals that it is common to find a household of six (6) cultivating about $\frac{1}{4}$ an acre of land. Obviously, this size of land is not adequate enough to support households in terms of household requirements.

- *“Without land there is hardly anything one can do” **Khaukha, Mbale.***
- *“Land is a key to life here. Those without land often find themselves in town looking for survival” **Wanboga Bunkokho South.***
- *Land here is a very scarce resource. One acre of land is shared among many sons who sub-divide it further amongst their children. Land is so fragmented and families hardly obtain enough food for subsistence. Land has become scarce because of population pressure. The small pieces of land we have cannot allow households to produce enough to support their needs. Affording medical care, education and other household items remains a myth to many households **Gidudu, Wanale-Mbale.***

Box 5.1: Responses Raised During Field Study Over Land Crisis in Bugisu;

Source: Field Data

Box 5.1 presents responses over the value of land to the people of Bugisu just like all rural part of Africa. Land is such a valuable asset in that without land there is hardly anything one can do as expressed by Khaukha in Mbale. Land is the source of livelihood for many in the rural area and their survival entirely depends on land available to a household. Cases of food insecurity in the region have been a result of lack or smallness of the size of land in that one cannot produce what is enough for the household food requirements.

Reports from the regional land office in Mbale (2010) indicate that *“there is no comprehensive land use plan for Bugisu region just as it is at the national level. Given the nature of land tenure system, land suffers from unplanned activities some of which discourage sustainable use. The main pressures why there is no land use planning in the region are; high population density which results into land fragmentation.*

Due to pressure on land and the need to make better the well-being of household members, a substantial number of households have been forced to commute or ultimately migrate to nearby towns from where they engage into no-farm activities as a way of earning a living but maintaining links with their rural homes.

By the fact that ownership of land in rural Bugisu continues to be the monopoly of men, the role of women in development remains in jeopardy. This also has implications on land management as women are often seen to be the best land managers. In their study of land tenure systems and poverty reduction in Uganda, Ovonji-Odida *et al.* 2000 note that the issue of women's land rights is critical not only to the land-reform process but also to wider poverty reduction strategies. Land tenure insecurity is severe among women and is linked both to low incentives to produce and to poverty and food insecurity. In Bugisu, sons acquire land through inheritance from their fathers who pass it on to their sons. Customary tenure and inheritance mechanisms in the region do not allow girls (daughters) to inherit land from their fathers/clan members. Land belongs to men who also control its usage and management. Even where girls get married and thereafter divorce their husbands they have no right to own any pieces of land. Consequently, they may be forced to migrate or commute to the neighbouring towns looking for a living. While in town, migrants/commuters are compelled to engage in non-farm activities based on their competencies, knowledge and opportunities available in town. Such jobs are street/market vending, brewing and selling alcohol, working as waitresses in bars and restaurants. Although the 1995 Ugandan constitution provides for sharing of property after divorce, this has not taken root strongly in the rural areas especially among the illiterate population most of whom are ignorant of the law.

Selling land by a clan member in Bugisu (under customary tenure) is another difficult task. Boys who have reached the age of marriage and yet do not have any source of income to raise resources required for marriage may be allowed to sell land for this purpose. However, it takes a lot of lobbying and convincing of clan members for one to be allowed to sell land. A member of the clan intending to sell

some piece of land allocated to him has to convene a clan meeting and presents convincing reasons why he should sell land. The difficulty in selling land under this system of land tenure is that customary land tenure vests ownership of land to the clan not to individuals. Even where an individual convinces clan members to sell part of the land allocated to him, priority is given to clan members to buy the land before opening up to outsiders. Such arrangements dictate over issues of ownership, control and use of land.

In the urban where ownership of land is under individual freehold; ownership, access and use of land are based on one's ability to afford it. The difficulty in acquiring land lies in lack of money to purchase land. Land ownership is open to all regardless of family or clan ties. This in one way or the other has facilitated investment and production in urban areas leading to urban growth. Urban investments such as hotels, industries, schools, banks, hospitals, market have come to exist because of the openness of freehold tenure to ownership and investment. The two systems of land tenure in the region namely; customary and individual freehold land tenure systems have in one way or the other facilitated interaction between rural and urban areas in that the land tenure system in the rural areas gives room for production and supply of agricultural products to urban populations. The land tenure system allows for the production of industrial goods and services in the urban which attracts people, goods and services from the rural area, allowing for exchange to take place.

5.2.3 NAADS Programme under PMA

PMA is a government policy established in 2000 with the aim of increasing agricultural production as a basis for economic growth and development through research and technological development, rural financing, advisory services, agricultural education, agro – processing and marketing, rural infrastructural development and sustainable use of natural resources. To ensure successful implementation of these programmes, National Agriculture Advisory Services

(NAADS) and National Agricultural Research Organization (NARO) were established. NAADS was created in accordance with all Government policies of decentralization, liberalization and privatization. Its main objective is to increase access to information, knowledge and technology for profitable agricultural production. NAADS institutional framework consists of farmer institutions, local governments decentralized at district levels, private sector, NGOs and the NAADS Board and Secretariat.

PMA policy framework is aimed at promoting agricultural development through both small and large scale production (Government handbook 2003). It attempts to break the assumption that large scale farming is more productive than small holder farming. The decision whether or not a particular area should be used for large scale production or small scale production is a matter of private initiative. Government's role in promoting agricultural development through PMA is merely regulatory. Government is meant to ensure that large scale investors in the area of farming receive a conducive, business environment in terms of improved functioning of the land market to allow people buy large areas of land for commercial production; ensuring that the existing property rights are not disturbed. Government also plays a role in promoting urban farming that is whether or not urban farming should be emphasized and if so how policies here need to be drawn to protect the lives of those engaged in urban farming. Emphasis is also put in biotechnology while putting into consideration interests of farmers and the lives of the consumers. PMA also focuses on improving transport infrastructure such as roads, railway, air, water. The aim is to boost production, income and competitiveness because such infrastructure links producers to consumers. The policy notes that poor or inadequate road infrastructure is partly responsible for low production and productivity of some parts of the country. Government is therefore committed to improving transport infrastructure through repair and maintenance, construction and reconstruction. PMA policy also focuses on water for production covering water for crops, livestock, wild life, aquaculture and rural roads.

In examining the role of PMA in facilitating interactions between rural and urban settings in Bugisu region, this study placed its focus on NAADS programme and its role in influencing commuting activities. Impact of NAADS programme on commuting activities has been in terms of promoting agricultural development since it targets to boost agricultural production and household income through the market. Respondents were asked of the manner in which NAADS programme impacts on their activities. Responses generated pointed to access to information on agricultural activities, access to inputs and finance, table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Ways in Which NAADS Programme has Affected Commuting Activities

Effect of NAADS on commuter activities	Responses and their Percentages	
	N	%
Access to finance	06	2.22
Increased access to inputs	28	10.37
Improved access to information	49	18.15
Promoted commercial agriculture	13	4.81
Boosted agricultural production [overall]	27	10
Has no impact	46	17.04
Targets the economically-active poor	38	14.07
Underfunding	24	8.89
Misuse of funds	18	6.67
Politicization of programme	21	7.78
Total	270	100.00

Source: Field Data

Aggregating the role of NAADS on commuting activities shows a 28% impact in terms of access to information and inputs. Overall, 10% indicate that NAADS has boosted agricultural production in the region. Under NAADS advisory programme, farmers receive technical education on farming activities, such as use of improved seed varieties, planting techniques in line with seasons, soil science, crop

management, storage and marketing. To those who have been able to access such information some improvements have been made in their farming activities.

Although 10% of the respondents show a boost in agricultural production, the role of NAADs in promoting agricultural development is still wanting in the areas of supply of inputs such as improved seeds, finance, tools and implements required to improve production. A lot might have been done by the government in initiating programmes aimed at boosting agricultural production but little has translated into best practices and improved well-being. Putting together responses on access to finance, inputs and information 30% of respondents indicated NAADS to have had an impact on their activities. Overall, the 5% growth in commercial agriculture is significantly low to augment interactions between rural and urban settings.

One of the limitations is politicization of the programme. Selection of beneficiaries has been on the basis of political inclinations and who one is in the community. In this regard one of the respondents in Mbale had this to say;

Food insecurity problems in Mbale to an extent have been attributed to poor or limited role of agricultural extension services. There is a problem of inadequate provision of agricultural extension services. Some places reported misuse of NAADS funds by the NAADS officials and discriminative tendencies used by the officials in the allocation of funds and other benefits. Another key problem pointed out was negligence by the NAADS extension workers who spent much of their time doing their own things than perform the duties they are assigned to do. Other issues raised were those of inadequate funding to facilitate the extension services and lack of data on agriculture and animal husbandry, (Respondents in Mbale).

Interview with one of the extension workers in Sironko pointed to information processing as one of the limitations they face in implementing NAADS programmes. As noted by one of the extension worker in Bunabuti;

Information has to be presented to the farmers in local languages yet most of this information is very technical. Processing it requires a lot of time (Extension Worker in Bunabuti).

The service providers also noted that they are required to conduct too many farmer trainings in a short time and yet this was not feasible. Thus most farmers have not benefited from NAADS programme and continue with their old practices that do not allow for higher outputs.

A significant limitation to NAADS activities lies on supply of inputs to farmers. Farmers receive education but have no inputs to translate knowledge into best practices. Lack of farm inputs still continues to affect farmers enormously. Farmers find it difficult to access inputs such as seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and drugs, including finance from NAADS. These findings confirm what Samuel Benin et al 2007, indicate in their report that shortage of capital and credit facilities was often cited by farmers as a critical constraint facing them, in addition to scarcity of agricultural inputs, lack of adequate farmland, unfavourable weather patterns and problems of pests and diseases. In the event, that they failed to obtain inputs from NAADS farmers are often compelled to traverse long distances to towns trying to access such inputs from private suppliers. Unfortunately, private suppliers are often more expensive making it difficult for them to afford such inputs. The problem is compounded by the existence of fake and expired agricultural inputs in the market denying farmers services necessary to boost their output.

The existence of counterfeit agro inputs in the market has grossly affected farmer production and hence affecting farmer yields. This study notes that poor performance of technologies under NAADS programme was due to counterfeit agro

inputs. Some of the seeds in the market are expired or are simply coated with related colours to hoodwink farmers yet they have poor or low germination rates. Expired or diluted fertilizers, drugs and agrochemicals sold to farmers may have poor action and dangerous residual effects. Poor performance of technologies frustrates attitude change in adoption and practice of technologies leading to increased food insecurity due to low performance, high costs of production due to frequent repairs and replacements, perpetual poverty due to reduced farming profits in terms of low yields and yet high operation costs, loss of premium markets and good price. Such may also result into poor products from the farmers, health hazards due to contamination and adulterations, long term environmental degradation consequences, loss of trust and loan security to farmers

5.2.4: Trade Liberalisation Policy

Trade liberalisation can be defined to refer to the reduction of official barriers to trade which distort tradable and non-tradable goods and those between different tradables (Winters 2000). Trade liberalisation focuses on opening up economies to trade beyond boundaries at local, regional and international level.

The impact of trade liberalisation on commuting and commuter livelihoods is diverse and affects both urban and rural commuters in the region. Of the total number of respondents reached by this study by use of questionnaires 70% of them acknowledge that trade liberalisation impacts on their activities. Table 5.6, illustrates the manner in which trade liberalisation has impacted on commuting activities.

Table 5.6: Influence of Trade Liberalization Policy on RUI and Commuting Activities

Effect of trade liberalization policy on commuter activities	Responses and their Percentages	
	f	%
Boosted investment and production	124	17.84
Increased household income	141	20.29
Created markets	48	6.91
Promoted employment/increased wages	104	14.96
Has made no impact	66	9.50
Undermined household income	57	8.20
Destroyed markets	83	11.94
Undermined wages and employment	72	10.36

Source: Field Data

Although liberalization of the economy has been held responsible for the collapse of cooperative movement in Uganda and Bugisu region in particular, aggregately, it is praised for boosting investment, production and household income, accounting for 60%. Its impact on commuting activities is seen in providing commuters with enabling environment to engage into activities seen to be profitable. Putting it together, trade liberalization and privatization have boosted the private sector and commercialization of agriculture. Most of the glaring commercial activities in the region have been attributed to trade liberalization and privatization. Asked of whether they benefited from trade liberalisation one of the respondents had this to say;

If trade liberalization is the freedom for one to engage into any activity for a living, it is a good thing. Many of us now have the liberty to try out our talents the ways we feel may enable us achieve. You find people mixing farming with trade and able to meet their needs (Respondent in Buyobo, in Sironko district).

Although seen from a positive side by most commuters, the repercussions of trade liberalization led to the collapse of cooperative movement in Bugisu region which has negatively undermined production and marketing of coffee, the traditional cash crop among Bagisu. This in turn resulted into worsening poverty especially among rural populations whose source of income was dependent on coffee production. Coupled with problems of scarcity of land many Bagisu have been forced to devise alternative survival mechanisms occasioning commuting and migration from rural to urban areas. Overall, despite the existence of domestic markets, poor households have not benefited from trade liberalization. Little has trickled down to their coffers in terms of income growth and better prices. The exposure of the economy to global markets compounds the problem, making most poor households vulnerability to vagaries of international trade.

5.2.5 The Private Sector Development Policy (Also Privatization)

The 1993 public enterprise reform and divestiture statute No.9 provides guidelines for reform and divestiture of public enterprises. The statute also provides for the establishment of an institutional framework for implementation of the private sector development policy.

The major aim of private development policy is to reduce direct role of government in Uganda's economy and thus promote a corresponding greater role of the private sector (accelerate private sector led to economic growth and development). The policy also aims at improving the efficiency and performance of public enterprises (under government control). Improve the efficiency, coverage and economic efficiency of commercial and utility services

By this, the policy seeks to address divestiture of industrial and commercial public enterprises, utility sector reforms such as in telecommunications, electricity, water and rail transport sectors. The aim is to increase competition, enhancing the sector's regulatory framework, labour retrenchment - most public enterprises are overstaffed

and require downsizing to make them attractive to investors, strengthening of parastatal financial oversight. This is to improve on the financial discipline and good governance of public enterprises

Privatization refers to the transfer of power and authority to make decisions and manage public affairs from the central government to the private sector (actors). Privatization may take different forms namely; transfer of capital/equity from government to the private sector. In this case the entire decision making and management of business enterprises remains in the hands of private actors. Government gives out the management of public sector to the private actor as sub-contractor but on behalf of the government. Cost sharing which involves government levying a fee on services initially provided freely by the government. Bidding ie the government invites bidders to take over the running of businesses formerly under government control. The highest bidder then takes it all. The policy has been regularly used by the local government under the District Tender Boards (procurement services). Denationalization (load shedding) involves reduction of the scope of government activities by sale of formerly government own businesses (parastatals) for example sale of Uganda Commercial Bank (U.C.B), Lint Marketing Board (L.M.B), Coffee Marketing Board (C.M.B), Dairy Corporation just to mention. Liberalization involves the removal of the statutory prohibitions on the private sector. Thus, allowing the private sector to compete favourably with the public sector.

Table 5.7: Influence of Private Sector Development Policy on RUI and Commuting Activities

Effect of private sector development policy on commuting activities	Responses and their Percentages	
	f	%
Strengthened formal sector	42	3.61
Strengthened informal sector	136	11.70
Increased supply and access to goods & services	249	21.43
Promoted efficient and effective service delivery	92	7.92
Improved performance of public enterprises	75	6.45
Increased foreign capital investment	28	2.41
Boosted agricultural production	67	5.77
Improved access to market	152	13.08
Has made no impact	103	8.86
Exploitation of consumers	98	8.43
Cost-sharing	42	3.61
A rise in cost of utilities	27	2.32
Loss of public assets	36	3.10
Profit repatriation	15	1.29

Source: Field Data

The private sector development policy has been credited for boosting agricultural production and investment, strengthening informal and formal sectors, increasing supply and access to goods and services accounting for 45%. Overall, the policy has had positive impact on the economy of the region accounting for 73% growth in the region in terms of local and foreign investments, access to markets, efficient and effective service delivery and household income generation, table 5.7.

The weakness associated with private enterprise development policy is in terms of its operationalisation and regulation. The policy has led to exploitation of consumers due to over pricing of goods and services and lack of regulation (price control). Other problems relate to cost-sharing in public utilities especially

government hospitals and higher institutions of learning. Cost sharing in hospitals has denied a majority poor access to medical services that originally used to be provided by government. As presented in table 5.7: on causes of morbidity in region cost sharing has been one of the factors responsible for morbidity in the region. Private investment has also led to a rise in cost of utilities such as electricity and water, utilities seen to be very vital for local investments. Such high prices translate into high cost of production and low profits for local and foreign investors. The policy has also failed to resolve the unemployment problem. It has an effect on the working and living conditions of employees, loss of public assets and repatriation of profits to other investor countries. All in all, private sector development policy has led to improved commercial transactions in the region it has increased the level of flows between rural and urban areas in the region and thus influencing commuting.

