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Understanding the Marginalized Indigenous Batwa People of Southwestern Uganda



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About LASER PULSE

LASER PULSE (Long-term Assistance and Services for Research Partners for University-Led Solutions Engine) is a five-year, \$70M program funded through USAID’s Innovation, Technology, and Research Hub, that delivers research-driven solutions to field-sourced development challenges in USAID partner countries.

A consortium led by Purdue University, with core partners Catholic Relief Services, Indiana University, Makerere University, and the University of Notre Dame, implements the LASER PULSE program through a growing network of 2,700+ researchers and development practitioners in 61 countries.

LASER PULSE collaborates with USAID missions, bureaus, and independent offices, and other local stakeholders to identify research needs for critical development challenges, and funds and strengthens the capacity of researcher-practitioner teams to co-design solutions that translate into policy and practice.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADRA	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
AICM	African International Christian Ministries
BDP	Batwa Development Program
BMCT	Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Trust
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GUCC	Gulu University Constituent College
HH	Household
HHH	Head of Household
IDI	Individual In-depth Interview
ITR	USAID’s Innovation, Technology, and Research Hub
LASER	Long-term Assistance and Services for Research
LVI	Livelihood Vulnerability Index
KII	Key Informant Interview
MGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development
MUST	Mbarara University of Science and Technology
NAADS	National Agriculture Advisory Services
NFA	National Forest Authority
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
PULSE	Partners for University–Led Solutions Engine
RCI	Regional Coordination Initiative
RDC	Resident District Commissioner
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UOBDU	United Organization for Batwa Development in Uganda
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UWA	Uganda Wildlife Authority

Executive Summary

This summary of results from the Understanding the Marginalized Indigenous Batwa People of Southwestern Uganda research was prepared for and presented at the Batwa Stakeholder meeting held on May 5, 2022 by the USAID Uganda Mission.

Introduction

The study was supported by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) through the Uganda Mission Regional Coordination Initiative (RCI) that engages local governments, local universities, researchers, and the private sector as partners in development. This study was part of a bigger study that investigated the vulnerability of Indigenous Peoples in Uganda. It was a two-site study of two research teams: Mbarara University of Science and Technology (MUST) and Gulu University Constituent College (GUCC) in Moroto. The two teams conducted independent research on selected marginalized indigenous groups, the Batwa in southwestern Uganda led by MUST and the Ik, Tepeth and Karamojong led by GUCC. This is a study on the marginalization of the Batwa, a group of Indigenous People living in the southern and western parts of Uganda. The study aimed at generating evidence on the livelihoods of Batwa indigenous communities living in the districts of Kisoro, Rubanda and Kanungu in southwestern Uganda.

The Batwa

According to the Uganda Constitution of 1995, the Batwa are among the 65 recognized indigenous communities. They were forest dwellers, living as hunters and gatherers who depended primarily on wild food in most of the forested areas of in the southern and western parts of Uganda, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). As forest dwellers dependent on the land for their livelihood as hunters and gatherers, the Batwa were evicted from the forests in the early 1990s to pave way for the creation of Echuya Central Reserve, Bwindi Impenetrable and Mgahinga Gorilla National Parks. The herding of the Batwa into settlements has ruined their cultural identity and compromised their survival mechanisms.

They are seemingly invisible to, yet deserving of, deliberate development programming from the government that addresses these social, political, and economic challenges. Despite their vulnerability, the Batwa have not attracted the attention of the government as a special interest group. In this study, we provide recommendations to aid the Batwa that include improving land access and ownership and political representation and participation, in addition to implementing development programs for the Batwa through affirmative action, advocacy, and vulnerability response.

The Study

This research study is made possible through support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)/ Uganda Mission in partnership with USAID's Research Division within the Innovation, Technology and Research Hub (ITR) and two universities in Uganda: Mbarara University of Science and Technology (MUST) and Gulu University Constituent College (GUCC).

This research collection, which took place between July-December 2020, provides local evidence and information on the various barriers and challenges experienced by the Batwa Indigenous People, forest dwellers that lived as hunters and gatherers and depended primarily on wild food in most of the forested areas of the south and western parts of Uganda, as well as Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Over time, despite several interventions by different development organizations and agencies, the Batwa have remained among some of the most vulnerable and marginalized groups of Indigenous People in Uganda.

The MUST team, which conducted the study, used a mixed-method approach with quantitative and qualitative tools. In total, MUST surveyed 477 Batwa heads of households with a pre-guided questionnaire, conducted 18 focus group discussions, 41 key informant interviews, 10 individual in-depth interviews, and three community and stakeholder consultations. In addition, MUST geo-referenced Batwa settlements in the districts of Rubanda, Kanungu, and Kisoro through GPS to better understand the location of settlements and potential project interventions. Although the research was comprehensive in addressing the research objectives, a longitudinal follow-up study that includes ethnography is recommended. Below is a summary of MUST's research questions and key study findings from the Batwa People of southwestern Uganda study.

Study Objectives

1. To better understand the voices of Uganda's Indigenous Peoples related to their rights
2. To design and pilot interventions that strengthen the voices of Uganda's Indigenous Peoples
3. To empower local universities in Uganda to conduct research

Key Findings

Mapping of Batwa Households

- We identified 57 settlements with geo-referencing, however the districts report that there were 60 Batwa settlements in southwestern Uganda as of October 2020.
- These are distributed per district as follows; 39 Batwa settlements in Kisoro, 11 Batwa settlements in Kanungu and 7 Batwa settlements in Rubanda.

Mapping of Batwa livelihood projects

- We identified 92 livelihood projects including 46 common good projects and 46 individual household projects.
- These livelihood projects are distributed per district as follows; 47 in Kisoro, 30 in Kanungu and 15 in Rubanda.

Quantitative characteristics of survey respondents

- 477 respondents to the survey were Batwa with 117 in Kanungu, 232 in Kisoro, and 128 in Rubanda.
- Of the 477 respondents, 277 were female (58.2%) and 199 were male (41.8%).
- The mean age was 39.3 years and ages ranged from 15 to 101 years.
- More than half 259 (54.4%) of the participants had no formal education, the majority of these being females.
- The majority of the participants 322 (67.6%) had been born and lived in the forests, with many coming from the Echuya forests, 129 (40.1%), and Bwindi 127 (39.4%).
- A total of 216 (68.6%) survey participants identify the forest as their home.
- Two thirds of survey participants (354 people) are married, and 94% (333) are married to Batwa. More than one-third of married participants were under the age of 18, the majority being females (47.3%) compared to males (20.1%).

Marginalization of the Batwa People

“We wish that as Batwa, we get for ourselves a permanent piece of land to reside on and cultivate our own garden because the way we live is that we keep on migrating from one piece to another one and that is the reason why we cannot develop. If we are sure that the land belongs to us, we can cultivate seriously and get enough food for us to eat and the rest to sell so that we can get money for ourselves. The situation that we are faced with in our families is very bad because just like we mention if at all we can get our own piece of land, then we would be better because everything that we require, land is the answer. The reason why we have remained backward is because we do not own land...”
(FGD Female Batwa youth, Kisoro)

Based on data we determined that there are five themes of marginalization among the Batwa. Batwa marginalization manifests and is experienced at all levels from the topmost government level down to the lowest levels in the community. The five themes are: community and policy discrimination, political marginalization, economic deprivation, access to social services, and land ownership and rights.

- Community and policy discrimination:
 - The Ugandan Government did not have plans to settle them, nor has this changed.
 - There is no government-led program that addresses the Batwa as a group considering their unique challenges.
- Political marginalization:
 - Batwa people lack political representation. Only 27.3% hold leadership positions, mostly in their own communities. Only 9.2% hold leadership positions alongside leaders from other ethnic groups.
 - Over a half had asked their leaders for government support (52.9%) but many had not benefited from any local development project (52.3%).
- Economic deprivation:
 - The major source of livelihood for the Batwa is farming (59.5%), twelve percent of the Batwa depend on humanitarian support for their livelihood.
 - Only 42.2% had earned income in the past month, of which 31.3% was earned from casual labor.
 - Batwa claim to have lost their main economic asset when they were evicted from the forests where they got materials for pottery, weaving and honey collection - their main sources of income.
- Access to social services: Batwa people experience limited access to major social services such as education and safe water for home use, and suffer poor health outcomes.
 - Education: More than half of the Batwa surveyed have no formal education at all. More males than females have acquired at least primary-level education (47.7% vs 36.5%). Only 3% of Batwa have achieved at least secondary-level education.
 - Water: A number of Batwa families identified unsafe water sources such as the spring (35.9% - 169), rivers (17.9% - 85), and unprotected wells (11.1% - 56) as their common sources of water for home use. Only 3.2% (15 households) have a water tap in their compound, 19.5% (94) access water at a community tap. Water:
 - Maternal health: At least 50% of participants mentioned that their last delivery occurred at a health facility, the proportion of participants who delivered at health facilities was lowest in the Rubanda district at 25%.
 - Health: At least 287 (60.3%) reported to have ever taken children for immunization of whom 155 (32.6%) had completed immunization. Kanungu district had higher proportions of children who had completed immunization (47.9%) compared to 29.3% and 24.2% in Kisoro and Rubanda respectively.
- Land ownership and rights:
 - A majority of the participants (60.1%) did not own land. Only 15.8% of those who had land inherited it from their ancestors and a big proportion acquired it from

NGOs (55.8%). Most of the land was not registered (54.3%) and 42.1% had no sale agreement for the land they claimed was theirs.

- Of the 477 Batwa surveyed, 78% live on communal land, with more than half living in temporary shelters with floors made of mud.

Vulnerability of the Batwa People

“As Batwa we are still faced with limited land where to cultivate and get enough food to feed our families. Therefore, our children cannot go to school with an empty stomach, they remain at home just seated just wandering around to pick whatever they can.” (FGD Batwa Male35+Kisoro)

Vulnerabilities are the factors that influence the Batwa’s capacity to withstand risks and shocks. Batwa people experience vulnerability due to a combination of socioeconomic factors mentioned in the marginalization factors above. We found that the Batwa are vulnerable to shocks because of poor health, high food insecurity, and socioeconomic status.

- Poor Health: The Batwa suffer poor health outcomes; in those surveyed, these four challenges were outstanding:
 - High rates of smoking impair the Batwa. (39%) of the Batwa smoked, with females demonstrating a higher percentage; nearly 1 in every 2 Batwa who smoke are women. The smoking prevalence exhibited among the Batwa women is higher than the national average (20% male: 1.5% female).
 - HIV positivity rates among the Batwa are concerning. On average, 5.9% Batwa (4.5% men; 6.9% women) reported that they are HIV positive with the highest prevalence reported in Kanungu District at 8.9%. Of the Ugandan national population, 6.2% are HIV positive.
 - Malaria continues to affect the Batwa. 36% reported contracting malaria in the past month, with the highest proportion of those residing in the Kisoro District (41%). Malaria is prevalent in Batwa communities even though one-third (34%) reported owning at least one bed net.
 - Physical abuse affects both physical and mental health. At least 1 in every 4 Batwa experienced gender-based violence, commonly perpetrated by a spouse.
 - Poor marital relations: Batwa marital relationships are characterized by instability due to the high rates of gender-based violence among the spouses. 75% of the gender-based violence perpetrators are the marriage partner.
- Food insecurity:
 - Batwa people are haunted by food insecurity; one in three Batwa often missed daily meals and only 25.4% were assured of all meals within a period of a month.
 - 43.9% of the Batwa surveyed exchange labor for food and only 1.7% harvest food from their gardens. The majority of the participants (63.9%) had no food harvest.

- A balanced nutritional diet is difficult to achieve; only 5% have milk, 7% oils and eggs, and 7% fish on a monthly basis. The majority depend on roots, tubers, and plantains -- *matoke* (78%).
- Socio-economic factors: the majority of Batwa survey respondents were young, lacking formal education, with at least one dead parent, and no source of regular income.
 - 94 individuals (19.7%) were 15-24 years old.
 - More than half (54.4%) had no formal education.
 - Almost half (47.5%) had neither parent still alive.
 - More than half of survey respondents, (63.2%) reported no source of income and the majority (60.7%) are casual laborers.
 - More than one-third of married participants were under the age of 18, the majority being female (47.3%) compared to male (20.1%).

Recommendations

“The major concerns about my people is that we do not have land, we are not able to access enough food to feed our people and we are really suffering a lot. We used to stay in our forest but unfortunately, we were evicted out of it by force and up to now we are still crying. The government is not doing anything to help us and up to now we are still suffering that is how we live as Batwa. For us to survive we have to run around people living in this community and ask for them some work so that we can be able to earn some money and feed our families and if they are not able to provide us with what to do, then we just have to accept and stay with our hunger” (IDI Batwa community leader Kisoro)

The following are thematic suggestions in the form of recommendations for addressing Batwa vulnerability:

Recommendations for the Ugandan government

Theme	Recommendation
Assist Batwa to increase land ownership and land access rights	Government agencies and NGOs need to facilitate a process to enable the Batwa access to land tenure and property to obtain secure land ownership status.
Implement development projects that address key marginalization factors	Government agencies need to design and implement projects that address the key marginalization factors that include community and policy discrimination, political marginalization, economic deprivation, access to social services, and land ownership and rights.
Increase resource allocation to Batwa development programs	Local governments need to integrate targeted development strategies and activities into their plans for Batwa communities. Since local governments are in charge of planning and allocating resources, they need to have a deliberate effort to design and implement Batwa-specific development programs.
Implement legal requirement for affirmative action for Batwa	The government must include Batwa in decision-making, through affirmative action, in the design, implementation, and monitoring of development projects.
Increase political representation and participation of Batwa in decision-making processes	The government should increase the political representation and participation of the Batwa in government decision-making processes.

Recommendations for NGOs and Batwa-led organizations

Theme	Recommendation
Assist Batwa to increase land ownership and land access	NGOs need to facilitate a process with the government to enable the Batwa access to land tenure and property rights to be able to obtain secure land ownership status.
Increase political representation and participation of Batwa in decision-making processes	NGOs and Batwa-led local organizations need to increase awareness and conduct trainings to increase skills to participate in the planning, implementation, and monitoring of projects and programs.
Advocate for affirmative action for Batwa	NGOs and civil society must advocate for affirmative action and targeted development programs to improve key Batwa livelihoods and vulnerability aspects in the areas of agriculture production, education, health, and prevention of sexual and gender-based violence.
Implement campaigns to increase understandings of the plight of the Batwa	NGOs and locally led Batwa organizations need to implement evidence-based campaigns to increase community level understanding of the plight of the Batwa. These campaigns should decrease the negative norms and beliefs that discriminate against the Batwa. This advocacy needs to lead to affirmative action for the Batwa.
Address all areas of vulnerability in development programs	Civil society organizations and NGOs working with the Batwa need to focus on all aspects of their vulnerability and lack of participation in the development projects at all levels of design and implementation.
Promote and protect Batwa culture	NGOs and locally led Batwa organizations need to design and implement programs that are geared to promoting and protecting indigenous culture and language.

Conclusions

The 1990s forest evictions significantly affected cultural identity and survival mechanisms for the Batwa people. Today, the Batwa still yearn for their lifestyle as hunter-gatherers and have struggled to integrate with their counterparts, the Bakiga and Bafumbira. Batwa people associate their vulnerability with having been evicted from the forests where they lived for generations without a plan to be settled. As a result, they lack land and a source identity. Batwa people have limited financial and productive assets to improve their wellbeing. Addressing these factors was found important in addressing the marginalization currently experienced.

The Batwa are treated as persons of a lower social caste. They are often discriminated against and shunned by other ethnic groups in the community who regard them as, “primitive humans with a low intellectual capacity that are worthless, lazy, and backward” (from a Batwa key informant interview). Several dehumanizing acts have been enacted on and against the Batwa, including acts of sexual and gender-based violence against Batwa girls and women by non-Batwa ethnic groups.

The cultural identity and survival mechanisms of Batwa people were grossly affected by the forest evictions. Thirty years on, the Batwa still yearn for their lifestyle of hunter-gatherer and have failed to integrate into the lifestyles of their counterparts, the Bakiga and Bafumbira. Coupled with discrimination, marginalization, lack of land ownership and inadequate access to social, economic, and political opportunities and services, most Batwa live a destitute life.

The Batwa desire hunting, medicinal plants, and religious rituals from the forests that cannot simply be erased, even after three decades. The Batwa are discriminated against in diverse ways: they do not access leadership positions outside their groups; they suffer economic deprivation; and they have limited access to social services and land ownership. Marginalization of the Batwa manifests and is experienced at all levels from the topmost government level down to the lowest level in the community.

The findings vividly indicate that due to marginalization the Batwa are the most landless people in the areas of Kisoro, Kanungu, and Rubanda. Inadequate land access is seen as the root cause of their vulnerabilities and all related challenges.

Development programs designed to alleviate poverty hardly reach the Batwa. Government support is viewed as selective; support is mainly offered to the non-Batwa who are already engaged in the government programs. The Batwa feel that the “*gorillas in the forest enjoy more privileges from the government than we do and yet they are the reason why we were evicted from our previous habitat in the forest.*” (**IDI Old Male Mutwa 35+, Kisoro**) Their wish would be that some of the proceeds from the gorilla tourism activities be used to buy them land and seeds for cultivation.

Chapter I Background

The Batwa in Uganda are commonly known as pygmies and former forest dwellers that lived as hunter-gatherers in most of the forested areas occupying the Great Lakes region, particularly in southwestern Uganda, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Lewis, 2000; Beswick, 2011). Also called *Mutwa*, meaning a person who comes from the Batwa group of people, they are often thought of as a despised, dirty and lazy people, by the other neighboring communities and tribes. *Mutwa* is synonymous with being unable to provide for one's family which is associated with malnourished Batwa children with old torn clothes. *Mutwa* would also refer to a person who is believed to have lived in the place before the other people, or the indigenous person (Fauna & Flora International, 2013). They are believed to be an endangered indigenous group of people who live around Bwindi and Mgahinga National Parks for Mountain Gorillas and Echuya Forest Reserve in southwestern Uganda, these parks and forests are located in the Albertine Rift region recognized as an important eco-region (Bitariho, 2013). The Batwa are known to have migrated from the DRC's Ituri Forest in search of wild animals to hunt, hence the name Kisoro, literally meaning "the area occupied by wild animals." They live in small huts mainly made from sticks and grass. As their traditional forest lands and territories were gazetted for the establishment of the Bwindi and Mgahinga National Parks for Mountain Gorillas in 1991, the Batwa were evicted and since then they live as communities on the fringes (Mukasa, 2014).

Also known as *Twa*, they are believed to be the first inhabitants of the equatorial forest of the Great Lakes Region. They have a rich culture that is connected to the rest of their communities across Rwanda, Burundi, and the DRC (Jackson, and Payne, 2003). Other tribes that live in the communities around the forests are the Bakiga and Bafumbira. The Batwa households are scattered in various settlements in villages located adjacent to the forest. They include Murubindi, Kashasha; Gitebe-Kanaba, Biizi, Rugeshi, Murora, Mukasaayi which comprises two settlements, Karengyere, Rwamahano and Kinyarushengye (Ampumuza, Duineveld, and van der Duim, 2020).

During the 2002 Uganda Population and Housing Census, the Batwa were estimated to be about 3500, while the 2016/17 census put their population at about 6800 (UBOS 2014). Batwa were evicted out of their forest lands during the early 1990s with the gazetting of national parks and forest reserves. Since then, the Batwa have been marginalized and lived a destitute life with no land nor home. With limited access to education, the majority of Batwa are illiterate, lacking both formal education and employment. For example, according to statistics from the United Organization for Batwa Development in Uganda (UOBDU), a local Batwa organization, only 10 Batwa children in the Kisoro district have completed their Advanced Level (high school) education. Even the few Batwa that go to school often face ethnic discrimination.

The Batwa have been dispossessed of almost all their land rights and even the few that have land do not enjoy the security of tenure (Lewis, 2000). As such, they live a life of neglect, begging for food, and working as cheap laborers. Most illegal activities such as poaching, wild honey collection, and fishing within the protected areas of southwestern Uganda are often blamed on the

Batwa by park and forest managers; yet they are simply hoping to live like their counterparts from other tribes (Bitariho et al., 2006).

1.1. Historical aspects of Batwa

The first human settlements in southwestern Uganda can be traced through oral history and pollen data records as there is little anthropological information documented (Marchant et al., 2000; Bitariho, 2013). Human settlements in southwestern Uganda may have coincided with the migrations of the Bantu-speaking people from the southern and central parts of Africa into East Africa between 1000 and 1800 AD (Huffman, 1970; Bitariho, 2013). Before the Bantu and other major ethnic groups (mainly agriculturalists) began spreading from areas north of the African tropical forest to the Great Lakes region, around the first millennium BC, the Batwa were the sole inhabitants of most of the Great Lakes region, which was covered mostly by forests (Huffman, 1970; IRIN, 2006). The Batwa enjoyed and depended on the forests in a symbiotic relationship (Lewis, 2000; IRIN, 2006). The rainforests provided them with a home, livelihood sources, and their spiritual and traditional requirements (Lewis, 2000; IRIN, 2006; Bitariho, 2013). The Batwa were nomadic forest hunter-gatherers who occupied areas stretching from montane forests, to savannah-forests in western Uganda (Kingdon, 1990; Bitariho, 2013). These are the present high-altitude forests of Bwindi, Echuya and Mgahinga as well as the lowland forests of Semuliki that are akin to the Congo basin forests (Kingdon, 1990; Lewis, 2000). The Batwa continued to live a symbiotic relationship with the tropical rain forests of southwestern Uganda only until the mid-16th century when Bakiga and Bafumbira started migrating into the Great Lakes region following wars in northern Rwanda (Kingdon, 1990; Lewis, 2000; Marchant et al., 2000; Bitariho, 2013). The Batwa, Bakiga, and Bafumbira clans lived together, albeit in precarious harmony, due to their complementary livelihoods as hunter-gatherers, agriculturalists, and pastoralists respectively (Bitariho, 2013). It can be argued that the migration of the other Bantu tribes into the Great Lakes region's forests could have sparked the onset of the marginalization of the Batwa.

1.2. Chronology of vulnerability and marginalization of the Batwa

The introduction of iron smelting technology (2500-2000 years before present [BP]) used for agricultural expansion by the Bakiga and Bafumbira, who cleared large chunks of forests for agriculture, likely caused the onset of Batwa vulnerability (Bitariho, 2013). The Bakiga and Bafumbira developed better technologies and methods of agriculture and metal working which enabled them to colonize and clear forests more than what hunting and foraging had permitted (Edel, 1957; Kingdon, 1990; Lewis, 2000). Increased inter-tribal and clan wars in northern Rwanda led to a population influx and expansion of iron and agricultural technology which in turn led to the increased clearing of forests for agriculture (Edel, 1957; Lewis, 2000; Marchant et al., 2000). The Bakiga and Bafumbira were free nomadic cultivators who practiced shifting cultivation of slash-and-burn in the high-altitude forests of southwestern Uganda (Edel, 1957; Bitariho, 2013). This practice eventually led to encroachment on the Batwa forest territories as the Bakiga and Bafumbira populations increased. The forests started becoming patchy and decreasing in size, resulting in conflicts between the Bakiga/Bafumbira agriculturalists and the Batwa forest hunter-gatherers (Edel, 1957; Bitariho, 2013). A series of wars between Bakiga/Bafumbira and Batwa archers ensued that was only quelled by the British colonial administrators in 1912 after many

lives had been lost (Bitariho, 2013; Marchant et al., 2000; Lewis, 2000). This probably was the onset of the marginalization and vulnerability of the Batwa people.

In 1932, the British colonial government enacted legislation for the gazettement of forests and game reserves in southwestern Uganda that led to the creation of the Bwindi, Mgahinga, Semuliki, and Echuya forests and game reserves. The aim was to stop forest encroachment by cultivators and hunters and to regulate timber exploitation (Leggat and Osmaston, 1961; Kingdon, 1990; Lewis, 2000). By that time, cultivation and tree felling had greatly reduced the Batwa hunter-gatherers' forest territories (Lewis, 2000; Bitariho, 2013). When the colonialists gazetted the game and forest reserves, the traditional ownership of the forests by the Batwa was completely ignored by the colonialists, although they continued to use the forest for hunting and fruit gathering illegally (Lewis, 2000). By 1954, large chunks of forests in southwestern Uganda had been cleared by agriculturalists and timber exploiters (Butynski, 1984; Baker et al., 2013; Bitariho, 2013) and this greatly affected Batwa livelihoods (Balenger et al., 2005). In 1991, Bwindi, Semuliki, and Mgahinga were gazetted as national parks with the subsequent eviction of all the Batwa from the forests. The creation of these national parks led to restrictions on all human activities within the forests. The Batwa, who were traditional forest users, were denied access to the forests. The parks recruited and employed paramilitary rangers to patrol the forest and stop any forms of human activities within them. The Batwa were henceforth denied all forms of their livelihoods and survival, reducing them to a life of destitution and begging.

1.3. Research problem

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) establishes a universal framework of minimum standards for the survival, dignity, and well-being of the Indigenous Peoples of the world and it elaborates on existing human rights standards and fundamental freedoms as they apply to the specific situation of Indigenous Peoples. The Declaration was adopted by the General Assembly in 2007; UNDRIP is a specialized agency of the UN "committed to the full realization of the provisions of the Declaration." The Batwa are one of the groups of Indigenous People recognized by the Government of Uganda. They are recognized among other minority groups such as the Ik, the Tipeth, the Karamojong, and the Basongora. The Batwa live primarily in the southwestern region of Uganda. It has now been three decades since the Batwa were evicted from the forests in southwestern Uganda to create the Bwindi and Mgahinga National Parks and the Echuya forest reserve. Despite the several rural livelihood improvement interventions initiated by different development organizations during this period, the Batwa remain the most vulnerable and live a precarious life. Most Batwa are yet to realize tangible benefits from the different interventions and development programs initiated after their eviction from the forests. Most of the development programs initiated around Bwindi and Mgahinga National Parks, such as tourism development, revenue sharing and multiple use, did not consider or involve solving the problems faced by Batwa after their eviction from the forests (ITFC, 2012; IRN, 2006). Currently, most Batwa live a life of destitution, begging, and landlessness; as a result they are the poorest group in southwestern Uganda. It has been argued that agricultural expansion and tourism development programs tend to produce short-term improvements in the development status of communities while reducing long-term access to wild species and safety nets in times of crisis among the vulnerable people such as the Batwa (Hamilton, A. et al., 2000).

The Batwa people strive to survive by eking out a living close to the forest boundaries of the Bwindi and Mgahinga National Parks and the Echuya forest reserve, while others live a life of begging and destitution in the town of Kisoro. A few Batwa were provided with land by development organizations such as the Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Trust (BMCT), but the numbers are not well documented. Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) and African International Christian Ministry (AICM) have adopted a life of farming on these lands albeit with difficulties (ITFC, 2012). Without ownership rights, these Batwa have less rights on the lands acquired from the development organizations since they do not have land titles and land agreements.

