COMMERCIAL SUGARCANE FARMING AND RURAL YOUTH LIVELIHOODS IN EASTERN UGANDA

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A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH AND GRADUATE TRAINING IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN SOCIOLOGY OF MAKERERE UNIVERSITY AND THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN SOCIAL WORK OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

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Declaration

I, Kassim Mwanika, hereby declare that this thesis is my original work. Neither part of it nor its content has been submitted to any College, School or University for award of a diploma or degree. This thesis is therefore being submitted for the first time in partial fulfilment for the requirements for the award of a degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology of Makerere University and Doctor of Social Work of the University of Gothenburg.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my wife Pamela Kamugo and our children Shareefah Mugala, Rasheedah Nafuna and Remmy Nasiyo.

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Acronyms

ABEK:	Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja
BSGA:	Busoga Sugarcane Out-growers Association
BSR:	Busoga Sub-region
CA:	Capability Approach
CAO:	Chief Administrative Officer
CDO	Community Development Officer
COPE:	Complementary Opportunities in Primary Education
CRS:	Corporate Social Responsibility
DLG:	District Local Government
DFID:	Department for International Development
EE:	Exchange Entitlements
FGDs:	Focus Group Discussions
FAO:	Food and Agriculture Organization
IFAD:	International Fund for Agricultural Development
Kgs:	Kilograms
KII:	Key Informant Interview
Kms:	Kilometres
KTC:	Kakira Town Council
LC:	Local Council
MAKSSREC:	Makerere University School of Social Sciences Research and Ethics Committee
MoGLSD:	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
NCST:	National Council for Science and Technology
NDP:	National Development Plan
IFAD:	International Fund for Agriculture Development
OAU:	Organization of African Unity
OECD:	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PC:	Parish Chief
RA:	Research Assistant
ROSCAs:	Rotating Savings and Credit Associations
SACCOs:	Savings and Credit Cooperative Organizations
SGDs:	Sustainable Development Goals
Shs:	Shillings
SLA:	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
SAS:	Senior Assistant Secretary
SCOUL:	Sugar Corporation of Uganda limited
SPEP:	Sugarcane Production Enhancement Project
UBOS:	Uganda National Bureau of Statistics
UGX:	Uganda Shillings
UNCST:	Uganda National Council for Science and Technology
UPE:	Universal Primary Education
USE:	Universal Secondary Education
USD:	United States Dollar

Abstract

Commercial farming is a pathway for pro-poor growth because of its economic linkages such as jobs and incomes. However, most of the available studies of commercial farming are largely generic, leaving a dearth of evidence about what it means for population categories such as the youth. Anchored in a capitalist development lens, this study examined the implications of sugarcane farming for rural youth livelihoods in Eastern Uganda. Using a structured questionnaire, interviews and Focus Group Discussions and observation checklists, both quantitative and qualitative data was collected about youth involvement in sugarcane farming, with particular attention to the implications for youth livelihoods and enhancing their outcomes from sugarcane farming. The study reveals a suboptimal impact of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods in Busoga. Due to a lack of requisite resources, the youth are incorporated into sugarcane farming through circuits of labour, which are hinged on land and financial constraints. Their proletariat class exposes the youth to imperatives of dialectical labour relations such as arbitrary exploitation, and harsh working conditions in physically demanding and low paying sugarcane jobs. Rather than solving youth livelihood vulnerabilities, sugarcane farming is an enclave for well-off groups and local compradors. Thus access to sugarcane jobs seldom guarantees decent youth livelihoods manifested by low purchasing power to acquire assets, and afford education and food. The situation is exacerbated by structural constraints such as a lack of labour regulation and sugarcane price volatility which affect the trickle-down effects of sugarcane farming on the youth. Commercial farming should be coupled with mechanisms that address individual youth constraints and the structural traps embedded in capitalist large-scale farming.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

> *"For millennia, human beings have provided for their material needs by working the land"* (Wood 1998:2).