5.2.6: Financial Services Policy

The financial services development policy was developed aimed at increasing incomes of those engaged in commercial production and improving the standard of living of the average Ugandans through small scale Micro Finance Institutions (MFIs). In this regard the micro finance institutions law was enacted by parliament in April 2003 to allow soundly managed and well capitalized MFIs to intervene in local financing. It was expected that the formal banking sector will increase their transactions with micro-finance institutions. MFIs are expected to act as retail institutions for both deposit taking and credit extension to rural populations. Commercial banks are to play the role of wholesale in both deposit taking and credit extension to MFIs. This is expected to enhance the provision of financial services to rural settings for rural investment and development.

Table 5.8: Influence of Financial Services Policy on RUI and Commuting Activities

Effect of financial services policy on commuter activities	Responses and their Percentages	
	f	%
Access to income for investment (loans)	42	7.97
Expanded business	29	5.50
Has made no impact	178	33.78
High interest rates	213	40.42
Loss of property	65	12.33

Source: Field Data

There has been an increase in accessibility to loans and capital by the local population through MFIs. The limitation however lies with the amounts (loan) given to the borrowers especially those without co-lateral security. The borrowers in this category obtain between 50.000 and 500.000/=, amounts seen to be very insignificant to cause change and boost production. The respondents also complained of high interest rates. One of the respondents in Mbale town complained;

*Banks are good because they enable us get loans to boost our business activities. The problem however, is the interest rates. In case one borrowed 2.000.000/= he would be required to bay back all this money with interest of 500.000 in a year. This is heavy on us. Consequently borrowers don't make profits because the, would be profit goes in paying the loan and interest (**Respondents in Mbale**).*

This statement confirms studies by Bategeka and Okumu, 2010 who assert that microfinance institutions charge very high interest rates and other transaction costs.

Another respondent from Mbale town expressed the problem of harassment of borrowers in case of defaulting, thus;

Some people have lost their businesses and property due to MFIs. When you go to the bank, the bank officials subject you to so many things, sign here sign there. There are many requirements including your household property that you have to declare and they take photos. When you default once or twice, the bank asks for full payment of the loan. At the end they come for your property. This has discouraged us from borrowing. Some people are even returning the moneys they borrowed

(Respondent in Mbale Town).

A notable limitation to MFIs is that local micro financing has resulted into harassment and loss of property by clients. While financial institutions coverage of the urban areas is relatively sufficient, outreach to the rural areas is still limited. Much as efforts are under way to encourage rural outreach by the formal banks, the social economic and cultural set up in the rural areas does not favour formal banking systems.

Government lately introduced a new financial strategy entitled "*prosperity for all*" in which people access credit through SACCOS. The success of this strategy however, has been questionable due to the inherent intricacies in its implementation. Taxation of circles has proved to be a problem to the "*bona bagawale*" programme, the selection process of the beneficiaries is problematic due to the fact that beneficiaries of the fund are selected on the basis of political inclinations. In some other parts of the country such as Dokolo, district leaders have asked government to disband SACCOS and instead promote Village Savings and Loans Associations (Bul-cuk) citing corruption, bureaucracy in accessing funds, poor leadership and political interference. They assert that the process in SACCOS is too long and complicated (Monitor New paper 26/4/2012). This brings out clearly challenges associated with Government SACCOS.

5.2.7: PEAP Policy [2004/5 – 2007/8]

PEAP as a development policy was first drafted in 1997 and revised in 2000. The aim was to provide an overall framework to guide public action to eradicate poverty. PEAP was anchored on five (5) major pillars of development namely; economic management, production, competitiveness and incomes, security, conflict resolution and disaster management, human development and good governance.

Economic management was to raise average growth of Uganda's economy up to 7% per annum achieved through; removal of bureaucratic barriers to investment, improvement in transport infrastructure and utility services, modernization/commercialization of agriculture with emphasis on value addition, increased access to finance by the rural populations through M.F.Is, improved actions to enhanced environment sustainability, improved security and continued focus on HIV prevalence education and impact mitigation.

To remove barriers to investment PEAP aimed at achieving growth by; reducing the rates of population growth, inflation, deficit reduction by putting emphasis on quality rather than quantity of public expenditure, reduction of the size of informal sector, financial sector development with a focus on reduction of commercial banks holdings of Government securities in order to free up funds for private sector development, establishment of reference bureaus and promotion of micro finance institutions since their legal status was already defined. Diversification of exports was to be pursued by negotiating trade barriers reduction for example tariff and non-tariff barriers.

Actions to promote production, competitiveness and incomes were guided by the policy frameworks, done by improving agriculture through PMA, transport sector and infrastructural development through National Roads Authority to implement the road sector development plan. On this, the Government will finalize the joint concession of the operations and explore private sector incentives for rehabilitation

of the lines and regional links. Commercially viable tariffs were established, rural electrification was to be subsidized to reduce costs on rural users. Government has licensed mining companies for petroleum exploration and has established a new mineral policy and mining law. Government has continued to support the promotion of Uganda as a tourist centre in terms of cultural and domestic tourism. Others areas of development include; science and technology development, financial services, media, small scale and micro – enterprise development, environment management, labour market and productivity of workers through policy and capacity building, Human development and good governance

The influence of PEAP on commuting activities has not been clear. Perhaps the reason is the policy acted as a guide to other policies. As the policy put emphasis on poverty eradication done through agricultural and industrial development and through the development of transport sector and financial services, its role in facilitating growth and rural-urban interaction can be viewed through the agricultural and industrial/service systems that have contributed enormously to rural urban interactions. Other aspects of the policy were long term to be achieved through long term investments whose impact cannot be realized in the present. Due to inherent inadequacies PEAP was replaced with the National Development Policy whose effects on commuting cannot be clearly defined as of now.

5.2.8: Industrial Development Policy (2008) and Commuting Activities

Principal focus of the industrial development policy is to develop the natural domestic resource-based industries such as petroleum, cement and fertilizer industries; and promoting competitive industries that use local raw materials, agro-processing focusing on food processing, leather and leather products, textiles and garments, sugar, dairy products and value addition in niche exports, engineering for capital goods, agricultural implements, construction materials, and fabrication/Jua kali operations. Important aspects of the industrial development policy relevant to this study pertain to creation of employment, infrastructural development to

facilitate growth and production. Another important aspect of the industrial development policy is promoting supply chain efficiency and demand for rural agricultural and urban industrial products.

Table 5.9: Influence of Industrial Development Policy on Commuting Activities

Effect of industrialization development policy [2008] on commuter activities	Responses and their Percentages	
	f	%
Industrial development	62	7.08
Supply of industrial products	187	21.35
Boosted agricultural production	124	14.16
Created job opportunities	84	9.59
Has made no impact	145	16.55
Exploitation of workers	113	12.89
Failed to resolve unemployment problem	68	7.76
Supply of poor quality products	93	10.62

Source: Field Data

Other than growth of urban centres which is spreading all over the rural areas, the role of industrial development policy on rural/urban development and interaction has been very slow. No significant impact has been realized especially in the rural settings. Even in the urban areas particularly Mbale town, most of the industries in existence are small scale processing plants, processing maize, rice and coffee. A few manufacturing industries such as Mbale soap works, Mbale textiles that existed have also collapsed. Overall, the impact of industrial development policy is seen in the supply of industrial products and boosting agricultural production by providing market, accounting for 35% influence.

5.3: ANALYSIS OF DRIVERS OF COMMUTING IN BUGISU REGION

Table 5.10: Drivers of Commuting Activities in Bugisu Region

Factors influencing commuting activities	Responses and their Percentages	
	N	%
Policies	18	6.66
Pressure on land	76	28.14
Assets owned and accessed by households	32	11.85
Household decisions	25	9.25
Market conditions	42	15.55
Gender relations	5	1.85
Kinship ties	5	1.85
Household capabilities	13	4.81
Poverty	51	18.88
Historical factors	3	1.11
Total	270	100.00

Source: Field Data

Respondents were asked to point out factors they felt were the major drivers of commuting in the region. Aggregately pressure on land, poverty, market conditions, household decisions, assets owned by households and policy factors (90.3%) stood as the major drivers of commuting and also play a significant role in influencing interactions between rural and urban settings in Bugisu. Pressure on land however came out as the major driver of commuting in the region accounting for 28% of the total responses generated through questionnaires. Although policies are central to national planning, its role in influencing commuting in Bugisu is low with a 7 % influence.

5.3.1: The Role of Market Chain System

The role of market chain system is central to the analysis and explaining the interaction between rural and urban settings. The level of adaptation and assimilation of households into rural-urban interactions is influenced by the market chain system, figure 5.1.

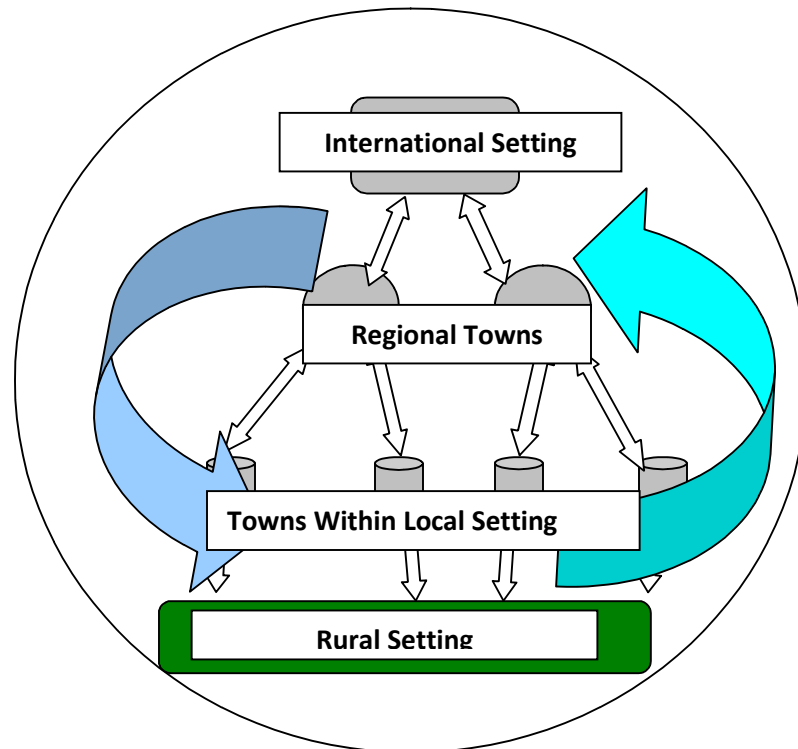


Figure 5.1: Regional and National Urban Networks Linked into the Wider Networks; Source: The Author

The ability of regional, national and international markets to offer attractive prices for rural produce is crucial in linking rural predominantly agricultural areas with other regional, national and international urban networks. Anything short of this means, local farmers will be discouraged from engaging into active production due to unfavourable prices in the local or international market. Figure 5.1, illustrates the

urban networks showing how the local urban centres link nationally and internationally.

5.3.2: The Role of Towns

Urbanization considered as the spatial concentration of people and economic activity in town, is has become an important engine for social-economic transformation of the third world economies from subsistence agricultural to industrial life. While the timing and speed of urbanization may have varied between regions of Uganda, urbanization as a process has gained hold in every part of the country, Uganda. Towns and cities that have come as a result of urbanization have become centres for western civilization; they have become the engines of economic growth and culture transformation. They are locus for employment where many young graduates turn for refuge looking for ways of beginning a new life after school. Towns and cities offer market to rural agricultural products facilitating interaction between towns and the country side. Better services found in town in the form of education and medical services, hotel and recreation services have attracted a large number of people from the country side and other urban centres.

Small and medium sized towns have instead become important in facilitating interactions between rural and urban settings. The urban industrial and service system and the rural agricultural system foster interdependence between urban and rural settings, creating synergies that support growth and development of rural and urban settings. Small towns serve as conduits between rural markets at the country side and mega cities linking them to international market systems bringing with it, merits of growth and development. Figure 4.3, shows the nature of interaction between households at the country side and urban centres in Bugisu region brought about by urbanisation. Households interact with both nearby and distant towns and derive a living from any town seen to offer opportunities for growth to households especially in terms of household's ability to sustain its business in a given locus.

5.3.3: Access to and Control of Land

Land is one of the fundamental factors of growth and development. Its influence on agricultural growth and livelihoods development is enormous. Access to land by farmers offers opportunity for farmers to actively engage in the production process which in turn leads to increased output in the agricultural sector. A rise in output means increase in supply of agricultural produce to the local and international market. Forces of demand play an important role in evoking production and supply of agricultural products to the market. In the event that farmers do not have access to land due to distributional factors or in the event that the available land has declined in fertility or that natural calamities such as harsh climate have affected farmers produce, the flows of agricultural products from rural to urban markets declines.

Land tenure systems in Bugisu region have influenced commuting in that much of the agricultural production in rural areas is under customary tenure allowing access and use by clan members. In the urban, ownership of land is under individual freehold which allows any person to own, access and use land as long as one can afford it. The difficulty in acquiring land lies in lack of money to purchase. Land ownership in town however is open to all regardless of family or clan ties. This in one way or the other has facilitated investment and production in urban areas leading to urban growth. Urban investments such as hotels, industries, schools, banks, hospitals, market have come to exist because of the openness of freehold tenure to ownership and investment. The two systems of land tenure have facilitated interaction between rural and urban areas in that the agricultural system in the rural areas gives room for production and supply of agricultural products to urban populations. The industrial and service system in the urban on the other hand attracts people, goods and services from the rural area to urban who would wish to take advantage of the opportunities in town in terms of employment and business [marketing and purchases].

5.3.4: Gender Relations and Culture of Male Dominance

The Bagisu have a culture of male dominance. Gender relations are based on sex orientations. Gender relations determine the level of participation of household members in economic and social-political activities. Like many African societies the Bagisu have unique culture that makes males superior over their female counterparts. This culture dictates over what a man does vis-à-vis what a woman does. There are highly differentiated social systems that recognize age, sex, and ability as a basis for allowable behaviour and expression. Status and prestige is accorded according to age, sex and ability. There are complex role expectations. Enterprise managers for example are also family heads. Family responsibilities are divided based on sex. Women do mostly domestic work including farming except for formal employment. Unlike in the urban settings, enterprise manager lack the intellectual skills about the farm and family management. Managers (family heads) are guided by wealth, past experiences and trails by error. This culture of male dominance over women has dictated the level of productivity among males and females and dictates on who commutes, where and with what or for what reason. It also explains why males dominate business activities in the region and therefore continue to dominate commuting as a livelihood strategy.

5.3.5: Kinship Ties

Kinship influences commuting and interaction between rural and urban settings in different ways. First it determines who commutes or migrates to the city and second it influences economic activities households may engage in. Kinship is best understood in terms of group relationships and interactions. The initial basic human social relationship and status allocation are done within the kinship context among rural and urban communities. All the initial placement of individuals in society occurs through the family. Social behaviour which is governed by taboos and group membership norms is initially defined within kinship system. All non family

organizations ideally take into account behaviours related to family obligations. Group dynamics determines what its members do and how they may do it.

5.3.6: Decision by Household Members on What to Do

Decisions made by household members are central in influencing commuting activities and facilitating interaction between rural and urban settings in the region. Household decisions determine the type of economic activity its members will engage in. It determines whether households may produce for market or subsistence and whether to transact business locally or regionally with rural or urban communities. The type of economic activity commuters engage in is important in influencing the level of interaction between rural and urban settings. Bicycle repair, brewing of alcohol (maluwa or waragi), subsistence agriculture may not necessarily draw the attention of distant customers compared to commercial agriculture, service sector investments such as investment in education and health services, financial services which are likely to attract households from a far and thus act as a potential for facilitating commuting and interaction between rural and urban areas.

5.3.7: Population Explosion

Pressure on land due to high population growth rates of over 5.6% per annum has facilitated commuting and interaction between rural and urban settings in Mt. Elgon region. Pressure on land drives households to engage into alternative source of livelihood and income outside their routine farming activities since land does not adequately support households. Land fragmentation and miniaturization as a result of population pressure and the prevalent land inheritance practices have led not only to diminishing land holdings but also landlessness. Household landholdings are extremely small, both in the lower and higher altitude villages of Mt. Elgon and among all demographic groups, reflecting high population density of the region. The average farm size across the total sample is 2.1 acres. This corroborates with findings by McKinnon and Reinikka, 2000 who have it that the average household

land holdings in Bugisu is estimated at 2.2 ha per household. With an average household size of 6.1 persons, this represents a mean per capita landholding of 0.4 acres (0.15 ha), very little land on which to produce both for household food consumption and market.

Most households in the region own between $\frac{1}{2}$ - 1 acre of land. Customary tenure and subsistence production have also opened room for fragmentation of land reducing the size of land owned by households. This scenario has forced a majority of the people to engage into additional mechanisms of survival leading to permanent migration or commuting to supplement farm activities.