As a result of their exclusion from their ancestral lands (forests) and the subsequent loss of their forest-based livelihoods, the majority of the Batwa suffer severe isolation, discrimination, and socio-political exclusion (ITFC, 2012; IRN, 2006). The Batwa's customary rights to the forest lands have not been recognized in Uganda and they have received no compensation for the loss of their lands and lifestyle (hunter-gatherers) since their eviction from the forests (ITFC, 2012; IRN, 2006). At the household level, Batwa experience gender-based violence among themselves, sometimes leading to fights that end in injury or even death. This violence is mostly attributed to vulnerability and poverty, since it's known in the community that some Batwa women have sex with non-Batwa men to get money for survival (ITFC, 2012). This appears to have increased the levels of HIV infections among the Batwa which further exacerbates an already precarious situation.

According to the Kisoro local government memorandum, Batwa vulnerability issues can be grouped into four categories: 1) lack of assets (land, shelter, livestock, and clothing); 2) lack of income sources (no employment, both formal and informal); 3) lack of food security (since their means of food security was the forest from which they were removed); 4) lack of a sense of belonging (culture and traditional values, as well as the assimilation of Batwa culture and language by other tribes such as the Bakiga and Bafumbira). Despite the knowledge of Batwa vulnerability issues after the Kisoro memorandum, there currently exists only very few, disparate and disaggregated interventions that target solving Batwa vulnerability issues. This study aimed at exploring the underlying issues that have impeded the Batwa people from benefiting from the several interventions that have been initiated over the last three decades after being evicted from their ancestral lands. This study of Batwa Indigenous People provides evidence and information on how their problems of marginalization should be addressed and how local contextual factors impact their engagement in development opportunities. In operationalizing the research tasks, the university partners consulted with the Southwestern Regional Steering Committee and the respective local governments for ownership and stewardship.

1.4. Research objectives

1.4.1. General

The general objective of the study was to generate data on the livelihoods of Batwa indigenous communities living in the districts of Kisoro, Rubanda and Kanungu in southwestern Uganda,¹ in order to build evidence of the factors that affect their livelihoods across policy, access to services and resources, culture, and history/heritage.

1.4.2. Specific

1. To assess and understand the Batwa people's vulnerability issues and factors of marginalization in the districts of Kisoro, Rubanda, and Kanungu.
2. To generate evidence on the social, structural and other barriers the Batwa community faces to livelihood improvement interventions.
3. To undertake participatory approaches in order to evaluate and evolve development interventions for the improvement of Batwa livelihoods.
4. To propose recommendations on how to develop appropriate livelihood improvement programs and policies for the Batwa Indigenous People living in southwestern Uganda.

1.5. Research questions

1. What are the current vulnerability issues faced by the Batwa people since their eviction from their ancestral land (forests)?
2. How marginalized are the Batwa Indigenous People living in the districts of Kisoro, Rubanda, and Kanungu in southwestern Uganda?
3. What are the social (community level) and structural (policy and service delivery) barriers faced by Batwa community livelihood improvement policy and programming?
4. How can local governments and other development actors' mainstream Batwa vulnerability issues into development policy and programming?
5. What suggestions do the Batwa people have for addressing their vulnerabilities and marginalization?

¹ Kabale is a district with Batwa populations, but it was not included in the study as it has only 3 Batwa settlements out of the 60 settlements across the districts of Kanungu, Rubanda and Kisoro.

Chapter II Methodology

This study is part of a bigger study which investigates the vulnerability of Indigenous Peoples in Uganda. It is a two-site study wherein two research teams – Mbarara University of Science and Technology (MUST) and Gulu University Constituent College (GUCC) in Moroto – conducted independent research on selected marginalized indigenous groups, the Batwa in southwestern Uganda led by MUST and the Ik, Tepeth and Karamojong spearheaded by GUCC.

2.1. Study area

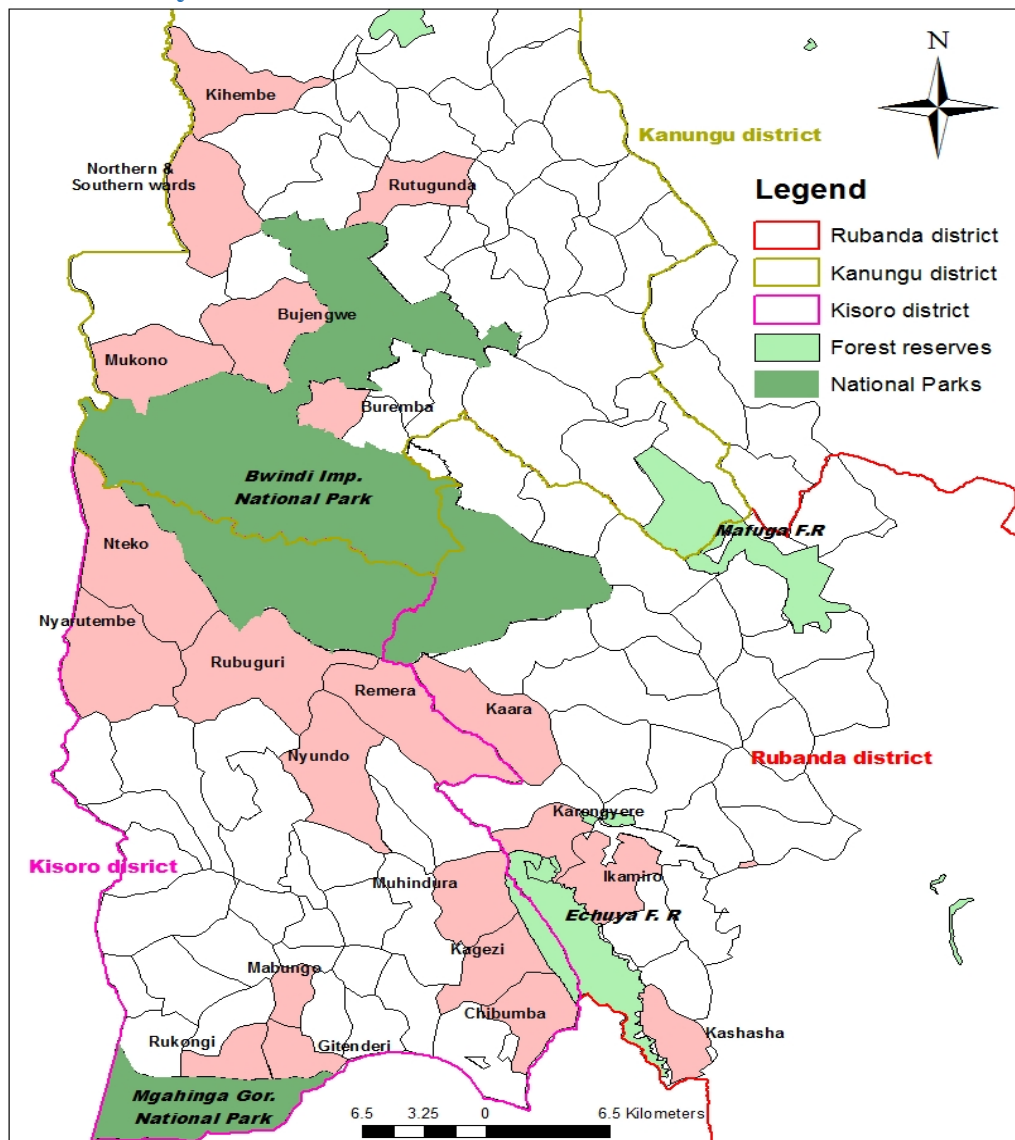


Figure 1. Study area map showing the parishes where Batwa settlements are located in southwestern Uganda

The Batwa are a recognized group of Ugandan Indigenous People with an overall population of just over 6,700 people. The Batwa are currently settled around forested areas in southwestern Uganda after their eviction from within the forests. The forest areas include the Bwindi Impenetrable and Mgahinga Gorilla National Parks and the Echuya Central Forest Reserve (Figure 1). The study was conducted among Batwa who live in the settlements² around the forest area. Bwindi is a World Heritage site, and together with Mgahinga they were gazetted as National Parks in 1991; this is when all Batwa communities were expelled out of the forest. The two national parks are famous for having mountain gorillas and other endangered and endemic flora and fauna. Echuya Forest was gazetted as a Central Forest Reserve in 1948 and later on re-gazetted in 1964. Echuya Central Forest Reserve is a unique Afromontane habitat and an area of high endemism (Plumptre et al., 2003). The three forests (Bwindi, Mgahinga and Echuya) are all located in southwestern Uganda within the three districts of Rubanda, Kisoro and Kanungu (Figure 1). Indeed, the Batwa communities are located on the forest fringes in all three districts that surround the three forests. We focused this study on the 21 parishes where Batwa settlements are located along the fringes of the three forests (Figure 1). Figure 1 shows the Batwa settlement parishes around the three forests in southwestern Uganda that were generated from Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation's GIS database and validated with records from the Uganda Wildlife Authority and Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS). Both frontier villages, those that border with the forests, and non-frontier villages, those that are within communities within the selected parishes, were included in the study area for sampling. The inclusion of frontier and non-frontier villages was intended to encompass most Batwa settlements that are scattered all over the parishes around Bwindi.

2.2. Sample size and sampling procedure

The Batwa settlements (households) around Bwindi, Echuya and Mgahinga forests (Figure 1) that participated in the semi-structured household interviews were those that we randomly selected. We stratified the Batwa households into three categories grouped by the districts' administrative structures where the Batwa settlements are located. The three categories were the Kisoro, Rubanda and Kanungu districts' local government administrative units. The stratification was done in order to cater for study precision, considerations of study costs and effectiveness of our sampling procedures in the study area (Hertzog, 2008). The sample size of the required households for interviews in each of the districts was calculated using a list of Batwa households in each of the districts obtained from the latest Batwa household census carried out by the BMCT and other Batwa stakeholders (BMCT, 2016). According to the BMCT (2016) report, there are about 907 Batwa households in the three districts of Kanungu, Rubanda and Kisoro; Kanungu has 165 Batwa households, Rubanda 188 Batwa households, and Kisoro 554 Batwa households (Table 1). Using Slovin's formula, as recommended by Susanti et al., (2019); Singh and Masuku (2014), the sample size for the Batwa household interviews was calculated (Table 1).

² The term Batwa settlements is used to refer to concentrated communities or neighbors of Batwa people. Commonly these are places which were secured outside the forests for the Batwa to settle after eviction from their communities. The terms Batwa settlements and Batwa communities are used interchangeably.

The Slovin’s formula for sample size calculation used was:

$n = N / (1 + N e^2)$ where **n** = Number of Batwa households to sample, **N** = Total number of Batwa households as determined from recent population census and **e** = Error tolerance (level). We used the confidence interval of 95% and margin error of 5% for the Batwa households to sample in the study area.

Table 1. Batwa households sample size that were included in the household surveys

District	Total Households	Sampled Households
Kanungu	165	117
Kisoro	554	232
Rubanda	188	128

In selecting villages, a simple random sampling technique was used in order to provide all Batwa villages an equal chance of being included in the study and to avoid bias during interviews. Next, Batwa community leaders were purposely selected for key informant interviews (KIIs), while a few Batwa (a mixture of all sexes and ages) were purposely selected to participate in focus group discussions (FGDs). Lastly, a few community members neighboring with the Batwa settlements were purposely selected to take part in FGDs based on their knowledge and level of involvement with Batwa interventions. The use of purposive sampling was intended to include sections of the Batwa population that are directly affected or deal with the implementation of various Batwa interventions (Table 2).

Table 2. Summary of sample size and respondent's category

Category	No. of respondents	Description
Survey with pre-guided questionnaire	477	Kanungu 117 of 165 total households selected Kisoro 232 of 554 total households selected Rubanda 128 of 188 total households selected
Individual in-depth interviews	10	Batwa elders and opinion leaders
Focus group discussions	180	4 FGDs among Batwa and 2 among non-Batwa neighboring communities per district (a total of 18 FGDs were conducted in all)
Key informant interviews	41	Local government representatives – political and technical staff, and relevant government ministries, committees and departments, civil society and NGOs
Community and stakeholder consultations	3	District level discussions and engagements involving NGOs, civil society organization, local government and Batwa community representatives
World I	55	One world cafe session with people representing leaders of the Batwa communities, community-based organizations and NGOs engaged in Batwa development work, district political and technical leadership and other government agencies

Table 3 lists the main participants who participated in the stakeholder engagement meeting using the world café approach (Aldred, R. 2011). They were selected to ensure that there were representatives for social services, tradition and culture, and governance issues:

Table 3. Categories of the study participants for the World Cafe meeting

Sector	Category
1 Social services <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Health, nutrition and housing ● Education ● Empowerment 	Africa International Christian Ministry (AIMC) Office of the Secretary Social Services District Health Office District Education Office Mutwa
2 Tradition and Identity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Gender ● Culture ● Land ● Heritage 	BMCT Batwa Development Organization District Community Development Office Community Development Office Religious Leaders Mutwa
3 Governance Issues <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Participation ● Human rights ● Economic activities ● Employment 	United Organization for Batwa Development in Uganda (UOBDU) National Forest Authority (NFA) Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) Chairperson Local Council V Office of the Local Council III Chief Administrative Office District Production Office District Planning Office Operation Wealth Creation Resident District Commissioner (RDC) Mutwa Office of the Prime Minister (OPM)

2.3. Data collection methods

The survey employed mixed methods (both quantitative and qualitative) of data collection namely: a survey, KIIs, FGDs, World Café and GPS mapping.

2.3.1. Household survey

A survey questionnaire was designed, pre-tested and validated. The questionnaire was uploaded into Kobocollect, an online open-source software installed on Android tablets. Data was collected among Batwa households by trained research assistants who were familiar with the local languages in the three districts. Each research assistant had a hard copy of the translated questionnaire for use during interviews. At the end of each day, completed surveys were uploaded and stored in a cloud central repository managed by a data manager / statistician who checked for completeness and consistency. The statistician provided feedback to the research team on a daily basis to guide the data collection process.

2.3.2. Qualitative data

Qualitative data tools were developed in accordance with research objectives and questions. These included FGDs, key informant and individual IDIs, and World Café guides. World Café is a dialogue-based qualitative data collection method that brings people together to share knowledge and experience (Aldred, R. 2011). The guides were translated into the two local languages (Rukiga and Rufumbira) and pre-tested. Interviews were conducted by researchers assisted by trained research assistants who took field notes.

2.3.3. Mapping Batwa households and interventions distributions

Using a GPS, Batwa settlements in southwestern Uganda located in the districts of Rubanda, Kanungu and Kisoro were geo-referenced. While geo-referencing the Batwa settlements, a provisional list of Batwa settlements provided by BMCT (2016) was used and continually updated in the field with Batwa guides. Furthermore, the number and type of livelihood projects funded by different development organizations for the Batwa were also geo-referenced. These included, but were not limited to, crop farming, livestock rearing (pigs, goats, cows etc.), beekeeping, tourism projects, water tanks etc. GPS was used to collect the locational data coordinates of these Batwa settlements and livelihood project interventions. The GPS coordinates were then included in ArcGIS 10.5 software for mapping and analysis of the Batwa settlements and intervention areas.

2.3.4. Co-creation Event data

The co-creation event was conducted over two days from April 21-22, 2021. The activity was held in the Kanungu district following a dissemination workshop which was held on April 14, 2021, at the Rubanda District headquarters. The co-creation exercise was guided by the U.S. Global Development Lab - Co-creation Toolkit (2017)³. It provides a collaborative approach for engaging and incentivizing a wide variety of actors in order to better understand a problem and to discover, design, test, or accelerate innovative solutions. It entails a step-by-step, holistic process that has been applied the world over to facilitate collaboration and co-creation. The co-creation's findings were categorized under the following themes: education, culture, health, land access and utilization, gender-based violence, housing, food security, leadership, and representation. Posters summarizing the data were hung on the walls around the room, enabling participants to participate in a gallery walk, in which participants were able to read the data points on the posters and discuss informally amongst themselves the interpretations and meanings of the data as well as implications for action.

The Batwa development goal was defined to improve ownership, access, and utilization of land for better quality of life among the Batwa in southwestern Uganda. Five development outcomes were mutually generated, and these provided a basis for determining development themes for the Batwa communities.

- Increased number of Batwa households with land ownership and access rights;

³ Co-creation Additional Help; available at https://usaidlearninglab.org/sites/default/files/resource/files/co_creation_discussion_note_august_13_2017_final.pdf

- Increased quantity and quality of agricultural products among the Batwa;
- Increased income and employment opportunities among the Batwa;
- Health, nutrition, and access to service delivery promoted among the Batwa; and
- Batwa culture, family, and community relations promoted among the Batwa.

2.4. Data management and analysis

2.4.1. Survey data

Data entered in the Kobocollect was exported to Microsoft Excel and then onto statistical software packages for analysis. Analysis was carried out using SPSS version 12 and STATA v. 15. The analysis was done mainly using SPSS version 12, the output was then exported to STATA v. 15 for validation. The GPS locational data of Batwa settlements and interventions was initially stored in Microsoft Excel, and CSV spreadsheet formats and finally exported into ArcGIS 10.3 software for mapping.

A composite of selected social and demographic factors from the survey was used to generate the Batwa Livelihood Vulnerability Index (LVI). According to Sullivan 2011, an index-based methodology for vulnerability can be made. The livelihood vulnerability scores reflect how much one variable is more or less influential than another in contributing to livelihood vulnerability. This livelihood vulnerability score was assigned using the standard Analytical Hierarchy Process Scale (Mu and Pereyra, 2017).

The Batwa LVI was calculated from survey data that created each sub-component; and each sub-component created each major component. For example, the major component of “Identity with the forest” is composed of 6 data points from the survey related to connection with the forest. The following is the formula that was used for calculating the index values for the sub-components:

$$Index_{sv} = \frac{S_v - S_{min}}{S_{max} - S_{min}}$$

Where S_v is an original sub-component value of the Batwa (observed value as per the survey data); S_{min} and S_{max} are the minimum and maximum value of the sub-component, respectively.

A major component is made of 3 to 13 sub-components. The sub-component indexes are then averaged and multiplied by the priority weight for that major component. The major components are weighted to reflect the significance of each factor in contributing to overall livelihood vulnerability using a priority ranking based on Saaty’s pairwise comparison scale (Saaty, 2008). In this study, the weightings were collaboratively generated by five experts, with diverse backgrounds in economics, community health, medicine, agriculture, and development planning, and all familiar with livelihood processes in the area. Finally, the LVI is the total of all the major components.

2.4.2. Qualitative data

All qualitative data was audio recorded and transcribed, these were 18 FGDs with both Batwa and non-Batwa community members, 10 individual IDIs with opinion leaders from Batwa communities and 41 key informants. Each transcript averaged 40 minutes. The transcripts were organized into folders according to respondent categories. The key researchers reviewed the transcripts for consistency and accuracy. The transcripts were later uploaded in NVIVO V.12 software and prepared for further analysis.

Emerging issues and insights from FGDs, key informant and individual interviews informed the World Café stakeholder discussions. Qualitative data collected was translated, transcribed and analyzed to determine the social and structural factors that affect the Batwa Indigenous Peoples' livelihoods, vulnerability and marginalization.

Analysis of the qualitative data was done by researchers using a coding framework jointly developed to generate themes, codes, and categories. Data was then organized and analyzed thematically based on context and lived experiences of the Batwa people. Verbatim quotes were identified and matched with findings to provide evidence and research participants' views and aspirations. Quotes are provided in this report. The analysis was done manually and by use of NVIVO version 12. Analyzed data is integrated into the report.

2.4.3. Data storage and protection

The audio recordings and transcripts were electronically stored by the site principal investigator and the research administrator on computers secured with passwords. Both raw and analyzed data was electronically stored by the principal investigator and the research administrator on computers secured with passwords. In addition, backup storage was done on CD ROM, flash disks and on cloud with access allowable to only researchers and authorized persons on this project. The movable storage entities were kept under lock and key with the project administrator in line with the existing ethical policy on data protection and storage, mapping and final storage. The GPS data saved in csv file format was entered in ArcGIS 10.5 software for storage.

2.5. Ethical considerations

Ethical principles in keeping data in a confidential manner, ensuring anonymity and sharing data only between researchers were ensured. The movable storage entities are kept under lock and key with the project administrator in line with the existing ethical policy on data protection and storage. The study was reviewed and approved as required by the Research Ethics Committee of Mbarara University of Science and Technology and National Council of Science and Technology, Reference No. SS452ES.

2.6. Study limitations

Although the research was comprehensive and adequate to address the research objectives, undertaking a longitudinal follow-up study that includes ethnography would be desirable.

Chapter III Presentation and Discussion of Research Findings

The research findings include data from the three data sources: 1) GIS mapping of Batwa settlement locations, as well as distribution and mapping of Batwa project interventions; 2) quantitative household survey findings which contain information on demographics and social economic characteristics of the Batwa people and other social and health indicators; and 3) qualitative findings generated from key informant interviews with the districts' policy, political and technical leadership, individual IDIs with Batwa leaders, stakeholder engagement discussions and FGDs with Batwa and their neighboring communities. Qualitative findings raise the voices of marginalized Batwa people and the quantitative data provides findings on key variables which were assessed regarding Batwa livelihoods. The qualitative and quantitative data are presented concurrently.

3.1. Mapping of Batwa households and livelihood interventions

Findings from the mapping activity that describes locations of Batwa households and the available livelihood project interventions within the study period are available below.

3.1.1. Distribution of Batwa households in the study area

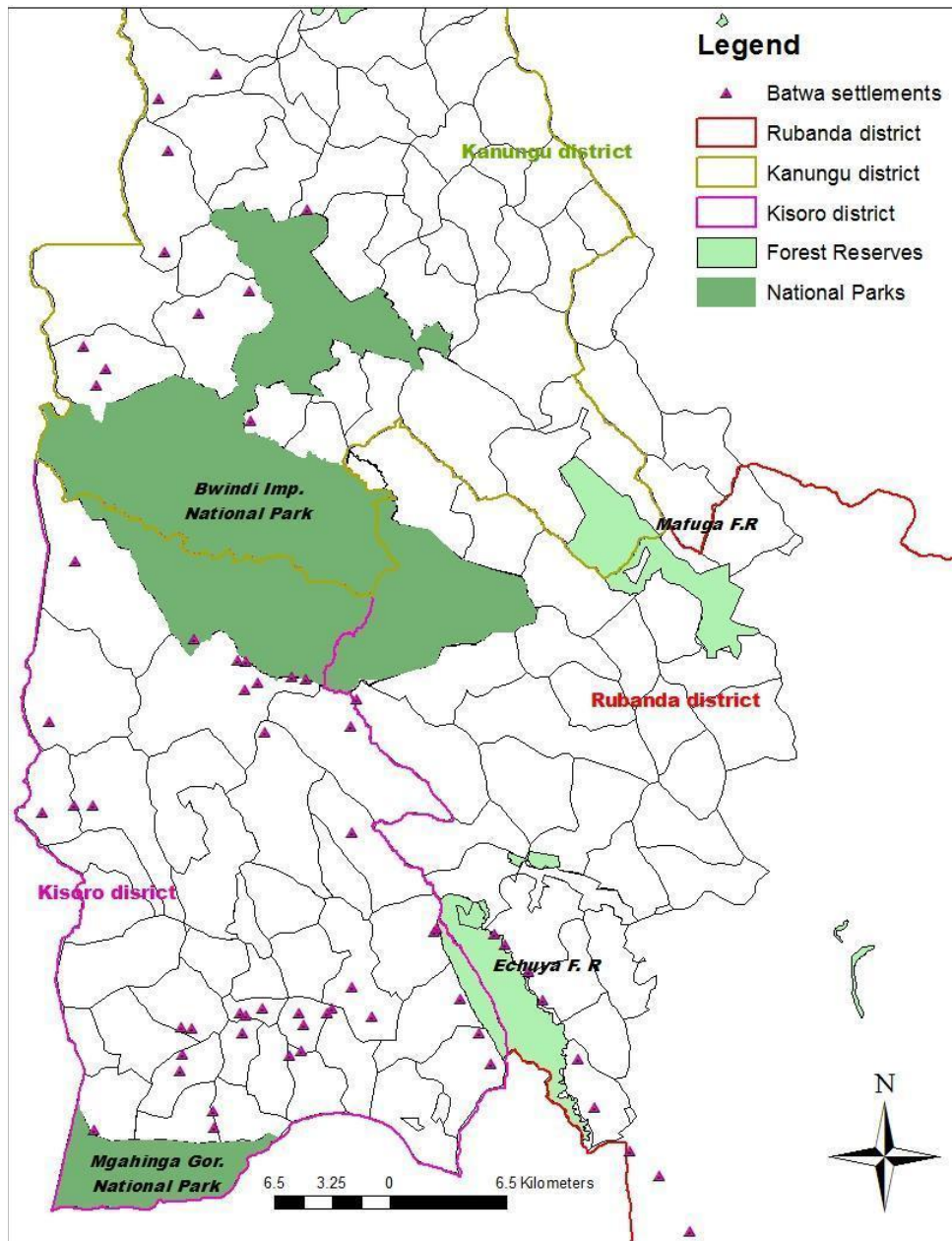


Figure 2. Batwa Settlement locations in southwestern Uganda

Figure 2 is a map showing the distribution of all Batwa settlements located in the districts of Kanungu, Rubanda and Kisoro, southwestern Uganda. From the figure, it is evident that all Batwa settlements are congregated around three major forests: Bwindi Impenetrable and Mgahinga Gorilla National Parks and Echuya Central Forest Reserve.

In total, we identified 57 settlements with geo-referencing, however the districts report that there were 60 Batwa settlements in southwestern Uganda as of October 2020 (Table 4). These are distributed per district as follows; 39 Batwa settlements in Kisoro, 11 Batwa settlements in Kanungu and 7 Batwa settlements in Rubanda (Table 4). It is evident that the Kisoro district has the majority of the Batwa settlements. This could be related to the fact that the Kisoro district location is such that it has all the three protected areas (Bwindi, Mgahinga and Echuya), unlike the other districts, and because the Batwa tend to be near or at least in close proximity to forests. Therefore, forested national parks and forest reserves in southwestern Uganda have been and are still major livelihood attractions for the Batwa.

Table 4. Distribution of Batwa settlements

District	Number of Batwa settlements	Location status
Kanungu	11	Bwindi National Park
Kisoro	39	Bwindi National Park, Mgahinga National Park, & Echuya Forest Reserve
Rubanda	7	Bwindi National Park & Echuya Forest Reserve
Total	57	

Source: 2020 GPS Assessment

3.1.2. Existing Batwa livelihood project interventions

Figure 3 is a map showing the distribution of funded livelihood projects for the Batwa by various development organizations. Some of these projects include beekeeping, carpentry, crop farming, water tanks, community tourism projects and animal rearing. The most prominent Batwa livelihood projects funded by different development organizations are crop farming (Irish potato growing, tea plantations, millet, etc.), tourism projects (community halls and forest experience), and water tanks. There are also other cases of piped water systems funded and implemented for some Batwa settlements.