The statement above underscores the unwavering relationship between farming and human survival. The centrality of farming forced the human race into preoccupations of 'improvement' and productivity for profit, resulting in production for market which became modern day commercial farming (Wood 1998). The history of agrarian reforms attributes the rise of commercial farming to the advantages of large-scale production such as forward and backward linkages and pathways for pro-poor growth. As such, many countries including Uganda believe in commercial farming as a process that engenders opportunities for poverty reduction. Using sugarcane farming in Busoga sub-region, this study sought to gain specific understandings of how a capitalist model of farming can be a solution to the socioeconomic livelihood challenges of rural youth in Uganda.

Youth is often used in reference to teenage groups or persons younger than 18 or 30 years, especially in the Western context. For conceptual clarity, youth in this study is applied in African and Ugandan contexts to denote young people or young adults. In this study, youth denotes persons aged between 18 and 30 years[1] (National Youth Council Act 1993). Livelihood denotes people's means of living (Chambers and Conway 1991). Furthermore, commercial farming is used to refer to market-based farming (Leavy and Poulton 2007, Von Braun 1995). This study is a case of capitalist development as a strategy for poverty reduction; capitalist in the sense that production for market embodies capitalism which engenders market forces (Wood 1998). Unlike generic studies, this research took both a sociological and social work strand, focusing on rural youth livelihood challenges and how sugarcane farming addresses questions of youth poverty and vulnerability.

[1] Section 1 (Interpretation section) of the National Youth Council Act Cap 319, Laws of Uganda.

1.1 Background to the problem

Farming is a significant part of human history and modern development both in developed and developing countries. For developing countries, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), farming is the main source of livelihood as the majority of the populations live in rural areas where farming provides food, income and employment (Diao et al. 2007, Hazell and Roell 1983, Ravallion and Datt 1996). In a majority of developing countries, farming is important to both sustenance and poverty reduction because the majority of their populations are engaged either as farmers, labourers or both. Theoretically, the significance of farming is embedded in meeting food needs, raw materials, surplus labour, foreign exchange, and backward and forward linkages such as industrialization (Johnston 1970, Johnstone and Mellor 1961, Lewis 1954). Given the significance of farming, the longstanding orthodoxy is that increased investment in agriculture leads to substantial development in poor countries (Hazell and Roell 1983) by producing for the market and creating a multiplier effect of agro-industrial or agrarian capitalism.

Agrarian capitalism emerged from the enhancement of agriculture production, which embodies commercial farming and capitalism because of production for profit (Wood 1998). Traces of commercial farming do not represent any newness, but explicitly depict commercial farming as a foreign scheme. Commercial farming was originally part of the European imperialist ideological agenda for the metropolitan exploitation of African labour and land resources to meet demands for raw materials by the industrial revolution (Araghi 2003, Austin 2010, Settles 1996). The imperialist agenda was implemented through the replacement and introduction of traditional farm systems with Western models of farming in which cash crops cultivated trade links and provided sources of revenue for colonial administrations. This makes commercial farming a part of the neo-liberal agenda embedded in North-South relations.

Global North-South agrarian relations are manifested in heightened competition among North-based Transnational Corporations (TNCs) for large-scale farming empires in the South. This new invasion of the South embodies a 19th century imperialism, which constitutes a ‘second colonialism’ manifested in land enclosures concealed in illusory schemes of pro-poor rural development, tax revenue and rent-seeking (Araghi 2003, Baglioni and Gibbon 2013, Borras Jr and Franco 2012, McMichael 2012). Due to its embeddedness in the neo-liberal agenda, it was envisioned that African development would depend on European models of farming (Jamal 1993), an orthodoxy held by international development agencies which provide support

for ‘capitalist induced’ structural transformation as strategies for poverty reduction in developing countries (World Bank 2018). With the majority of developing countries’ populations based in rural areas, commercial farming is viewed as a pathway to poverty reduction. Compared to subsistence farming, commercial farming has a greater impact on poverty reduction through higher incomes and employment benefits (Poulton et al. 2008, Tiffen and Mortimore 1990). As such, commercial farming is a key agenda, entrenched in the poverty reduction strategies of SSA countries such as Uganda.