5.3.8: Poverty

Poverty that has characterised Mt. Elgon region, just as many parts of rural Uganda has been instrumental as a driving force behind commuting. Increasing poverty levels amidst declining role of rural economy in supporting livelihoods has made commuting a livelihood strategy. Poverty influences the rate at which households accumulate wealth. It determines level of access to and control of assets. Poor households tend to be trapped in poverty due to lack of or limitedness of resources, a pattern" of behaviors and situations which cannot easily be changed. Poor households do not have resources such as financial capital, education, or social capital necessary to get out of poverty. They cannot go to the bank to borrow money to boost up their livelihood activities because they do not have land titles or log books to be mortgaged, as co-lateral. They do not have useful social connections and therefore cannot easily get help from others. Those they relate with are as poor and helpless as they are. Generally, they lack asset base to help them get out of the poverty trap. The environment or externalities compound the problem exposing such households to shocks and trends which make their livelihoods more vulnerable.

5.3.9: Historical Factors

Colonial legacy in the region has played a critical role in influencing commuting activities and interaction between rural and urban settings. As the British gained strong holds in Uganda, Mbale was declared as an administrative centre for eastern Uganda, then under North Bukedi administration. The introduction of Arabica coffee as a cash crop in the region made Mbale a hub for the region drawing people as far as Buganda, Kenya and linking the region to the outside world through trade and the railway line. The coffee boom of the 1980's climaxed the interaction and sparked off high levels of commuting between the rural and urban settings. The Bagisu produced coffee and sold to cooperative societies. The cooperative movement of the 1980's spread the process of urbanisation to the country side leading to the development of commercial centres in places such as Bubulo, Budduda, Budadiri, Sironko that today have expanded and have been upgraded to district headquarters. Although theory has it that national policies clearly have significant effects upon the livelihood patterns of rural dwellers and the types of interactions they maintain or establish with urban areas (Onokorheraye, 1995), an assessment of the role of policies in influencing commuting activities in Bugisu region, is low.

The role of policies in influencing commuter livelihoods is perhaps low due to blurred understanding of policies by the respondent. Policies whose role featured most in influencing commuting activities were the tax policy mainly known for the pain, it inflicts on the business community in terms of multiplicity of taxes and high rates. The other was privatisation policy that is assumed to have led to the growth of private sector in the region. The role of cooperative movement was highlighted especially in the growth of coffee industry. The importance of land as a factor of production and more so as the only asset among rural commuters made land policy popular.

CHAPTER SIX

COMMUTER LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES AND HOUSEHOLD WELLBEING

6.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces us to a critical part of this study pertaining to sustainability of commuter livelihoods. Key concern here is the understanding of the concept of livelihoods and what it takes for a livelihood to be sustainable. Commuting has become a common phenomenon in most African cities in the height of urbanisation and rising household poverty levels. The question however, is whether commuting as a livelihood strategy is sustainable and whether livelihood strategies undertaken by commuters are in position to support the well-being of their household members? To address these questions the study explores in detail the dynamics of commuting vis-à-vis the concept of sustainability of livelihoods.

6.1 COMMUTER LIVELIHOODS

Authors in this subject define a livelihood to mean the sum of ways and means by which individuals, households and communities make and sustain a living over time using a combination of socio-economic, cultural and environmental resources (Pain and Lautze 2002). In simple terms, a livelihood refers to a job, work, and source of income or living. A livelihood may refer to an activity households do to earn a living. It refers to “*multiple activities households employ to earn a living*”. Households make a living through a myriad of ways doing formal and informal jobs, farm and non-farm activities, legal and illegal jobs.

Households build up various patterns of activities which together constitute their livelihood. Strategies adopted by households are more dependent on household’s *objectives* and *interests*. Livelihood strategies are further shaped by the prevailing

market conditions, the assets available and capabilities to households. Livelihood strategies adopted by households are usually short or long-term or both depending on the shocks and stress caused by poverty, seasonal factors, household's objectives and the assets available.

Short-term livelihood strategies may take the form of budget adjustments to fit expenditure within limited income and high cost of living; the case of the current soaring prices and high cost of living in Uganda. In this case households have been forced to make substantive budget adjustments to fit expenditures within their incomes. In such circumstances households may adjust consumption from expensive items to cheaper ones; move children from expensive schools to affordable schools; and stop obtaining medical care from professionals and start seeing traditional herbalists or buy drugs from drug shops. Such mechanisms are adopted out of necessity as households seek better livelihood alternatives. They are a result of sudden and immediate changes (seasonalities such as seasonal shifts in prices, production, food availability, employment opportunities).

Long-term strategies are those undertaken to help a household build capacity over time in preparation for long-term life changes. These may take the form of investment in children's or personal education, capital investment such as real estate investment or setting up a business, firm or factory. Details of this about Bugisu region are discussed in the later sections of this chapter.

Through observation and interviews with the respondents, this study established that the common livelihood strategies commuter households engaged in are farm and non-farm activities. Farm activities include crop and animal husbandry. Households grow a range of crops such as maize, beans, cabbages, carrots, coffee and bananas for domestic and commercial purposes. They rear chicken, goats and cattle though on a small scale due to shortage of land. Non-farm activities are dominantly found in urban areas in towns such as Mbale, Manafa, budduda, Sironko and Bulambuli also serving as district headquarters. There are also so many

small towns and trading centres and markets in the region that offer opportunities for growth of no-farm activities. One of the major markets in the region is Kamus that draws commuters from within and outside the region. Urban influence in the region has led to increase in scale of non-farm activities in the rural areas. Non-farm activities take the range of activities such as professional and non-professional services such as education, medical care, and repairs. They also include retail and wholesale trade, vending, hawking, construction and processing activities, table 6.1. In the rural areas the dominant non-farm activities are brick laying, coffee and maize processing, carpentry, teaching and pottery.

Table 6.1: Sex of Respondents * Livelihood Activities Cross Tabulation

Count									
		Livelihood activities							
		Hawking	Street vending	Retail/wholesale	Small manufacturing/processing	Construction	Services	Farming	Total
Sex of respondents	Male	24	62	44	20	12	0	0	162
	Female	0	3	3	0	0	78	24	108
	Total	24	62	44	20	18	78	24	270

Source: Field Data

The livelihood activities in Bugisu region are dictated by population pressure, shortage of land and growing trends of urbanisation. Commuting has been undertaken by many household out of necessity. Choice of livelihood activity strongly depends on the opportunities available to households and their capacity to undertake the tasks. Aggregately, 59% of commuting activities are business/commercial related taking the form of retail and wholesale trade, vending and hawking. The opportunities in town dictate upon what commuters do and

explains, why in table, 6.1 the service sector takes the largest share of livelihood activities accounting for close to 29% of commuting activities followed by street vending (23%). Street vendors engage in diverse activities taking advantage of every opportunity available that a household can do. In the evenings traders from the suburbs and nearby villages come to Mbale town occupying most of the commercial streets notably Naboah road, Market street, Kumi road and taxi/bus park areas. In the night between 8.00pm and 10.00pm the commuters go back to their areas of aboard and return to the streets the following morning or evening.

Males dominated commuting. Table 6.1, shows that most of those involved in commuting in Bugisu region of Mt. Elgon were males constituting 60% of the 270 respondents reached by the study through questionnaires, with women taking a share of 40% of the total number of commuters.

Culture plays a significant role in determining who commutes or migrates to town. In African tradition, men take care of their families and have the responsibility of making decisions on what type of livelihood is suitable or can make the well-being of household members attainable. Often men are in position to do jobs outside their homes or regions as women take on tasks related to home management; taking care of children and other domestic work. It is not a common practice to see women do businesses outside their localities especially for young families. A few of those women who commute to distant towns beyond 16km could be mothers who have gone beyond the reproductive age or those who were household heads. This explains why men dominate commuting covering long distances of even over 30 km.



Plate 6.1: Some of the Commuter Livelihood Activities in Mbale Town; Source: Field Photos

An interesting scenario in the region is the manner in which urban households maintain close links with their rural homes and continue to carry on with farming activities in the rural areas along side their urban livelihood jobs. Most households integrate rural and urban activities having gardens of coffee, maize and beans in the country side. The farms are managed by relatives in the rural areas. Once in a while (weekly or monthly), commuters in town visit their rural homes to check on their investments there. Asked why urbanites have to have farms in the country side rather than concentrate on their urban livelihoods, one of the respondents from Manafa district headquarters (town) had this to say;

*We maintain links with our rural homes for two reasons; to register your presence keeping in track with your relatives at home securing your position with other relatives not to be counted as a social outcast. This is because when you die or lost a family member, you have to be taken and buried in the ancestral land. The second reason is the need to diversify sources of income amidst hard economic times of today. By having a garden of maize or beans one can supplement the little earnings with food stuffs from home – making life a little bit easier than solely depending on earnings from urban job, (**Respondent in Manafa Town Council**).*

6.1.1 Influence of Demographic Factors on Livelihood Activities by Respondents

Demographic factors such as age, sex, education and marital status of commuters had a significant role in determining the economic activities undertaken by the commuters in Bugisu region. Table 6.3 shows the level of significance arrived at through regression analysis.

Table 6.2: Influence of Demographic Factors on Livelihood Activities by Respondents

Model		Coefficients ^a				Sig.
		Un standardized		Standardized	t	
		Coefficients				
B	Std. Error	Beta				
1	(Constant)	-3.011	.132		-22.838	.000
	Age of respondent	.903	.071	.404	12.646	.000
	Sex of respondents	1.539	.091	.382	16.915	.000
	Marital status	-.182	.037	-.122	-4.906	.000
	Education level	.758	.052	.374	14.523	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Livelihood activities

Adjusted R Square = 0.949, (F = 1.242E3, d.f. = 265, 269 and Sig. = 0.000)

Source: Field data

In analysing patterns of interaction and commuting activities in Bugisu region, the study noted that demographic factors such as age, sex and education had a 95% influence on the livelihood activities undertaken by commuters. Children commuting for example were engaged in jobs related to casual labour while a few others sold fire wood, bamboo, polythene bags and bananas. Their inability to undertake other tasks occupied by their elders was constrained by age, lack of skills and capital.

Males dominated most of the activities such as hawking, vending retail and whole sale business activities, small manufacturing accounting for 60% of commuting activities as opposed to the females. Male dominance of commuting activity has been attributed to the culture of masculinity among the Bagisu, a factor witnessed in many parts of Africa. This culture creates some sense of responsibility among males and makes them develop a feeling of superiority and courage. It creates in them the intuition that it is their duty to support their families. It induces some spirit of hard work and focus that makes males often think beyond their geographical locations.

From adolescent age boys begin to assume roles of their fathers, acting on their behalf once there is an opportunity for them to fill up that gap. They are often mentored into male roles and responsibilities. Culture also allows males to explore areas far beyond their village homes to other regions, taking on with ease, livelihoods offered in towns and cities. On the contrary, the same culture restricts females to specific tasks, mainly those related to home management as they are being prepared for wives and mothers. It is for this reasons that males dominate commuting as opposed to their counter parts the female.

The level of education of commuters was significant in that it was one of the determinants of the type of livelihood activity commuters engage in. Most commuters who had not gone beyond primary level of education engaged in farming and interacted most with their village commercial centres and towns. The educated were found to be engaged in non-farm activities covering distances far beyond their geographical locations and combining farm with non- farm activities as a way of supporting their livelihoods and well-being of their household members.

6.2: Pillars of Commuter Livelihood

Livelihoods are built on assets, capabilities, entitlements and activities that enable people to make a living. Assets refer to stocks of capital households utilised directly or indirectly to make a living and to sustain their material well-being. They are categorised as tangible and intangible (Chambers R., 1995). Tangible assets refer to material assets used by households to make a living. Such material assets are natural, physical, human and financial capital. Intangible assets are the invisible assets comprising of social capital, capabilities and mental merits or inherent potentials of an individual. Assets and capabilities are important components of livelihoods. They are the basic building blocks upon which commuter households are able to undertake production, take part in service and trading activities and participate in reciprocal exchange with others. These are analysed at in detail in the subsequent paragraphs.

6.2.1: Assets and Commuter Livelihoods

This study shares with other authors in this subject of livelihoods and identifies five major assets/stocks of capital and capabilities considered important for commuter livelihoods. These five major stocks/assets are; human capital, natural capital, social capital, physical capital and financial capital (Chambers, 1995, Sen, 1992, UNDP, 1999).

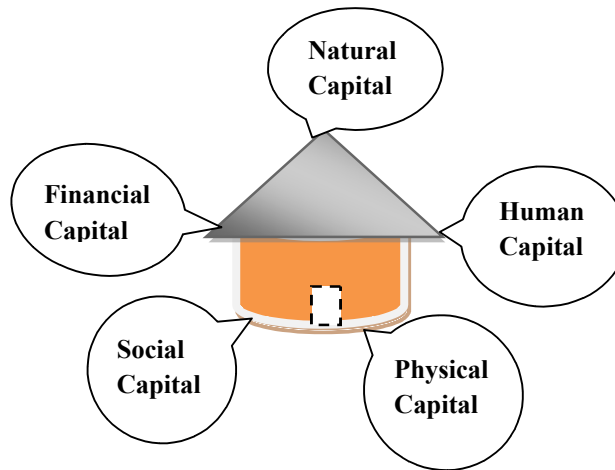


Figure 6.1: Assets Supporting Commuter Livelihoods; Source: Field Data

(a) Natural Capital

Natural capital refers to stocks of natural resources from which we build our livelihoods and make a living. Land constitutes the major natural asset for rural households in the region. Although important in towns, it is the only and the most important asset upon which livelihoods are built in rural areas. It has even become much more contested asset in the region due to population pressure. Box 5.1 illustrates some of the responses raised during field study pertaining to land crisis in Bugisu.

(b) Physical Capital

This study reveals that physical capital in the form of crops, seeds, fertilisers, pesticides, livestock, technology and roads played an important role in building the livelihoods of commuters. Through interviews and FGDs with respondents it was established that buildings and cars are used as mortgages, tools, equipment and machinery on the other hand are used for production, energy (electricity) and other forms of infrastructure are important assets in sustainability of livelihoods of commuters. This study defines physical capital to refer to “assets accumulated by households to counter vulnerability and or accumulate more assets to make livelihoods sustainable”. It was also established through interviews that physical assets play an important role in increasing security of livelihoods. Physical capital enhances a household’s capacity to cope with the challenges of poverty. It plays a significant role in reducing shocks and vulnerability both in the short- and long-term. Through FGDs it was established that households with reasonable pieces of land and utilized well their physical capital in the form of livestock and fertilizers for crops were relatively strong in terms of food insecurity. Part of the produce was often sold to enable households meet other basic needs such as school fees for their children

(c) Human Capital

The decision to engage in any livelihoods activity hinges on human capital and household’s capabilities; the ability to undertake a given challenging task. Human capital represents the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives. At a household level human capital is a factor of the amount and quality of labour available; this varies according to household size, skill levels, leadership potentials, health status. Human capital appears in the generic framework as a livelihood asset, that is, as a building block or means of achieving livelihood outcomes. Its accumulation can also be an end in itself. Many people regard ill-

health or lack of education as core dimensions of poverty and thus overcoming these conditions may be one of their primary livelihood objectives (DFID 1999).

This study defines human capital as *physical and mental merits and inherent potential of a household*. Such merit includes education, knowledge, skills, creativity, health, nutrition, capacity to work and the adaptive strategies that households use to make a living. Human capital may be naturally endowed or developed through capacity building. In the informal environment, apprenticeship plays a pivotal role in the development of individual's capacity to undertake challenging tasks. Such capabilities are often made better through formal training. In the business language, human capital may be defined as entrepreneurship and manpower or ability to make a business run successfully. In rural settings where farming constitutes an integral part of livelihoods, human capital and capabilities refer to the knowledge, skills and manpower employed to realise acceptable agricultural yields and household well-being.

Throughout the field study it was established that a large number of respondents were educated with over 50% having at least attended secondary education. It was common to find respondents attempt to speak English, an indication that they attended school. It is also stressed in the subsequent paragraph of table 4.4, that those who took to farming might have chosen to do so because of their level of education and exposure constraining movement beyond their habitual environments. Education standards (quality) under UPE and USE are generally low in Uganda and worse in rural areas. In rural areas of Bugisu region there is general lack of class rooms and other instruction materials, competence of teachers is questionable especially in the country side. Pupils complete primary level when they cannot adequately construct good English sentences. This in itself illustrates low levels of capacity building and manpower development in the region.