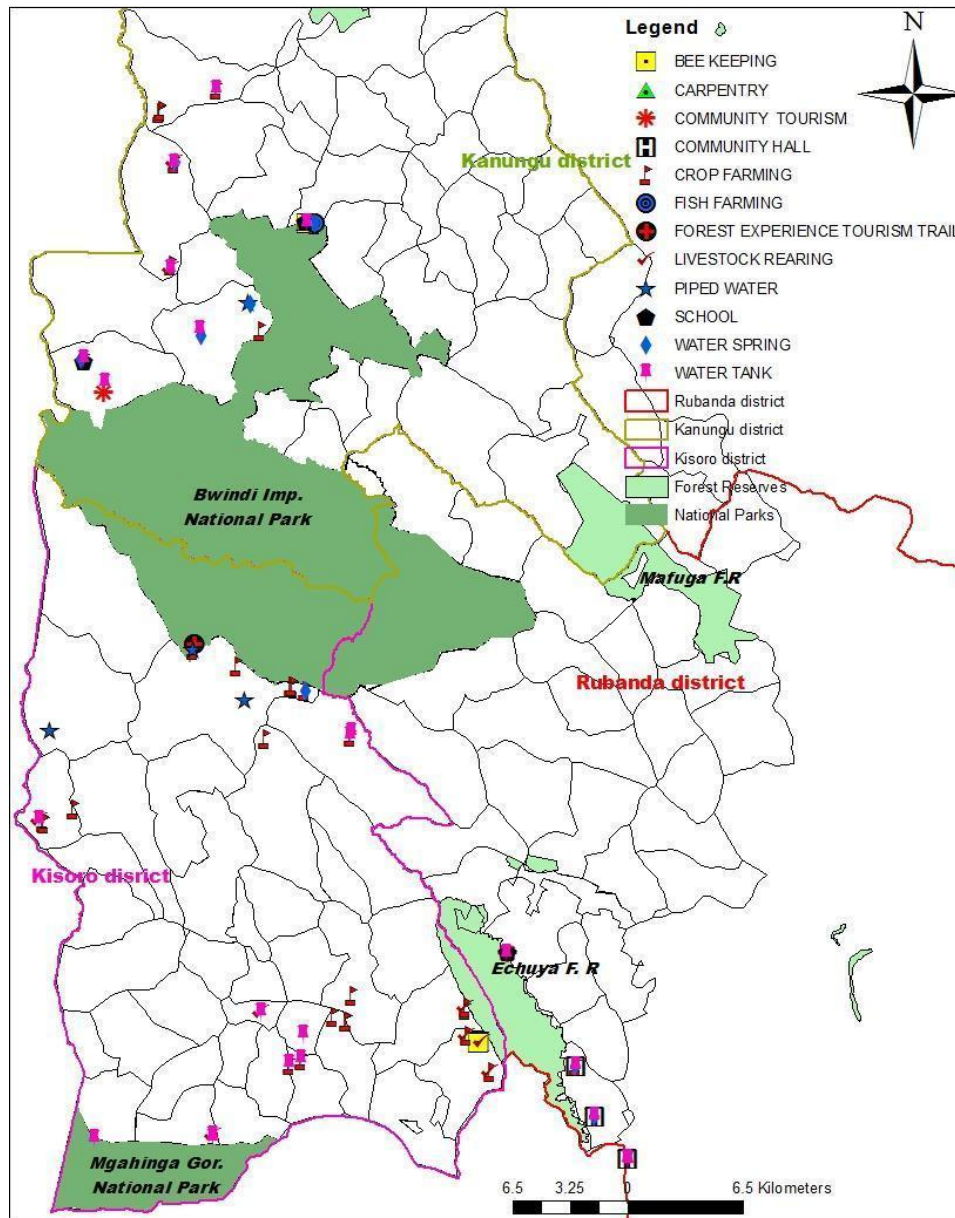


Figure 3. Locations of Major Batwa livelihood projects in southwestern Uganda as of October 2020

Table 5 shows the number and distribution of these Batwa livelihood projects per district. Kisoro and Kanungu have more Batwa projects than the other districts and this is perhaps due to the fact that these two districts have more Batwa settlements in them. Furthermore, Kanungu and Kisoro districts have more individual household projects (as opposed to common good projects) than the other district, which has none (Table 5). The Batwa common good projects include water tanks, water springs, piped water, tourism projects, and community halls, while the individual household projects include livestock rearing, crop farming and beekeeping.

Table 5. Distribution of Batwa livelihood projects

District	Total number of livelihood projects	Number of common good projects	Number of individual household projects
Kanungu	30	16	14
Kisoro	47	15	32
Rubanda	15	15	0
Total	92	46	46

3.1.3. Batwa’s common development projects

That Batwa settlements tend to be located near national parks or forest reserves is not surprising since the Batwa were traditional hunter-gatherers before the areas were gazetted as national parks and forest reserves. The Batwa still value the forests for the extraction of medicines, weaving, plant food, and wild honey collection (or the hoisting of beehives) and would have loved to preserve traditional shrines (small huts) for praying to their gods in the forest (Bitariho, 2013). To-date, most Batwa livelihoods are still based around the three forests (Kabanankye and Wily, 1996; Bitariho *et al*, 2006). Park managers blame the Batwa for most of the illegal activities such as fishing in rivers and the collection of wild honey and yams from the national parks and forest reserves in southwestern Uganda (Bitariho *et al*, 2006). Some civil society organizations such as the UOBDU have advocated for the rights of Batwa to access forest resources from the three forests, but this has yet to be achieved.

In response to the urgent poverty-inducing implications of the Batwa’s exclusion from access, use and ownership of their ancestral lands (forests), most development organizations such as BMCT and UOBDU have been funding and implementing livelihood intervention projects for the Batwa (Bitariho *et al*, 2006). Some of the projects are common good projects while others are funded at the individual household level. Whereas the Batwa livelihood style was hunting and fruit gathering, currently the Batwa are being incorporated into a lifestyle of sedentary farming (crop farming and animal rearing). The farming lifestyle being introduced to the Batwa was historically more often practiced by their Bakiga and Bafumbira counterparts; it could take generations for the Batwa to change from their traditional lifestyle as hunter-gatherers (Bitariho, 2013). This is why they prefer to stay near their former ancestral lands (the forests) and are often blamed by park managers for illegal resource extraction from the national park and other protected areas.

3.2. Quantitative survey participants’ characteristics

The quantitative study was conducted among the Batwa household heads in three districts: Kanungu, Kisoro and Rubanda.⁴ The mean age was 39.3 years and ages ranged from 15 to 101

⁴ Between 13th and 22nd July 2020

years. More than half, 259 (54.4%), of the participants had no formal education, the majority of them female. Only 15 (3.2%) of the total participants had acquired an education above the primary level with only 6 (1.3%) obtaining a tertiary education. The predominant religion was Anglican 269 (56.5%) followed by Pentecostals 108 (22.7%). The possibility of Batwa having a traditional religion was not explored during the survey. Only 119 (25%) had both parents alive, whereas 226 (47.5%) were total orphans. More Batwa heads of households had lost their mothers 104 (21.8%) compared to 27 (5.7%) who had lost their fathers (Table 6).

Table 6. Social and demographic characteristics of study participants

Variable/characteristic	Frequency (n)	Proportion (%)
Age category (years)		
15-24	94	19.7
25-34	122	25.6
35-44	86	18.1
45-55	62	13.0
Above 55	79	16.6
Age unknown	33	6.9
Gender		
Female	277	58.2
Male	199	41.8
District/Residence		
Kisoro	229	48.1
Rubanda	128	26.9
Kanungu	119	25
Education level		
No formal education	259	54.4
Primary level	196	41.2
Secondary level	15	3.2
Tertiary	6	1.3
Religion		

Anglican	269	56.5
Pentecostal	108	22.7
Catholic	70	14.7
Others (Adventists, Muslims, Cornerstone, Ebenezer)	29	6.1
Parents Alive		
Both dead	226	47.5
Both alive	119	25.0
Only mother	104	21.8
Only father	27	5.7

3.3. Batwa tradition and identity

The data on Batwa tradition and identity was generated from responses on an open-ended qualitative question that asked: who are the Batwa, what is known and common about them? Across all the three stakeholder engagement meetings held in the districts of Kisoro, Kanungu and Rubanda, the Batwa were and still are regarded as forest people. Batwa are typically of short stature, are traditionally hunters, and tend to love traditional dancing, especially the Rutwa dance. During their time in the forest, they used to wear hides and skins. They are a group with social cohesion. Culturally they pay a dowry in the form of sheep, goats and honey. There are limited intermarriages with other members of the community. Among the Batwa, men are traditionally the breadwinners. Traditionally, the Batwa had places set aside for burial and sendoff rituals associated with the last funeral rites. For example, burial sites were usually deep in the forests near big trees and the dead were buried standing upright. Traditionally, the Batwa worshiped, venerated, sacrificed and offered appeasement gifts to their god in special places. However, when they were driven from the forest, their cultural practice of worshiping ancestors was greatly interfered with, as they have very limited access to the forest.

Men were responsible for protecting their family and the property, while the production of food and reproduction remained women's roles. On the other hand, men were free to use their money and resources as they wished. It is believed that they were kings (batwale) of the area. Originally, the men were hunters and the women were involved in ceramics. To be recognized as a man, one would first trap or kill an animal. Men would collect medicinal herbs to administer to male children, while women collected for themselves and for their children. Men were responsible for providing fire (gushingata). Men were also expected to be warriors.

There were cultural gender roles in which the boys were expected to gather honey and other foods before marriage to be taken to the girls' parents. They would trace the honey from stingless bees and the presence of doves around the area. This culture has been lost with time, mostly due to reduced access to the forest. There are now some intermarriages among the Batwa and the Bakiga. There is a myth that sleeping with a female Mutwa (Mutwakwazi) cures HIV/AIDS. Previously,

there were very few health-related disabilities among the Batwa, since there were nutritious foods in the forest. Batwa people used to maintain a social network, although currently there are no Batwa chiefs but elders instead. Even the land that was purchased has never been legally handed over to them. Many NGOs have failed to hand over land titles/agreements under the pretext that the Batwa would sell that land and misuse money to purchase alcohol. The key challenge was that the Batwa were evicted from the forest without consultation. Population growth was also not factored in during the land allocation process.

3.3.1. Language spoken by Batwa

Language is a key component of identity. Unfortunately, Urutwa/Orutwa/Rutwa, the Batwa language, may become extinct; unlike most other local dialects, there is no local radio station in the country/area that uses/airs programs in that language. This is expressed in the following:

We speak Rutwa but we mix it now, it's not purely the Rutwa we know. We want to stay together and maintain our language, but it is no more. If we make a group of people for Batwa only, you will hardly hear Rutwa language being used (World Cafe Session Group 2 Rubanda).

I think they called us Batwa because we used to stay in the forest and speak different languages from the ones community people spoke and our dress code must have made us be called Batwa; we never used to dress up well and never used to bathe...however we are still discriminated against, for example you can never hear any local radio that has a program of people who speak our language...all this will face (KII Batwa Community Leader Kisoro).

About one-third, 117 (30%), of respondents in the quantitative survey spoke and identified Orutwa' as their native language. The participants had also adopted languages spoken in their new areas of residence, with 330 (69%) able to speak Rukiga, 175 (36%) speaking Kifumbira, and 31 (6%) able to speak Kinyarwanda. Among these, 176 (37%) recognize Rukiga as their native language, 147 (30%) recognize Kifumbira as their native language and only 7 (1.5%) recognize Kinyarwanda as their native language. It is important to note that the Batwa culture is waning, the government could take action to preserve Batwa culture by promoting unity, a sense of belonging and cultural pride (The Monitor 2016). The following quote provides a narrative to this assertion:

You know that the Batwa were not people that used to stay in the forest.....Batwa means kings, short for Batware. They were kings in Rwanda, and that was their original homeland. As they were kings, they fought with the Bahutu and Batusi. During the fight, the Bahutu and Batusi combined forces and defeated the Batwa. They escaped and went into exile in the forests. In the forest was exile, they stayed there, planning to build themselves and come back to fight for what is theirs. Records say that up to now, they stayed in the forests trying to build bigger numbers, organize themselves and attack to overtake their throne (World Cafe Session Group 2, Kanungu).

3.3.2. Batwa attachment to the forest

The majority of the participants 322 (67.6%) were born and lived in the forests, with many coming from the Echuya forests 129 (40.1%) and Bwindi 127 (39.4%). More than one in three still identified the forest as their home while 72 (22.9%) feel they cannot maintain an identity with the forest. Some participants, 30.5%, still went to the forests for spiritual (30.5%) and medicinal (45.8%) purposes.

Table 7. Understanding the Batwa attachment/relationship with the forest(s)

Variable/characteristic	Frequencies	Proportion %
Family lived in the forest		
Yes	322	67.6
No	133	27.9
Don't Know	21	4.4
Born in the forest		
Echuya	129	40.1
Bwindi	127	39.4
Mgahinga forest	58	18.0
Others (Congo .2%, Muhingo .4%, and Ishasha .2%; don't know .8%)	8	2.5
Last time you lived in the forest		
I still identify forest as home	112	35.6
I shall forever identify with forest	104	33.0
I feel I cannot keep my identity	72	22.9
No response	27	8.6
Last time you went to the forest in search of medicine		
No response	258	54.2
More than a month ago	132	27.7
Less than a week ago	56	11.8
One week to 2 weeks	18	3.8
3 weeks to 4 weeks	12	2.5

Last time you went to the forest in search of pleasure		
No response	310	65.1
Less than a week ago	25	5.3
3 weeks to 4 weeks	9	1.9
More than a month ago	4	0.8
One week to 2 weeks	3	0.6
Last time you went to the forest for spiritual purposes		
No response	331	69.5
More than a month ago	124	26.1
Less than a week ago	18	3.8
3 weeks to 4 weeks	2	0.4
One week to 2 weeks	1	0.2

3.4. Batwa marginalization

Based on data from the FGDs with Batwa and their neighboring communities, KIIs with the district political and technical staff, leaders from government and non-government institutions that work with the Batwa and national-level institutions working with Indigenous People, individual IDIs with the Batwa opinion leader, youth and women and stakeholder engagement workshops, we determined that there are five themes of marginalization among the Batwa. Batwa marginalization manifests and is experienced at all levels from the topmost government level down to the lowermost levels in the community. The five themes are: community and policy discrimination, political marginalization, economic deprivation, access to social services, and land ownership and rights.

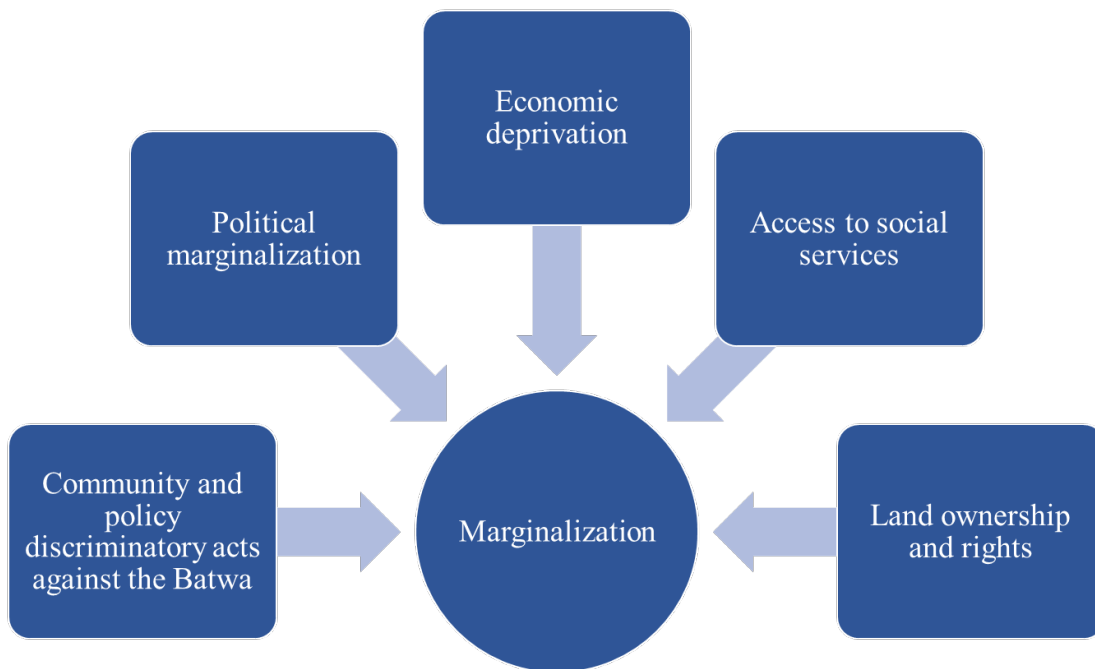


Figure 4. Batwa Marginalization themes

According to the literature, the dimensions of marginalization realized in this study agree with previous studies which have linked Batwa marginalization to a lack of access to social services such as modern healthcare and education (Willis et al., 2006, Warrilow, 2008) resulting in poor health and well-being indicators within Batwa communities (Willis et al., 2006; Berrang-Ford et al., 2012). Batwa communities also still lag behind in terms of education and they continue to face social discrimination perpetuated by other tribes who claim superiority (Turyatunga, 2010).

Batwa as their house workers. And they are underpaid whereas some of them are not paid at all (they just give them food sometimes and that's all). Many women have been raped, defiled and sexually abused by Bakiga because the Batwa sometimes even fear to come here and report. Like for the time I have been in this office, I have only seen about two or three cases. It's very hard for them to report.” (KII, District Local Government Technical Representative, Rubanda)

“It is only Batwa Development Program (BDP) and Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Trust (BMCT) that support us; at least these projects have educated our children at no cost. So for us we are still marginalized by the government, because they have never provided anything to us as Batwa to develop ourselves like giving us projects where we can get capital and do some businesses. We are casual laborers; we provide cheap labor to Bakiga just to get something to eat. We have never touched on money notes, we only collect coins! Where do we get those notes? That should be done by the government. True, these NGOs are under the government but surely the government itself should think about us...” (FGD, Batwa woman Kitariro Kanungu)

At the policy level, it was confirmed during the team interview with the representative of the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) that at the time of displacement from the forest, the Government of Uganda did not have plans to settle them, nor has this situation changed. There is a bias among the leadership at the community and policy level that the Batwa claims over the forest land are unfounded. The following quotes provide a sense of some of the acts of discrimination experienced by the Batwa:

I may not comment so much on this matter since we have it on record that the Batwa submitted a petition to Constitutional Court of Uganda seeking recognition of their status and Indigenous People of Uganda and historical marginalization that includes the present displacement from the forests (Group Discussion with OPM representatives)

“The Batwa claim that they do not own land; that even the land that was purportedly bought by the development actors like AICM do not have titles; that the titles do not belong to the Batwa themselves. But they say at least some Batwa have started buying some land for themselves...” (World Café meeting - Rubanda Group)

“Well in revenue sharing policy, much as we have guidelines, UWA collects money and remits it for local governments to implement programs or projects for those people. But you find that as the government implements, it implicates things, and you find community challenges not addressed and nothing can be done because it was a policy/law and you cannot compromise with the law. But nowadays I think the law is being revised. We are only waiting for guidelines to see whether those challenges of the communities will be considered, and you

may find that maybe the local government has streamlined its way of working...”
(KII, UWA, Kanungu KII)

Discrimination is also manifested through social exclusion by not eating with them, not letting them attend public functions like burials and weddings or, if they are let in, isolating them from the rest of the ethnic groups. There are also superstitions about the Batwa; one being that if you have a backache and you sleep with a Mutwa lady, it will heal.

The Batwa have internalized these discriminatory acts against them and have thus developed negative self-perceptions, regarding themselves as persons with ‘poor brains.’ They have inferiority complexes due to the disparity in socio-economic status between them and other ethnic communities. This manifests in the form of the clothes they wear, the nature of their housing and the quality of food they consume. Due to their inferiority complex, they do not live close to other ethnic groups. In the following quotes there are expressions of how the Batwa people feel about their position in the communities where they live:

“No... I am not only referring to the Batwa of this area, but the Batwa of the whole region. Of course, when it comes to issues of money, it’s the Batwa who are most affected; we do not have those huge sums of money. This pushes us to form our own associations as Batwa. Say I may be able to find the 200,000/- Ugandan shillings and I join the association, these non – Batwa will be so suspicious of where I got a hold of all this money, after all I am a Mutwa. Actually, this usually calls for a discussion amongst the non – Batwa and how they will handle the situation with a Mutwa joining their association.” **(IDI Batwa Community Leader, Rubanda)**

“If it’s time for cooking these non - Batwa will not allow you to cook with a Mutwa, if it’s time to eat, no one will want to sit together with a Mutwa for a meal. That is the type of discrimination we face; we are always pushed at the back. Even if you get access to this huge sum of money and join, you will face so many difficulties, these non – Batwa just don’t want to associate with us the Batwa.” **(KII Batwa community leader, Kisoro)**

“For us to survive, we have to wait for the people we live with in this community to give us some work and then we get some food. But if we don’t get work, we have to just sit and keep looking at each other miserable with no hope...” **(FGD Batwa male 35+ Kanungu)**

3.4.1.1. Limited intermarriages between Batwa and other tribes

It was observed that there are very few intermarriages between the Batwa, Bakiga and Bafumbira even now, when it is close to 30 years after their life in the forest despite that they are part of the native tribes in the region. The qualitative findings express a number of reasons why the Batwa rarely intermarry with the other native tribes mostly related with being a minority tribe.

Table 8. Marriage characteristics among Batwa

Marital status	Frequency (n)	Proportion (%)
Married	354	74.4
Previously married but staying alone	104	21.8
Single	18	3.8
Number of spouses		
One partner	324	91.5
More than one	30	8.5
Tribe of spouses		
Mutwa	333	94.1
Mukiga	10	2.8
Mufumbira	8	2.3
Other (Munyarwanda, Munyankole, Mufumbira)	3	0.8
Age at marriage		
less than 18	171	35.9
18-24	224	47.1
25-34	51	10.7
35+	11	2.3
Age unknown	19	3.99

The majority of the participants are married, though one in five are now alone, mainly females (32.9%) compared to males (6.5%). The main reasons for being alone include divorce, separation or widowhood (21.8%). The unions are usually between spouses of a similar tribe, i.e. Mutwa (94.1%). Those not married to Batwa are mainly females (4.8%) compared to 4% males. Most of the participants are in monogamous relationships. More than one-third of the participants were in unions under the age of 18, the majority being females (47.3%) compared to males (20.1%).

3.4.1.2. Discrimination due to language difference

The survey respondents reported being discriminated against due to their language, and in turn lacking in access to other services, with 52% failing to access health care, 28% failing to access education, 25% failing to access water and 22% failing to access transportation. The differences

in segregation by gender were not significant. However, by district, participants from Kisoro reported higher proportions of discriminatory acts due to language difference compared to those from Kanungu or Rubanda. These differences were statistically significant. The language the Batwa speak is closer to the languages spoken in Kanungu or Rubanda.

Table 9. Discrimination due to language and access to social services

Variable/characteristic	Total n(%)	Female n(%)	Male n(%)	P value	Kanungu n(%)	Kisoro n(%)	Rubanda n(%)	P value
Ever failed to access Healthcare due to Language								
No	132(47.7)	105(52.8)	237(49.8)	2.71	73(61.3)	95(41.5)	69(53.9)	0.001
Yes	145(52.3)	94(47.2)	239(50.2)		46(38.7)	134(58.5)	59(46.1)	
Total	277(100)	199(100)	476(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Ever failed to access education due to language								
No	199(71.8)	157(78.9)	356(74.8)	0.8	102(85.7)	149(65.1)	105(82)	<0.01
Yes	78(28.2)	42(21.1)	120(25.2)		17(14.3)	80(34.9)	23(18)	
Total	277(100)	199(100)	476(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Ever failed to access water due to language								
No	208(75.1)	159(79.9)	367(77.1)	0.21	107(89.9)	148(64.6)	112(87.5)	<0.01
Yes	69(24.9)	40(20.1)	109(22.9)		12(10.1)	81(35.4)	16(12.5)	
Total	277(100)	199(100)	476(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Ever failed to access transport due to language								
No	215(77.6)	162(81.4)	377(79.2)	0.31	106(89.1)	158(69)	113(88.3)	<0.01
Yes	62(22.4)	37(18.6)	99(20.8)		13(10.9)	71(31)	15(11.7)	
Total	277(100)	199(100)	476(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	

3.4.2. Political marginalization

The political marginalization of Batwa people mainly manifests itself as limited political representation at the national level. Although the legal framework provides for equal political participation and representation, as a result of their low social status and positioning, the Batwa are sidelined from leadership opportunities from the lowest political level to the national level. Thus, there is limited opportunity to participate in decision-making undertakings which is

detrimental to accomplishing their social, economic and land rights goals. Within their communities, where they were resettled by different agencies after displacement from the forest, the Batwa established a leadership system which is not linked to the mainstream constitutional local council leadership. Their leadership structure includes the chairman, the vice chairperson, the secretary and the person responsible for defense whom the communities approach whenever there is need. Beyond the group, the leaders' roles are limited to:

- Calling for meetings among the Batwa where ideas are shared, recorded as minutes and the leaders take them to the higher-level meetings to be addressed.
- Representing the Batwa at various stakeholder meetings.
- Sensitizing the Batwa on how to be productive and changing their mindset towards their livelihood, like over-dependence on begging rather than working.
- Settling disputes that relate to domestic violence or arise from issues like fighting due to alcoholism and ensuring that there is harmonious living among them.
- Welcoming Batwa visitors (tourists).

However, most of the leadership roles are mainly limited to serving the Batwa and not beyond. Sometimes they have to depend on the non-Batwa leaders when they face issues beyond their capacity. The Batwa have disproportionately low access to leadership opportunities outside their ethnic group. They are hardly represented at the local council level with just one reported representative at the town council committee in just one area. Hence, their participation in politics is insignificant.

“Honestly, I have not come across a Mutwa contesting for even chairmanship at sub-county level, councillorship or even at local council level. Maybe in their communities they have a chairman heading them, but someone contesting for another office- I have not come across! I really do not know” (KII District Chairperson for Social Services)

“Our way of living is neutral because we do not have money. At times when you get a problem and report to the Local Council I (LCI), he asks for money which you do not have. Honestly our lifestyle is just there we live by God's grace...” (FGD female Batwa, Kanungu)

They have no leadership representing them at a higher level which makes them feel that they miss out on opportunities the Bakiga and Bafumbira have access to. Their voices are not well represented at the higher authority levels, and they have limited opportunity to defend their rights.