In Uganda, commercial farming is rooted in British imperialist policies of a monetary economy. This monetization involved the replacement of traditional farming methods with cash crops embedded in Western models of market and industrial production. The pioneer cash crops included tea, coffee and cotton, which gradually spread across Uganda (Ahluwalia 1995, Mamdani 1987). By the 1930s, cotton had covered northern Uganda, Bunyoro, Ankole, Busoga and other remote parts of Uganda, while coffee had spread beyond the Lake Victoria region (de Haas 2014, Nayenga 1981). Over time, coffee and cotton became dominant and the backbone of Uganda’s commercial farming sector. To date, commercial farming remains a core aspect of Uganda’s development agenda, envisioned to be a sector driving both poverty reduction (National Planning Authority 2015) as well as youth livelihoods.

Defined as a means of living, livelihood denotes capabilities, material and social assets, activities and stocks, and cash resources that support one’s needs (Chambers and Conway 1992). The focus on youth livelihoods stems from the global youth bulge, namely a demographic characteristic where young adults dominate a population structure (Lin 2012) and most importantly, its negative attendant livelihood challenges. The youth dominate the global population, especially in Africa which accounts for 19 per cent of the global youth population (United Nations 2015). The high numbers of the youth in Africa are coupled with the challenges of a lack of skills and high unemployment which are not in line with young people’s aspirations of decent livelihoods (Mabala 2011, OECD Development Centre 2018). The majority of the youth in Africa live in rural areas and depend mainly on farming, which is typical of Uganda’s demographic features. Constituting 22.5 per cent of Uganda’s population, the youth are categorically vulnerable in terms of living in rural areas, having low incomes, a lack of livelihood assets and education skills, and unemployment (Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development 2001, Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2017c). These characteristics not only

mirror the fundamental problem of youth livelihoods in Africa but also underscore the need for urgent intervention.

Efforts to address the youth livelihood challenges in Africa revolve around farming because the majority of the youth live in rural areas. In this case, farming is the most accessible and resilient, and the leading activity for promoting rural youth livelihoods through job creation and rural development initiatives (Kokanova 2013, Kristensen and Birch-Thomsen 2013, Williams and Pompa 2017). Hence, agricultural transformation is seen as a boost for productivity, incomes, jobs and harvesting the "youth dividend" (Brooks et al. 2013, Proctor and Lucchesi 2012). This move has positive implications for both the youth and the farming sector. On the one hand, commercial farming is an opportunity for the youth to get jobs and incomes, and on the other hand, the agricultural sector benefits from the complementary and transformative impact of an energetic youth workforce (Brooks et al. 2013). In Uganda, it is believed that commercial farming bears solutions to youth livelihood challenges of jobs and incomes (State House 2018). However, for agriculture to attract the youth, it should be profitable and competitive in order to deliver the growth needed for an evidently fragile population (Brooks et al. 2013). Building on aspects of interest, the question of how a capitalist model of farming can be a working strategy for young people is pertinent. This question was pursued using sugarcane, a prototype of commercial farming in Eastern Uganda.

Sugarcane is a strategic crop contributing to global individual and industrial sugar needs (International Biotechnology Outreach 2017, Sulaiman, Abdulsalam and Damisa 2015). The high demand for sugar products has contributed to the growth and expansion of the sugarcane industry, with its production chains constituting livelihood support mechanisms. In Africa, sugarcane is one of the dominant estate crops supporting livelihoods through employment, incomes, farmer support and institutional development (Baumman 2000, Cockburn et al. 2014, Maloa 2001, Richardson 2010). Notwithstanding these different livelihood support mechanisms, sugarcane farming has underlying issues such as disruption of the food crop production, population dispossession and displacement, creating a dependency syndrome, the exploitation of workers and abetting child labour (Chebii 1993, de Menezes, da Silva and Cover 2012, International Plant Biotechnology Outreach 2017, Martiniello 2017, Richardson 2010, Schwarzbach and Richardson 2015). Evidently, sugarcane farming has mixed livelihood implications, but this evidence is generic and from settings outside Uganda and seldom draws on specific population categories. As such, gaining a specific understanding of sugarcane

farming and youth livelihoods requires a group-specific study and a grasp of the structure of sugarcane farming both in Uganda and Africa.