(d) Financial Capital

The role of financial capital in commuting is paramount and serves as the foundation of commuter livelihood activities. This study defines financial capital as “the monetary resources owned by households in terms of accumulated savings, physical cash at hand or in the bank, or near money such as money invested in the purchase of goods that can easily be turned to cash”. Near money may also refer to cash in form of cheques, bank drafts and treasury bills possessed by households. Financial capital also includes remittances and wages/salary payments realized by households. Financial capital is an important asset in the business world and is a key factor for urban livelihoods. With exception of employees, all commuters who owned business activities (73%) made use of financial capital as a basis for establishment and expansion of their businesses. Banking institutions (especially MFIs, commercial banks), accumulated savings and sales from produce constituted a major source of financing for commuter livelihood activities in Mt. Elgon region. Social groups locally known as “merry go rounds” were instrumental in supporting commuter livelihood activities and in meeting other household needs.

(e) Social Capital

Social capital presents an important opportunity for growth of commuter livelihood activities. It is as important as natural or financial capital to commuters. Commuters build their business activities and support their households through social capital. Referred to as “intangible asset”, social capital is defined to mean the wider networks of social relations between individuals, households and communities, including systems of patronage, neighbourhoods and kinship. It includes relations of trust and mutual support, formal and informal groups, common rules and sanctions, collective representation, mechanisms for participation in decision-making and leadership. Social capital entails support from the government, local community, church, family members and friends that make a living possible or even sustainable. Commuters were asked to list specific sources of social support for

their households. The question drew a list of sources; from personal savings, friends, relatives, SACCOS, financial institutions, Government (referring to NAADS) and charities.

Table 6.3: Sources of Funding for Commuter Livelihood Activities

Sources of funding for livelihood activities (in 000's UGX)	Responses and their Percentages	
	f	%
From savings (own business)	106	18.33
From friends	166	28.71
From relatives	134	23.18
From associations (SACCOS)	78	13.49
From financial institutions (banks)	48	7.26
From government	4	0.69
From NGOs	28	4.84
From private actors	12	2.07
From church	2	0.34

Source: Field Data

Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive and makes it more possible for households to achieve a secure and sustainable livelihood than would be the case in its absence. Aggregating data in table, 6.3 on support from friends, family members, social organizations (SACCOS) and church reveals that about 66% of commuter households built and do build their livelihood strategies through social capital.

Through interviews, social groups “SACCOS” locally referred to as “*merry-go-rounds*” were found to be popular. Households register, establish own leadership system of collecting and lending money and other ways of helping each other in case of need. Some social groups; the case of “*Nabugwe Association*” in Gangama in Mbale district, members contribute about 500. 000UGX at the beginning of the year which is pooled together and allows for borrow with interest. Part of the

money pooled together is put into business and the profits generated are shared in form of dividends at the end of the year. Members of the association get up to 200.000UGX as dividends at the end of the year. The association now lends to its members up to 1000.000UGX. The pooling of financial resources together by commuter households has helped many to pay school fees for their children, raise money to for their businesses and meet other household needs. One of the respondents in Mbale town when asked whether they benefited from such social contributions had this to say;

I joined Nabugwe Association in Gangama in 2008 and contributed 500.000 for membership. I do not regret joining Nabugwe Association because I have been able to expand my business from the money I borrow from the association with low interest. We also earn dividends at the end of the year and the choice is yours to decide where to put your money, (Respondent in Mbale Town).

Social capital is an important asset to rural households as it is to urban households. Informal social networks significantly decrease vulnerability of the poor to problems of poverty. Lack of social networks makes it impossible for some households to improve their livelihoods and well-being. Social capital plays a pivotal role in reducing household's level of vulnerability and increases its ability to cope with life challenges.

6.3: COMMUTER HOUSEHOLD WELL-BEING

The question here is the extent to which commuter livelihood activities support the well-being of their household members? In this regard it is important to note that, livelihood strategies aim to achieve livelihood outcomes. Possible livelihood outcomes may include more income, increased well-being, reduced vulnerability, improved food security, more sustainable use of natural resources and recovered

human dignity. Successful livelihood strategies should lead to more economically sustainable livelihoods and increased well-being.

It is important to note that for a livelihood to be sustainable, it should be in position to diminish shocks and stress usually faced by households. This can be measured in terms of household's well-being or living standards. Those commuters that ably provide their members with basic needs without strain can be said to be engaged in sustainable livelihood. Commuter livelihoods will even be counted more sustainable if they are able to meet household luxuries without further shocks or stress. This ability can only be sustainable when households invest in long term livelihoods that enable them to live beyond just what the dailies would require. The rate and level of asset accumulation, household income/expenditure, household's food security levels, morbidity levels including access to medical services, water, ability to afford a descent living environment, access to education including its quality and household's vulnerability to seasonal changes and shocks were important indicators used by the study to establish the ability of commuter livelihoods in supporting the well-being of their household members. Thus, livelihood activities that enabled commuters to provide their members with a descent well-being were considered by this study as sustainable.

6.3.1 Asset Accumulation

Asset accumulation was one of the measures used to assess the level of sustainability of commuting livelihood activities. Commuters were asked if they made gains from commuting activities. Most commuters (98%), acknowledged to have earned a fortune from commuting. Asked to list gains from commuting, varying responses were generated with references made to land acquisition, acquisition of residential houses and household items including ability to meet most of their household needs. Through interviews it was discovered that most of the gains made from commuting, went into catering for household needs accounting for a total of 62% of commuter expenditure.

Table 6.4: Gains from Commuting Activities

Gains from commuting activities	Responses and Percentages	
	f	%
Bought land	123	13.16
Bought a car	12	1.28
Built a house	114	12.19
Expanded/diversified business	64	6.85
Able to meet household needs (education, medical care, feeding, housing, water, clothing, transport)	622	66.52

Source: Field Data

Aggregating data from benefits realised out of commuting activities indicates about 33% of commuter income is put under asset accumulation (Bought land, bought a car and built a house). Households invest into assets as a long term strategy to build their capacity to counter future stress and shocks. Through interviews and FGDs it was found that commuters efforts towards capital accumulation are often undermined by problems of low levels of profitability of businesses due to high competition, high operating expenses and high cost of living especially in meeting household needs. This scenario leaves households with little to invest and thus undermines the role of commuting in supporting commuter livelihoods. Asked of the level of profitability and gains realised from commuting, one of the respondents in Mbale town had this to say;

I wouldn't want to say business is bad because it is the only alternative for many in this region. Of course, it used to be better than what it is now. We earn some profits but we have been constrained by problems of high operating expenses in terms of transport, tax, and rent for operating space. This has been made worse by the current economic situation in Uganda with high rocketing prices which leaves us with very little to save for the future (Respondent in Mbale Town).

There is a correlation between the amounts earned by households in terms of income and the rate of savings and capital accumulation. Through interviews it was ascertained that households who earned between one thousand (1.000/=) and ten thousand (10.000/=) had very low or no savings and therefore found it difficult to invest by purchase of land, cars, buildings or even expanding businesses. Much of the profits earned from businesses they operated were spent on meeting the daily needs even some times with deficits, accounting for 675 of commuter expenses.

6.3.2 Income/Expenditure Measure

Income and expenditure of a commuter was considered as an important indicator and measure of sustainability of its livelihood activities especially in determining the ability of such activity in supporting the well-being of household members. Table 6.5 illustrates what the picture was for commuters in Bugisu region.

Table 6.5: Commuter Income/Expenditure per Day

Commuter income and expenditure per day in UGX (000).	Income/profit		Expenditure	
	Responses and percentages		Responses and percentages	
	N	%	N	%
1-10	238	88.14	246	91.11
11-20	12	4.44	14	5.18
21-30	8	2.96	2	0.74
31-40	2	0.74	2	0.74
41-50	4	1.48	2	0.74
51-60	6	2.22	4	1.48
Total	270	100.00	270	100.00

Source: Field Data

Table 6.5, indicates that households who earned between 21.000 – 60.000 UGX had more savings than their counterparts who earned between 1.000 and 20.000UGX.

The less the profits the less the savings. In category one (1-10) and category two (11-20) 5% of commuters spent more than what they earned. The additional expenditure above household income earnings can be assumed to accrue from remittances from urban households or relatives abroad. It could also be a result of sales from farm produce that are usually not counted as earning and other invisible sources of income. This in itself is an illustration of vulnerability of livelihoods meaning they are not sustainable enough to cater for household needs.

6.3.3 Commuter Household Food Security Levels

Food security levels are an important element of household well-being. This study in question analysed commuter livelihoods in the context of the ability of such livelihoods in supporting commuters in providing adequate food requirements to their household members. Table 6.6 provides us with the details.

Table 6.6: Commuter Household Food Security Levels

Is the food purchased/produced always enough to take you throughout the month/year	Responses and Percentages	
	N	%
Yes	124	45.93
No	146	54.07
Total	270	100.00

Source: Field Data

Attempts were made by this study to establish food security levels of commuter households. Table 6.6, indicates that about 54% of the households suffer from food insecurity an illustration of vulnerability of livelihoods. This concurs with earlier studies by WFP: 2005 on food security and vulnerability analysis of the region that put its food security levels at 53%. The findings illustrates that food insecurity is one of the threats to commuter well-being. It also shows that 54% of commuter livelihoods are not sustainable. Households who find it stressful to provide a meal

to its members are engaged in unsustainable livelihoods. As earlier presented commuter household food insecurity is an amalgam of many factors.

Table 6.7: Influence of Demographic characteristics on household food security levels of commuters

Model	Coefficients ^a					
	Un standardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			
1	(Constant)	-.102	.079		-1.287	.199
	Age of respondent	.262	.043	.466	6.119	.000
	Sex of respondents	.331	.055	.326	6.061	.000
	Marital status	-.123	.022	-.328	-5.525	.000
	Education level	.196	.031	.385	6.258	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Adequacy of food
Adjusted R Square = 0.709, (F = 164.401, d.f. = 264, 268 and Sig. = 0.000)

Source: Field Data

From table 6.7, the study notes that demographic factors have a significant influence on household food security of the commuters at the level of 71%. Households especially those who depend on farming as a source of livelihood were reported to suffer from problems of food insecurity five (5) to six (6) months after the harvest. Between the months of January to July most households in the region receive between one to two meals per day. Young households with small families in the demographic categories report a substantially lower incidence of food insecurity, which may be related to their ages and size of their households. A larger proportion of married men than other groups report hunger incidents. This was attributed to problems of large family size and shortage of land to produce enough to meet household food security demands. Other factors other than demographic characteristics of commuters were, low earnings, unreliable climate and shortage of

land prominently featured as major factors responsible for food insecurity in the region. Low earnings, unreliable climate and shortage of land prominently featured as major factors responsible for food insecurity in the region.

6.3.4 Household Health Status

Health is an important aspect of human life and a formidable indicator of household's well-being and vulnerability levels. Households with high morbidity and mortality levels are often found to be poor and engaged in unsustainable livelihoods. Such households do not have capability of preventing or handle health related problems. Poverty exacerbates problems of morbidity and explains why poor households have a high incidence and prevalence of diseases. Poor households often find it difficult to access medical care and have recorded high mortality levels among infants and mothers. Problems of hygiene aggravate household morbidity and mortality due to household's inability to afford good housing and inability to live in a decent environment. This is further compounded by household's inability to access safe and clean water.

Table 6.8: Prevalence and Incidence of Diseases at Household Level

Prevalence and incidence of diseases at household level (<i>Indicator of measurement: <u>Most Often</u></i>)	Responses and Percentages	
	N	%
Measles	21	7.78
Malaria	164	60.74
Worms	2	0.74
Typhoid	13	4.82
Cholera	62	22.96
Meningitis	2	0.74
Malnutrition	6	2.22
Total	270	100.00

Source: Field Data

Commuters were asked to list diseases and how often their households experienced them. Malaria featured most as a common disease experienced by commuter households and with high incidence (69%). This was followed by typhoid (21%). Aggregately, about 90% of commuter households suffered from malaria and typhoid. Malaria and typhoid are preventable diseases household could avoid by sleeping under a treated mosquito net and drinking/using clean/safe water. Due to poverty and low profit margins, problems of access to medical services and clean water continued to be a challenge to sizeable number of commuter households opening way for diseases. Persistence of diseases such as malaria, typhoid problems of malnutrition indicate that such households affected are not engaged in sustainable livelihoods. They find it difficult to put under control the recurrence of such diseases due to low income to support their households in meeting medical and water bills and also afford nutritious meals, an illustration of vulnerability of livelihoods.

Table 6.9: Causes of Morbidity in Bugisu Region

Causes of Morbidity	Responses and Percentages	
	f	%
Poor hygiene	140	28.81
Poor feeding	60	12.35
Inability to afford medical services	56	11.52
Long distances to medical centres	60	12.35
Poor medical services	120	24.10
Culture/Ignorance	50	10.29

Source: Field Data

Aggregating responses on reasons for high prevalence of diseases in Bugisu puts poor hygiene, poor medical services and ignorance high at 67.7% as factors that explain morbidity in the region, table 6.9.

(a) Problems of Accessing Health Units

Although access to health centres (12%) did not feature most to account for morbidity levels in the region, it is one of the major constraints to good health in the region. Interviews with the respondents indicated that access to medical care is one of the major causes of morbidity in the region. Accessibility is defined in terms of distance between the households and health units and in terms of affordability of medical care. Accessibility stood significantly to accelerate household's morbidity and mortality levels in the region. Constrained by the poor terrain, households situated in the hills found it difficult to access health centres. They found it difficult to transport the sick to health centers due to the problems of ragged terrain thus, resulting into pronounced cases of worsened sickness and sometimes death among such household members.

Cases in point were Bugitimwa, Buluganya and Bukiga sub-county in Budduda. The nearest health unit accessed by Buluganya is 12 kms. To access these health centres, households have to carry the sick on stretchers down the steep, rugged and winding terrain. The households in Bugitimwa whose nearest health facility is 8 km away raised the same complaint. It was also noted that the whole of Bukigai sub-county has one Health Centre which makes it very difficult for the households to access medical services.

Box 6.1: Distance Commuter Households Travel to Reach Health Facilities;

Source: Field Data

Asked of what distance they travel to reach health facilities, a number of responses were generated. Some respondents quoted short distances of less than 1km while others indicated distances up to more than 8km. In view of this one of the respondents in Bukigai had this to say;

We find difficulty in reaching health units here. When one falls sick we travel for long distances of about 7km to the health centre. The roads

are bad and made worse by our terrain. When you reach the health centre, it is a long process to receive treatment. Some of us have resorted to herbal medicine which is easily available although its chances of curing diseases are low (Respondent in Bukigai Sub-county).

While distance and poor terrain are a hindrance to accessibility to health services by households in Bugisu region, the problem of affordability of health services compounds the crisis. Being poor, households find it difficult to afford conventional health care. Unable to afford conventional health care most households over the hills have resorted to local herbs. Only when the conditions of a patient worsen that s/he could be taken to the hospital.

(b) Places Where Households Obtain Treatment

Places where households obtain treatment were used as an indicator of household morbidity and vulnerability. Places for treatment here are hospitals, clinics, drug shops and herbalist centres. Households go to clinics in situations where the existing hospitals no longer provide adequate and or quality services to patients. Amidst such circumstances household find alternatives from private practitioners whose services are seen to meet the standards and needs of the people. The problem with private practitioners was instead found to lie in the cost of medical treatment. Most private clinics charge exorbitant amounts such that only those who can afford obtain treatment from the clinics. There are those out there who always exploit the situation by offering poor services at a lower cost. In the event that a household is unable to afford private services from clinics, they resort to local herbs for treatment.

The Busulani and Bugitimwa community noted that most households (over 50%) in the area depend on herbal medicine for treatment of diseases. Herbal medicine is popular among the Busulani, Bugitimwa communities of Mt. Elgon in Mbale and

Kachusi and Kiguli of Kapchorwa because it is cheap, affordable and easily accessible than conventional medicine from the hospitals and clinics.

Through interviews one of the respondents from Bugitimwa had this to say;

*We prefer herbal medicine to modern (conventional) medicine for two reasons, first it is cheap and affordable and second it is readily available and easy to access. In the event one does not have cash at hand it is possible to negotiate with the herbalist to treat on credit and pay him/her later. This is possible because people live together as one family and therefore known to each other. It is easy to trust one because of the strong social relations built over time. This however is not possible with the hospitals or clinics who demand for cash even before one gets treatment (**Respondent in Bugitimwa**).*

The Buraba, community who live near Mt. Elgon National Park and enjoy the advantage of availability of local herbs in the forest are likely to lose out due to displacement from the forest. This makes it difficult for the Buraba people to obtain any form of treatment

(c) Problems of Inadequate Health Facilities

There are limited government aided health centres in Bugisu region. The few government hospitals available also face the problem of inadequate facilities and poor services, inadequate trained personnel and inadequate supply of drugs. Interviews with medical personnel in Mbale and Bududda hospitals reveal that there is a deteriorating trend in provision of health services due to inadequate health facilities and drugs. To some extent cost sharing in the hospitals had helped to narrow this gap in that the funds generated through cost sharing would sometimes be used for the purchase of drugs. The scrapping of cost sharing has led to a decline in services provided by government health centres. Due to the need to supplement

meagre salaries, medical workers have opened drug shops and clinics to which in most cases patients are referred to for treatment. The quality of treatment has deteriorated in most government hospitals. One of the female respondents in Bukwakwa had this to say;

Today all you get free at the hospital is a bed. The medical personnel will just tell you that yours is bed number 8. They do not care if there is anything on the bed or the conditions of the bed. (Woman in FGD Bukwakwa)

Another mother had this to say;

During labour, you produce your child alone, and yet at the end you are charged shillings five thousand (5,000/=) if it is a boy, or four thousand (4,000/=) if it is a girl. This is very unfair. (Woman in Kilayi)

6.3.5: Access to Clean Water

Access to clean water is an indicator of household morbidity. The study findings from Bugisu sub-region of Mt. Elgon indicate that access to safe water by the rural and urban communities still remains a challenge. Access to safe water was analysed in terms of distance covered by households to the nearest point in which they obtain clean water and in terms of affordability. Through interviews and FGDs it was established that rural households cover long distances to access clean water. Some walked for 3-5kms while others had shorter distances of ½km or less, table 6.10.