“The leaders we have are only at the level of Batwa community, but we have no representatives at higher levels not even at LCI; the LCI is a Mukiga. Like my colleague has said, the responsibility of registering the elderly in communities is for LCI chairman so he decides who to consider and leave; that is why he

considers his fellow Bakiga and leave Batwa behind” (FGD Young woman, Batwa, Butogota, Kanungu)

Even when there are attempts by other leaders to represent them, they may not be as effective nor understanding of their social, political, and economic rights as a Batwa representative would be. This also affects gender rights.

“Secondly, as Batwa women, we do not have leaders at any levels, from village councils to parliament. We do not have councilors or MPs or any representative at any level. How shall we develop when our voice is not represented anywhere? How shall we develop when we do not have access to approach our leaders like the RDC and the president? When will the president hear our voice when we cannot reach him ourselves?” (FGD Woman, Kitariro Settlement, Kanungu)

Marginalization that comes from leadership positions is fueled by Batwa people’s physical appearance, their dress code, and their lack of representation. Further explanation is provided in the subsequent paragraphs:

Appearance: The non-Batwa communities regard the Batwa as primitive and worthless because of their overall physical appearance, especially their dress code and the fact that they are mostly poor, and therefore regard them as not being suitable for leadership positions in the community.

“To be sincere, the Batwa are not really in leadership positions. The reason why is that any person who is living in poor conditions cannot even attempt to lead and stand in front of people. Do you think if you are dressed badly you can go in front of people and say anything ... just in slippers... (Shakes his head).” (FGD Male non-Batwa Kisoro)

Lack of formal education: They also add the fact that the Batwa are not well educated and only a few of them have attained an education. This makes them unpopular and limits their chances of taking on leadership roles in the community.

However, the non-Batwa deny that they would not select a Mutwa for leadership outright, claiming there are some who have become more enlightened and could therefore be selected for leadership.

“If he tries, we can also respect and listen to him. For example this young man (points to a Mutwa seated among them...) can even come around and ask for leadership from us and we also listen to him because he looks better... and in addition he knows what to say to people. But that one who is still backward, cannot sincerely lead us because he or she has nothing to offer in his brain.” (FGD Male nonBatwa-Kisoro)

However, they reveal that it is still difficult to award them leadership roles.

“They are very few, but the majority because of refusing to study they are not heard. They do not have a voice yet they are not heard even at the local council. One we just put him there, even the Batwa did not support it, we put him there by force he would not be there.” (FGD Non-Batwa mixed group, Kanungu)

Internal racism/discrimination: In the presence of leadership opportunities, the Batwa themselves are less likely to participate or seek political positions, not only because of the enacted discrimination from the non-Batwa communities, but also because of their own anticipated feelings of being discriminated against by other ethnic groups if they attempt to seek political positions. They feel that the other tribes may not vote for them because of their own feelings of being primitive and backward.

“I don’t know what hinders them to also select someone to represent us. Maybe the reason is that we are still backward.” (IDI, Batwa Leader, Kanungu)

They have doubts in their own capacity to take on leadership roles.

“They do not value themselves to that level. They know they are not worth. I think they would be worth but for them they think they are not worth so at times they marginalize themselves. And since their education is very low, they have that fear of leading others.” (KII District Chairperson for Social Services Kisoro)

There is also a notion that the Batwa are few in number and therefore have no voice. In instances where education is a prerequisite for taking on leadership roles, only a few will qualify because there is low educational attainment among the Batwa. Moreover, there are limited reports of effort to augment their participation in leadership roles. The following quotes provide qualitative evidence on this assertion:

“I am also one of the people who live together with our brothers and sisters the Batwa but we have completely failed to understand the reasons why they are still living in very poor conditions and with no answer to address all their challenges so as to be able to develop themselves like other people. But as per now there are some who have started coming up through education, with time they will be able to develop themselves. Some of them like this young man...not like the real Batwa, his reasoning is different just like other people...” (FGD Non-Batwa community members, Kisoro).

“But the challenge we have, our children... of the Batwa are not interested in education, we try to encourage them sometimes beating them up but all in vain, sometimes we force them to go to school with their hands tied up with ropes. Normally when our children get in primary six, they tell their parents straight away that “father I do not want to go back to school” but those few who try to continue in upper classes, most of them are for the parents who are a bit

knowledgeable and know the importance of education but the rest, they do not care what happens to their children...”(FGD Batwa Community Members Kisoro).

3.4.2.1. Participation of the Batwa in community leadership positions

Only 27.3% of the total participants had assumed leadership positions in their Batwa communities (see Table 10). A mere 9.2% of the leaders were in groups with people from a different ethnic group. Only 36.9% of the 27.3% leaders held positions in local councils. Over one-third of the participants had no confidence in themselves to participate in community decision making and the majority (71.2%) had not attended the 2019/2020 government planning meetings. Over half had asked their leaders for government support (52.9%), but many had not benefited from any local development project (52.3%).

Table 10. Batwa participation in community leadership positions

Variable/characteristic	Frequencies (n)	Proportion %
Member of family in a leadership position		
No	336	70.6
Yes	130	27.3
Do not know	10	2.1
Confidence to participate in community decision making		
Very confident –I can do this	176	37
Not confident at all	159	33.4
A little bit confident but only...	133	27.9
Attended 2019/20 local government planning meetings		
No	339	71.2
Yes	134	28.2
Don't know	3	0.6
Asked elected leaders for government support		
Yes	252	52.9
No	212	44.5
Don't know	12	2.5

Benefited from local government projects or development agencies		
No	249	52.3
Yes	222	46.6
Don't know	5	1.1
Participates most in decision making at the community level		
Both men and women	272	57.1
Men	176	37
Women	19	4
Do not know	9	1.9

3.4.3. Economic deprivation

There is a disparity in the standard of living between the Batwa and other members of the community. Following their eviction from the forest of Mgahinga and Bwindi, Batwa lost their main economic asset, the forest, where they got materials for pottery, weaving and honey collection - their main sources of income. The post-forest life has not translated into better economic life and has seen the majority of the Batwa living in abject poverty. Their lives are characterized by a total lack of necessities such as food, clothing, proper housing facilities and land. They depend on begging for these necessities from other ethnic groups or doing casual labor that earns them a basic income to pay for their most basic needs, prioritizing food. There are unexplained practices of underpaying the Batwa. The Batwa people are underpaid by the non-Batwa for the same job done by the other people. Batwa people are mostly working as casual laborers.

“We used to live in our forest which was an inheritance from our ancestors. Then one day, people dressed in uniforms came and told us, “leave the forest, it no longer belongs to you”, we had no option but to leave. They told us to go and live with other people in the community, but when we reached, we had no place to settle, we suffered and slept wherever we would find. We started guarding the farms of Bakiga, most of us died in that chaos of not having anywhere to settle, we kept on wandering in the community, and many died...” (IDI Batwa cultural leader, Kisoro)

“We do not have land, schools, health care services, animals to rear and generally there are no assets that we think belong to us, there is nothing to show that the government has provided as compensation for chasing us from our forests of our great grandfathers...” (IDI Batwa community leader, Kisoro)

“They indeed like begging around, for example if you have some clothes you have to give them, at times they are even given rotten or dirty food but they will still be happy to receive it and survive...” (FGD female non-Batwa, Kisoro)

“As Batwa, we would have developed but the challenge we face is that we do not have enough money...there is too much poverty and famine is squeezing us badly. When a Mutwa earns some money for development, it just ends up in fighting hunger which affects us very much....” (FGD female Batwa, Kanungu)

“Then there should also be representation for all at all levels of the political ground, then is also the issue of economic participation we found there are so many gaps, especially provision of labor: the Batwa provide almost free labor, for work for say a day a Mutwa is paid 5000 or 6000 Uganda shillings or at times his just given food, someone had actually told us that when there is work to be done at his farm, he will pay a Mutwa a minimal wage or just provide lunch while a Mukiga will demand for higher pay. So this issue of working for almost no pay or working for only food is a very big gap towards the economic development of the Batwa...” (World café Meeting, Rubanda)

The non-Batwa view the Batwa as desperate people who consume any kind of food offered whether rotten or dirty and take on any form of clothing offered to them in order to survive. Such a bias cuts across the wider community, including the district leadership and institutions where the Batwa live. Communities conceded that it is not the Batwa people’s nature to go begging, but that they have been forced by the circumstances around them, such as not being able to work and having nowhere to settle. In addition, some of the Batwa have failed to adapt to new socio-economic activities like cultivation; they still look to the forest for survival.

“Then there are also some Batwa who isolate themselves, they cannot get involved in cultivating, instead they choose to look at the forest as their source of livelihood for everything by collecting firewood, hunting and others. They collect and sell these items to the non-Batwa, get what to eat for that day and that is all” (FGD Male Non-Batwa community, Kisoro)

This way of life further reinforces Batwa marginalization and creates new vulnerabilities such as sexual and gender-based violence, discriminatory acts, as well as a lack of power to advocate for their rights and seeking leadership opportunities. A lot of stories are shared about sexual and gender-based violence within the Batwa communities and by other community members due to the high prevalence of poverty among the Batwa. Some of the shared stories are that the non-Batwa force Batwa women and girls into sex because of superstitions, i.e. that having sex with a Mutwa woman or girl heals backache and HIV/AIDS. As a result, people explained, Batwa beat their wives because they are always suspicious that they are having sex with non-Batwa men who force Batwa women into sex.

“Domestic violence is common among Batwa even recently my husband almost killed me, see how my hands were cut; he nearly killed me and we have nowhere to report because you find the settlement head is a friend to the perpetrator...”
(FGD Batwa woman Kitariro, Kanungu)

“Mostly these people have domestic violence in their families because of the fact that they do not have enough basic needs of life... that is the biggest reason why they have constant domestic issues in their families. Even for non-Batwa we have the same challenges but because we are able to provide, somehow, we are able to solve such issues quickly...”
(FGD Male Non-Batwa Community, Kisoro)

“They think we do not understand that we are just Batwa and they just take us to be useless people. The non-Batwa sometimes come around and sleep with our girls, they make them pregnant and then they deny, they instead start claiming that they are not responsible... that it is us. Because of low self-esteem, we do not know our rights and because of that we cannot go and report these people to the authorities instead we just let them take advantage of us. They think when they report, they will be killed by the people responsible...”
(FGD 35+ Man, Batwa Community, Kisoro)

“I think most of our people are already infected with HIV because of the non-Batwa because they sleep with our girls anywhere they meet and there is nowhere to report such cases because they do not listen to us. But some of such issues are also brought about hunger especially when the non-Batwa are able to give us some time. We also have sexual harassment from our own husbands especially when they have taken some alcohol and they are drunk. At that time they do not think properly and they do whatever they want anyways even when the children are watching... our houses are so small and we cannot report them because they are our husbands. All that is because they are drunk otherwise he will fight you...”
(FGD Batwa young woman, Batwa Community, Kisoro)

“Your wife may sometimes see that you do not have any money to buy a piece of soap or salt when actually you have tried your level best and you have failed... then you pick up a small argument and start fighting from there. Sometimes you may earn some small amount of money and feast on it before reaching home and when she realizes that you do not have any money with you, being somehow disappointed, you are most likely going to get into a fight...”
(FDG Batwa male 35+, Batwa Community, Kisoro)

Development programs designed to alleviate poverty hardly reach Batwa. Government support is viewed as selective; support is mainly offered to the non-Batwa who are already engaged in the government programs. The Batwa feel that the *“gorillas in the forest enjoy more privileges from the government than we do and yet they are the reason why we were evicted from our previous habitat in the forest.”* **(IDI Old Male Mutwa 35+, Kisoro)** Their wish would be that some of the proceeds from the gorilla tourism activities be used to buy them land and seeds for cultivation. The benefit-sharing framework for tourism proceeds, spear-headed by the UWA, is not perceived

to benefit the Batwa; there remain unfulfilled promises since their eviction from the forest in the 1990s (Mukasa, 2014).

“A Mutwa doesn’t not access services like we do because sometimes when the president of this nation chooses to donate, he gives us exotic animals for example only to the non-Batwa. But he does not remember to give the same to the disadvantaged Batwa who do not have anything at all. You then wonder why give me such exotic animals when actually I can afford to buy them myself and instead he does not remember to give that one who cannot afford to buy for themselves... how will he or she ever get any?” (Male FGD non-Batwa, Kisoro)

There is a question as to the mindset change required of the Batwa, specifically whether or not they are capable of taking on and utilizing development opportunities. There are reports of futile attempts by the government to provide development programs for them simply because the Batwa do not attach importance to these donations. These reports also allude to the mindset of the Batwa being more or less inferior based on the way they adapt to new opportunities made available to them. They mention that sometimes the Batwa receive donations, but that these are put up for sale and the money is used for alcohol. They share an example of a member of parliament in the area who provided iron sheets for house roofs, but that the Batwa insisted on roofing with grass thatch.

“The reasons why these services are not accessible to the Batwa people... some of the donations like say sheep from these good Samaritans but instead they end up being sold and all the money wasted in bars drinking alcohol” (FGD Male non-Batwa, Kisoro)

The government is also blamed for marginalizing the Batwa by not providing them with the support they need, in education, access to land, healthcare and participation in leadership. The support that is given is usually short-lived. For example, when food is donated, it is to last only for a day or so.

The support they get is from NGOs which are not reliable because of their seasonal funding.

3.4.3.1. Economic indicators of wellbeing among Batwa

The survey findings reveal very poor economic indicators for Batwa. We reviewed their sources of income and food security (Table 11). Source of income means an occupation that one engages in for income and source of livelihood means any other source of resources for wellbeing. We chose to distinguish these categories because not all Batwa depend on income generated from regular employment. There are hardly any formally employed participants or those with a regular salaried job (1.1%), while the majority (60.7%) are casual laborers. The major source of livelihood is farming. Twelve percent (12%) of the Batwa depend on humanitarian support for their livelihood. Only 42.2% had earned income in the past month, of which 31.3% was earned from casual labor.

Table 11. Source of income and economic livelihood among the Batwa

Variable	Females n(%)	Males n(%)	Total n(%)	P value	Kanungu n(%)	Kisoro(%)	Rubanda n(%)	P value
Earned any income in the past month								
No	176(63.5)	99(49.7)	275(57.8)	0.03	64(53.8)	139(60.7)	72(56.2)	0.42
Yes	101(36.5)	100(50.3)	201(42.2)		55(46.2)	90(39.3)	56(43.8)	
Total	277(100)	199(100)	476(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Source of income								
None	175(63.2)	100(50.3)	275(57.8)	0.02	65(54.6)	138(60.3)	72(56.2)	<.01
Monthly salary for a regular job	1(0.4)	3(1.5)	4(0.8)		3(2.5)	1(0.4)	0(0)	
Other (craft, NGO, selling firewood, carpentry, business, sand mining and dancing)	13(4.7)	11(5.5)	24(5)		5(4.2)	13(5.7)	6(4.7)	
Payment for casual labor	21(7.6)	13(6.5)	34(7.1)		12(10.1)	18(7.9)	4(3.1)	
Payment for casual labor on someone's farm	58(20.9)	57(28.6)	115(24.2)		18(15.1)	57(24.9)	40(31.2)	
Sale of produce from personal garden	9(3.2)	15(7.5)	24(5)		16(13.4)	2(0.9)	6(4.7)	
Total	277(100)	199(100)	476(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Source of livelihood/ Occupation								
Farming	168(60.6)	115(57.8)	283(59.5)	0.32	93(78.2)	131(57.2)	59(46.1)	<.01
Humanitarian support	34(12.3)	23(11.6)	57(12)		4(3.4)	28(12.2)	25(19.5)	
None	30(10.8)	15(7.5)	45(9.5)		3(2.5)	33(14.4)	9(7)	
Petty trade	25(9)	28(14.1)	53(11.1)		6(5)	27(11.8)	20(15.6)	

Salaried job	20(7.2)	18(9)	38(8)	13(10.9)	10(4.4)	15(11.7)
Total	277(100)	199(100)	476(100)	119(100)	229(100)	128(100)

3.4.3.2. Food insecurity

The majority of the participants (63.9%) had no food harvest (Table 12). One in three always miss daily meals and only 25.4% were assured of all meals throughout a month. The major source of food is in exchange for labor (43.9%) and only 1.7% harvest food from their gardens. Close to nine percent (8.8%) depend on begging for food and 2.8% depend on handouts from government and NGOs. Only 5% have milk and oil, 7% eggs, and 7% fish. The majority depend on roots, tubers and plantains -- matoke (78%). Almost all participants (83.2%) expressed that they lack food every year. Participants report less food than usual during COVID-19 (39.3%). When asked which foods they had eaten during the week preceding the interview, they reported: eggs (6%), fish (6%), oils (5%), dairy products (7%), meat (20%) and fruits (30%).

Table 12. Livelihood and food security among the Batwa people

Variable/characteristic	Frequencies (n)	Proportion (%)
Have you harvested any food for your family?		
No	304	63.9
Yes	172	36.1
Number of times your family failed to get a daily meal		
Always	162	34
More than once a week	11	2.3
Once a week	126	26.5
More than once a month	14	2.9
Once a month	42	8.8
None	121	25.4
Main source of food for your family in the past month		

In-kind exchange for labor	209	43.9
Buying from the market	49	10.3
Begging	42	8.8
None	12	2.5
Family garden	8	1.7
Handouts from a NGO	5	1.1
Handouts from a government institution	4	0.8
Other specify	3	0.6
Food stuffs in household		
Have Roots/Tubers/Plantain (potatoes, cassava, matoke, etc.)	303	78
Have Pulse/Legumes/Nuts (beans, peas, g-nuts, simsim, etc.)	228	59
Have Vegetables (fresh and dry)	212	55
Have Cereals (wheat, rice, maize, sorghum, millet etc.)	211	55
Have Fruits/fruit juices (fresh and dry)	109	28
Have Meat (goat, beef, lamb, pork, chicken, duck, pigeon, offal)	55	14
Have Eggs	28	7
Have Fish (fresh and dry)	25	7
Have Dairy products (milk, cheese, yogurt)	20	5
Have Oil//Fats (ghee, butter, cooking oil)	18	5

3.4.3.3. Comparison of food consumption by district

Among all districts, 83% reported that they did not have food to consume throughout the year. Although food consumption among all the respondents in the three districts was reported to be insufficient annually, 21% of participants from Kanungu reported having food year-round compared to only 18% from Kisoro and 9% from Rubanda. Half of the participants from Kanungu reported they could have at least three meals per day, compared to 28% in Rubanda and 11% in Kisoro district. Overall, about 88% said they eat as a family and share food equally.

Table 13. Comparison of food consumption per district

Variable/characteristic	Total n(%)	Female n(%)	Male n(%)	P value	Kanungu n(%)	Kisoro n(%)	Rubanda n(%)	P value
Have food all year round								
No	396(83.2)	240(86.6)	156(78.4)	0.01	93(78.2)	187(81.7)	116(90.6)	0.02
Yes	80(16.8)	37(13.4)	43(21.6)		26(21.8)	42(18.3)	12(9.4)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Eat at least 3 meals daily								
No	352(73.9)	208(75.1)	144(72.4)	0.5	58(48.7)	203(88.6)	91(71.1)	<0.01
Yes	124(26.1)	69(24.9)	55(27.6)		61(51.3)	26(11.4)	37(28.9)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Eat as a family/ share food equally								
No	58(12.2)	39(14.1)	19(9.5)	0.13	5(4.2)	41(17.9)	12(9.4)	0.001
Yes	418(87.8)	238(85.9)	180(90.5)		114(95.8)	188(82.1)	116(90.6)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	

3.4.4. Access to social services

Compared to the non-Batwa, there are low levels of education among the Batwa, and completion of the formal educational cycle is marginal. Despite the free universal primary education provided by the government and additional support from non-government entities, there is poor school enrollment and high rates of school dropout among the Batwa. Generally, school enrollment, retention, and attainment among the Batwa is much lower compared to the non-Batwa.

3.4.4.1. Education achievement of Batwa

More than half of the Batwa surveyed have no formal education at all. More males than females have acquired at least primary-level education (47.7% vs 36.5%). Only 3% of Batwa have achieved at least secondary-level education. The gender difference in attainment of education was significant. There were no significant differences in education attainment by district of origin (Table 14).

Table 14. Education

	Total n(%)	Female n(%)	Male n(%)	P value	Kanungu n(%)	Kisoro n(%)	Rubanda n(%)	P value
Education								
No formal education	259(54.4)	173(62.5)	86(43.2)	<0.001	56(47.1)	136(59.4)	67(52.3)	0.21
Primary level	196(41.2)	101(36.5)	95(47.7)		52(43.7)	85(37.1)	59(46.1)	
Secondary level	15(3.2)	2(0.7)	13(6.5)		7(5.9)	7(3.1)	1(0.8)	
Other(certificates)	6(1.3)	1(0.4)	5(2.5)		4(3.4)	1(0.4)	1(0.8)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	

From Table 14, three issues- poverty, negative attitudes towards education and discriminatory acts - have been cited as factors leading to low education attainment among the Batwa.

Poverty: Despite increased access to free education, this study found that a lack of educational materials, like stationery and school uniforms, contributed to poor education attainment among the Batwa. More importantly, they do not have access to food at school and neither is it readily available at home nor in the communities. This is due to the fact that they do not have land to cultivate.

Negative attitudes towards education: Findings indicate that Batwa are starting to take their children to school, however, their negative attitude for education could be attributed to bad experiences at school. Despite disciplinary actions against learners by parents and authorities, most children do not obey and prefer to stay out of school.

“Our children were also big headed, we used to send them to school and they refuse, you try to discipline them instead they disappear in the forest and hide there. After disciplining them, you think he or she has gone to school yet they would be deceiving us, they dress up properly in the uniform in your mind you also feel happy that the child has gone to school when actually he or she is hiding in the forest” (FGD female Batwa, Kisoro)

“That is true and as I speak our children are really going to school, there is some organization which also provides them with some meals and they are able to spend the whole day in school. But their assistance reached a time and

stopped...when the children were told that there is no food anymore, they also refused to go back to school’ (FGD Female youth Batwa Kisoro).

Discriminatory acts against the Batwa at school: There were reports of discriminatory acts against Batwa students, affecting their learning experiences.

“Yeah... we have schools just in the neighborhood and our children are allowed to join them but the challenge is that when they reached there, sometimes they are not treated well just like others and because of that, they do not study very well. Because of that, they do not take education very seriously” (FGD young, female Batwa, Kisoro).

While some NGOs were founded to implement health programs that specifically target the Batwa, there are hardly any government programs with specific initiatives that target the Batwa. This study thus confirms that for years, the Batwa people have not been considered to have unique development needs and so they have not benefited from government development programs such as the youth livelihood funds, women entrepreneurship programs, Operation Wealth Creation and the recent ‘Emyoga’ program. The following quotes affirm how the Batwa are excluded from core government development initiatives- specifically access to education, budget support for Batwa special needs and agriculture extension:

“Though our children are studying, it is not the government paying for their school fees instead it is our organization. After like S.6, the government cannot even support us to higher levels. It is only the organization that suffers to the end. Why? Aren’t we Ugandans? The government has never supported even one child to the university level. If the organization fails in the middle, they drop out. Many children left school because we cannot afford school fees and other necessities.” (FGD Batwa woman Kitariro Kanungu)

“Since these people are now identified, maybe they need a special budget for them in the national plans as they do for the Youth in Youth livelihood program, women in UWEP, persons with disability also have a special grant to empower them. So, there should be a special funding for the minority group of the Batwa.” (KII Principal Assistant Secretary (PAS) Rubanda,)

“Why we do not access services properly like other people is very confusing, some programs say the National Agriculture Advisory Services (NAADs) team release Irish potatoes for all of us but we do not get our share, I however make inquiries about this anomaly in the meetings but they tell me that the money for purchasing seedlings was very little, they also defend themselves by saying they first want to do a sample, garden these Irish potatoes and see how they will mature until a final product is harnessed, they also say that they do distribute according to areas and have not yet reached our area. There is a time when at a meeting I asked surely how I shall develop at the same rate with a non – Mutwa who has already received seedlings under the pretext of samples, by the time they do distribute to my area, it will mean the non – Batwa members will

already be harvesting, sincerely how do we develop with this kind of segregation... that you first wait until we get more money, we shall then purchase seedlings and also give you, this type of service delivery really leaves with confusion.” (IDI Batwa Community Leader Kisoro)

3.4.4.2. Access to safe water

Access to safe water for consumption is a challenge among the Batwa. Access to safe water among respondents varied with at least one- third accessing water from a protected spring to one in five accessing water from a community tap. Most of the respondents described unsafe sources such as rivers, lakes or unprotected wells as their most common sources of water. Participants from Kisoro district had the highest proportion of community taps (24%), whereas participants from Kanungu reported the highest proportion of protected springs (68%) as common water sources.

Table 15. Access to safe water

Variable/ characteristic	Female n(%)	Male n(%)	Total n(%)	P value	Kanungu n(%)	Kisoro n(%)	Ruband a n(%)	P value
Source of water								
Bore hole	6(2.2)	3(1.5)	9(1.9)	0.82	1(0.8)	2(0.9)	6(4.7)	<0.01
Community Tap	59(21.3)	35(17.6)	94(19.7)		16(13.4)	56(24.5)	22(17.2)	
Lake	7(2.5)	5(2.5)	12(2.5)		0(0)	4(1.7)	8(6.2)	
Protected Spring	92(33.2)	77(38.7)	169(35.5)		81(68.1)	35(15.3)	53(41.4)	
River	46(16.6)	39(19.6)	85(17.9)		6(5)	61(26.6)	18(14.1)	
Tap in own compound	9(3.2)	6(3)	15(3.2)		1(0.8)	13(5.7)	1(0.8)	
Unprotected well	36(13)	20(10.1)	56(11.8)		10(8.4)	38(16.6)	8(6.2)	
Other (pond, rain tank)	22(7.9)	14(7)	36(7.6)		4(3.4)	20(8.7)	12(9.4)	
Total	277(100)	199(100)	476(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	

3.4.4.3. Health-related behaviors and utilization of health services

We examined health promotion practices such as smoking, alcohol consumption, use of bed nets and seeking health services when unwell (Table 16).

Smoking and alcohol intake: At least 190 (39%) participants reported that they smoke, of those 99 were men and 91 were women. The difference in smoking by gender or district of origin was

not significant. The proportion of men and women who smoke is higher than the national statistics where 1.5% women and up to 20% men smoke tobacco (UDHS 2016). A total of 272 (57.2%) participants reported that they drink alcohol, with slightly more men than women. At least 62 (13%) participants mentioned they drink alcohol on a daily basis. Participants from the Rubanda district reported the highest proportion of alcohol drinkers: 76%. The differences of alcohol consumption by gender and district of origin were statistically significant (Table 16).