In SSA, sugarcane farming is dominated by Multinational Corporations (MNCs) (Hess et al. 2016). The domination by MNCs is a testimony to sugarcane farming's entrenchment in global capital. Entrenchment in global capital is good for community prosperity but it also comes with the pains of undercutting competitors and exacerbating spirals of poverty due to the imperatives of capitalism and market dynamics (Kingsbury 2004). The intertwined connectedness of commercial farming with global capitalism raises questions regarding commercial farming in relation to poverty reduction because such projects constitute what Andre Gunder Frank termed dependent development or 'development of underdevelopment' which prospers at the expense of the indigenous people (Frank 1966c, Frank 1978). Consequently, the indigenous people end up as estate workers in evidently low-quality jobs characterised by poor remuneration (Gibbon 2011, Glover and Jones 2016, Hurst, Termine and Karl 2005). Being a business model of farming, the process is largely profit-motivated and often times bypasses the local poor by facilitating profit accumulation, increasing competition, and promoting powerful groups that thrive at the expense of the indigenous economy (Matthews 1988b).

Being a business model of farming, the question is whether promoting a business model of farming constitutes a sweet deal for wealthy groups or a bitter reality for the youth. Central to this question is the control of the sugar industry by multinational corporations, which determine the *modus operandi*. Uganda's sugarcane industry is dominated by multinational corporations owned by Indians. Following the plummeting prices and decline of cotton profitability caused by the early 1900s' economic depression, Indians shifted to sugarcane farming which gradually transformed into commercial production by 1921 (Ahluwalia 1995, Martiniello 2017). To date, sugarcane is one of the largest crops in Uganda. Compared to tea, which is concentrated in central and western Uganda, sugarcane is spread across Central, Central-West, Northern and Eastern Uganda wherein lies the Busoga sub-region. It is against this background that this study sought to examine what commercial sugarcane farming means for youth livelihoods. Using Marxist theory, the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and the Capability Approach, this study aimed to gain a clear understanding of commercial farming as a strategy for rural youth jobs, income, quality of life, agency and general youth livelihoods.

1.2 Problem Statement

There is mixed evidence about commercial farming and local livelihoods. Whereas commercial projects such as sugarcane farming support rural livelihoods through job and income linkages, the process is entrenched in the dynamics of capitalism which has a limited impact on local livelihoods. However, most of the studies about sugarcane farming (de Menezes, da Silva and Cover 2012, Mwavu et al. 2018, Richardson 2010, Veldman and Lankhorst 2011) seldom focus on young people. Yet, some of the existing studies about sugarcane farming and young people are concerned with child labour (International Labour Organisation 2017, Schwarzbach and Richardson 2015), thus leaving a dearth of knowledge regarding what it means for youth livelihoods. Given the massive support that development actors have given to the benign role of commercial farming, and even more so as a strategy for youth livelihoods, the need for studies that illuminate the implications of commercial farming on youth livelihoods cannot be overemphasized. As such, this study aimed to gain a specific understanding of how sectoral interventions based on a business-led model of farming can be pro-poor, and constitute appropriate strategies for rural youth livelihoods in Uganda. This was objectively answered using the opinions of the youth involved in sugarcane farming, the modes of engagement in sugarcane farming, and the impact of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods.

1.3 Objectives of the study

1. 3.1 Main objective

The main objective of this study was to examine the impact of sugarcane farming on rural youth livelihoods in Busoga sub-region.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives were:

i) To explore the nature of youth involvement in commercial sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region.
ii) To assess the contributions of sugarcane farming to youth livelihoods in the Busoga sub-region.
iii) To identify ways of maximizing livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region.