Table 6.10: Distance Covered To Fetch Water

Distance covered to fetch water	Responses and Percentages	
	N	%
1-5Km	222	88.10
6-10km	24	9.52
11-15km	6	2.38
Total	252	100.00

Source: Field Data

N = 270, (18 missing in the

system)

Scarcity of water was noted in most parts of the rural Bugisu. Consequently, households are compelled to use water from unprotected sources. In Namatogota, for instance, out of the of the eight (8) water sources, only three are protected. In Bunamakhosi, the only protected water source accessed by the community always dries up during the dry season. Nabusaayi has only one protected water source, accessed by six other villages. This in itself has exposed the source to contamination especially by run-off water during the rainy seasons leading to high incidence of water borne diseases registered in the communities.



Plate 6.2: Some of the Sources of Water Supply to Rural Commuters; Source: Field Photo

One of the villages with adequate supply of safe water was Bukhwaka village. Access to safe water in this village was up to 80%. All this was possible through the help of Water Aid and MADZI, a local NGO that provided the community with gravity water, save the villages in the hills that have not benefited from this scheme due high costs of installing the pipes up hill.

Table 6.11: Sources of Water Supply

Sources of water supply	Total Responses and Percentages	
	N	%
Rain Water	52	20.88
River / Lake	34	13.66
Well water	39	15.66
Protected spring well water	28	11.25
Borehole	31	12.45
Tap Water	65	26.10
Total	249	100.00

Source: Field Data

N = 270, (21 missing in the system)

Peri-urban areas where most urban commuters live have limited supply of piped water. Areas in point are Namatala, Industrial Division, Maluku, Namakwekwe and Nkoma. Where there are standpipes connected by National Water, a big number of people are often seen queuing for water. Like many urban centres in Uganda, Mbale town sometimes experiences the problem of shortage of water supply, making it hard for many households to access water. In view of this, the cost of water rises up to 100 - 300/= per jerry can forcing some households to draw water from the nearby river; River Namatala. Such household who dare drink such water because they cannot afford piped water are often engaged in unsustainable livelihoods, which makes them to drink dirty and untreated water. This in itself exposes such households to the risk of water borne diseases like cholera.

6.3.6: Access to Education by Household in Bugisu

Access to education was used as one of the indicators to assess vulnerability of livelihoods by commuter households. Access was assessed in terms of distance covered by the students to access studies and access in terms of affordability. Household income levels usually determine affordability and also the quality of education someone obtains. To an extent it also determines the enrolment levels and the rate of school dropout at primary and secondary levels.

Most respondents appreciate government role in promoting education through Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Universal Secondary Education (USE). The introduction of UPE and USE has soared up the enrolment level with most parents taking their children to school especially primary. Interviews with the teachers reveal that salaries have been increased and the school infrastructure is improved for some schools, table 6.12.

Table 6.12: Do Your Children go to School

Do your children go to school?	Total Responses and Percentages	
	N	%
Yes	240	88.89
No	30	11.11
Total	270	100.00

Source: Field Data

There has been a deliberate effort by the Ministry of Education to make education more accessible to the communities. Construction of schools at least one in each sub-county has been the strategy for making more children access education.

Questions were however raised as pertains to the standards of education provided and the quality of students produced. Problems of teacher/pupil ratio and automatic promotion surround UPE and USE. Because of the high pupil population, teachers

are no longer able to give adequate attention to pupils. This is also evidenced by the fact that pupils' books are many times not marked. The problem of automatic promotion has raised a lot of criticism from the public especially because the weak pupils end up being promoted to the next class. One male had this to say;

These days you can hardly find a child in primary five who can write a letter. Those in primary four cannot even write their names and yet they are automatically promoted to the next class! (Male Parent in Bukhwaka)

There are however, discrepancies in provision of education infrastructure. Some places have easy access to schools while others do not. Most remote areas have continued to face problems of lack of basic facilities like health, water and education inclusive.

Although the enrolment of pupils has grown in primary level interviews with respondents from Muyenze in Sironko, it was noted that many pupils in rural areas continue to walk for long distances to access education despite government effort to provide education to all under UPE and USE. Many schools in the rural areas in Mt. Elgon region have classes up to P.3 and P.4. Those who go beyond these classes have to cover long distances to access education. In Bunambale village children have to cover a distance of 8 km to the nearest school that offers classes up to P.7, table 6.13.

Table 6.13: Distance Covered to Access Education

Distance covered to school	Total Responses and Percentages	
	N	%
1-5Km	214	79.26
6-10km	46	17.04
11-15km	2	0.74
16km >	8	2.96
Total	270	100.00

Source: Field Data

Whereas about 79% of the pupils walk for distances of between 1-5km to school which is averagely fair in the rural standards of Uganda about 31% cover long distances of 6-16km. This is averagely long distances and strains pupils, thus undermining their concentration and overall performance in class. We can assume that in a day such a pupil whose school is 16km away from home covers a distance of 32kms per day. This is exceptionally unacceptable. Such parents probably would consider taking such children to boarding but due to lack of financial capabilities they are unable to do so. This in itself is an illustration of vulnerability.

(a) School Enrolment and Quality of Education

As earlier noted the introduction of UPE and USE in Uganda has led to an increase in enrolment at primary and secondary levels. Records in Mbale education office show that between 1997 and 2008 alone UPE enrolment rose from 91,286 pupils to 131,315. The enrolment figures have since continued to rise. While this is an achievement a rise in school enrolment has resulted into big classes making thus, making it difficult for teachers to have effective service delivery to the pupils. In an interview with some of the primary teachers in Namunsi in Mbale one teacher had this to say;

The classes are very large, we have problems controlling them. Because of the big numbers we cannot give our best to pupils especially slow learners. Although we appreciate the rise in enrolment, there is need for recruitment of more teachers to help reduce on the load. (Teacher in Namunsi)

(b) School Dropout Ratio

Although enrolment figures in many parts of the district went up since the introduction of UPE, the dropout rate for both primary and secondary schools is high standing at (58%) especially for the girls and disabled. This is attributed to low parental support and involvement in education. This arises from parental illiteracy, negative cultural practices including gender discrimination of girl children, early marriages, circumcision, high pupil to school facilities and infrastructure ratio. Infrastructure ratio in the region stands at 1:216 for classroom: pupil ratio far below the desired ration of 1:40; latrine stance: pupil ratio stands at 1:183; against the desired ratio of 1:30; house: teacher ratio of 1:50, and desk: pupil ratio is at 1:13 (DLG report 2010).

(c) Adult Literacy

Although adult literacy has been used as a measure of vulnerability of livelihoods by this study, its provision still remains an issue of concern to many rural communities in Bugisu. There is no programme undertaken by the government to improve literacy levels among adults. Attempts however have been made by ADRA; a non-governmental organization dealing with adult literacy programmes. ADRA operates in Bungokho County in Mbale District. The project is currently training 1,960 adult learners in reading, writing and counting integrated with functional skills. In its implementation, the community is first made literate by drilling them on modules professionally designed for adult learners. The topics are progressively set up in the learner's books called primers. The intention here is to

enable the individual learners become literate. This is demonstrated by their ability to read, write and manipulate figures. This is a form of capacity building because the average man is empowered to read instructions, write, record his activities and count his money with confidence. At this level, the learners self esteem and confidence are enhanced.

6.3.7 Actions by Commuters to Cope with Vulnerability

A critical analysis of the contribution of commuter livelihood activities in supporting the well-being of their household members shows that most livelihoods are vulnerable and therefore, not sustainable. By this fact we felt it necessary to establish actions often taken by the commuters to cope with challenges of vulnerability and rising cost of living. We note that households react differently to different situations especially when faced with severe conditions of living. Some people abandon their families to their own fate, some commit suicide, others just give up life and wait for their day. A wide range of reactions were established by this study as presented in table 6.14, that also present to us the vulnerability levels of commuter households.

Table 6.14: Actions by Commuters to Cope with Vulnerability

What commuters have done to cope with the current economic hardships in the country	Responses and Percentages	
	N	%
Reduced the number of meals	28	13.27
Shifted to consumption of cheap items	93	44.08
Resorted to gambling	24	11.37
Changed children to cheap schools	38	18.00
Given out children to relatives	14	6.64
Diversified livelihood activities	14	6.64
Total	211	100.00

Source: Field Data

N = 270, (59 missing in the system)

Commuters were found to react differently to economic hardships. Of the total number of respondents reached through questionnaires, 13% reduced the number of meals consumed by their household members and 44% shifted consumption to cheap items all together accounting for 57%. These also became the most common response by commuters once faced with economic hardships. As presented in table 6.12 on the question of food security, 54% of households suffered from food insecurity and reduced meals consumed by household members to one (1) and two (2) meals per day. The quality of meals consumed was compromised as households could go in for cheap foods of less food value. Households shifted from eating “matooke” the staple food crop to eating cassava, gathering of edible leaves becomes a common practice and commuting increases during such seasons.

Another common response to problems of vulnerability of livelihoods related to children’s education. Of the total responses made, 11% of respondents reported they could no longer afford tuition for the education of their children. On the other hand, 18% changed children from relatively expensive schools to cheap ones; all in total accounting for 29% of commuters who had problems with the education of their children. Although there was universal primary education (UPE) and universal secondary (USE) education by government, some parents find it difficult to meet the additional costs pertaining to buying uniforms for their children, paying for meals and other related expenses. They would in the event of such difficulties pull their children out of school and deploy them in other domestic activities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DRAWING CONCLUSIONS TOWARDS SUATAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

7.0 INTRODUCTION

Livelihoods are central to the understanding of human development. They are the foundations of human life and play a pivotal role in shaping the human face. Livelihoods analysis has occupied a central place in the present day discourse. It has significantly drawn the attention of development planners to examine the inherent forces shaping livelihoods around the globe. In this chapter we summarise the key issues raised in the previous chapters and draw conclusions based on empirical evidence of patterns of interaction between rural and urban settings of Bugisu region; factors influencing commuter livelihoods strategies and the contribution of commuter livelihood strategies to household well-being of commuters. Basing on this we make significant suggestions on efforts aimed at supporting livelihoods; that are fundamental to livelihoods planning.

7.1 SUMMARY

7.1.1 Conceptualisation of the Study and Methods

In conceptualizing the study we set out to answer the basic question: *'to what extent do rural-urban interactions offer opportunities for sustainable livelihoods of commuter households in Bugisu region, eastern Uganda'*? The study was justified by the fact that although there exists some studies in this field of rural-urban interactions (Mulongo L. S, Erute B, and Kerre P.M (2010), most of them in east Africa and Uganda in particular have been limited to looking at the role of towns in household poverty reduction and the contribution of rural-urban linkages towards urban growth and development. An assessment of the contribution of rural-urban

interactions in supporting livelihoods across the rural-urban divide, remained unexplored, an important area this study examined with reference to Bugisu region. The current study therefore, fills the research gap left out by the previous researchers and contributes to knowledge by presenting empirical evidence on the nature of interaction found between rural and urban settings and their role in supporting livelihoods.

The results of this study were based on a sample population of seven hundred and sixty (760) respondents comprising of seven hundred and thirty six (736) commuter households and twenty four (24) key informants. The sample size of 760 respondents was arrived at on the basis of mathematical calculation of the levels of poverty assumed to be the major driver of commuting in Bugisu region. The study adopted the U.S Department of Agriculture, Cooperative Extension service,

University of Florida (2009), formula $n = \frac{t^2 \times p(p - 1)}{m^2}$ to calculate its sample size.

Qualitative data was analyzed using ethnographic summaries with verbatim quotations made for selected comments from respondents. Quantitative data was coded and analyzed using SPSS. Cross-tabulations and regressions were done to show the relationship between variables.

In this chapter, the researcher summarises the key issues raised in the previous chapters and draw conclusions based on empirical evidence on patterns of interaction between rural and urban settings of Bugisu region, factors influencing commuting activities and the contribution of commuter livelihood strategies in supporting the well-being of their household members.

7.1.2 Commuting Activities,

In assessing the role of rural urban interactions in supporting commuter livelihoods, we placed our focus on commuting activities and household well-being of commuters. The level of asset accumulation, household income and expenditure, health and education status of a household, household food security levels and household's vulnerability to seasonal changes and shocks were used to measure household well-being.

The study notes that, commuting is a growing phenomenon in the urbanizing countries around the world and has become a conventional practice among the Bugisu. A conglomeration of socio-economic problems in rural Bugisu such as; a rise in household poverty levels and population pressure on land, have compelled a sizeable number of households to commute. Most young households have taken to commuting as a livelihood strategy and as a way of coping with challenges of poverty amidst declining role of rural economy in supporting livelihoods.

Commuting is an activity of all ages including children of ages 7 – 11. It is mainly dominated by the youth and support population of the ages between 24 – 47 accounting for 78%, of commuting activity in the region. Males dominate commuting accounting for 60% of commuters as opposed to females that constitute about 40%.

The rural agricultural/food chain system and urban industrial/service system plays a significant role in promoting rural-urban interactions in the region. The system is marked by flows of goods and services across the rural-urban divide; flows of information; flows of people commuting on daily basis; flows of social and financial capital for investment in both rural and urban areas; flows of natural resources from rural to urban areas and flows of wastes from urban to rural areas. These flows are also the foundations upon which rural and urban livelihoods and economies are based.

7.1.3 Commuter Livelihood Strategies

Rather than policies; market conditions, assets owned and accessed by households and household decisions are more influential in determining livelihoods undertaken by commuters. We however, note that most commuter livelihoods are not sustainable. Of the total number of commuters reached by this study through questionnaires only 30% accumulated wealth, re-invested profits in expanding their businesses or created other business. The other 70% spent most of their earnings on meeting household daily needs such as food, medical care, shelter, and transport; sometimes even with deficits. Approximately, 54% of the households suffered from food insecurity, five (5) to six (6) months after the harvest receiving between one to two meals per day between the months of January to July. About, 44% of commuter households shifted consumption from expensive items to cheap ones to fit their budgets within income. This included shifting children from relatively expensive schools to fairly cheap ones, a sign on vulnerability and thus lack of sustainability of commuter livelihoods.

7.2 CONCLUSIONS

7.2.1 The Future of Commuting

Commuting is both a livelihood strategy and form of mobility. Bugisu region experiences huge numbers of the daily commuting persons along the rural-urban continuum. Although Mbale town as of now experiences, 60% - 70% population influx from rural to urban on daily basis these numbers are expected to grow as long as the role of rural economy in supporting livelihoods continues to decline. This effect should not only be expected in Bugisu but throughout other parts of the country [Uganda] and the entire developing world. Marked by growing household poverty levels and widening income gap between rural and urban areas, the number of commuters and immigrants to the city/towns is likely to rise up. This shift is not without implications to rural and urban planning and development. As the number

of commuters and immigrants to the city grows, urban planners are bound to face a dilemma in providing adequate services to such increasing numbers. Public utilities such as water, power, housing, transport, education and medical care will suffer the most. The limited urban finances and man power resources will compound the problem. As more people commute to the urban, deriving a living in the urban, a big number of them will prefer to find cheap accommodation in the city neighbourhood and the target is the outskirts of the city. With poor urban planning mechanisms that have characterised the developing world, we expect to see a rise in the growth of slums which reverses the MDGs principle of cities without slums by 2015. Instead we are bound to have more cities with more slums. We all know the problems associated with the growth of slums. Crime, prostitution, poor housing and hygiene are some of the problems expected. With the type of planning we have in the third world pegged to donor resources or drops from the central treasury, urban planners will find themselves in deeper crisis in providing answers to problems of population pressure on the meagre resources they often receive.

A combination of commuting, migration and natural population growth in the urban settings amidst slow growth in the industrial and service sectors will accelerate problems of unemployment. Livelihoods of the poor are likely to become less and less sustainable unless governments intervene to salvage the situation by developing strategies that target to induce growth of income at household level and by building the capacity small and medium scale entrepreneurs through training and income support. Unless efforts are made to support livelihoods by reducing the tax burden on the ordinary person and creating conditions favourable for creation of job opportunities through investment, the income gap between the haves and have-nots is likely to widen further. Unless we begin planning now for such a shift, we should be prepared for more social unrest than it has been due to anticipated rise in unemployment levels in the country.