Malaria prevention: A total of 163 or 34.2% of participants mentioned they owned at least one bed net in the household. The proportion of female and male household heads who owned bed nets were similar. The proportion of participants who owned bed nets was highest in Kanungu (50%) compared to 31% in Kisoro and 25% in Rubanda. The differences in ownership by district were statistically significant. Of those who owned nets, 98 or 20% had a bed net available for both parents and children and 11% for only household heads. The distinction per district was also significant where in Kanungu more participants (31%) had nets available for both parents and children as compared to 17% in Kisoro and 16% in Rubanda (Table 16).

HIV screening and reported prevalence: The majority of participants (396 or 83%) reported that they had taken an HIV test, with the highest testing rate in Kanungu at 94% compared to 81.2% in Kisoro and 76.6% in Rubanda. This could be explained by the existence of a community health insurance scheme that covers more Batwa people in Kanungu than in Kisoro and Rubanda. Very similar proportions of testing were reported among females and males. The reported HIV prevalence was 5.9%, with a prevalence of 4.5% among males and 6.9% among females. The highest HIV rate reported was in Kanungu at 8.4% followed by 6.2% in Rubanda and 4.4% in Kisoro. Although the difference per district is significant it should be noted that more people did not know their HIV status in Kisoro (18%) and Rubanda (23%), compared to 5.9% in Kanungu (Table 16). The HIV prevalence at the national level averages 7.9% in the southwestern region and the adult prevalence is 6.2%, with a male prevalence of 4.4% and female prevalence of 7.1% (UPHIA, 2017).

Table 16. Health promotion and prevention

Variable/ characteristic	Total n(%)	Female n(%)	Male n(%)	P value	Kanungu n(%)	Kisoro n(%)	Ruband a n(%)	P value
Smoking								
No	286 (60.1)	178 (64.3)	108(54.3)	0.28	59 (49.6)	146 (63.8)	81 (63.3)	0.26
Yes	190 (39.9)	99 (35.7)	91(45.7)		60 (50.4)	83 (36.2)	47 (36.7)	
Total	476 (100)	277 (100)	199(100)		119 (100)	229 (100)	128 (100)	
Drinking alcohol								

No	204(42.9)	138(49.8)	66(33.2)	<0.01	58(48.7)	116(50.7)	30(23.4)	<0.01
Yes	272(57.1)	139(50.2)	133(66.8)		61(51.3)	113(49.3)	98(76.6)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Frequency of alcohol consumption								
Not applicable	204(42.9)	138(49.8)	66(33.2)	0.03	58(48.7)	116(50.7)	30(23.4)	<0.01
Daily	62(13)	34(12.3)	28(14.1)		5(4.2)	42(18.3)	15(11.7)	
More than 2 times	1(0.2)	0(0)	1(0.5)		0(0)	1(0.4)	0(0)	
More than 2 times a week	27(5.7)	11(4)	16(8)		5(4.2)	15(6.6)	7(5.5)	
Twice a week	182(38.2)	94(33.9)	88(44.2)		51(42.9)	55(24)	76(59.4)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Own a mosquito net								
No	313(65.8)	190(68.6)	123(61.8)	0.12	59(49.6)	158(69)	96(75)	<0.01
Yes	163(34.2)	87(31.4)	76(38.2)		60(50.4)	71(31)	32(25)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Ever taken an HIV test								
No	80(16.8)	41(14.8)	39(19.6)	0.16	7(5.9)	43(18.8)	30(23.4)	<0.01
Yes	396(83.2)	236(85.2)	160(80.4)		112(94.1)	186(81.2)	98(76.6)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
HIV test result								
Not applicable	80(16.8)	41(14.8)	39(19.6)	0.05	7(5.9)	43(18.8)	30(23.4)	0.003
Negative	361(75.8)	210(75.8)	151(75.9)		102(85.7)	171(74.7)	88(68.8)	

Positive	28(5.9)	19(6.9)	9(4.5)	10(8.4)	10(4.4)	8(6.2)
Unknown disclosure / No	7(1.5)	7(2.5)	0(0)	0(0)	5(2.2)	2(1.6)
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)	119(100)	229(100)	128(100)

Common illnesses among adults and health-seeking practices: At least 59% reported being ill in the month prior to the survey. A larger proportion of adults reported to have been ill in Kanungu compared to Kisoro or Rubanda. Malaria was the most frequently reported illness at 36%. Kisoro was the district with the highest proportion of people reporting to have suffered from malaria (41%). The majority of participants sought health services during their most recent illness; 317 or 66% went to government health facilities, 66 or 13.9% to NGO-aided private facilities, 8% used herbs, 1.5% prayed, and 6% waited to heal. Kanungu had the highest proportion of participants who visited a paid-for, NGO-aided private facilities (Table 17).

Table 17. Health-seeking behavior among adults

Variable/characteristic	Total n(%)	Female n(%)	Male n(%)	P value	Kanungu n(%)	Kisoro n(%)	Rubanda n(%)	P value
Action taken on most recent illness								
Went to a government health center	317(66.6)	204(73.6)	113(56.8)		46(38.7)	184(80.3)	87(68)	
Private but paid for by NGO	66(13.9)	27(9.7)	39(19.6)		58(48.7)	2(0.9)	6(4.7)	
Used herbs from a gazetted forest	42(8.8)	20(7.2)	22(11.1)		4(3.4)	21(9.2)	17(13.3)	
Waited to heal	30(6.3)	18(6.5)	12(6)		3(2.5)	15(6.6)	12(9.4)	
Went to a private clinic where I paid money	12(2.5)	3(1.1)	9(4.5)		6(5)	3(1.3)	3(2.3)	
Prayed over it	7(1.5)	3(1.1)	4(2)	<0.01	2(1.7)	2(0.9)	3(2.3)	<0.01
Others (take alcohol and heal)	2(0.4)	2(0.7)	0(0)		0(0)	2(0.9)	0(0)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	

Has been ill in past month								
No	194(40.8)	101(36.5)	93(46.7)	0.24	34(28.6)	95(41.5)	65(50.8)	0.002
Yes	282(59.2)	176(63.5)	106(53.3)		85(71.4)	134(58.5)	63(49.2)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Sickness type								
Not applicable	194(40.8)	101(36.5)	93(46.7)	0.37	34(28.6)	95(41.5)	65(50.8)	0.001
Malaria	174(36.6)	107(38.6)	67(33.7)		41(34.5)	94(41)	39(30.5)	
Respiratory related disease	43(9)	29(10.5)	14(7)		13(10.9)	22(9.6)	8(6.2)	
Skin disease	5(1.1)	3(1.1)	2(1)		1(0.8)	3(1.3)	1(0.8)	
Hypertension	1(0.2)	1(0.4)	0(0)		1(0.8)	0(0)	0(0)	
Malnutrition	2(0.4)	2(0.7)	0(0)		1(0.8)	1(0.4)	0(0)	
Other (cough, stomach ache, ulcers, pneumonia, body pain, flu, eye pain, injuries, chest pain)	57(12.0)	34(12.3)	23(11.6)		28(23.5)	14(6.1)	15(11.7)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Health care center visited when ill								
Not applicable	194(40.8)	101(36.5)	93(46.7)	0.06	34(28.6)	95(41.5)	65(50.8)	<0.01
Government health facility	175(36.8)	116(41.9)	59(29.6)		31(26.1)	102(44.5)	42(32.8)	
Private health facility	62(13)	35(12.6)	27(13.6)		49(41.2)	6(2.6)	7(5.5)	
Nowhere	24(5)	16(5.8)	8(4)		1(0.8)	18(7.9)	5(3.9)	
Traditional health	15(3.2)	4(1.4)	11(5.5)		3(2.5)	7(3.1)	5(3.9)	
Other (one waited to heal and 5 went for herbs in gazetted forests)	6(1.3)	5(1.8)	1(0.5)		1(0.8)	1(0.4)	4(3.1)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	

Common illnesses among children and health-seeking practices: Common illnesses among children under-five include malaria (230 or 77.4%), respiratory illness (87 or 29.3%), skin diseases (69 or 23.2%) and malnutrition (43 or 14.5%). The highest proportion of children under-five to have had a diagnosis of malnutrition was in Kisoro at 19.7% compared to 14.5% in Rubanda and 3.8% in Kanungu. At least 287 or 60.3% reported to have ever taken children for immunization of whom 155 or 32.6% had completed immunization. Kanungu district had highest percentage of children who had completed immunization (47.9%) compared with 29.3% and 24.2% in Kisoro and Rubanda respectively (Table 18).

Table 18. Health seeking behaviors for children under 5 years

Variable/ characteristic	Total n(%)	Female n(%)	Male n(%)	P value	Kanungu n(%)	Kisoro n(%)	Rubanda n(%)	P value
Sickness among under-five due to Malaria								
No	67(22.6)	35(20.6)	32(25.2)	3.47	16(20.5)	23(14.6)	28(45.2)	<0.01
Yes	230(77.4)	135(79.4)	95(74.8)		62(79.5)	134(85.4)	34(54.8)	
Total	297(100)	170(100)	127(100)		78(100)	157(100)	62(100)	
Sickness under-five due respiratory related disease								
No	210(70.7)	108(63.5)	102(80.3)	0.02	60(76.9)	107(68.2)	43(69.4)	0.36
Yes	87(29.3)	62(36.5)	25(19.7)		18(23.1)	50(31.8)	19(30.6)	
Total	297(100)	170(100)	127(100)		78(100)	157(100)	62(100)	
Sickness under-five due to sexually transmitted disease								
No	295(99.3)	168(98.8)	127(100)	0.22	78(100)	155(98.7)	62(100)	0.4
Yes	2(0.7)	2(1.2)	0(0)		0(0)	2(1.3)	0(0)	
Total	297(100)	170(100)	127(100)		78(100)	157(100)	62(100)	
Sickness under-five due skin disease								
No	228(76.8)	124(72.9)	104(81.9)	0.71	71(91)	107(68.2)	50(80.6)	<0.01
Yes	69(23.2)	46(27.1)	23(18.1)		7(9)	50(31.8)	12(19.4)	
Total	297(100)	170(100)	127(100)		78(100)	157(100)	62(100)	
Sickness under-five due to malnutrition								
No	254(85.5)	142(83.5)	112(88.2)	0.25	75(96.2)	126(80.3)	53(85.5)	0.05
Yes	43(14.5)	28(16.5)	15(11.8)		3(3.8)	31(19.7)	9(14.5)	

Total	297(100)	170(100)	127(100)		78(100)	157(100)	62(100)	
Sickness under-five hypertension								
No	297(100)	170(100)	127(100)		78(100)	157(100)	62(100)	
Total	297(100)	170(100)	127(100)		78(100)	157(100)	62(100)	
Sickness under-five due to diabetes								
No	297(100)	170(100)	127(100)		78(100)	157(100)	62(100)	
Total	297(100)	170(100)	127(100)		78(100)	157(100)	62(100)	
Sickness under-five Other								
No	254(85.5)	143(84.1)	111(87.4)	0.42	64(82.1)	142(90.4)	48(77.4)	0.28
Yes	43(14.5)	27(15.9)	16(12.6)		14(17.9)	15(9.6)	14(22.6)	
Total	297(100)	170(100)	127(100)		78(100)	157(100)	62(100)	
Immunization								
Not applicable	179(37.6)	107(38.6)	72(36.2)	0.61	41(34.5)	72(31.4)	66(51.6)	<0.01
No	10 (2.1)	7(2.5)	3(1.5)		2(1.7)	4(1.7)	4(3.1)	
Yes	287(60.3)	163(58.8)	124(62.3)		76(63.9)	153(66.8)	58(45.3)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Immunization complete								
Not applicable	189(39.7)	114(41.2)	75(37.7)	0.66	43(36.1)	76(33.2)	70(54.7)	<0.01
Complete	155(32.6)	86(31)	69(34.7)		57(47.9)	67(29.3)	31(24.2)	
Incomplete	132(27.7)	77(27.8)	55(27.6)		19(16)	86(37.6)	27(21.1)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	

3.4.4.4. Health promotion aspects

The Batwa's sexual and reproductive health characteristics that were studied included their utilization of maternal health services such as antenatal care, delivery at the health unit, use of family planning methods, HIV knowledge and rejection of common HIV myths, sexual practices, and experience of sexual and gender-based violence. Results are presented by gender and district of origin in Tables 19 and 20.

3.4.4.5. Utilization of maternal health services

Participants were asked if they had ever attended antenatal services during their most recent pregnancy. Only 38% of participants indicated that they attended a prenatal clinic. The percentage of those who attended a prenatal clinic was slightly higher for participants from Kanungu and Kisoro at 42%, but much lower for those from Rubanda at 25%. Regarding delivery at a health facility, at least 50% of participants mentioned that their last delivery occurred at a health facility; the proportion of participants who delivered at health facilities was lowest in the Rubanda district at 25%. The differences per district in attendance at antenatal clinics and delivery at health facilities were statistically significant (Table 19).

3.4.4.6. Uptake of family planning methods

The proportion of participants who reported that they had ever used family planning methods was 37%. Participants from Kanungu had a higher proportion of family planning users at 47% compared to 33% in Kisoro or Rubanda (Table 19). A majority of females had not used modern contraceptives (67.9%) for reasons including ignorance of contraceptives (24.5%), need for more children (12.3%), cultural reasons (8.3%), and use of other natural means (4.3%). Some feared side effects (4.3%) and others could not afford the costs involved (1.4%). Injectable contraceptives were the most common method among those that used contraceptives (12.3%), with implants at 10.1% and IUDs at 4.7%. Very few used pills (1.4%) and 2.9% used lactational amenorrhea. COVID-19 hindered some participants' access to contraceptives (2.5%) largely due to a lack of transportation (1.1%) and a fear of contracting COVID-19 when one goes out (1.1%).

Table 19. Utilization of maternal and reproductive health services

	Total n(%)	Female n(%)	Male n(%)	P value	Kanungu	Kisoro	Rubanda	P value
Attended antenatal care for the last pregnancy								
Not applicable/Unspecified	235(49.4)	131(47.3)	104(52.3)	0.557				
No	57(12)	34(12.3)	23(11.6)		51(42.9)	103(45)	81(63.3)	
Yes	184(38.7)	112(40.4)	72(36.2)		50(42)	97(42.4)	37(28.9)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		111(100)	200(100)	118(100)	
Delivered the last child in the health unit								
Unspecified	90(18.9)	57(20.6)	33(16.6)	0.139	28(23.5)	30(13.1)	52 (40.6)	0.003

No	146(30.7)	91(32.9)	55(27.6)	25(21)	77(33.6)	44(34.4)
Yes	240(50.4)	129(46.6)	111(55.8)	66(55.5)	122(53.3)	32(25)
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)	119(100)	229(100)	128(100)
Ever used contraception method				0.01		0.031
No	300(63)	188(67.9)	112(56.3)	63(52.9)	152(66.4)	85(66.4)
Yes	176(37)	89(32.1)	87(43.7)	56(47.1)	77(33.6)	43(33.6)
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)	119(100)	229(100)	128(100)
Why not use contraceptives				0.127		0.046
Unspecified	177(37.2)	91(32.9)	86(43.2)	56(47.1)	76(33.2)	45(35.2)
Aged	29(6.1)	18(6.5)	11(5.5)	8(6.7)	15(6.6)	6(4.7)
Cultural fears	41(8.6)	23(8.3)	18(9)	7(5.9)	22(9.6)	12(9.4)
Natural	17(3.6)	12(4.3)	5(2.5)	8(6.7)	6(2.6)	3(2.3)
Needs more children	63(13.2)	34(12.3)	29(14.6)	10(8.4)	31(13.5)	22(17.2)
Poverty	5(1.1)	4(1.4)	1(0.5)	1(0.8)	3(1.3)	1(0.8)
Side effects	14(2.9)	12(4.3)	2(1)	4(3.4)	7(3.1)	3(2.3)
Staying alone	23(4.8)	15(5.4)	8(4)	4(3.4)	11(4.8)	8(6.2)
Unaware	106(22.3)	68(24.5)	38(19.1)	21(17.6)	57(24.9)	28(21.9)
Inaccessible	1(0.2)	0(0)	1(0.5)	0(0)	1(0.4)	0(0)
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)	119(100)	229(100)	128(100)
Method of contraceptive				0.006		0.001
Not applicable (non-user)	300(63)	188(67.9)	112(56.3)	63(52.9)	152(66.4)	85(66.4)
Condom	1(0.2)	0(0)	1(0.5)	0(0)	1(0.4)	0(0)

Implants	50(10.5)	28(10.1)	22(11.1)	24(20.2)	9(3.9)	17(13.3)
Injectable	78(16.4)	34(12.3)	44(22.1)	20(16.8)	39(17)	19(14.8)
Intrauterine Device (IUD).	23(4.8)	14(5.1)	9(4.5)	10(8.4)	11(4.8)	2(1.6)
Lactational Amenorrhea (LAM).	9(1.9)	8(2.9)	1(0.5)	0(0)	8(3.5)	1(0.8)
Other	3(0.6)	0(0)	3(1.5)	0(0)	2(0.9)	1(0.8)
Pill	11(2.3)	4(1.4)	7(3.5)	2(1.7)	6(2.6)	3(2.3)
Withdrawal	1(0.2)	1(0.4)	0(0)	0(0)	1(0.4)	0(0)
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)	119(100)	229(100)	128(100)

3.4.4.7. Ethnic and gender-based violence

Many participants experienced ethnic-related violence (28.8%). At least one in every four Batwa experienced gender-based violence in a period of just one month. This violence was largely perpetuated by a spouse (75.2%). At least 30% reported physical violence, 15% sexual violence, 24% emotional violence and 18% economic violence. The female participants were more likely to report experiencing all four forms of violence compared to male participants in all three districts. There were no statistically significant differences in occurrence of violence by district prior to the COVID-19 lockdown. At least one in ten participants reported that the COVID-19 period led to the escalation of all forms of violence. Participants from Kisoro experienced higher occurrence of sexual, emotional and economic violence during COVID-19 period compared to other districts (Table 20).

Table 20. Gender-based violence

	Total n(%)	Female n(%)	Male n(%)	P Value	Kanungu n(%)	Kisoro n(%)	Rubanda n(%)	P Value
Partners ever slap/beat harming the other								
No	280(58.8)	142(51.3)	138(69.3)	<0.001	71(59.7)	131(57.2)	78(60.9)	0.204
Not applicable	52(10.9)	39(14.1)	13(6.5)		18(15.1)	19(8.3)	15(11.7)	
Yes, initiated by me	30(6.3)	9(3.2)	21(10.6)		9(7.6)	16(7)	5(3.9)	

Yes, initiated by my spouse	114(23.9)	87(31.4)	27(13.6)		21(17.6)	63(27.5)	30(23.4)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
COVID-19 lockdown increased violence compared to the past								
No	323(67.9)	178(64.3)	145(72.9)	0.071	78(65.5)	164(71.6)	81(63.3)	0.113
Not applicable	98(20.6)	60(21.7)	38(19.1)		27(22.7)	36(15.7)	35(27.3)	
Yes	55(11.6)	39(14.1)	16(8)		14(11.8)	29(12.7)	12(9.4)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Sexual violence								
Was forced by partner to have sex when I did not want to								
No	343(72.1)	179(64.6)	164(82.4)	<0.001	89(74.8)	163(71.2)	91(71.1)	0.189
Not applicable	60(12.6)	43(15.5)	17(8.5)		18(15.1)	24(10.5)	18(14.1)	
Yes, initiated by me	18(3.8)	6(2.2)	12(6)		5(4.2)	7(3.1)	6(4.7)	
Yes, initiated by my spouse	55(11.6)	49(17.7)	6(3)		7(5.9)	35(15.3)	13(10.2)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Sexual violence increased more in COVID-19 lockdown								
No	320(67.2)	177(63.9)	143(71.9)	0.187	81(68.1)	161(70.3)	78(60.9)	0.001
Not applicable	107(22.5)	69(24.9)	38(19.1)		31(26.1)	35(15.3)	41(32)	
Yes	49(10.3)	31(11.2)	18(9)		7(5.9)	33(14.4)	9(7)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Emotional violence								
My partner insulted or made me feel bad about myself								
No	299(62.8)	160(57.8)	139(69.8)	0.002	79(66.4)	135(59)	85(66.4)	0.059
Not applicable	61(12.8)	46(16.6)	15(7.5)		19(16)	24(10.5)	18(14.1)	
Yes, initiated by me	33(6.9)	15(5.4)	18(9)		3(2.5)	22(9.6)	8(6.2)	
Yes, initiated by my spouse	83(17.4)	56(20.2)	27(13.6)		18(15.1)	48(21)	17(13.3)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Experienced sexual violence more during the COVID-19 lockdown								
No	321(67.4)	173(62.5)	148(74.4)	0.023	79(66.4)	162(70.7)	80(62.5)	0.006

Not applicable	102(21.4)	69(24.9)	33(16.6)		30(25.2)	34(14.8)	38(29.7)		
Yes	53(11.1)	35(12.6)	18(9)		10(8.4)	33(14.4)	10(7.8)		
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)		
My partner denied me money and resources for household requirements									
No	327(68.7)	169(61)	158(79.4)	<0.001	89(74.8)	150(65.5)	88(68.8)	0.065	
Not applicable	59(12.4)	44(15.9)	15(7.5)		18(15.1)	23(10)	18(14.1)		
Yes, initiated by me	25(5.3)	8(2.9)	17(8.5)		3(2.5)	16(7)	6(4.7)		
Yes, initiated by my spouse	65(13.7)	56(20.2)	9(4.5)		9(7.6)	40(17.5)	16(12.5)		
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)		
Violence more in COVID-19 lockdown									
No	-	302(63.4)	160(57.8)	142(71.4)	0.009	72(60.5)	151(65.9)	79(61.7)	<0.001
Not applicable		115(24.2)	76(27.4)	39(19.6)		38(31.9)	36(15.7)	41(32)	
Yes		59(12.4)	41(14.8)	18(9)		9(7.6)	42(18.3)	8(6.2)	
Total		476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	

3.4.5. Land ownership and rights

The findings of this study vividly indicate that due to marginalization the Batwa are the most landless people in the areas of Kisoro, Kanungu, and Rubanda. Inadequate land access is seen as the root cause of most of their vulnerabilities and all related challenges. Findings show that they do not own enough land to provide enough produce for subsistence, for sale, and also to construct reasonable shelters. While sufficient land may be a question for the rest of the population within the communities where the Batwa live, they are the only tribe without the land of their heritage. This study established five issues that characterize land ownership and rights-related challenges for the Batwa: a) the process of eviction from the forests of Bwindi, Mgahinga and Echuya in the early 1990s; b) the role of NGOs in accessing land for the Batwa; c) uncertainties regarding land ownership; d) food insecurity associated with lack of land; and e) desires for land rights. This is further elaborated in the following paragraphs:

3.4.5.1. Process of eviction from land:

Historically, the Batwa were forest dwellers and depended entirely on the forest they inhabited for their survival. The land that the Batwa identify as their land of heritage is covered by the government-gazetted forests. However, after eviction from the forest, they never received land compensation nor were they resettled, which played a key role in reconstructing their lives. There

is a general impression that this has resulted into their socio-economic, cultural and political exclusion, as well as a loss of identity and dignity.

“Yes...they are so vulnerable; these people were moved out of the forest when they were gazetted it (meaning Bwindi National Park). That was around 1993. So when they came on the main land they didn't have land which makes them vulnerable because where they used to stay was turned into an area where the government has an interest. They came on the main land and they were left there, that is why you find that some are no longer within the boundary of the park. Some are within Kanyantorogo which is in the middle of Kanungu District others are in Butogota which is a town council. So you can see that after being evacuated, if I can say chased because I don't think they willingly left the forest, they had to move around to find a way of how they can live and others ended up migrating to those areas which I have told you. So the vulnerability is that they don't have land, secondary they didn't have any start up where they can begin from. If you don't have land but you have the money you can” (KII Local Council Leader, Kanungu)

“I thank you for having mentioned about the landlessness, being evicted from the forest has caused all that you are speaking about like the stigmatization, marginalization and discrimination and unless we get rid of all this then they will also feel that they are Ugandans. They vote as others but what they hate most is that they vote but don't get feedback about their votes.” (World Café meeting, Rubanda)

“The truth we can share with you is that we really found our grandparents living happily in the forests but later we were all evicted from there, whoever attempts to go back, he or she will be chased after and get arrested. If you manage to collect some rope, you cannot escape being arrested and your ropes destroyed and the little earnings that you expected to get from the non-Batwa, they end up using it to rescue you from the authorities...” (FGD Young female Batwa Kisoro)

“The major concerns about my people is that we do not have land, we are not able to access enough food to feed our people and we are really suffering a lot. We used to stay in our forest but unfortunately, we were evicted out of it by force and up to now we are still crying. The government is not doing anything to help us and up to now we are still suffering that is how we live as the Batwa. For us to survive we have to run around people living in this community and ask for them some work so that we can be able to earn some money and feed our families and if they are not able to provide us with what to do, then we just have to accept and stay with our hunger...” (IDI Batwa community leader, Kisoro)

3.4.5.2. The role of NGOs

There have been attempts to purchase land for the Batwa, an intervention that has been largely spearheaded by the NGOs that resettle them. However, it's asserted that the purchased land is too small to accommodate the Batwa population entirely, leaving most of them to live as wanderers and putting them in a more vulnerable situation in which they have to beg or depend on other ethnic groups for survival. Most land access resettlement initiatives spear-headed by NGOs have no guiding policy. In addition, while the interventions from NGOs are known by both the Batwa and non-Batwa, people are hesitant to completely commit that NGOs have dealt with Batwa development challenges. The following quotes provide data on these assertions:

“To add to what I said earlier, on our side as Batwa we have some NGOs that support us. For example this shelter we have used now for this discussion; this is where we are learning tailoring from. It is an NGO that brought this project for us, not the government.” (FGD Batwa Women – Kitariro Kanungu).

“Any social issues that are faced with the Batwa especially failure to educate their children in school because of poverty or alcoholism. OBUDU has a way it comes in to help them settle such issues and it is interested in knowing the number of Batwa children going to school and the reasons why in case they are not going to school and from which families. It also constructed some houses and purchased some pieces of land however small it was and did not provide space to dig. It is actually so much interested in the development and wellbeing of the Batwa. The government is in support of OBUDU to make sure it achieves its objectives.” (FGD Non-Batwa Community members - Kisoro).

“Like we said earlier, TRUST, BMCT, BDP, and other organizations from America through TRUST, they come to know that it is me who goes around identifying other Batwa groups that have not received any support. We hear that even in Mbarara there are Batwa groups, so we were planning to go there before COVID-19 came in. There are other Batwa groups we are looking for in Kabale, Kisoro, Bundibugyo and Kanungu... this support sometimes does not help us the Batwa.” (FGD Batwa Women – Kitariro Kanungu).