As long as most elites continue to flow to the city, urban bias will continue. In the event that more young energetic populations move to town, un-proportionate

amount of resources will always be allocated to and invested in the urban. The rural will continue to receive insignificant amount of resources and investments; a factor that will leave the rural areas in a more vulnerable state. The income gap between the rural and urban areas will also widen. The rich middle class in the urban will continue to undermine the development of rural areas through their biases. Resources being at the disposal of the urban elites and considering the fact that investments are made in areas where market and demand are expected or visibly seen, the urban elites would prefer to invest in the urban than rural. Even when we spread urban growth as it is in the current decentralisation system in Uganda, with many urban centres mushrooming in the rural areas, the investments will always be placed in urban areas and the poor fellows in the rural will continue with their poverty.

7.2.2 Drivers of Commuting

Aggregately pressure on land, poverty, market conditions, household decisions, assets owned by households and policy factors (90.3%) stood as the major drivers of commuting and also play a significant role in influencing interactions between rural and urban settings in Bugisu. Pressure on land however came out as the major driver of commuting in the region accounting for 28% of the total responses generated through questionnaires. Although policies are central to national planning, its role in influencing commuting in Bugisu is low with a 7 % influence. Failure of policies to have a significant influence on commuting activities is attributed to blurred understanding of policies by the local community. This arises from the fact that policy makers have over time failed to actively involve the local community or the affected into the policy making process. Policy making involves wide consultations with the people seeking their input into the subject of discussion. Policy makers also rarely find time to disseminate policy documents to the masses after the policies have been formulated. Little effort is also made to translate policies into local languages for easy understanding by the common man. This denies policies first the support and ownership they deserve from the local

community and second, it leaves people ignorant of policies. Every time you ask about a policy people have limited or no understanding of it.

The other problem facing policy is the dichotomous nature in which they have been designed. With a mixed understanding of what is rural and what is urban, policy makers have often drafted policies on sectoral and spatial lines emasculating the contribution of policies across regional rural-urban divide. Consequently we see policies undermining activities that are not inclined to rural or urban. Land reform policies for example have focused more on rural land issues than urban, as the vast majority of land in Uganda is rural. Urban land problems are significant and affect a substantial proportion of the urban population. Privatization of land has an implication on planning of urban areas, as is the effect of regularization of tenure status on the large number of urban dwellers who have gained access to land through informal mechanisms. On the other hand, rural development programmes focus on increasing agricultural production but have not included non-farm activities such as processing of raw agricultural materials and manufacturing of agricultural equipment, tools and implements. This has resulted into marginalization of some group of household in rural areas especially those who derive a living through non-farm activities.

We also note that, urban strategies for low-income groups do not look into other non-urban activities such as urban farming that have become part of urban growth amidst increasing number of immigrants to the city/towns from rural areas with low or no skills to work in industrial or service sectors. Unless we change our approach to policy making to include spatial and inter-sectoral dynamics, involving the masses extensively during policy making process and putting the affected at the centre as beneficiaries of the intended policy, the role of policies in influencing rural-urban interactions and supporting livelihoods will remain low.

7.2.3 The Fate of Rural-Urban Interactions

Livelihoods are significant to the well-being of commuters and their household members. The role of rural-urban interactions in supporting livelihoods is also paramount. Rural-urban interactions enable households to tap into the resources found in either side of the dichotomy. They also allow flows across the divide which flows, on a positive note have enormously contributed to the development of both rural and urban setting. Rural-urban interactions have led to increased well-being of households, whose members directly have tapped into these flows.

Despite the pivotal role played in shaping livelihoods and supporting household well-being, the role of rural-urban interactions have been constrained by structural rigidities and governance issues. Structural rigidities take the form of male dominance over females, nepotism, favouritism and tribalism. Male dominance over females has led to inequalities at household level which have undermined the productive capacities of females in supporting their households. Structural rigidities in the form of nepotism, favouritism and tribalism have continued to undermine the ability of the individual to exploits his/her potentials in attempts to realise decent life. Many potential persons have been denied active participation on the grounds of tribe, sex, religion, political inclinations and social background.

Governance issues on the other hand are in the form of, inability of government programmes to address the needs of the people and political interference in the implementation of government programmes. This has undermined the trust governments deserve from the people. NAADS programme and prosperity for all/SACCOS, have succumbed to this problem. Implementation of activities under these programmes, have been highly politicised and directed more by politicians such as RDCs, LCV chairpersons and councillor's than the NAADS/SACCOS officials. Oftentimes, politicians use such programmes to win political support (votes) for the next elections than for the good of the 'whole'. It is for this reasons that some government policies and their programmes have failed to support

livelihoods and household well-being. The reason they have remained unpopular among the masses.

7.3 TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS OF COMMUTERS

Livelihoods are central to the understanding of human development. They are the foundations of human life and play a pivotal role in shaping the human face. Livelihoods analysis has occupied a central place in the present day discourse. It has significantly drawn the attention of development planners to examine the inherent forces shaping livelihoods around the globe. In this chapter the study makes a translucent understanding of what it takes for a livelihood to be considered sustainable. The study provides a brief scan through Uganda's history of development looking at the models and approaches to development implemented since the colonial era. We then propose fundamentally, a model and a framework for livelihoods planning across the rural-urban divide.

7.3.1 The Authors Conception of a Sustainable Livelihood

A sustainable livelihood is that “which is in position to diminish shocks and trends” enabling household to lead a decent life. A sustainable livelihood is that which is not vulnerable to risks, hazards and stress. It is marked by increased rather than decreased household well-being. Shocks are short term vulnerabilities and take the form of; seasonal changes in prices, civil wars and conflicts, illnesses, floods, storms, drought, pests, diseases. Shocks however have significantly continued to undermine livelihoods and thus affecting household well-being. Trends are long term vulnerabilities and are large scale and nature taking the form of demographic changes in terms of population explosion, environmental problems, economic changes and changes in governance. Bugisu region faces a number of these shocks and trends and such have grossly undermined commuter bid for good life. The study analysed commuter livelihoods in terms of their outcomes and contribution to household well-being.

7.3.3 Uganda since Colonialism: A Brief Look at its Development Models

(a) Growth Pole Model

Over the years, Uganda as a country has experimented a number of growth models and approaches aimed at promoting development. Along the way, some of these models, adopted have been abandoned either due to their failure to cause desirable change in supporting livelihoods or for some other reasons. From colonialism, (1900) to Obote 1 regime (1962-1971), Uganda implemented a centralised system of governance with the centre acting as a command post for planning and advancing policies and programmes for the good of the common man. This was a clear manifestation of the “growth pole” model of regional development. Underpinned by the belief that “free market forces” provide conditions for growth and development through a “trickle-down effect” in which economic growth spreads from urban to rural areas, Uganda made attempts to invest in capital-intensive industries in large urban centres such as Kampala and regional towns such as Jinja as a way of promoting development.

Despite the attempts to pursue this approach, the experiences from 1962 to present day show that the expected benefits from “*trickle down effects*” have not been able to cause significant results in supporting livelihoods and household well-being as presumed by the proponents of this model. It was assumed that massive investment in heavy industries in the cities and secondary towns would lead to the development of rural areas through the trickle-down effect. For long, such benefits did not manifest into rural development and poverty reduction. In the urban where industries were established, the expected benefits from heavy industrial investment have instead been replaced by adverse “backwash effects”. Conditions of unemployment have continued to rise with the unemployment rate among the youth in Uganda now estimated grown well above, 70%. Wages and salaries for industrial workers have continued to dwindle and are no longer commensurate to the cost of living. A majority of employees in the urban/industrial/service sectors are unable to

attain a decent living. Over 60% of Ugandan employees lead a stressful life due to low pay and high cost of living. About the same percentage are unable to meet most of the basic needs required for a decent living. The income gap between the haves and have-nots has continued to widen illustrated by the gini-coefficient of 0.43.

(b) The Virtuous Circle of Growth Model

During the period (1960s – 1970s), the government of Uganda like many developing countries in the world embraced “Virtuous Circle of Growth Model” (Mellor 1976, Friedmann and Douglass 1978, Evans 1992, and Douglass 1998). By this time the role of agriculture in regional development was seen to be paramount in the efforts to support livelihoods and increased household well-being. Being the major player in the efforts to growth at the time, the development thinking then argued for the central role of agriculture as a driver of the economy, especially in the early stages of industrialization (Johnston and Mellor 1961; Schultz 1964). The view of agriculture having an active role in the growth of world economies was stimulated by the emerging experience in Asia, in which it was recognized that traditional agriculture could be transformed rapidly into a modern sector through the adoption of science-based technology, thereby making a large contribution to overall growth. Earlier researches indicated that there was empirical linkage between the large manufacturing industries and agricultural growth (Pryor and Holt 1999; Gemmell et al. 2000). In Uganda, agricultural sector was considered the major player in the attempts to promote development considering the assumed role it plays in the backward and forward linkages with the industrial sector in large cities.

Cash crop production boomed with coffee as the main cash crop for Bugisu region and Central Uganda. Cotton growing was popularised in Teso, Lango and Acholi, while tobacco was introduced in West Nile. With the emergence of the cooperative movement by the 1960s supported by flourishing market at a national and

international levels agriculture production boomed with an up surge of over 50% growth in the coffee industry. This was the climax which eventually turned to ruins as Iddi Amin came to power as president in the 1970s. The ascendance of Museveni to leadership as President of Uganda in 1986 changed the emphasis from agriculture to industry.

(c) The Agropolitan Model

The Museveni regime has continued to trail the “Agropolitan model to Regional Development” which assumes that rural development can best be pursued by linking it to urban at the local District level (Douglass and Friedmann (1998). In this case the rural town is seen as the principal site for non-agricultural and political-administrative function rather than as a growth pole. Decentralization, democratization and participation which means, among others devolution of power to the lower arms of government are considered as key factors for the success of this model. Uganda has since then followed this approach to development in which small as it is, it has been split into 112 districts. This type of decentralisation would hold water if we had the resources to effectively manage change. Unfortunately, many districts have been created without caution even when such newly created districts do not have the potential to raise revenue and sustain themselves. In the absence of the then infamous graduated tax, government has put emphasis on indirect taxes whose collection is centralised under Uganda revenue authority. With centralised collection of taxes under URA, the newly created districts have to rely on the releases from central government which besides being small in amounts to cause a significant change are delayed. This scenario has made the administration of new districts very difficult, making the role of decentralisation and participation less significant in promoting rural-urban interactions and support to livelihoods.

The government of Uganda under the guise of decentralisation has also pursued urbanisation policy bringing towns closer to rural areas as a way of promoting backward and forward linkages between the rural and urban areas. The Local

Government Act (1997) empowers the Minister of Local Government to declare a place as a Town Board if the place in question has a minimum population size of 2000 people and reliable source of water. Places curved as district headquarters have been automatically declared Town Councils. All this is the manifestation of “Agropolitan approach” to regional development which since its inception in Uganda has not adequately supported interactions between rural and urban settings in terms of flows of goods and services. The reason is, while rural towns have been created with the purpose of facilitating rural growth and development through mutual interaction, rural areas have remained in their state of economic stagnancy. Rural areas lack the stimulus of producing enough for the assumed potential market offered by rural towns that would also act as conduits linking rural areas to other medium sized towns and cities far beyond their geographical confines. Rural areas continue to produce insufficient amounts of agricultural products that are not even enough to satisfy their household food requirements. Even where farmers have made considerable efforts to produce for urban market, they have been frustrated by fluctuating prices for agricultural products and cheating by unscrupulous middle men.

7.4 PARTICIPATORY MODEL; THE WAY FORWARD FOR SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

7.4.1 Introduction

Following the limitations inherently observed with the earlier models and approaches to development as embraced by the government Ugandan as presented in 7.3.3, the study makes critical recommendations by proposing a participatory model and a framework for livelihoods planning as presented in sections, 7.4 and 7.5. It is the researcher’s humble belief that if embraced and operationalised by planners, the proposed model and framework will make a significant contribution in addressing the needs of commuters not only in Mbale but throughout this country, Uganda. It is envisaged that such contribution will lead to meaningful achievement

in fostering interactions between rural and urban settings and thus contributing to significant improvement to the livelihood activities of commuters in Uganda and elsewhere these model and framework may be applied.

The participatory model and planning framework were developed based on the researcher's understanding of development. It is in the researcher's view that development is an all encompassing process involving major changes in the socio-cultural, economic and political facets of human life; a process which aims at improving the well-being of the human person on the basis of their active participation. Participation in this case involves creation of conditions favourable to commuters; conditions that enable commuters to define their destinies. It should be emphasized here that the human person is the central subject of development and is both the "means" and "end" to it. This means that, any attempts aimed at promoting development, commuters should be considered as both "participants" and "beneficiaries" of the development process. In the human rights perspective, development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development. It is in this spirit and understanding of development that the concept of participation is central to our discussion and analysis of livelihoods and well-being of commuter households across the rural-urban divide and across sectoral dichotomies.

7.4.2 The Concept of Participation

Participation is certainly not a new concept in our vocabularies. It is a concept that has been in the domain of development since man's creation and only gained cognisance in the 1960s. In the early times, participation was conceived as people's involvement in particular projects and programmes. Participation however, goes beyond this to constitute an overall development strategy-focusing on the central role commuters, play in the development process. Participation, from the human development perspective, is both a means and an end. Human development stresses

the need to invest in human capabilities to ensure that those capabilities are used for the benefit of all. Greater participation plays an important part in maximizing the use of human capabilities and thus acts as a *means* of increasing levels of social and economic development. Active participation that allows people to realize their full potential and make their best contribution to society is an *end* in itself (HDR 1993). Participation involves widening people's choices, enabling access to a wider range of opportunities around them. In this case commuters can participate as individuals or as groups. As individuals in a democracy, commuters may participate as voters or political activists. In the economic sphere commuters participate as entrepreneurs taking part in farm and non-farm activities as farmers, food processors, vendors, retail and wholesalers. As workers they participate as employees in the private and public sectors. In groups they may participate in community with others in the efforts to bring about change and development of their own communities. Such community work may entail building of schools, health centres, water points/wells and road construction.

7.4.3 Domains of Participation

By its human nature the human person begins its socialisation journey at household level, advancing to peers [play mates] and to institutional level at school and work place including the social environment for adults. It is from these segments of human interactive life that the commuters participate in politics and administration offering leadership at different levels. Commuters act as economic participants in the economic world and as social participants in the social world. It is however important to note that within these different segments of interaction and relationships, discrimination and inequality prevail that undermines active participation by some groups of people especially the women and the poor. Participation is seen in three main domains of human active life namely; participation at household level, community level and institutional level and it is from these domains that the "minorities" have been denied active participation in defining their destinies.

At household level commuter participation takes the form of leadership they offer as parents and children or in the form of activity they do to support their household's well-being. This level of participation is not without limitations in which poverty may curtail commuter actions and decisions, power relations at household level may and have often stifled the efforts by women to participate in economic, political and social activities.

At a community level commuters assume different responsibilities as humans. These responsibilities are executed on the basis of competence, capabilities, skills and knowledge, on the basis of gender relations; as males and females. People go in for leadership positions as politicians, heads of associations and groups, including social functions. Commuters engage in community work for the good of the 'whole'. Such participation guarantees human freedom and association; political representation, rule of law; orderly transition of government and election of representatives who are fully accountable to voters. Community participation however, faces unprecedented challenges that inhibit commuter participation and challenges the principle of collective responsibility and equity.

In the modern capitalist world institutional participation is dominated by the commuter elites. The elites take up positions in different hierarchies of the economic and political institutional structures occupying both high ranking and low ranking positions of government, non-governmental and private institutions. Participation in this essence becomes the nucleus of human survival in that these positions are the foundations of livelihoods and well-being of those commuters in these different hierarchies of employment.

7.4.4 Barriers to Commuter Participation

Participation has been marked by horrendous limitations. Poverty, laws and systems, personal greed, prejudice and nepotism/favouritism, have stood up as the

major stumbling blocks to commuter participation in politics, social and economic spheres.

(a) Poverty

Poverty is one of the major limitations to commuter participation around the developing world. In Bugisu, poverty constitutes a formidable barrier to participation by poor commuter households. It has denied poor households effective participation in the social, economic and political life. Poverty has made poor commuter household not credit worthy and excluded them from the market. Poor commuter households have limited pieces of land and produce insufficient amounts of food that is not even enough for their own domestic consumption. In many developing countries like Uganda, income disparities are very wide. The income gap between the rich and poor is ever widening and has become a major barrier to participation by the poor. The rich elites in the rural Bugisu have joined hands with the urban elites to rob the poor households of the meagre resources they have by offering very low gate prices for agricultural produce and yet charging exorbitant prices for the manufactured goods. In the urban poor households have insufficient amounts of capital for investment. Most of them (over 70%) are engaged in small scale business activities. Those who have attempted to obtain loans from MFIs and commercial banks have faced two main problems namely; lack of collateral security and high interest rates. Some of them who obtained credit from financial institutions have faced harassment and loss of property, eliminating them out of business.