“Sometimes such services come around when our Chairmen are not aware, the ones for the non-Batwa will go and fight for their people, but ours will keep us behind. The only NGO that tried to get us some animals to rear is called ADRA and we are so grateful to it because of what it did for, it got us some chicken, sheep and others and we still have them. It gave us some water tanks and right now we have some drinking water in our homes, but other projects just end at the sub-county headquarters and I think it is because our chairmen as the Batwa are not knowledgeable. Sometimes they fail to go and participate in meetings with other chairmen of the non-Batwa. They do not own phones and they miss most of the important communications.” (FGD Old Batwa Male 35+ Kisoro)

3.4.5.3. Uncertainties regarding land ownership

Those that received land from NGOs express uncertainty about whether they are the actual landowners since there is no documentation to indicate that they are the true landowners. In the following responses, we see the discomfort expressed by the Batwa and the lack of commitment by these agencies to offer the Batwa the land which they claim to have acquired for their settlement.

“No, we do not have ownership of that land because we do not have any document showing that the land is ours. We are not allowed to sell the land, but it is for us to live on forever.” (FGD Young women Batwa Kanungu, Butogota)

“They never give us the agreements; we have never seen them give us and say you build there. If they decided they would chase us from the land because we have no agreements...” (IDI Batwa Leader, Kanungu)

“We wish that as Batwa, we get for ourselves a permanent piece of land to reside on and cultivate our own garden because the way we live is that we keep on migrating from one piece to another one and that is the reason why we cannot develop. If we are sure that the land belongs to us, we can cultivate seriously and get enough food for us to eat and the rest to sell so that we can get money for ourselves. The situation that we are faced with in our families is very bad because just like we mention if at all we can get our own piece of land, then we would be better because everything that we require, land is the answer. The reason why we have remained backward is because we do not own land...” (FGD Youth female Batwa Kisoro)

Additionally, they do not have full rights to the land; utilization is only limited to socio-economic activities. There are several conditions on what can or cannot be done with the land; for example, they are not allowed to sell the land.

“Now let us say you may find that I want to make bricks and when I start making them they say that you stop because the land is not yours, and that makes me unhappy. There is when you find that you have gotten a very big problem and you want to sell small piece but because you don’t have that permission you get a lot of anger.” (IDI Settlement head Kibaremu, Kanungu)

“They were deprived of their land. They were chased away from the forests which are now being managed by Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA). They claim that the revenue Shared from the forest is not enough and not even benefiting the Batwa it is benefiting the Bakiga and the Batwa are not happy with revenue sharing, they claim that the land is theirs.” (World café meeting, Rubanda)

3.4.5.4. Food insecurity associated with lack of land

There are a lot of ramifications to being landless. It has created a high level of food insecurity among the Batwa turning them into beggars and wanderers. The small land they have been cultivating is exhausted due to over-cultivation.

“As Batwa we are still faced with limited land where to cultivate and get enough food to feed our families. Therefore, our children cannot go to school with an empty stomach, they remain at home just seated just wandering around to pick whatever they can.” (FGD, male Batwa, 35+, Kisoro)

“The life of the Batwa... these are people who are interested in cultivating their own food however some end up living a very simple life in urban centers like this one here the reason being that they do not have land to cultivate, if at all they have some land where to cultivate, they would be motivated to be productive where their land is. But after failing to get what to do, they chose to wander within the urban centers just like this one idle and drinking alcohol. Such are the reasons that cause them to be poor to the extent of sleeping along the streets or anywhere they find ending up begging any person they come across...” (FGD female non-Batwa, Kisoro)

“Their main challenge is that they do not own land for cultivation so that they get their own food, some of them are very strong and they have so much energy to cultivate but they are so much disadvantaged due to lack of land. They are also bright and clever to go to school and a good example is this young man who just completed his university education (participant points to our interpreter and mobilizer seated next to the notetaker...)” (FGD female non-Batwa, Kisoro)

3.4.5.5. Desires for land rights

Land ownership among the Batwa is an unanswered question and through the study the Batwa expressed different land ownership desires. These include being able to secure permanent land tenure on the land that they are currently settled on and for people who do not have land to be given land by the government. The following are selected quotes on the land ownership desires of the Batwa people:

“I think there are certain things they want from us, for example some of them allow me to stay on his or her land yet he is after something; after he has seen that I have prepared the land properly for cultivation, he or she will chase me and he will start using the same piece of land himself.... The factors that cause us to be marginalized as Batwa are mostly the people we live with in the same community because if you look around you notice that Mutwa does not own any garden and does not have any where he can cultivate, does not have shelter... In case he attempts to construct a shelter, he cannot construct a reasonable house. Every time you find yourself quarreling with the neighbors out of a small thing and it becomes worse when your child steals anything from the neighbors... they just chase you immediately from their land.” (FGD Young Male Batwa Kisoro)

“We were Batwa spread all over in different areas... others lived in the DRC, others amongst the non - Batwa here in homes built for them by the non - Batwa.

They used to give us some small piece of land to build on, in return we would have to work for them, after you have developed the land with good gardens and plantations, and they would just chase us away from that land. Immediately you park all your belongings and just move in the middle of the night until you identify where to rest your head in the bushes. We keep on wandering like that until you come across another non - Mutwa who would also give you temporary shelter as well and that is how we suffered as Batwa continuously...” (FGD woman 35+ Batwa, Kisoro)

“It may be true just when you try to internalize those titles really; it is as if they have no land. For example, you find a note summarizing everything that you are not supposed to use this land without the consent of someone. This came after some Batwa who had got land in such a form later sold that land but we are not the ones and we have no evidence/proof whether it was true.” (IDI Batwa Representative, Rubanda).

Table 21. Land ownership

	Total n(%)	Female n(%)	Male n(%)	P value	Kanungu n(%)	Kisoro n(%)	Rubanda n(%)	P value
Family owns land								
No	286(60.1)	164(59.2)	122(61.3)	0.64	57(47.9)	160(69.9)	69(53.9)	<0.01
Yes	190(39.9)	113(40.8)	77(38.7)		62(52.1)	69(30.1)	59(46.1)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Mode of acquiring land								
Not applicable	286(60.1)	164(59.2)	122(61.3)	0.66	57(47.9)	160(69.9)	69(53.9)	<0.001
Acquired for free from local government	14(2.9)	9(3.2)	5(2.5)		4(3.4)	10(4.4)	0(0)	
Acquired land from an NGO	106(22.3)	65(23.5)	41(20.6)		37(31.1)	27(11.8)	42(32.8)	
Ancestral inherited land from parents	30(6.3)	17(6.1)	13(6.5)		7(5.9)	10(4.4)	13(10.2)	
Don't know	6(1.3)	5(1.8)	1(0.5)		1(0.8)	5(2.2)	0(0)	
Purchased	34(7.1)	17(6.1)	17(8.5)		13(10.9)	17(7.4)	4(3.1)	

Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
Land ownership status								
Not applicable	286(60.1)	164(59.2)	122(61.3)	0.81	57(47.9)	160(69.9)	69(53.9)	<0.01
Not registered and with no sale agreement	80(16.8)	47(17)	33(16.6)		36(30.3)	21(9.2)	23(18)	
Registered with a title deed	52(10.9)	31(11.2)	21(10.6)		17(14.3)	20(8.7)	15(11.7)	
Do not know	35(7.4)	23(8.3)	12(6)		5(4.2)	18(7.9)	12(9.4)	
Not registered but with sale agreement	22(4.6)	11(4)	11(5.5)		4(3.4)	10(4.4)	8(6.2)	
Not registered	1(0.2)	1(0.4)	0(0)		0(0)	0(0)	1(0.8)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	
size of land in acres/hectare								
Not applicable	286(60.1)	164(59.2)	122(61.3)	0.77	57(47.9)	160(69.9)	69(53.9)	<0.01
An acre or more	70(14.7)	38(13.7)	32(16.1)		38(31.9)	19(8.3)	13(10.2)	
A quarter an acre	26(5.5)	17(6.1)	9(4.5)		5(4.2)	11(4.8)	10(7.8)	
Half an acre	45(9.5)	30(10.8)	15(7.5)		14(11.8)	9(3.9)	22(17.2)	
Less than a quarter	27(5.7)	15(5.4)	12(6)		4(3.4)	21(9.2)	2(1.6)	
Not sure	22(4.6)	13(4.7)	9(4.5)		1(0.8)	9(3.9)	12(9.4)	
Total	476(100)	277(100)	199(100)		119(100)	229(100)	128(100)	

The majority of the participants (60.1%) did not own land (Table 21). Only 15.8% of those who had land inherited it from their ancestors and a big proportion acquired it from NGOs (55.8%). Most of the land was not registered (54.3%) and 42.1% had no sale agreement for the land they claimed was theirs. Only 36.8% had an acre of land or more. By district, participants from Kanungu were more likely to own land and had relatively large portions of land compared to those from

Kisoro or Rubanda. Participants from Kisoro had the most limited access to land, with the smallest portions of land too.

3.4.5.6. Poor housing conditions

More than half of the Batwa live in temporary shelters with floors made of mud. One in five has no latrine at their residence and close to a half cook in either open spaces or in the rooms where they sleep (48.5%). In each household there is an average of six people, and the range is from 1-22 people. Many sleep in the same room with children and visitors (49.4%), while 21.2% have no sleeping rooms at all. At least 8% of participants reported not having any house at all.

3.4.6. Policy, development programming and vulnerability of the Batwa Indigenous People in Uganda

At the national level, the issues of the Batwa people are covered by the policies and programs of the Indigenous People and ethnic minorities under the Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development (MGLSD). Under the Ministry, there are several commissions, departments and initiatives that are relevant to the development concerns of Indigenous People and these include, among others, Affirmative Action Initiative on the Indigenous People and Ethnic Minorities, National Indigenous People's Reference Committee and the Directorate of Social Protection. At the legislative level there is the Parliamentary Committee on Indigenous People. The other government acts and institutions include the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA), National Agriculture Advisory Services (NAADS), Uganda Human Rights Commission, Equal Opportunities Commission, and the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development. According to the Uganda Constitution of 1995, the Batwa are among the 65 recognized indigenous communities. Organizations key to the Batwas' resettlement and livelihoods development post-forest gazettement have included the African International Christian Ministry (AICM) and the Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Trust (BMCT), which were later joined by Batwa-led NGOs such as the UOBDU, the Batwa Development Program (BDP), and Bwindi Community Hospital. These agencies and organizations have intervened in Batwa development in different sectors including agriculture, land acquisition, health and education.

From the above, we conclude that the question of Indigenous Peoples' marginalization is not due to a lack of policy or development programming by both government and NGOs, but failures of these policies and programs to meet the needs of the Batwa. However, there remain significant development challenges ranging from the exploitation of Indigenous People to a lack of protection for their rights. The following narration illustrates the challenges:

*“When there was the gazettement of the forests of Bwindi, Mgahinga and Ecuya around 1993 to 1994, there is no record to show that the Ministry of Gender consulted nor did it take initiative of speaking for the people that were found there who would have been constitutionally properly and adequately compensated, that did not happen. **That was the first historical mistake.** When that was done, gazettement took place and the Ministry of Gender came to realize it later on. In terms of then, how the Batwa should have been*

compensated, those have been questions that we ask ourselves very late but also saying that it is not too late for people to have a better life in terms of how they can co-exist with the already conserved place and find sustainable means of livelihood. That is how simple and difficult I can answer that question.” (KII MGLSD representative)

“It means that working with Batwa the experience is that when you give them the land they will sell it and we shall go back to square one and so we are all even ADRA even BMCT which is a government organization has bought land for them, resettles them, gives them copy of the “ndagano” and retains one why we do not want them to sell for example AICM has extension workers we have field extension workers whose work is to ensure that when it is a rainy season Batwa grow crops, so we follow them later I will take you to the process that AICM has gone to make the Batwa the level they are in now so if we do not have then the Batwa are going to rent we have even had issues last month I was there threatening them actually it was a threat I wouldn’t arrest them but I was threatening them that if they don’t plant crops since it has rained, I going to arrest them and then I was threatening them that if they rent out land I even had to pay back I paid some the Batwa one of the them who had rented the land to a Mukiga at thirty thousand a big piece of land for the whole season.” (KII AICM representative)

“...the process was clear. It was the Batwa who used to identify those pieces of land, which was around 1999 – 2009. That is when they were buying land for the Batwa. We had some individuals based in the districts of Kanungu, Kisoro and Rubanda who would go and have discussions with the owner of the land then after that, BMCT would go and pay the money. After paying, that is when we would engage the Batwa. Those that wanted to occupy those pieces of land because they are like those in Kisoro who refused to be taken anywhere. They said they wanted to remain in Kisoro. The land was specifically bought for Batwa and it is being occupied by the Batwa. You talked about the land right for the Batwa. BMCT went through the process of certification through the Ministry of Lands and it is only Rubanda where the process is ongoing but Kisoro and Kanungu, we have certificates for the said plots of land. What we have put in the agreement is that no Mutwa is allowed to sell the land because we believe they have children. If we give them the right to sell as BMCT, which means the land we have in trust will all be sold to no- Batwa for whatever reasons they want to. The second reason is because Batwa are majorly involved in drinking so someone is going to sell the land and go drinking and our original objective of livelihood improvement of the Batwa will not be achieved.” (KII BMCT representative)

It is noteworthy that the policy-level findings agree with district and community-level sentiments about the systematic marginalization of the Batwa Indigenous People. Community exclusion and lack of land are the major systemic challenges affecting the Batwa. Within the Batwa communities

there are related challenges having to do with food insecurity, as well as a lack of uptake in terms of conventional healthcare, education and improved agricultural practices. Batwa communities continue to experience endemic gender-based violence affecting women more than men. Alcohol and drug abuse pose challenges.

3.4.7. Batwa Livelihood Vulnerability Index

It is widely recognized that a full understanding of vulnerability is essential for preparing, responding to, and recovering from shocks and long-term deprivation (Guillaumont, 2009) as well as for developing long-term adaptation and resilience measures (Angeon and Bates, 2015). Thus, a composite approach was used to calculate the Livelihood Vulnerability Index (LVI), using the balanced weighted average approach by Sullivan (2011) where each major component contributes equally to the overall index, even though different major components may have a different number of sub-components. This follows the steps that were used to calculate the 2010 and 2014 Human Development Index. In this, the life expectancy index was calculated as the ratio of the difference between the actual life expectancy and a preselected minimum, and the range of predetermined maximum and minimum life expectancy (UNDP, 2014; Sullivan, 2011).

The Batwa LVI was generated to determine and identify key specific factors that explain levels of Batwa resilience and vulnerability across social, economic and demographic factors such as their levels of education, marital status, source of income, access to land and surviving parents, among others. The resulting LVI is a weighted average value of all individual sub-components. Table 22 is survey data extracted from Tables 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, and 13 and converted to a 0 to 1 scale. These are called the sub-components of the Batwa LVI.

Table 22. Indexed sub-components of Batwa livelihoods

Sub-components of Batwa Livelihoods	Kanungu	Kisoro	Rubanda
% of HHH ⁵ with no formal education	0.471	0.594	0.523
% of HHH with both parents dead	0.63	0.42	0.43
Average marital age of HHH	0.318	0.17	0.168
Average size of the HH ⁶	0.277	0.214	0.356
% of HHH whose families lived in the forest	0.546	0.742	0.68
% of HHH who identify forest as home	0.185	0.262	0.234
% of HHH who still identify with the forest	0.235	0.437	0.375

⁵ Head of Household (HHH)

⁶ Households (HHs)

% of HHH who go to the forest to search for medicine 3 to 4 weeks in a month	0.008	0.026	0.023
% of HHH who go to the forest to search for pleasure 3 to 4 weeks in a month	0	0.018	0.039
% of HHH who go to the forest for spiritual purposes 3 to 4 weeks in a month	0	0.009	0.813
% of HHH with no income sources	0.025	0.144	0.187
% of HHH driving their livelihoods from non-farm activities	0.546	0.882	0.07
% of HHs deriving their livelihoods from farming activities	0.454	0.118	0.719
% of HHs with members in position of leadership	0.647	0.73	0.734
% of HH heads who do not participate in local decision making	0.748	0.681	0.43
% of HH heads who have not received support from local government	0.437	0.62	0.438
% of HHH who have not asked local leaders for support	0.336	0.507	0.539
% of HHH who failed to access health care service	0.613	0.415	0.82
% of HHH who failed to access education service	0.857	0.651	0.875
% of HHH who failed to access water	0.899	0.646	0.883
% of HHH who failed to access transport means	0.891	0.69	0.367
% of HH members who smoke	0.504	0.362	0.766
% of HHH who take alcohol	0.513	0.493	0.75
% of HH who do not own mosquito bed nets	0.496	0.69	0.492
% of HHH reporting at least one member ill in the last one month	0.714	0.686	0.484
% of HHH who reported they have not immunized their children	0.017	0.018	0.031

% of HHH members who have not taken HIV test	0.058	0.188	0.234
% of HHH who reported are HIV positive	0.084	0.044	0.063
% of HHH who reporting pregnant women did not attend antenatal care for the last pregnancy	0.151	0.127	0.078
% of HHH who reported pregnant women did not deliver their last child in a health facility	0.21	0.336	0.344
% of HHH who reported pregnant women did not use any contraceptive method	0.53	0.664	0.664
% of HHH who reported they do not have latrines	0.135	0.301	0.156
% of HHH who reported HHs access unclean and unsafe water sources	0.194	0.594	0.367
% of HHH reporting the IR HHs do not have food all year round	0.782	0.817	0.906
% of HHH reporting they do not eat 3 meals a day	0.487	0.887	0.711
% of HHH reporting did not have any food harvest	0.496	0.69	0.68
% of HHH reporting number of times the family failed to get food	0.034	0.511	0.32
% of HHH reporting their HHs main sources of food is in-kind exchange for labor	0.143	0.668	0.633
% of HHH reporting their HH members not eating livestock products in a week	0.893	0.949	0.942
% of HHH reporting partners experienced physical form of gender violence	0.252	0.252	0.273
% of HHH reporting partners experienced economic form of violence	0.101	0.101	0.172
% of HHH reporting partners were forced by their spouses to have sex when they did not want	0.101	0.101	0.148
% of HHH that acquired land from NGOs	0.311	0.118	0.32
% of HHH that do not have registered nor land agreement	0.303	0.092	0.18
% of HHH with less than an acre of land	0.193	0.18	0.266

% of HHH reporting family living in temporary shelters	0.63	0.63	0.63
% of HHH reporting HHs having a house without kitchen	0.37	0.511	0.547
% of HHH reporting HHs without dependable accommodation	0.025	0.105	0.094
Average amount of money in the bank	0.01	0.003	0.015
Average amount of money owed to other people (debts)	0.028	0.041	0.015
Average amount of money given to other people (debts)	0.002	0.01	0.092
Average amount of money in cash at time of interview	0.031	0.049	0.005
% of HHH who reported they do not productive assets	0.864	0.898	0.969
% of HHH who reported they do not have non-productive assets	0.857	0.908	0.947

3.4.7.1. Major components of the Batwa livelihoods vulnerability

The Batwa LVI has ten major components and was derived from the sub-components in Table 22. In Table 23, there is a set of major socio-economic factors that were found to determine Batwa vulnerability, these include: 1) individual factors such as education, age, having a parent alive and age at marriage, 2) identity with the forest, 3) livelihood strategies that include agriculture, employment and remittances, 4) social networks, 5) access to healthcare, 6) gender-based violence, 7) land ownership and rights, 8) household source of information, 9) financial worthiness (having cash, money in the bank, money owed and debts) and 10) household assets (productive and non-productive assets). Each line in Table 23 has a major component, which is composed of the averaged Table 22 sub-components from that domain. These are then weighted against each other, such that the resulting LVI runs from 0 to 1, with 0 representing no vulnerability and 1 representing an extremely high level of vulnerability. This allows comparison of vulnerability levels between locations and also allows comparison across time through future data collection.

Batwa in all the three districts of the study suffer a net vulnerability index of 0.55 generated from 10 major components. All these components scored sub-index vulnerability within the district of residence ranging from 0.01 to 0.36. The interpretation of the indexes was informed by Angeon and Bates’ (2015) review of the composite vulnerability and resilience indexes.

Table 23. Major components of the Batwa livelihoods vulnerability
From the scores of the different socioeconomic and demographics factors

Major components	Livelihood Vulnerability Index		
	Kanungu	Kisoro	Rubanda
Socio-demographic profile	0.04	0.03	0.04
Identify with the forest	0.02	0.03	0.02
Livelihood strategies	0.05	0.06	0.05
Social networks	0.06	0.05	0.06
Health	0.03	0.03	0.03
Food security	0.07	0.11	0.10
Gender-based & sexual violence	0.01	0.01	0.01
Land ownership and rights	0.01	0.01	0.01
Housing	0.04	0.05	0.05
Household assets	0.36	0.16	0.04
Overall District Livelihood Vulnerability Index	0.69	0.54	0.41
Overall Batwa Livelihood Vulnerability Index	0.55		

Chapter IV Conclusions

4.1. Conclusions

The general objective of this study was to generate data on the livelihood of Batwa indigenous communities living in the districts of Kisoro, Rubanda and Kanungu in southwestern Uganda. The goal was to build evidence about components of their livelihoods, including policies, access to services and resources, culture, and history/heritage.

Research Question 1: What are the current vulnerability issues faced by the Batwa people since their eviction from their ancestral land (forests)?

Vulnerabilities are the factors that influence the Batwa's capabilities to withstand risks and shocks. Batwa people experience vulnerable livelihoods due to a combination of socioeconomic factors. Of the heads of households that were interviewed, 19.7%, or 94 individuals, were between 15-24 years old. On a national level, 7.3% of household heads are under 24 years old (UNSH Survey 2019-2020). More than half (54.4%) of the 476 survey participants had no formal education, the majority of these being females. Additionally, almost half (47.5%) of the participants reported that both of their parents were dead. More than half of survey respondents, (63.2% of 35 people) reported no source of income and the majority (60.7%) are casual laborers. More than one-third of the participants were in unions under the age of 18, the majority being females (47.3%) compared to males (20.1%), and less than 30% were marriage above the age of 18. According to survey respondents, 12% (57 people) rely on humanitarian support as a livelihood source. Close to nine percent (8.8%) depend on begging for food and 2.8% depend on handouts from the government and NGOs. In sum, our data found that the majority of Batwa survey respondents were young, lacking formal education, have at least one deceased parent, and have no regular source of income.

The 1990s forest evictions significantly affected cultural identity and survival mechanisms for the Batwa people. Since then, the Batwa have yearned for their lifestyle as hunter-gatherers and have struggled to integrate with their counterparts, the Bakiga and Bafumbira. When the Batwa people were evicted from their homes and their main source of livelihood, as a part of the 1990s conservation efforts, there was not a deliberate government plan nor any other resettlement plan. Notably, there was no alternative land provided outside the conservation areas. This land issue is a key component of the Batwa's progressive marginalization and vulnerability. The majority of survey participants 322 (67.6%) were born and had lived in the forests, with many coming from the Echuya forests, 129 (40.1%), and Bwindi 127 (39.4%). More than two in three (68%) still identified the forest as their home. Some participants still went to the forests for spiritual (30.5%) and medicinal (45.8%) purposes.

The cultural identity and survival mechanisms of the Batwa were grossly affected by the eviction process. Thirty years later, the Batwa are still regarded as forest people, though the forest land which was once known as theirs now belongs to UWA. Batwa were evicted from the forest without consultation and without the provision of policy guidance for their resettlement. In the communities where they live, they are still excluded as a minority group. The Batwa have diverse

challenges in accessing modern social services: health, education and other social support services, mainly due to discrimination.

The results generated from GIS mapping of both the Batwa households and the distribution of interventions confirms that Batwa households are found across all the participating districts close to the forest areas. In terms of the vulnerability index scores, demographic characteristics (age, education, and age at marriage), access to land, gender-based violence, identity, housing and social networks, are the major composite factors that Batwa resilience is comprised of. They are unable to recover from the forest evictions, where their traditional livelihood sources are.

Research Question 2: How marginalized are the Batwa Indigenous People living in the districts of Kisoro, Rubanda, and Kanungu in southwestern Uganda?

Based on data we determined that there are five themes of marginalization among the Batwa. Batwa marginalization manifests and is experienced at all levels from the topmost government level down to the lowermost levels in the community. The five themes are: community and policy discrimination, political marginalization, economic deprivation, access to social services, and land ownership and rights.

Policy discrimination occurs because the Batwa are treated as persons of a lower social caste. They are often discriminated against and shunned by other ethnic groups in the community who regard them as, “primitive humans with a low intellectual capacity that are worthless, lazy, and backward” (from a Batwa key informant interview). Several dehumanizing acts have been enacted on and against the Batwa, including acts of sexual and gender-based violence against Batwa girls and women by non-Batwa ethnic groups.

Political marginalization of Batwa people mainly manifests itself as limited political representation at the national level. Although the legal framework provides for equal political participation and representation, as a result of their low social status and positioning, the Batwa are sidelined from leadership opportunities from the lowest political level to the national level. Thus, there is limited opportunity to participate in decision-making undertakings which is detrimental to accomplishing their social, economic and land rights. Within their communities, where they were resettled by different agencies after displacement from the forest, the Batwa established a leadership system which is not linked to the mainstream constitutional local council leadership.

Economic deprivation occurs because following their eviction from the forest of Mgahinga and Bwindi, Batwa lost their main economic asset, the forest, where they got materials for pottery, weaving and honey collection - their main sources of income. The post-forest life has not translated into better economic life and the majority of the Batwa are living in abject poverty. Their lives are characterized by a total lack of necessities such as food, clothing, proper housing facilities and land. There is a disparity in the standard of living between the Batwa and other members of the community.

Access to social services is a barrier for the Batwa because they are displaced and excluded. Compared to the non-Batwa, there are low levels of education among the Batwa and completion

of the formal educational cycle is marginal. Despite the free universal primary education provided by the government and additional support from non-government entities, there is poor school enrollment and high rates of school dropout among the Batwa. Generally, school enrollment, retention and attainment among the Batwa is much lower compared to the non-Batwa.

Access to safe water for consumption is a challenge among the Batwa. Access to safe water among respondents varied with at least one-third accessing water from a protected spring and one in five accessing water from a community tap. Most of the respondents described unsafe sources such as rivers, lakes, or unprotected wells as their most common sources of water.

Participants were asked if they had ever attended antenatal services during their most recent pregnancy. Only 38% of participants indicated that they attended a prenatal clinic. The percentage of those who attended a prenatal clinic was slightly higher for participants from Kanungu and Kisoro at 42%, but much lower for those from Rubanda at 25%. Regarding delivery at a health facility, at least 50% of participants mentioned that their last delivery occurred at a health facility, the proportion of participants who delivered at health facilities was lowest in the Rubanda district at 25%. The high percentage of access to maternal health services is likely due to a community hospital in Kisoro.