(b) Prejudice

Women, the poor and disabled are the major victims of discrimination and prejudice. Despite their big numbers, most women have been excluded from active participation in the economic and political spheres. This has been made worse by our cultures that still embrace the traditional mentality of preference for boys to girls. The mentality of inequality between men and women denies women access to

resources of value and opportunities of life; something that has rendered them more vulnerable to poverty and other forms of discrimination. In Bugisu just as it is in many parts of the developing world the culture of masculinity has promoted male dominance over women. This culture dictates over what men do and what women do and what men own and what women own. There are highly differentiated social systems that have recognized age, sex, and ability as a basis for allowable behaviour and expression between the young and old and men and women, the educated and illiterate. Status and prestige are accorded on the basis of age, sex, education and ability. Most social norms have excluded the participation of women in economic and social arenas. Women in rural Bugisu just as it is in many third world countries do most of the domestic work including farming and yet do not have the right of ownership of land. Men are often found in the public arena taking on formal jobs alongside informal jobs. This culture of male dominance over women has undermined women participation in the socio-economic and political fields. It is for this reason that most of the commuters in the Bugisu region are males.

Despite attempts to emancipate women, we continue to see men dominate the political scene. Women representation in the Parliament of Uganda is about 30% just as it is in the lower level of Local Government in Bugisu. This scenario has denied women the right to voice out their grievances, they lack a formidable force to advocate adequately for their rights and have remained a marginalised group.

(c) Laws and Systems

Bureaucratic tendencies on the other hand have affected commuter participation through innumerable regulations and controls. Even when laws change, many old values and prejudices persist and continue to undermine participation of the commuters in active development. Laws may have promoted equality but have failed to eliminate prejudice. Minority groups such as women, the elderly and disabled have continued to suffer the wrath of prejudice at home, at community level and in offices. Women have been denied participation in business activities by

their husbands on the grounds that they have a lot to do at home. The disabled and old have been discriminated in formal employment especially in the private sector. Even where one craves to achieve unfairness in the manner in which resources of value are distributed has continued to undermine commuter participation. For example, many of those commuters deriving a living through farming have continued to face discrimination and unfairness in land distribution. The system of inheritance in Bugisu does not allow girls and women to inherit property especially land. Land is customarily owned and is passed on from the fathers to sons. Even among men feudal lords have persistently exerted overwhelming control over land denying, a sizeable number of commuter households in the region access and control of land and thus affecting their livelihoods.

(d) Nepotism and Favouritism

Discrimination, institutional politics and nepotism have become the major stumbling blocks to participation at institutional level. Most commuters who have taken to business as a survival strategy have done so sometimes, not because they wished to do so but due to failure to attain employment in the formal institutions. The practice in which employees are recruited on the basis of whom they know but not competence has undermined commuter participation and killed the potential of many Bagisu. This habit has become a common practice everywhere in the developing world and is one of the limitations to development in the third world. The victims here are the poor with limited or no social connections.

7.4.5 Tenets of Participation

Participation as a fundamental element of human development should be guided by principles that foster change; principles that motivate people to take active part in the development process; to exploit their inherent potentials and to shape their own destiny. To promote commuter participation in the development process and to support their livelihoods the study emphasise that participation should be;-

(a) People Centred:

Participation is underpinned by the very existence of human nature. Participation therefore should be people centred. In this case participation should focus on the commuters which means that increased well-being of commuter households can only be achieved if external support focuses on what matters most to them. The study emphasises that understanding the differences between commuter social groups and working with them in a way that is congruent with their current livelihood strategies, social environment and ability to adapt; is pivotal in efforts aimed at supporting commuter livelihoods and increasing well-being of their household members. That poor commuter households themselves must be key actors in identifying and addressing their livelihood priorities. Development actors should develop processes that enable them to listen and respond to the needs of the poor commuter households. The focus should be on content and not form, on trees and not forest, on commuter households in particular with the aim to boost their productive capacities to bring about desirable change at household level.

(b) Empowering

Fundamentally, a participatory approach to development is about empowering the poor. Powerlessness of the poor commuter households has remained one of the fundamental limitations to their survival. The challenge for development professionals and policy actors both in theory and practice, is to find a substantial mechanism of weakening the web of powerlessness and to enhance the capabilities of poor commuter households in the region so that they can take more control over the resources around them, expanding their freedom of choice and action to structure their own lives. The pertinent, question here is “how can households be transformed such that poor commuters will feel empowered to actively participate in defining their own destiny and to enjoy a dignified life; to attain security of livelihoods and increase their household well-being?” It is crucial to note that participation means increased empowerment of commuters which means among

others the ability of commuters to engage freely in any economic activity; the ability to join fully in all forms of community life without discrimination on the basis of gender, sex or religion. It also means among others supporting the commuters in their attempts to attain freedom of choice and change of governance at every level of political jurisdiction.

(c) Accountable

Accountability is a function of participation. Accountability to commuter needs and in the use of funds is an integral dimension of pro-poor governance. Prudent to consider in accountability is the existence of accessible, transparent and effective mechanisms of accountability from lower levels of governance to upper level. This raises the question of accessibility to accountability mechanisms by the commuters. Accountability mechanisms will always vary according to different jurisdiction. In most jurisdictions, accountability mechanisms take account of free and fair elections as an essential mechanism. This however is not a sufficient form of accountability. Accountability includes in its measurements the results of and for performance by Governments and other actors in the development arena including the international and bilateral institutions, civil society and the private sector. This kind of microscopic view of accountability allows tracking of progress and mechanisms that will support livelihoods and well-being of the commuters.

(d) Equitable

The principle of equity in participatory planning is important; allowing for equitable distribution and access to resources of value and opportunities of life by all sections of the commuters regardless of their social status, race, colour, sex and religion. From the study finding it is here emphasised that poor commuter households frequently experience social exclusion, isolation, alienation, discrimination and inequality. Discrimination often arises from amalgam of socio-cultural and economic factors such as sex, religion and social hierarchy. Poverty faced by some

commuters not only arises from the lack of resources, but also lack of access to information, opportunities, power and mobility. The twin principles of non-discrimination and equality are among the most fundamental elements of international human rights law that we must uphold if participation has to be enhanced among commuter households.

(e) Sustainable:

Participation and sustainable development are integral in nature. Participation should promote sustainable development as sustainable development means participation by all commuters of the present generation and the future generations. Sustainable development aims to reverse downward trends of market failures, where economic transactions have failed to take account of social and environmental costs and policy failures where governments at national and local level of Bugisu have inadvertently encouraged unsustainable use of natural resources. At this point the issue is not whether governments should intervene to steer development towards sustainability, but how they should intervene and ensure sustainable livelihoods of the commuters. Such market and policy failures have stood as obstacles to commuter participation in the development process.

There is a growing consensus that sustainable development means achieving quality of life that can be maintained for many generations because it is; socially desirable, allowing for full exploitation of people's potentials, culturally significant, materially and spiritually accommodative allowing for equitable distribution of and access to resources of value. It is economically viable, paying for itself, with costs not exceeding income, and ecologically sustainable, maintaining the long-term viability of supporting ecosystems. Sustainable development entails integrating these fundamental elements and where possible making hard choices and negotiating trade-offs between objectives where integration is not possible.

(f) Integrative:

Participation should be interactive in approach; integrating all aspects of human life and embracing all mechanisms aimed at promoting commuter household well-being. Specifically an integrative participation addresses matters affecting commuters across the political, social and economic divide and across the spatial and sectoral divide. It is holistic in nature focusing on the true value of the human face. It draws from and promotes sectoral diversification with the intention of boosting production and income at household level of commuters.

(g) Intrinsically Viable/Achievable

Participatory approach to development that aims at supporting commuter livelihoods must be achievable drawing from the available resources. It must be endogenous, stemming from the commuters themselves. Unless motivation comes from within the commuters themselves efforts to promote change; to support commuter livelihoods and to increase well-being of their household members will not be sustainable. Participation must begin with and within the individuals themselves. Commuter participation is paramount in the efforts aimed at promoting development. The involvement of commuters in project/programme planning from the start to the end yields positive results.

Importantly, as we ascribe to adopt a participatory approach to planning, it is worth to note that, two players are very important in the operationalisation of this approach; the governor and the governed. The role of the governor is to provide an enabling environment that allows for participation. Objective democracy and pro-people leadership are, key to the success of this approach. Participation however, comes along with motivation. Commuters will take an active part in development when they are motivated, when their mental capabilities are cultivated and when their physical abilities are invigorated. Preparing the governed for active

participation requires cultivation of the mind of the governed which in this case are the commuters.

7.5: PROPOSED FRAMEWORK FOR LIVELIHOODS PLANNING

Considering the limitations to effective participation and livelihoods development, the researcher proposes and recommends the adoption of this framework for livelihoods planning. This framework stresses livelihoods planning across the rural-urban divide, tapping resources from either side and promoting development of both rural and urban settings simultaneously as an “integral whole”.

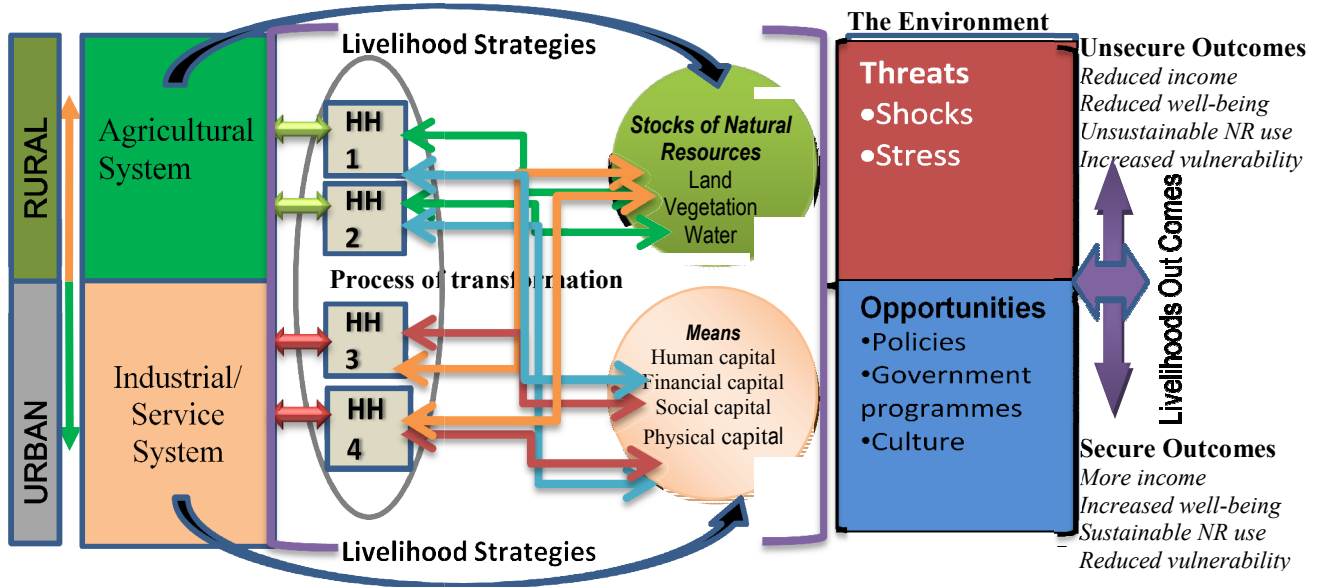


Figure 7.1: Proposed Framework for Livelihoods Planning Across the Rural-Urban Divide;
Source: The Author

This framework is underpinned by the fact that although there are spatial and sectoral differences between rural and urban households including their livelihood strategies there is a significant linkage between the two spatial areas. Thus;

1. Within the framework of livelihoods, there is need to integrate spatial and sectoral linkages and inter-connections that characterise rural and urban settings into development planning.
2. It is an acceptable fact that rural commuters depend mostly on “natural capital” (land, vegetation and water) to make a living, it is important to understand the dynamics inherent in rural-urban livelihoods. Rural commuter households also tap into the “means” (other assets namely; financial capital, human capital, physical capital and social capital) from which most urban commuter households build their livelihoods. Conversely, urban commuter households also build their livelihoods from stocks of natural resources, usually seen as a resource base for rural commuters.
3. Understanding the interconnections that exist between “stocks of natural resources” and “means” used by rural and urban commuters is central to livelihoods planning. To support farm activities, rural commuters depend on prevailing market conditions, usually urban to determine what to produce and sometimes how to produce. On the other hand, urban commuter capitalists depend on rural households to support their industrial investments by tapping into rural markets and labour. Flows between rural and urban settings play a significant role in regional planning and development and in supporting livelihoods across spatial and sectoral divide.
4. The environment in which commuter livelihoods are situated is an asset itself to livelihoods planning and is as important as understanding assets and capabilities of commuter households. The environment shapes livelihood activities of commuters and determines outcomes of such activities. Taking a scan of the environment at this, point is pivotal in efforts aimed at promoting sustainable livelihoods of commuter households. Often times, shocks and threats undermine commuter livelihoods making them vulnerable. Opportunities on the other hand help us to understand our entry points as

planners. Opportunities may take the form of good government programmes and policies, security, labour supply, market conditions and infrastructure which are vital to planning for commuter livelihoods.

5. The level of transformation of assets to outcomes by commuter households is critical to livelihoods planning across the rural-urban divide. Ownership of assets or access to assets by commuters is not enough to suggest that their livelihoods will be sustainable. While some commuter household may have access to and ownership of assets, they may not have the means and ability to transform these assets into meaningful outcomes such as farm output, household income, further investment and increased well-being. The limitation may arise from internal inadequacies such unsustainable use of natural resources, poor planning methods, poor choice of strategies, poor financial management techniques and cultural rigidities. An insight into these internal weaknesses constitutes an integral part of livelihoods planning.
6. Livelihoods outcomes are a product of stocks of capital (natural capital and means) and household capabilities including household decisions and choice of strategy. To realise secure commuter livelihoods outcomes (more income, increased well-being, sustainable use of natural resources and reduced vulnerability) commuters tap into the opportunities while diminishing threats.

7.6 SUMMARY

Despite Uganda's attempts to support livelihoods, the models adopted over time have not measured significantly to their philosophy in bringing about desirable change in the lives of the ordinary person. Most models implemented since colonial times have had either sectoral or spatial biases, a factor that has undermined their contribution to livelihoods development across the divide. Development however, is an all encompassing process which aims at improving the well-being of the human person on the basis of their "active participation". The human person is the central

subject to development and is both the “means” and “end” to it. The human person is a “participant” and “beneficiary” of development. Our conviction is that to support commuter livelihoods especially at household level calls for a “participatory” model, the one that motivates people to actively participate in defining their destiny. We also propose the “rural-urban” framework as a guide to livelihoods planning across the rural-urban divide.

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Annex I

Calculation of Sample Population

A sample size of 760 respondents was arrived at on the basis of mathematical calculation of the levels of poverty assumed to be the major driving force behind commuting in Bugisu region. The study adopted the U.S Department of Agriculture, Cooperative Extension Service; University of Florida (2009) formula

$$n = \frac{t^2 \times p(p - 1)}{m^2} \text{ to calculate its sample size.}$$

The formula considered three factors as important in determining the study sample size;

- (i) The estimated prevalence of the variable of interest; in this case poverty levels in Mt. Elgon region estimated at 35% (UBOS, 2005).
- (ii) The desired level of confidence estimated at 95% with a standard value of 1.96 and;
- (iii) The acceptable margin of error at 5% with a standard value of 0.05

Description

n = required sample size

t = confidence level

p = estimated prevalence of poverty in the study area

m = margin of error

Thus;

Step: 1 Calculating a Sample Size for the Study Based on Simple Random Sampling

$$n = \frac{1.96^2 \times 0.35(0.35 - 1)}{0.05^2}$$

$$n = \frac{3.8416 \times 0.2275}{0.0025}$$

$$n = 349.5856$$

$$n = 350$$

Step 2: Calculating the Design Effect; When Using Cluster Sampling to Select Representative Sub-Regions and Villages

NB: To correct for the difference in design the sample size obtained for simple random sampling is multiplied by the design (**D**).

The design effect is assumed to be 2 for social problems including poverty surveys using sampling methodology.

Thus;

$$n \times D = 350 \times 2 = 700$$

Step 3: Calculating for Contingency

For contingency, the sample is increased by 5% to account for contingencies such as non- response or recording errors.