Land ownership and rights is a significant factor in the Batwa's marginalization. The study's findings vividly indicate that due to marginalization, the Batwa are the most landless people in the areas of Kisoro, Kanungu, and Rubanda. Inadequate land access is seen as the root cause of most of their vulnerabilities and all related challenges. Findings show that they do not own enough land to both provide enough produce for subsistence and for sale, and to also construct reasonable shelters. While land may be a question for the rest of the population within the communities where the Batwa live, they are the only tribe without the land of their heritage. This study established five issues that characterize land ownership and rights-related challenges for the Batwa: a) the process of eviction from the forests of Bwindi, Mgahinga and Echuya in the early 1990s, b) the role of NGOs in accessing land for the Batwa, c) uncertainties regarding land ownership, d) food insecurity associated with lack of land, and e) desires for land rights.

Research Question 3: What are the social (community level) and structural (policy and service delivery) barriers faced by the Batwa communities?

The current community level barriers faced by the Batwa people are associated with the gazettelement of the Bwindi, Mgahinga, and Ecuya forests in the early 1990's. The eviction deprived the Batwa of the physical space that they identify as home and they were then made to live in communities that traditionally discriminated against them. The places where Batwa homes are built are referred to as settlements which implies that they have resettled there from somewhere else.

Quantitative household survey findings show that the majority of participants were born in and had lived in the forests (67.6%), with many coming from the forests of Echuya (40.1%) and Bwindi (39.4%). The health of the Batwa people is compromised when it comes to access, utilization and

outcome indicators. There is poor food security, exploitation, high levels of gender-based violence and very high levels of poverty.

Alcohol consumption and smoking are high among the Batwa. Endemic diseases such as malaria and HIV/AIDS affect them. They are sexually exploited by other indigenous populations. They face challenges when it comes to accessing and using social services such as schools and health facilities. The housing situation is poor, and it is only recently that some projects and programs have purchased land for a few Batwa. At the national level, the issues of the Batwa people are mandated within the policies and programs for Indigenous People and ethnic minorities under the MGLSD.

In the final analysis, we find the Batwa are discriminated against in diverse ways: they do not access leadership positions outside their groups; they suffer economic deprivation; and they have limited land ownership. Batwa marginalization manifests and is experienced at all levels, from the topmost government level down to the lowest level in the community. They face social exclusion due to other indigenous groups not eating with them and not letting them attend public functions like burials and weddings. When they are let in, they are isolated by the rest of the ethnic groups.

The overall ranking from a set of social demographics facts was a Livelihood Vulnerability Index of 0.6 as the internal level of vulnerability; Batwa people and communities generally have limited social networks, poor access to health facilities, high rates of sexual and gender-based violence, limited household assets and livelihood strategies, high levels of food insecurity, and limited access to land.

Structural and the policy level barriers to progressive livelihoods cannot be discussed in isolation of the gazetted forest areas of Bwindi and Mgahinga. The government of Uganda could be seen to have prioritized the conservation of the forest and the animals, ignoring the forest dwellers, ushering in the current state of vulnerability for the Batwa. At the national level, the issues of the Batwa people are mandated within the policies and programs for Indigenous People and ethnic minorities under the Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development (MGLSD). However, it is noteworthy that the policy-level findings agree with the district and community-level sentiments about the systematic marginalization of the Batwa Indigenous People. Community exclusion and lack of land are the major systemic challenges affecting the Batwa."

As a result of the land evictions, the social and structural barriers to Batwa livelihood are mainly linked to the following:

- The Batwa's lived experience of ethnic-related discrimination and exclusion;
- Marginalization of the Batwa is acknowledged at all levels from the topmost government level down to the lower levels in the community;
- Wide disparity in the standard of living between the Batwa and the other members of the community; and
- Development programs designed to alleviate poverty hardly reach the Batwa; government support is viewed as selective.

Research Question 4: How can local governments and other development actors mainstream Batwa vulnerability issues into development policy and programming?

We conclude that the question of Indigenous Peoples' marginalization is not due to a lack of policy or development programming by both government and NGOs, but failures of these policies and programs to meet the needs of the Batwa. Marginalization of the Batwa is experienced at all levels from the topmost government level down to the lowest level in the community.

The MGLSD, as the main ministry for Indigenous People, should provide policy guidelines and institute programs that promote the livelihoods of Indigenous People. Another possibility is to tap into legislation, such as the Affirmative Action Initiative on the Indigenous People and Ethnic Minorities, National Indigenous People's Reference Committee, and the Directorate of Social Protection, as legal frameworks to protect Batwa lives.

NGOs and civil society organizations are at the forefront of providing support for Batwa resettlement and livelihood programs since the land evictions of the 1990s. NGOs and civil society organizations have intervened in Batwa development in various sectors including agriculture, land acquisition, health, and education. For example, the process of Batwa resettlement outside the forests has been spearheaded by religious institutions led by the Church of Uganda (Diocese of Muhabura and Kinkizi Diocese) as well as local and international NGOs. The main NGOs include BMCT, AICM, BDP, and UOBDU, among others. A critical issue in this case is to examine to what extent the Batwas' needs, considerations and aspirations were considered by policy and government programs.

Most prominent Batwa livelihood projects funded by development organizations promote crop farming, with most projects located in Kisoro and Kanungu, possibly due to the higher numbers of Batwa there. There is a higher concentration of tourism activities in Kisoro and Kanungu around the Bwindi-Mgahinga conservation area.

There continues to be a dearth of access and utilization of social services by the Batwa people, hinged on aspects of discrimination and rejection. Discrimination discourages Batwa from attending and completing school. Batwa families who live in these settlements do not have evidence that they own the land where they are staying. There are accusations of sexual abuse arising from the superstitious belief that having sex with Batwa girls cures HIV/AIDS and backaches. These beliefs put Batwa women and girls at risk of sexual harassment, which is reported to be highly prevalent. Gender-based violence and alcoholism are openly discussed as key intra-community challenges for the Batwa. Homelessness is an inhumane result of the continued absence of consideration for the Batwa people within the intentional planning cycle of the general population and inadequate consultation with the Batwa themselves.

Several community projects have also been implemented with the Batwa including the construction of water tanks, water springs, piped water, tourism projects and community halls. Individual household projects include livestock rearing, crop farming and beekeeping. The Batwa would like to hunt, pick medicinal plants, and practice their religious rituals in the forests, but access is illegal. It's yet to be seen whether efforts by organizations, such as UOBDU, which have

advocated for the rights of the Batwa to access forest resources from the three forests will achieve their mission.

4.2. Recommendations

The following are thematic recommendations for addressing Batwa vulnerability:

Recommendations for the Ugandan government

Theme	Recommendation
Assist Batwa to increase land ownership and land access rights	Government agencies and NGOs need to facilitate a process to enable the Batwa access to land tenure and property rights in order to obtain secure land ownership status.
Implement development projects that address key marginalization factors	Government agencies need to design and implement projects that address the key marginalization factors, including community and policy discrimination, political marginalization, economic deprivation, access to social services, and land ownership and rights.
Increase resource allocation to Batwa development programs	Local governments need to integrate targeted development strategies and activities into their plans for Batwa communities. Since local governments oversee planning and allocating resources, they need to have a deliberate goal of incorporating Batwa in specific development programs.
Implement legal requirement for affirmative action for Batwa	The government must include Batwa in the design, implementation, and monitoring of development projects, through affirmative action.
Increase political representation and participation of Batwa in decision-making processes	The government must increase the political representation and participation of the Batwa in government decision-making processes.

Recommendations for NGOs and Batwa-led organizations

Theme	Recommendation
Help Batwa increase land ownership and land access	NGOs need to facilitate a process with the government to enable the Batwa access to land tenure and property rights in order to obtain secure land ownership status.
Increase political representation and participation of Batwa in decision-making processes	NGOs and Batwa-led local organizations need to increase awareness and conduct trainings to increase skills to facilitate participation in planning, implementing, and monitoring projects and programs.
Advocate for affirmative action for Batwa	NGOs and civil society must advocate for affirmative action and targeted development programs to improve key Batwa livelihoods and address vulnerability aspects in the areas of agriculture production, education, health, and the prevention of sexual and gender-based violence.
Implement campaigns to increase understandings of the Batwa plight	NGOs and locally-led Batwa organizations need to implement evidence-based campaigns to increase community level understanding of the plight of the Batwa. These campaigns should decrease negative norms and beliefs that discriminate against the Batwa. This advocacy needs to lead to affirmative action for the Batwa.
Address all areas of vulnerability in development programs	Civil society organizations and NGOs working with the Batwa need to focus on all aspects of their vulnerability and lack of participation in development projects at all levels of design and implementation.
Promote and protect Batwa culture	NGOs and locally-led Batwa organizations need to design and implement programs that are geared towards the promotion and protection of indigenous culture and language.

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Annexes: Data Collection Tools

HOUSEHOLD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

	Study identification №: <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	Date of Interview: <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> / <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> / <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> (dd/mm/yyyy)
	District of residence 1. Rubanda <input type="text"/> 2. Kisoro <input type="text"/> 3. Kanungu <input type="text"/>	
1.	Demographic Characteristics	
1.1	How old are you in complete years? <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> (complete years) I do not know	
1.2	Observe gender 1) Male <input type="text"/> 2) Female <input type="text"/>	1.3 What is your level of education? 1) No formal education <input type="text"/> 2) Primary level <input type="text"/> 3) Secondary level <input type="text"/> 4) Technical education <input type="text"/> 5) Diploma <input type="text"/> 6) Bachelor's degree <input type="text"/> 7) Other specify
1.4	Are your parents alive or not? 1) Both alive <input type="text"/> 2) Only father <input type="text"/> 3) Only mother <input type="text"/> 4) Both dead <input type="text"/>	1.5 What is your religion? 1) None <input type="text"/> 2) Traditionalist <input type="text"/> 3) Catholic <input type="text"/> 4) Anglican <input type="text"/> 5) Moslem <input type="text"/> 6) Pentecostal <input type="text"/> 7) Others

		1.6. If other religion, specify
1.7	<p>Marital status</p> <p>1. Single <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. Married <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Divorced <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. Separated <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. Widowed <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>6. Others specify _____</p>	<p>1.9 If married, what is the tribe of your spouse? Multiple entry</p> <p>1. Mutwa <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. Mukiga <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Mufumbira <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. Others specify _____</p>
1.8	<p>If married: Number of spouses</p> <p>1 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>More than 2</p>	<p>1.10 If you are NOT single in Q1.7 above, at what age did you get married (at first marriage)? [_____] years</p>
1.11	<p>Do you have children?</p> <p>1) Yes <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2) No <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>1.12 If yes above, how many children do you have?</p> <p>[____][____] children</p>
1.13	<p>How old were you when you had your first child?</p> <p> __ __ years</p>	<p>1.14 Are all you children alive?</p> <p>1. Yes, all <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. No, some died <input type="checkbox"/></p> <hr/> <p>1.15 If no, how many died [____][____] children</p> <hr/> <p>1.17 If no mention ages when the children died</p> <p>1.....</p> <p>2.....</p>

		3..... 4.....
1.18	<p>Number of children under the age of 18 currently living at home</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. None <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 1 Child <input type="checkbox"/> 3. 2 Children <input type="checkbox"/> 4. 3 Children <input type="checkbox"/> 5. 4 Children <input type="checkbox"/> 6. 5 Children <input type="checkbox"/> 7. More than 5 children <input type="checkbox"/> 	<p>1.19 Number of children under the age of 18 currently going to school</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. None <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 1 Child <input type="checkbox"/> 3. 2 Children <input type="checkbox"/> 4. 3 Children <input type="checkbox"/> 5. 4 Children <input type="checkbox"/> 6. 5 Children <input type="checkbox"/> 7. More than 5 children <input type="checkbox"/>
2	Socio-economic Characteristics	
2.1	<p>What do you do to get an income / where do you get your upkeep?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) No formal employment <input type="checkbox"/> 2) Remittance allowance <input type="checkbox"/> 3) Casual laborer <input type="checkbox"/> 4) Peasant farming <input type="checkbox"/> 5) Business <input type="checkbox"/> 6) Other _____ 	<p>2.3 Does your family own a house for your family's accommodation?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Don't Know <input type="checkbox"/>
2.2	<p>If Other income source above, specify:</p> <p>.....</p>	
2.4	<p>How do you describe your residence? (<i>Tick only one response, please observe</i>)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It is built permanent house on family land <input type="checkbox"/> 2. It is built temporary house on family land <input type="checkbox"/> 	

	<p>3. It's a built permanent house on communal land <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. It's a built temporary house on communal land <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. I reside with other families not my own <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>6. It's a makeshift structure on a street <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>7. I live on street with no structure <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>8. I have a permanent house built on my own land <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>9. I have a temporary house built on my own land <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Others specify _____</p>	
2.5	<p>If owns a house, do you have the following? (Tick all that is available)</p> <p>1. Kitchen <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. Latrine <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Compound <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. Fence <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
2.6	<p>Residence type</p> <p>1) Rural <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2) Semi-urban/trading center <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3) Urban <input type="checkbox"/></p>	2.7 How many people live in this household? <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
2.8	<p>What type of house do you stay in?</p> <p>1) Permanent (Iron roof with brick walls) <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2) Semi-permanent (Iron roof, wattle walls) <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3) Temporally (grass thatched roof) <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4) Other specify _____</p>	2.9 Type of floor
		<p>a. Mud <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>b. Cement <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>c. Tiles/Terrazo <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>d. Other _____</p> <p>—</p>

<p>2.10</p>	<p>Type of information and communications technology in the household (tick all that applied)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Television <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Radio <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Internet Connection <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Mobile Phone <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Landline <input type="checkbox"/> 6. None <input type="checkbox"/> 7. Other specify 	<p>2.11 Main source of information</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Television <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Radio <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Internet Connection <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Mobile Phone <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Landline <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Other specify _____
<p>2.12</p>	<p>Does your family own land?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Don't Know <input type="checkbox"/> 	<p>2.13 If yes, how did your family acquire land?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ancestral land inherited from parents <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Purchased <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Acquired for free from local government <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Acquired from a government organization <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Don't know <input type="checkbox"/>
	<p>2.14 If owns land, what is the ownership status?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Registered with a title deed <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Not registered but with sale agreement <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Not registered and with no sale agreement <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Mailo land <input type="checkbox"/> <p>2.15 If owns land, what is the size of land in acres/hectare? [<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>] acres (acre=100m by 40m estimate)</p>	<p>2.16 In the last one month, what do you describe to be the main source of water for home use?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Community Tap <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Tap in own compound <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Bore hole <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Unprotected well <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Protected Spring <input type="checkbox"/> 6. River <input type="checkbox"/> 7. Lake <input type="checkbox"/> 8. Others specify
<p>2.17</p>	<p>Does your family own any of the following livestock? Options -, 1,2,3, 4 or more</p>	<p>2.18 Does your family own any of the following? 1. Yes 2. No</p>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cattle <input type="checkbox"/> [] shs for each 2. Goats or sheep <input type="checkbox"/> [] shs each 3. Chicken <input type="checkbox"/> [] shs for each 4. Pigs <input type="checkbox"/> [] shs for each 5. Other livestock specify [] shs 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Radio <input type="checkbox"/> [] shs 2. Mobile telephone <input type="checkbox"/> [] shs 3. Television <input type="checkbox"/> [] shs 4. Bicycle <input type="checkbox"/> [] shs 5. Motorcycle <input type="checkbox"/> [] shs 6. Car <input type="checkbox"/> [] shs 7. Mattress <input type="checkbox"/> [] shs 8. Chairs with cushions <input type="checkbox"/> [] shs
2.19	<p>How many pieces of clothes do you own?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. None <input type="checkbox"/> 2. One <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Two <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Three <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Four and above <input type="checkbox"/> 	<p>2.20 How many pairs of shoes do you own?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. None <input type="checkbox"/> 2. One <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Two <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Three <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Four and above <input type="checkbox"/>
2.21	<p>How many pairs of shoes do you own?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. None <input type="checkbox"/> 2. One <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Two <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Three <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Four and above <input type="checkbox"/> 	<p>2.22 How many sleeping rooms does your house have?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. None <input type="checkbox"/> 2. One <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Two <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Three <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Four and above <input type="checkbox"/>
2.23	<p>What is your main source of Livelihood? (Tick only one)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Farming <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Petty trade <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Salaried job <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Humanitarian support <input type="checkbox"/> 5. None <input type="checkbox"/> 	<p>2.24 Have you earned any income in the last one month?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Don't Know <input type="checkbox"/>

2.24	<p>If yes, what was your source of income?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Payment for casual labor on someone’s farm 2. Payment for casual labor for working in someone’s home 3. Monthly salaries job for a regular job 4. Sale of produce from my garden 5. Others specify 	<p>2.25 State the amount of money that your household currently has.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.Total amount of money (UGX) saved in the bank _____ 2.Total amount of cash (UGX) at hand _____ 3.Total amount of money (UGX) given out to others as credit _____ 4. Total amount of debts (UGX) you owe all other people _____
3	<p>Identity with the Forest, Language and Community Representation</p>	
3.1	<p>Did your family originally live in the forest?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Don’t know <input type="checkbox"/> 	<p>3.2 If yes, in which forest did your household originate from?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Echuya <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Bwindi <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Mgahinga forest <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Others specify <input type="checkbox"/>
3.3	<p>If originally lived in the forest, when was the last time you identified the forest as home?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I still identify forest as home 2. I feel I cannot keep my identity of forest 3. I shall forever identify with the forest 4. No response 	<p>3.4 When was the last time you moved to the forest in search of firewood?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Less than a week ago 2. One week to 2 weeks 3. 3 weeks to 4 weeks 4. More than a month ago 5. No response

<p>3.5</p>	<p>When was the last time you moved to the forest in search of medicine?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Less than a week ago 2. One week to 2 weeks 3. 3 weeks to 4 weeks 4. More than a month ago 5. No response 	<p>3.6 When was the last time you moved to the forest in search of pleasure?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Less than a week ago 2. One week to 2 weeks 3. 3 weeks to 4 weeks 4. More than a month ago 5. No response
	<p>3.7 When was the last time you moved to the forest for spiritual purposes?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Less than a week ago 2. One week to 2 weeks 3. 3 weeks to 4 weeks 4. More than a month ago 5. No response 	
<p>3.6</p>	<p>What languages do you speak?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rukiga 2. Kifumbira 3. Kinyarwanda 4. Kinyankore 5. Other specify _____ 	<p>3.7 Of these languages, which one do you identify to be your native language?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rukiga 2. Kifumbira 3. Kinyarwanda 4. Kinyankore 5. Other specify _____
<p>3.8</p>	<p>Have you ever felt discriminated against because of speaking a different language from that of the communities around you?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know 	<p>3.9. Have you ever failed to access any of the following public services due because your language was different from that of the service providers? 1. Yes No. 2</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Health care ___ 2. Education ___ 3. Water Access ___ 4. Transportation ___

<p>3.10</p>	<p>Do you or any member of your family hold any leadership position in your community?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know 	<p>3.11 If yes which position do you/member of your family hold (multiple choice)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Local Council member 2. Member of the leadership of a community Initiative group with members different from ethnicity 3. Member of the leadership of a community Initiative group the same as my ethnicity 4. Others specify _____
<p>3.12</p>	<p>How confident do you feel about participating in public decision making in your community?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Not confident at all, 2. A little bit confident but only with some help from others 3. Very confident –I can do this on my own 	<p>3.13 Did you attend any of the 2019/20 local government planning meetings?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know
<p>3.14</p>	<p>Have you ever asked your elected leaders for any government support?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know 	<p>3.15 Have you in the last 2 years benefited from local government projects or other development agencies?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know
<p>3.16</p>	<p>In your opinion who do you say participates most in decision making at community level?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Women 2. Men 3. Both 4. Don't know 	

4	Humanitarian Support	
4.1	In the last one month, did you or your family receive any money to meet your needs from a humanitarian agency? 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know	4.2 In the last one month did you or your family receive any in-kind support for your needs from a humanitarian agency? 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know
4.3	If yes, what in-kind support did you receive? 1. Food items 2. Clothing 3. Healthcare 4. Education 5. Others specify _____	4.4 What is the main source of humanitarian support for Batwa people? 1. Local Government 2. UWA 3. Community Based Organization 4. Local NGOs 5. International NGOs 6. Others Specify
5	Health and Illness	
5.1a	Do you smoke? 1. Yes 2. No	5.1b If you do not smoke does anyone else in the household smoke 1. Yes 2. No
5.2a	Do you drink alcohol? 1. Yes 2. No	5.2b If yes, how often do you drink alcohol? 1) Daily 2) Twice a week 3) More than 2 times a week

5.3	<p>Do you own a mosquito net?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Don't Know <input type="checkbox"/> 	<p>5.4 If yes, who uses it?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Head of household 2. Children 3. Both parents and children
5.5	<p>The last time you were ill, what did you do?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Went to a government health center 2. Used herbs from a gazetted forest 3. Went to a private clinic where I paid money 4. Did not do anything for not knowing where to go 5. Did do anything for fear of not being treated well by service providers 6. Waited to heal 7. Prayed over it Others specify_____ 	
5.6	<p>In the last one month have you been ill?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Don't Know <input type="checkbox"/> 	
	<p>If yes, what were you sick with?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Malaria 2. Respiratory related disease 3. Sexually transmitted disease 4. Skin disease 5. Malnutrition 6. Hypertension 7. Diabetes 8. Others specify_____ 	<p>5.7 If yes, where did you go for health care?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nowhere 2. Government health facility 3. Private health facility 4. Traditional health 5. Others specify?
5.8	<p>Do you have children under 5 years old in this household?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No <p>If no skip to 5.13</p>	<p>5.9 If you have a child under five in your household, have they been sick with any of the following? (Common symptoms...)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Malaria 2. Respiratory related disease 3. Sexually transmitted disease 4. Skin disease 5. Malnutrition

		6. Hypertension 7. Diabetes Others specify
5.10	If yes, where did you take the children for health care? 1. Nowhere 2. Government health facility 3. Private health facility 4. Traditional health 5. Others specify?	5.11 Did you take your last child (under age 5) for immunization? 1. Yes 2. If yes indicate number of times Classify complete or incomplete No If no, give reason _____
Sexual, Reproductive and Child Health		
5.13	Did you or your wife attend antenatal care for the last pregnancy? 1. Yes, indicate number of times 2. No If no, give reason _____	5.14 Did you or your wife deliver the last child in the health unit? 1. Yes 2. No If no, give reason _____
5.13	Have you or your wife used any contraception method? 1. Yes 2. No If no, give reason _____	5.15 If yes, which method did you use to prevent pregnancy? 1. Condom 2. Pill 3. Intrauterine Device (IUD) 4. Injectable 5. Implants 6. Diaphragm 7. Foam or jelly

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 8. Lactational Amenorrhea (LAM) 9. Rhythm method 10. Withdrawal 11. Other 12. If other, specify: _____
5.15	<p>Have the COVID-19 prevention measures stopped or hindered you from accessing contraceptive services?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 3. No response 	<p>5.16 If yes, what was the main reason that stopped or hindered you to seek contraceptive services?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No transport 2. I was afraid that if I go to a health centre for contraceptives, I could get COVID-19 3. I was not allowed to leave the house 4. The method was not in stock 5. Health professional was not available 6. Pharmacy or dispensary was closed 7. I could not afford it 8. Health center was closed 9. Other specify
5.17	<p>What are some of the ways in which HIV/AIDS can be acquired? <i>(Tick where applicable)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Through blood transfusion 2. Through sex with infected person without condoms 3. Through sharing sharp objects with infected person 4. From mother to child in pregnancy/breastfeeding 5. Others specify 	<p>5.18 HIV/AIDS prevention</p> <p>What are some of the ways that can help one avoid getting HIV? <i>(Tick where applicable)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Abstinence 2. Being faithful to one partner (who has no HIV) 3. Consistent condom use 4. Others specify _____

5.19	<p>HIV/AIDS myths: Indicate Yes/No</p> <p>Can you get HIV/AIDS through a mosquito bite?</p> <p>Can you get HIV/AIDS through sharing utensils with an infected person?</p>	<p>5.20 HIV/AIDS stigma: Indicate Yes/No</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Would you buy vegetables from someone who you know has HIV? 2. Would you share cups/plates with someone who has HIV?
5.21	<p>Have you ever had an HIV test?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 3. Not applicable (if never tested) <p>If 2 or 3 skip to 5.23</p> <p>If Yes, what was the outcome?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Unable to share 4. Don't know 	<p>5. 22 During COVID-19 restrictions, did you miss an appointment or delayed a visit to the health center for HIV treatment or care?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No
5.23	<p>Have you had sexual intercourse in the last 12 months preceding this study with someone else other than your wife/husband?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 	<p>5.24 If YES in 5.23, how many partners have you had sexual intercourse with in the last 6 months?</p> <p>□□□□</p>
5.25	<p>The last time you had sexual intercourse with a person other than your regular partner, what was your relationship with the person with whom you had sex?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Boyfriend/Girlfriend 2) Friend/Colleague 3) Employer 4) Neighbor 5) Unknown 6) Other, specify _____ 	<p>5.26 The last time you had sexual intercourse with another person other than your regular partner, was protection (condoms) used?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 3. Unsure

5.27	<p>5.24 Have you ever had sex with a person because s/he made you a favor (bought food or gave you material items, etc.)?</p> <p>1) Yes 2) No</p>	<p>5.28 Have you been involved in sexual intercourse in the last 12 months, in which you considered yourself or your sexual partner to have been drunk/under influence of alcohol?</p> <p>1. Yes 2. No</p>
5.29	<p>Have you <u>ever used</u> any stimulant drugs or other substances (e.g. marijuana)?</p> <p>If yes specify</p> <p>1) Marijuana 2) Cocaine 3) Others</p> <p>If other drugs, specify:</p>	<p>5.30 Have you been involved in sexual intercourse in the last 12 months, in which you or your sexual partner were under the influence of these drugs (smoking, injecting or sniffing)?</p>
Household Food Security		
6.1	<p>In the last one month, have you had any food harvest for your family?</p> <p>1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know</p>	<p>6.2 In the last one month, how many times has your family failed to get a daily meal?</p> <p>1. None 2. Always 3. Once a week 4. Once a month 5. Others specify</p>
6.3	<p>In the last one month, what was the main source of food for your family?</p> <p>1. None 2. Family garden 3. Handouts from a NGO 4. Handouts from a government institution 5. Buying from the market 6. In-kind exchange for labor 7. Begging 8. Others specify</p>	<p>6.4 Which of the following food stuffs do you currently have in your household? (observe and tick all that is available)</p> <p>1. Cereals (wheat, rice, maize, sorghum, millet etc.) 2. Roots/tubers/plantain (potatoes, cassava, matoke, etc.) 3. Vegetables (fresh and dry) 4. Fruits/fruit juices (fresh and dry) 5. Pulse/Legumes/Nuts (Beans, peas, g-nuts, simsim, etc.)</p>

		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Eggs 7. Dairy products (milk, cheese, yogurt) 8. Meat (goat, beef, lamb, pork, chicken, duck, pigeon, offal) 9. Fish (fresh and dry) 10. Oil//fats (ghee, butter, cooking oil)
6.5	<p>Feeding Practices</p> <p>1. Yes 2. No</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Do you have food all year round? 2. Do you eat at least 3 meals daily? 3. Do you eat as a family/ share food equally? 4. Did you experience a change in availability of food during the COVID-19 lockdown? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● No ● Yes, less food than usual ● Yes, more food than usual ● If yes, explain _____ 	<p>6.6 Household Dietary Food Diversity Score</p> <p>Did you in the last 7 days eat any of the following food types? (1. Yes 2. No)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cereals (wheat, rice, maize, sorghum, millet etc.) 2. Roots/tubers/plantain (potatoes, cassava, matoke, etc.) 3. Vegetables (fresh and dry) 4. Fruits/fruit juices (fresh and dry) 5. Pulse/Legumes/Nuts (Beans, peas, g-nuts, simsim, etc.) 6. Eggs 7. Dairy products (milk, cheese, yogurt) 8. Meat (goat, beef, lamb, pork, chicken, duck, pigeon, offal) 9. Fish (fresh and dry) 10. Oil//fats (ghee, butter, cooking oil)
	Self-esteem, Sexual and Gender-Based Violence	
7.1	Below is a list of statements that describes your general feelings about yourself.	
	1. Strongly Disagree; 2. Disagree; 3. Agree; 4. Strongly Agree	
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself. 2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities. 	

	<p>3. I am able to do things as well as most other people.</p> <p>4. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.</p> <p>5. I take a positive attitude toward myself.</p> <p>6. At times, I think I am no good at all.</p> <p>7. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.</p> <p>8. I certainly feel useless at times.</p> <p>9. I wish I could have more respect for myself.</p> <p>10. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.</p>	
7.2	<p>In the last one month, have you experienced violence because of your ethnicity?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know 	<p>7.3 In the last one month, have you experienced violence in your home??</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know
7.4	<p>If yes to violence experienced because of gender, who was the perpetrator?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Myself 2. Spouse 3. Friend 4. Family member 5. Government official 6. Community leader 7. Others specify 	
	<p>Gender-based violence</p> <p>In the last one month, did you experience any of the following forms of gender-based violence?</p>	
7.51	<p>Physical violence</p> <p>Did you or your partner ever slap/beat or throw something that could harm the other?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● No ● Yes, initiated by me ● Yes, initiated by my spouse ● Not applicable 	<p>7.52 Did you experience this form of violence a lot more during the COVID-19 lockdown compared to the past?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● No ● Yes ● Not applicable

7.61	<p>Sexual violence</p> <p>Did you or your partner physically force the other to have sexual intercourse when you did not want to?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● No ● Yes, initiated by me ● Yes, initiated by my spouse ● Not applicable 	<p>7.62 Did you experience this form of violence a lot more during the COVID-19 lockdown compared to the past?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● No ● Yes ● Not applicable 		
7.71	<p>Emotional violence</p> <p>Did you or your partner insult or make each other feel bad about yourself?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● No ● Yes, initiated by me ● Yes, initiated by my spouse ● Not applicable 	<p>7.62 Did you experience this form of violence a lot more during the Covid-19 lockdown compared to the past?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● No ● Yes ● Not applicable 		
7.81	<p>Economic violence</p> <p>Did you or your partner deny the other money or other resources needed for household requirements?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● No ● Yes, initiated by me ● Yes, initiated by my spouse ● Not applicable 	<p>7.82 Did you experience this form of violence a lot more during the COVID-19 lockdown compared to the past?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● No ● Yes ● Not applicable 		
7.9	Self-assessment of perceptions towards living conditions	Agree	Disagree	No opinion
	1. I know everything I need to know to make it in life			
	2. I feel my rights are respected like any other member of my community			
	3. I do not have any limited access to services such as education, health and markets			

	4. My family is food secure			
	5. I have all opportunities to access education			
	6. My social networks are strong			
	7. I am fully accepted in this community despite my ethnicity			
	8. I have a lot of support from government institutions			
	9. Local government implements programs in support of people of my ethnic background			
	10. I have participated and contributed to local government decisions on matters that affect my ethnic community			
	11. In my community, people of my ethnic group are not restricted from employment			
	12. In my community, people of my ethnic group are not restricted from education			
	13. In my community, people of my ethnic group are not restricted from healthcare			
	14. I feel my community and I have a strong voice to advocate for service delivery			
	15. I am currently benefiting from the government program as a marginalized ethnic group			
	Development interventions and policy			
8.1	<p>Are you a beneficiary of any development intervention?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know 	8.2	<p>If yes, which area of support are you benefiting from?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Education 2. Employment 3. Health 4. Land 5. Housing 6. Rights advocacy 	

		<p>7. Others specify _____ —</p>
8.3	<p>Do you know of any government policy on the lives of Indigenous People?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know 	<p>8.4 If yes, which policies are you aware of?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. _____

STAKEHOLDER CONSULTATIONS GUIDE

(Café Method)

INTRODUCTION

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the study on Understanding the Marginalized Indigenous Batwa People of southwestern Uganda. We are now set to begin our discussion. Let us introduce ourselves so we get to know who is participating in this discussion. We are _____ from MUST and we are with you today to lead the discussion. We have a team of Research Assistants _____ who will be taking notes during the discussion. As we mentioned, the entire session will be audio-recorded. To protect everyone's privacy, we will use first names only in referring to individuals. Your response will not be linked to you personally, so feel free to say whatever is on your mind. Let's begin on this side [moderator points to the right side]. Please tell us your name, where you come from and your expectations from this discussion. We shall also request you to consent by signing or thumb printing on the forms.

Guidelines for the consultation meeting

We are from different Batwa communities, sectors and agencies with a common identifier of being people that have experience with Batwa community livelihoods. We are going to undertake an interactive exercise, but we shall begin by working in small groups which will be formed based on the following development concerns for the Batwa community:

- Local governance (participation in local decision making, rights and leadership)
- Education (Formal and informal-skills development)
- Housing
- Markets
- Health and food and nutrition practices
- Elderly, children, women and youth empowerment
- Gender relations
- Conservation (environment, land, culture and heritage)
- Economic activities (agriculture, businesses, art and craft, music dance and drama...)

Each one of you, will be allocated to a group that identifies with their experience and expertise and where they contribute most. The groups cover a wide range of stakeholders at the district level that include the district technical team, political leaders, NGOs working on issues relating Indigenous Batwa, religious leaders, the Batwa community leaders including the youth and representatives from Uganda Wildlife Authority and/or Uganda Forest Authority. In each group we shall have a maximum of 20 people and a minimum of 10 people. The following are the discussion themes and respective questions:

	Sector/Theme	Discussion guide questions
1	Social services <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Health and Nutrition ● Housing ● Education ● Employment ● Markets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Generally, how are social services in this district? ○ Focusing on the Batwa community, what is the state of the social services (health and nutrition, education, housing, worship, markets, social support groups) ○ What challenges do the Batwa Communities encounter in accessing and utilizing social services? (Probe for exclusion, stigma and rejection, cost...) ○ What possible strategies and activities can/should be put in place to mitigate/address the challenges encountered by the Batwa Communities in accessing and utilizing social services?
2	Tradition and Identity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Heritage ● Culture ● Land ● Gender 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Who are the Batwa? ○ How do you describe their cultural identity? ○ What are their unique cultural/traditional issues? ○ What do you know about their heritage? ○ What is the status of their land ownership? How was it before leaving the forests? ○ What do you know about gender among the Batwa? (probe for differences in gender relations, roles, GBV, income, cultural obligations)
3	Governance Issues <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Participation ● Human Rights ● Engagement in Economic activities ● Empowerment ● Leadership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● How are Batwa communities represented within the local governance structures (from village/LC I level)? ● How do the Batwa community participate in decision making processes that affect their livelihoods? ● What are the human rights questions/concerns for the Batwa Communities? (probe for violations of human rights) ● How can the Batwa communities be optimally represented in governance systems and processes? (probe for participation in economic activities)

Recommendations

- What new strategies would you undertake to realize sustainable positive impact in your area of focus? (probe for how and why)

Effects of COVID-19

- In your opinion, how has COVID-19 lockdown affected the Batwa community?
What aspects of their life do you find most affected and why?

We encourage members to bring examples for illustrations

You will choose one person to take note of all the discussions and another to lead the discussion. All people should be given an opportunity to share. After that you will present what you have discussed in a bigger group for critique and feedback.

The Voices of Indigenous Peoples of Uganda- Batwa

Policy Level Interviews - KIIs

Introduction: Thank you for agreeing to participate in the study on Understanding the Marginalized Indigenous Batwa People of southwestern Uganda. We are now set to begin our discussion/interview. Let us introduce ourselves so we get to know who is participating in this discussion. We are _____ from MUST and we are with you today to lead the discussion. We have a team of research assistants _____ who will be taking notes during the discussion. As we mentioned, the entire session will be audio-recorded. Your response will not be linked to you personally, so feel free to say whatever is on your mind. Please tell us your name and your position. We shall also request you to consent by signing or thumb printing on the consent forms, you can also consent by email.

1. Office of the Prime Minister (OPM)

KI: Officer(s) in charge of Indigenous communities

General Questions

- **What is in place for Minority Indigenous Groups (MIGs) in terms of policy and development programs?**
 - Ask about MIGs and how the office assists them?
 - Their numbers and location?
 - Policy statements /documents about MIGs?
- **How do policies and development agenda integrate the MIGs development issues?**
 - Ask about other Ministries Departments and Agencies (MDAs) that Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) coordinates that deal/handle the issues of the Marginalized Indigenous Groups (MIGs)
 - National Development Plan (NDP) III and Local Government (LG) Plans

Specific Question on the Batwa

(a) Eviction:

- What policy guided the eviction of the Batwa from the forest?
 - How was the process planned and executed?
 - Who were the actors involved in the process and their role?

(b) Settlement

- How were they re-settled?
- Any special consideration/affirmative action for these people?

(c). Current roles:

- What is your current role/responsibility/mandate to the Indigenous persons especially the Batwa of southwestern Uganda?

(d). Batwa settlement/community leadership system

- How have their own leadership structures been recognized among their neighboring communities but not legally; how is this structure linked to the legal counsel, how legal is it?
- Why use a structure that isn't recognized?

(e). Vulnerability and marginalization

- There is information indicating that the Batwa, as one of the MIGs, are vulnerable and marginalized. What is your comment?
 - *Probe for how, why are they vulnerable and marginalized?*
- Who is marginalizing them and why?
- What has been done to reduce their vulnerability and marginalization?
 - Probe for future direction/what can be done?

2. Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development (MGLSD)

KI: Permanent Secretary

The Minister

General questions:

- What are your roles and mandates as far as MIGs are concerned?
- Previous and current development activities for MIGs in Uganda?
- What lessons learned
 - Success, failures/challenges
 - Give examples

Specific Questions

- Eviction and resettlement of the Batwa people (*probe for policies/legislations*)
- Draft National Affirmative Action Programme for Indigenous People in Uganda (NAAP)
 - What aspects does NAAP capture?
 - *Probe for: representation, access to social services (education, health, water....)*
- Ongoing programs for Indigenous Peoples and communities (a committee of 23

- persons- Chairperson is Permanent Secretary (P/s) MGLSD
 - *Probe for the petition on Batwa land rights*
 - *Functionality of the committee*
- Affirmative action/policy for the Minority Indigenous Groups (MIGs) especially the Batwa
 - Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV)
 - Land issues
 - International day of the Indigenous groups
- MIGs' culture:
 - Probe for language, heritage, health, feeding practices, ceremonies/rituals -marriage, death, religious...

Vulnerability and marginalization

- There is information indicating that the Batwa, as one of MIGs, are vulnerable and marginalized. What is your comment?
 - *Probe for how, why are they vulnerable and marginalized?*
- Who is marginalizing them and why?
- What has been done to reduce their vulnerability and marginalization?
 - Probe for future direction/what can be done?

As a Ministry, how do you ensure that the rights of MIGs are protected?

- Probe for land rights, education, against discrimination, eviction, employment

3. Uganda Wildlife Authority, NFA and Uganda Tourism Board

KIs: EDs (UWA, NFA & UTB)

General questions:

- What are your roles and mandates as far as MIGs in your area of operation are concerned?
- How do you relate/co-exist with the MIGs in the area of your operation?
 - *Probe for conservation, tourism and protection of the forests*

Specific Questions (on Eviction, resettlement and support services)

(a). Eviction

- What policy guided the eviction of the Batwa from the forest?
 - How was the process planned and executed?
 - What were the actors involved in the process and their role?
 - Who led the process?

(b). Settlement

- How were they re-settled?
- Any special consideration/affirmative action for these people?

(c). Benefits from the forests/NP and their participation

- How are the Batwa benefiting from the forest/NP?
- Any special projects/programs/interventions for them?
- How do Batwa participate in the affairs/activities concerning the forest/NP?
- What are their activities in the forest when they go there, do they damage it or are their activities safe?

(d). Activities before Eviction

- Before they were evicted from the forest, were there tourism and conservation activities taking place?
- Was there a plan to see how they could live in the forest since they had maintained the eco-balance in it?

(e). Vulnerability and Marginalization

- There is information that associates gazettement and forest conservation with the marginalization of Batwa, what is your comment?
 - *Probe for what they are doing about it*
 - *Revenue benefit sharing*
 - *Engagement of Batwa in tourism/ Batwa trials*

4. Parliament of Uganda

KIs (Chairperson of the relevant Committee- SIGs)

General questions:

- What are your roles and mandates as far as MIGs are concerned?
- Previous and current development activities for MIGs in Uganda
- What lessons were learned?
 - Success, failures/challenges
 - Give examples

Specific question:

- Legislation regarding the MIGs
- Bodies responsible for their affairs,
- Specific policy/laws for the MIGs especially the Batwa,
- What the committee and parliament are doing for the plight of the Batwa (probe for land act, natural resources, mining.....)
- How are the rights of Batwa being advocated for?
- Petition about Batwa land rights?
- International day of the Indigenous groups?
- How do you ensure that the rights of MIGs are protected?
 - Probe for land rights, education, against discrimination, eviction, employment

5. Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC)

KII: ED

General Questions:

- What are your roles and mandates as far as MIGs are concerned?
- Previous and current development activities for MIGs in Uganda
- What lessons were learned?
 - Success, failures/challenges
 - Give examples
- As a Commission, how do you ensure that the rights of MIGs are protected?
 - Probe for land rights, education, against discrimination, eviction, employment

Specific Questions:

- What challenges have MIGs faced in Uganda?
 - Probe for vulnerability, marginalization: their causes, effects, and perpetrators
- As a government Agency, how have you responded to the above?
- What other MDAs do you work with to handle the issues of MIGs?

- International day of the Indigenous Groups
 - When is it celebrated?
 - Why is it celebrated?
- Strategy as far as MIGs are concerned?
 - Probe for certificate of inclusion like for gender?

6. USAID- Uganda Mission

KIs: Persons responsible for the program

General Questions:

- What is the policy of US in promoting the rights of Indigenous People?
 - How is it being implemented?
- How do you integrate the issues of MIGs into your development agenda in Uganda?

Specific Questions:

- How does the mission support the MIGs in Uganda?
 - Are there specific programs/interventions for MIGs implemented by the mission in Uganda?
- What is your strategic direction and program in relation to MIGs?
- How do you coordinate with the Government of Uganda in relation to MIGs' issues?

7. Sub-Counties –Kayonza, BMCT, Kinkizi Diocese, Diocese of Muhabura (DOMU), AICM

KIIs:

- Chairperson LC III (Kayonza)
- BMCT- Coordinator,
- Kinkizi Diocese- Diocesan secretary
- DOMU- Diocesan Secretary
- AICM- Director/ Coordinator,

General Questions:

Our findings indicate you are a key stakeholder in the question of land as a development factor among the Batwa. We request that you clarify some of the following issues on land ownership and utilization:

Specific Questions:

Land Issues:

- How was the land that the Batwa stay on acquired?
- Who owns the land where the Batwa stay as a community/settlement?
 - Who keeps the land titles/agreement?
 - The time has expired, why are you still holding them?
 - Can we have a look at and copies of the land titles?
 - Why are the Batwa not given photocopies?
- What are the rights of Batwa regarding the utilization of the land?
 - Probe for use of land, selling/ leasing/hiring out, bequeathing.....
- What are the challenges and trends when it comes to land utilization for the Batwa?

8. Association of organization by MIGs (National Umbrella organization)

KIIs: EDs

General Questions:

- What is your role and contributions in relation to MIGs?
- What are your concerns as far as development of MIGs are?
- How do you relate with other agencies that work with MIGs?

Specific Questions:

- Tells us about the issues concerning the MIGs:
 - *Probe for issues of eviction, resettlement and support services*
 - *Land issues*
- What has been your role/contributions to MIGs?
 - What services do they offer to MIGs?

Vulnerability and Marginalization

- There is information indicating that the MIGs are vulnerable and marginalized. What is your comment?
 - Probe for how, why are they vulnerable and marginalized
- Who is marginalizing them and why?
- What has been done to reduce their vulnerability and marginalization?

**UNDERSTANDING THE MARGINALIZED INDIGENOUS BATWA PEOPLE OF
SOUTH-WESTERN UGANDA****KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE**

Date of interview: ____ / ____ / ____

Name of district/agency: _____

Venue: _____

Language of interview: _____

Initials of the respondent: _____

Position of the respondent: _____

Time started: _____ Time ended: _____

KII identifier: _____

Note: The **KII identifier** should be composed of the initials KII followed by the name of the district/agency where the interview took place (first 3 digits), date of interview in the format *yy/mm/dd*, interviewer number (3 digits) assigned cumulatively and the number of KII assigned cumulatively. For example, if the first KII was done on March 4th, 2020 in the Ministry of Gender Labor and Social Development by Elizabeth Kemigisha who number is 01 and it is her first KII; this KII's identifier should be in the form: **KII/MOG/20/03/04/01/01**.

TEAM INTRODUCTION

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the study on Understanding the Marginalized Indigenous Batwa People of southwestern Uganda. We are now set to begin our discussion. Let us introduce ourselves so we get to know who is participating in this discussion. I am _____ and I am with you today to lead the discussion. My colleague _____ will be taking notes during the discussion. As I mentioned, the entire session will be audio-recorded. To protect everyone's privacy, we will use first names only in referring to individuals. Your response will not be linked to you personally, so feel free to say whatever is on your mind. Let's begin on this side [moderator points to the right side]. Please tell us your name, where you come from and your expectations from this discussion. We will go around like this [moderator demonstrates in a clockwise fashion] until each of us has introduced him/herself.

Guidelines for the interviewer

- The interview should ensure it covers all of the following key thematic areas and uses the probes in accordance with the position of the interviewee.
- The probes are to guide and to inquire from the respondents for more details with examples such as programs, activities and policies.
- Pay attention and do not be repetitive whenever you notice the respondent already talked about the matter, you can ask for explanation or more details on the issue under discussion.
- For matters where the respondents can provide documents such as policy and guidelines, please request that they are provided.
- Expected key informants include district technical and political leaders, political representatives at the district level, UWA, commissioners and heads of committees and departments at the national level.

Theme 1: Being an Indigenous person

- a) What do you know about Indigenous People? Who are they and what are their common characteristics?
 - i. Probe 1: for Batwa as an Indigenous group.
 - ii. Probe 2: What makes the Batwa an Indigenous group? (characteristics of the Batwa, their identity with the forest)

Theme 2: Vulnerability of Indigenous People

- a) How vulnerable are Indigenous People? What makes them vulnerable and why? (probe for how these vulnerabilities are associated with development initiatives such as conservation, tourism, land laws, environment protection, etc.)
- b) In what ways are these vulnerabilities being addressed by different stakeholders (probe for solutions/interventions from government, NGOs, CBOs, other stakeholders)

Theme 3: Sources of livelihoods for the Batwa community

- a) What are the most common sources of livelihood for Batwa communities?
 - i. Probe for how the Batwa community livelihood sources differ from other communities
 - ii. Probe for how these differences compromise their livelihood security

Theme 4: Batwa Indigenous people and community development

- Which community development activities are you implementing that are targeted towards the Batwa community?
 - Probe for how the Batwa community receive and perceive these development activities
- What are the successes of these development activities?
- What are challenges that you face while implementing these development activities?
- Which other stakeholders are working with the Batwa community?
 - Probe for the development activities that are implemented by these stakeholders.

Theme 5: Policy and the rights of Indigenous people

- a) What policies, frameworks and guidelines are available while working with Indigenous people like the Batwa?
 - i. Probe for policies, frameworks and guidelines that are relevant for and used by the institution while working with the Batwa community
- b) How have these policies, frameworks and guidelines translated into development programming for the Batwa?
- c) What gaps do you find in these policies, frameworks and guidelines?
- d) What policy recommendations would you propose for the Batwa and other Indigenous Peoples and why?

**UNDERSTANDING MARGINALIZATION OF THE BATWA PEOPLE IN SW
UGANDA****FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE WITH BATWA COMMUNITY
MEMBERS**

Date of interview: _____ / _____ / _____

Name of district: _____

Venue: _____

Language of interview: _____

Number of participants: _____

Time started: _____ Time ended: _____

FGD identifier: _____

Note: The **FGD identifier** should be composed of the initials FGD followed by the name of the district where the interview took place (first three letters), date of interview in the format *yy/mm/dd* and FGD number (3 digits) assigned cumulatively. For example, if the first FGD was done on March 4th, 2020 in Kanungu district; this FGD's identifier should be in the form: **FGD/KAN/20/03/04/001**.

TEAM INTRODUCTION

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the study on Understanding the Marginalized Indigenous Batwa People of southwestern Uganda. We are now ready to begin our discussion. Let us introduce ourselves so we get to know who is participating in this discussion. I am _____ and I am with you today to lead the discussion. My colleague _____ will be taking notes during the discussion. As I mentioned, the entire session will be audio-recorded. To protect everyone's privacy, we will use first names only in referring to individuals. Your response will not be linked to you personally, so feel free to say whatever is on your mind. Let's begin on this side [moderator points to the right side]. Please tell us your name, where you come from and your expectations from this discussion. We will go around like this [moderator demonstrates in a clockwise fashion] until each of us has introduced him/herself.

GROUND RULES

Before we begin, let's remind ourselves of the following rules that each of us should respect in order to have a meaningful discussion:

1. We would like to encourage each person here to freely contribute to the discussion, but most importantly, to stick to the subject being discussed. We will be glad if we let only one person to speak at a time. We would like to remind you to respect each other's privacy; please don't tell other people who are not here what any person has said here.
2. In our discussion today, please keep in mind that we are interested in your opinions and perspectives. We would like to know what you think, what you think other people think, and what you know other people have experienced. The purpose of this discussion is not to talk about your own personal experiences. However, if you feel you have had your own personal experiences that are relevant to the discussion and that you are comfortable talking about, you are welcome to share this information. In summary, if we get on a topic, and you or someone you know has had an experience related to the topic, it would be most appreciated if you could share that story – but you don't have to.
3. There is no need to raise hands. Please speak right up from your seat but also respect others when they are talking. This discussion will last up to two hours. Is there anyone who can't stay for the duration of the discussion? Are there any questions before we begin?

We would like to audio-record this discussion. The recording is only to help us make sure we "hear" everything that is said and to take good notes. Only people who are working on this project will ever hear any of the recordings or read the notes we take. After the study and all planned data analyses have been completed, these tapes will be destroyed. Does anyone have any objections to being tape-recorded?

Thank you for your attention, we can now begin the discussion.

Part 1: Development concerns for the Batwa communities

- a) Please tell us about your general development as Batwa people. Please tell us what your life is like generally (*Probe for: where the Batwa community came from, Batwa leadership structure, cultural practices of Batwa, such as cultural ceremonies, taboos, marriage processes, childbirth and initiation practices, household structure, livelihoods, roles, etc.*).

- b) Please tell us what has changed about your history and how has it affected your way of living? (*Probe for changes in the following aspects: Batwa leadership structure, cultural practices, such as cultural ceremonies, taboos, marriage processes, childbirth and initiation practices, household structure, livelihoods, roles, etc.*).

Part 2: Marginalization of Batwa people and stakeholders involved in addressing marginalization

- a) Tell us the process for you (the Batwa) to access services provided in the community. (*Probe for education, health, water, land, agricultural inputs, governance, leadership etc.*)
- b) What hinders the Batwa from accessing services provided to other communities in the region? (*Probe for who is marginalizing them, how are they marginalized, and why are they marginalized- themselves, neighbors or institutions*)
- c) How has access to services for the Batwa changed over time? (*Probe for changes in access to available services such as production inputs, health, education, water, land, governance, leadership etc.*)
- d) What challenges have persisted among the Batwa in this community? (*Probe for underlying reasons driving the persistence of these challenges.*)
- e) How have the development challenges among Batwa communities been addressed? (*Probe for the government, community-based organizations, NGOs and other stakeholders working with the Batwa. Probe for opportunities that are available for the Batwa.*)
- f) Who are the main contributors to the Batwa development? (*probe for which NGOs, role of government, and community-based organizations, their roles and contributions.*)
- g) What have been some of the successes with addressing the challenges of the Batwa? (*Probe for specific case scenarios.*)
- h) In your opinion, what should be done to address the forms of marginalization faced by the Batwa? (*Probe for who should address them and the role of the Batwa in addressing these issues.*)

Part 3: The identities of the Batwa people and their participation in community-based programs

- a) Who are you as Batwa people? (*Probe for what the Batwa people value, how they define themselves and what they treasure most. Probe for cultural values of the Batwa people.*)
- b) How are Batwa represented in leadership positions? (*Probe for how decisions are made about Batwa development*)
- c) What is the leadership structure of the Batwa people? (*Probe for how Batwa are represented*)
- d) Describe the social networks of the Batwa community beyond your immediate community where you live
- e) How are the Batwa integrated in leadership and community programs within the host communities?
- f) What would development look like for you as a Mutwa? (*Probe for the Batwa development priorities, and how Batwa participate in decision-making and informed consent for development.*)

Part 6: General inquiry into the implications of COVID-19 lockdown?

- a) What do you know about COVID-19?
- b) How did the COVID-19 restrictions of social distancing and lockdown affect the Batwa community? (*Probe for positive and negative effects on their sources of income, access to health care, if it has had any gender impact.*)