Thus;

$$n + 5\% \text{ of } 700 = 735$$

Step 4: Distribution of Observations

In this case the calculation result is rounded up to the closest number that matches well with the number of clusters (villages surveyed, in this case eight (8) villages)

Thus;

Divide the total (735) by the 8 selected villages ($735/8 = 91.9$ households per village) 92 households x 8 villages (rural and urban centres/villages) = 736 households plus 24 key informants = 760 as the total study population.

Annex II

Questionnaire For Commuters

Dear respondent, I am Charles Edaku, a student at Nkumba University /University of Toulouse undertaking a study on *Livelihoods* as part of my PhD studies. The purpose of the study is to establish the contribution of commuting to sustainable livelihoods of commuter households. Bugisu region has been selected as a sample area due to its potentiality for the study. In this regard, you have been purposively selected as a respondent. Kindly find time and answer the questions here provided. I wish also to affirm that the information you provide is only for academic purposes and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Thank you.

RESPONDENTS' PARTICULARS (Tick √ the Most Appropriate Answer)

N o.	CHARACTERIS TCS	RESPONSES
1.	Age	Below 12 12 - 23 24 – 35 36- 47 48-59 60 +
2.	Sex	Male Female
4.	Marital Status	Single Married Divorced Widowed Separated Cohabiting

5.	Place of birth	
6.	Level of Education	None Primary Secondary Tertiary
8.	Status in a household	Male hh head Female hh head Wife Son/daughter Relative House helper
9.	Size of household	1 - 4 5 - 8 9 - 12 13 - 16 17 +

**INSTRUCTIONS ON HOW TO FILL
THIS QUESTIONNAIRE**

**(Tick \surd the Most Appropriate Answer
and fill free to provide any Additional
Information. In some cases)**

**NATURE OF COMMUTING IN
BUGISU REGION**

100. Where do you reside?

1	In town
2	In the village
3	Both in town and village

**101. If both state the days in which you
live in town and village**

	<i>Place of residence</i>	<i>No of days resident</i>
1.	In town	
2.	In the village	

**102. What is the nearest urban area from
your place of residence?**

1	Mbale
2	Bubulo
3	Budduda
4	Sironko

**103. Name the urban centre to which you
commute.**

--

**104. What is the distance from your place
of residence to the place you
commute to?**

1	1 - 5 km
2	6 - 10 km
3	11 - 15 km
4	16 - 20 km
5.	21 - 25 km
6.	26 km +

**105. In a week how many days do you
commute?**

	Number of days you commute in a week
1	One day
2	Two days
3	Three days
4	Four days
5	Five days
6	Six days
7	Seven days

COMMUTER LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

106. What do you do in town to earn a living? (Tick as many as possible)

1.	Hawking
2.	Street vending (selling of goods in the streets)
3.	Retail/wholesale trade (shops, stalls)
4.	Small manufacturing (food processing, packaging, carpentry)
5.	Construction work (building)
6.	Services (Boda-boda, drivers, teaching repairs, transport, restaurant, catering, tailoring, hair dressing, professional services etc)
7.	Farming (crop farming, animal husbandry, poultry)

107. For how long have you been in this business/Activity?

Business/Activity you have been engaged in	Years Spent in Activity/Business					
	1-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25+
1 Hawking						
2 Street vending (selling of goods in the streets)						
3 Retail trade (small shops, stalls)						
4 Small manufacturing (food processing, packaging, carpentry,						
5 Construction work (building)						
6 Services (Boda-boda, teaching, repairs, transport, restaurant, catering, tailoring, hair dressing, professional services)						
7 Farming (crop/ animal husbandry, poultry)						

108. Do you own the business/activity you are engaged in?

1	Yes
2	No

109. If yes, what is the type of ownership of your business/activity?

1	Sole proprietor
2	Partnership
3	Family
4	Cooperative/SACCO

110. What are the driving factors behind your commuting? (Tick all the appropriate Answers)

1	Shortage of land in the village to meet household needs
2	Potential market in town
3	Search for better prices in town
4	Influenced by a friend/relative
5	Low agricultural yields
6	Lack of job opportunities in the village
7	Better services/facilities in town
8	Low housing costs in town
9	To diversify income sources

111. In case of a financial problem where often do you get help from?

1	From own business
2	From relatives

3	From friends
4	From church
5	From the association
6	From the bank
7	From government
8	From NGOs/CBOs
9	From private businessmen

NB: If in a Business Related Activity Go to Qns. 112-116, If not go to Qtn. 117

112. What was your start-up capital for the business?(in 000's UGX)

1	1 – 100
2	101 – 200/=
3	201 – 300/=
4	301 – 400/=
5	401 - 500/=
6	501/ - 600/=
7	601/= - 700/=
8	> 701/=

113. How much capital are you employing now? (in 000's UGX).

1	1 – 100
2	101 – 200/=
3	201 – 300/=
4	301 – 400/=
5	401 - 500/=
6	501/ - 600/=

7	601/= - 700/=
8	> 701/=

114. Is your business/activity profitable?

1	Yes
2	No

115. If yes, how much profit do you make in a day from your business/activity? (in 000's UGX)

1	1 – 100
2	101 – 200/=
3	201 – 300/=
4	301 – 400/=
5	401 - 500/=
6	501/ - 600/=
7	601/= - 700/=
8	> 701/=

116. What are the factors that explain the success of your business/activity?

117. (Tick all the appropriate Answers)

1	Financial Capital (accumulated savings, support from financial institutions)
2	Social capital (support from friends, family members, church, SACCO)
3	Human capital (personal abilities and knowledge in running business)
4	Government policies (privatization, liberalization, decentralization)

6	High demand for the products
7	Natural capital (availability of land)
8	Physical assets (car, for mortgage)

118. What are the major limitations to your business? (Tick all the Correct Answers)

1	Harassment by local government enforcement staff.
2	Lack of capital for expansion of business
3	High competition
4	Low demand for the products
5	Poor salary pay by employers
6	High taxation by municipal/council authorities
7	Low profit margin
8	Poor transport
9	Lack of skills
10	Shocks (changes in prices, loss of job)
11	Seasonalities (unreliable climate, mudslides, hailstorms, diseases)
12	Poor gender relations (marginalization)
13	Lack of operation space
14	Theft of products
15	High cost of commuting
16	Poor inter-personal relations (jealousy, witchcraft,
17	High rental costs for business (space, utilities etc)

For All

119. How much do you spend per day on household welfare? (in 000's UGX)

1	1-100
2	101 – 200/=
3	201 – 300/=
4	301 – 400/=
5	401 - 500/=
6	501/ - 600/=
7	601/= - 700/=
8	> 701/=

COMMUTER LIVELIHOODS AND HOUSEHOLD WELL-BEING

120. Have you benefited from commuting?

1	Yes
2	No

121. If yes, what have you been able to do or acquire with the proceeds from your activity/job?

1	Bought land
2	Bought a car
3	Built a house
4	Expanded business
5	Diversified business/activities/ made other investments
6	Married

7	Educated children
8	Can easily afford medical care services
9	Able to afford food items for household
10	Have better access to safe water
11	I now rent a better house than before

122. How many meals do your household members receive in a day?

1	One
2	Two
3	Three
4	Four

123. Is the food produced or purchased always enough to take you throughout the year/month?

1	Yes
2	No

124. If not why? (Tick all the Correct Answers)

1	The earning are low to afford enough
2	Big household size
3	Unreliable climatic conditions
4	The problem of shortage of land
5	Problem of pests and diseases
6	Poor access to markets due to poor transport

125. What are the common illnesses experienced by your household members? (Tick all the Correct Answers for each Case/disease)

Diseases		Prevalence/Incidence				
		Mo	O	N	Lo	Lo1
1	Measles					
2	Diarrhea					
3	Malaria					
4	Worms					
5	Typhoid					
6	Cholera					
7	HIV/AIDS					
8	Meningitis					
9	Malnutrition					

Key

- Mo Most often
- O Often
- N Neutral
- Lo Less often
- Lo1 Least often

126. How frequent do your household members suffer from such diseases? (Tick for each case)

Diseases		Prevalence/Incidence				
		Ed	Ew	Etw	Em	Ey
1	Measles					
2	Diarrhea					

3	Malaria					
4	Worms					
5	Typhoid					
6	Cholera					
7	HIV/AIDS					
8	Meningitis					
9	Malnutrition					

Key

- Ed Every day
- Ew Every week
- Etw Every two weeks
- Em Every month
- Ey Every year

127. What could be the cause of such illnesses? (Tick all the Correct Answers)

1	Poor hygiene
2	Poor feeding
3	Inability to afford medical services
4	Long distances to medical centres
5	Poor medical services
6	Ignorance

128. What is the distance between your home and the nearest health centre?

1	1 - 5 km
2	6 – 10 km
3	11 – 15 km
4	16 – 20 km
5	21 - 25km
6	>26

129. How much of your income per month do you spend on treatment of household members? (Tick for Each Case)

Expenditure on Household Needs		Household Needs						
		F	M	H	T	C	L	E
1	1 – 900/=							
2	1.000/= - 4000/=							
3	5.000/= - 9.000/=							
4	10.000/= - 14.000/=							
5	15.000/= - 19.000/=							
6	20.000/= ≤							

Key

F Food

M Medical care

H Housing

T Transport

C Clothing

E Education

L Leisure

130. What is the main source of water supply for your household?

1	Rain water
2	River/lake
3	Well water
4	Protected spring well water
5	Borehole water
6	Tap water

131. What distance do your household members cover to fetch water?

1	1 - 5 km
2	6 – 10 km
3	11 – 15 km
4	16 – 20 km
5	21 - 25km
6	>26

132. Do your children go to school?

1	Yes
2	No

133. What is the distance between your home and the school to which your children study?

1	1 - 5 km
2	6 – 10 km
3	11 – 15 km
4	16 – 20 km
5	21 - 25km
6	>26

134. What is the highest level of education attained by your children?

Level of Education	N0s: for Each Child					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Primary Level					
2	“O” Level					
3	“A” Level					
4	Tertiary Level					

135. Given the current situation with rising cost of living, what have you done to make sure that you fit your expenditure within your earnings (Tick all the Correct Answers)

1	Reduced the number of meals
2	Shifted consumption to cheap items
3	Can no longer afford tuition
4	Changed children to cheap schools
5	Given out children to relatives
6	Diversified business/jobs
7	From government
8	From NGOs/CBOs

9	From private businessmen
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FACTORS INFLUENCING COMMUTING AND COMMUTER LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES IN BUGISU REGION

136. Are you aware of any policies at national and local level that influence your participation in your daily activities

1	Yes
2	No

137. If yes, which policies are you aware of? (List them down)

138. Do these policies affect your participation in your daily activities?

1	Promote
2	Hinder

139. In what ways have these policies promoted your activities?

140. In what ways have these policies hindered your activities?

141. In what ways do you think these policies can be improved?

Annex III

Interview Guide for Commuters

Dear respondent, I am Charles Edaku, a student at Nkumba University /University of Toulouse undertaking a study on *Livelihoods* as part of my PhD studies. The purpose of the study is to establish the contribution of commuting to sustainable livelihoods of commuter households. Bugisu region has been selected as a sample area due to its potentiality for the study. In this regard, you have been purposively selected as a respondent. I wish also to affirm that the information you provide is only for academic purposes and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Thank you.

RESPONDENTS' PARTICULARS (Tick the Most Appropriate Answer)

No.	CHARACTER ISTCS	RESPONSES
1.	Age	Below 12 12 - 23 24 – 35 36- 47 48-59 60 +
2.	Sex	Male Female
4.	Marital Status	Single Married Divorced Widowed Separated Cohabiting
5.	Place of birth	
6.	Level of Education	None Primary Secondary Tertiary
8.	Status in a household	Male hh head Female hh head Wife Son/daughter Relative House helper
9.	Size of household	1 - 4 5 - 8 9 - 12 13 - 16 17 +

NATURE OF COMMUTING IN MT. ELGON REGION OF EASTERN UGANDA

1. Where do you reside? In town, village or both in town and village
2. If both, about how many days do you live in town and village?
3. What is the nearest urban area from your place of residence?
4. What is the urban centre to which you commute?
5. What is the distance from your place of residence to the place you commute to?
6. In a week how many days do you commute?

COMMUTER LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

1. What do you do in town to earn a living?
2. For how long have you been in this business/Activity?
3. Do you own the business/activity you are engaged in?
4. If so, what is the type of ownership of your business/activity?
5. What are the driving factors behind your commuting?
6. In case of a financial problem where often do you get help from?
7. What was your start-up capital for the business? (in case of business)
8. How much capital are you employing now?
9. Is your business/activity profitable?
10. If yes, how much profit in average do you make in a day from your business/activity?
11. What are the factors that explain the success of your business/activity?
12. What are the major limitations to your business/Activities?
13. How much do you spend per day on household welfare?

COMMUTER LIVELIHOODS AND HOUSEHOLD WELL-BEING

1. Have you benefited from commuting?
2. If yes, what have you been able to do or acquire with the proceeds from your activity/job?
3. How many meals do your household members receive in a day?

4. Is the food produced or purchased always enough to take you throughout the year/month?
5. If not, why?
6. What are the common illnesses experienced by your household members?
7. How frequent do your household members suffer from such diseases?
8. What could be the cause of such illnesses?
9. What is the distance between your home and the nearest health centre?
10. How much of your income per month do you spend on treatment of household members?
11. What is the main source of water supply for your household?
12. What distance do your household members cover to fetch water?
13. Do your children go to school?
14. What is the distance between your home and the school to which your children study?
15. What is the highest level of education attained by your children?
16. Given the current situation with rising cost of living, what have you done to make sure that you fit your expenditure within your earnings.

FACTORS INFLUENCING COMMUTING AND COMMUTER LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES IN BUGISU REGION

1. Are you aware of any policies at national and local level that influence your participation in your daily activities
2. If yes, which policies are you aware of?
3. Do these policies affect your participation in your daily activities?
4. In what ways have these policies promoted your activities?
5. In what ways have these policies hindered your activities?
6. In what ways do you think these policies can be improved?

Annex IV

Topic Guide For Key Informants

Dear respondent, I am Charles Edaku, a student at Nkumba University /University of Toulouse undertaking a study on *Livelihoods* as part of my PhD studies. The purpose of the study is to establish the contribution of commuting to sustainable livelihoods of commuter households. Bugisu region has been selected as a sample area due to its potentiality for the study. In this regard, you have been purposively selected as a respondent. I wish also to affirm that the information you provide is only for academic purposes and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. We have a number of topics for discussion. Feel free to express yourself and answer the questions at liberty. Thank you.

RESPONDENTS' PARTICULARS (Tick the Most Appropriate Answer)

N o.	CHARACTERISTICS	RESPONSES
1.	Age	Below 12 12 - 23 24 – 35 36- 47 48-59 60 +
2.	Sex	Male Female
4.	Marital Status	Single Married Divorced Widowed Separated Cohabiting
5.	Place of birth	
6.	Level of	None

	Education	Primary Secondary Tertiary
8.	Status in a household	Male hh head Female hh head Wife Son/daughter Relative House helper
9.	Size of household	1 - 4 5 - 8 9 - 12 13 - 16 17 +

NATURE OF COMMUTING IN BUGISU REGION

Where do most commuters reside? In town, village or both in town and village

What is the urban centre to which most people commute?

COMMUTER LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

What do most commuters do in town to earn a living?

What are the driving factors behind people's commuting?

In case of a financial problem where often do people get help from?

Are activities commuters are engaged in profitable?

What are the major limitations to commuting activities?

How much do commuters on average spend per day on household welfare?

COMMUTER LIVELIHOODS AND HOUSEHOLD WELL-BEING

What assets and investments have commuters been able to acquire with the proceeds from your activity/job?

How many meals do most commuter household members receive in a day?

What might be the major limitations to food production and acquisition in this region?

What are the common illnesses experienced by your household members?

What could be the cause of such illnesses?

What is the distance between your home and the nearest health centre?

How much of family income per month on average do people spend on treatment of household members?

What is the main source of water supply to households in this area?

What distance covered by household members to fetch water?

Do most children go to school in this area?

What is the distance between homes and the nearest school to which children in this area study?

Given the current situation with rising cost of living, what have most commuters done to fit their expenditure within their earnings

FACTORS INFLUENCING COMMUTING AND COMMUTER LIVELIHOOD
STRATEGIES IN BUGISU REGION

Are you aware of any policies at national and local level that influence your participation in your daily activities

What policies are you aware of?

Do these policies affect commuter participation in their activities?

In what ways have such policies promoted commuting activities?

In what ways have such policies hindered commuting activities?

In what ways do you think these policies can be improved?

Annex V

Observation checklist

Some of the key Items/Issues to be observed

- Categories of people commuting (age, sex)
- Livelihood activities by commuters (categories/types)
- Livelihood vulnerability levels (nature/volume of activity)
- Barriers to commuting activities (road networks and means of transport, harassment of commuters by municipal authorities, acreage etc)
- Household vulnerability levels
- Assets owned
- Housing conditions
- Household health conditions
- Nature of schools and health units available to communities
- Water sources
- General village/urban conditions