1.4 Research Questions

The research questions correspond to the respective specific objectives of the study as indicated below:

i) What is the nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming?

- How are the youth involved in sugarcane farming?
- What explains the nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming?
- What are the drivers and motivations for youth involvement in sugarcane farming?

ii) What are the implications of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods in Busoga?
- How does sugarcane farming contribute to youth livelihoods?
- How does sugarcane farming constrain youth livelihoods?
- What are the youth opinions of commercial sugarcane and food crop farming in relation to livelihoods?
- How can the case of sugarcane farming and its effect on youth livelihoods be understood, interpreted and described?

iii) What are the different mechanisms for enhancing youth benefits and livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming?
- What are the individual constraints of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods in the Busoga sub-region?
- What are the structural limitations on the trickle-down effects of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods in the Busoga sub-region?
- How can the individual and structural constraints be addressed to enhance youth livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming?

The above questions form the bases from which the questions in the data collections tools such as the structured youth questionnaire, interview and focus group discussion guides were derived as indicated in Appendix III, IV and V.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study is embedded in the agriculture-rural livelihoods nexus. This study is significant for two reasons. One is that existing scholarship on sugarcane farming seldom focuses on specific population categories such as the youth. As such, there is a dearth of scientific evidence regarding what sugarcane farming means for youth livelihoods. As shown earlier, some of the existing empirical evidence focuses mainly on sugarcane farming and child labour (International Labour Organisation 2017, Schwarzbach and Richardson 2015). Secondly, this study is significant in the wake of a rising agenda for commercial farming as a driver for

household incomes and poverty reduction in Uganda (National Planning Authority 2015). With commercial farming being touted as a strategy for rural livelihoods and the youth challenges of low incomes and unemployment, this study is significant in unravelling the existing orthodoxy about commercial farming in order to gain an understanding of the impact of large-scale farming on the youth who are not only the largest but also the most vulnerable group in Uganda's population. The nuances of the study offer significant and instructive benchmarks for the case of commercial farming as a pro-poor strategy for vulnerable groups and specific reflections on their position and what commercial farming means for youth livelihoods.

1.6 Scope of the study

This study is premised on the inextricable relationship between farming and rural livelihoods. Specifically, the study explored commercial sugarcane farming, limiting its focus on rural youth livelihoods in the Busoga sub-region. The study focused on sugarcane farming in general, that is, corporate, large to small scale farming including farm and off-farm sugarcane activities. The study engaged both male and female youth directly involved in sugarcane as farmers and workers in auxiliary sugarcane businesses such as transportation and as middlemen. The main thrust of the study was to determine the general implications of sugarcane farming for youth livelihoods. Cognizant of the multidimensionality of livelihood measures, I limited myself to livelihood indicators such as income, employment, food, education, youth networks and assets; and the implications for youth agency, freedoms and capabilities. Geographically, the study was conducted in the Busoga sub-region, the largest sugarcane producer in Uganda. I focused on three districts, Jinja, Luuka and Mayuge, from which three sub-counties were selected basing on the intensity and concentration of sugarcane farming.

1.7 Structure and organization of the thesis

This thesis is composed of nine chapters. As already shown, Chapter One situates the entire study as set out in the background and problem statement, research objectives and corresponding questions. Chapter Two presents the theoretical framework, constructed on Marxist theory, the Capability Approach and the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach. This is followed by a literature review chapter (Chapter Three) which presents existing theory about livelihoods and youth livelihood patterns, and the empirics of commercial farming, sugarcane farming, and capitalist development. Chapter Four presents the study methodology and details the procedures including design, study area, population, sample size, sampling procedures,

ethical considerations, reflexivity and challenges. This is followed by the context chapter (Chapter Five) which presents the settings of commercial farming in Uganda and the Busoga sub-region.

Chapter Six is the first empirical chapter which presents the nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming. The chapter presents findings about modes of youth involvement in sugarcane farming, why young people are involved the way they are involved, their activities and motivations for sugarcane farming. The chapter also presents detailed descriptions of the young people's socio-demographic characteristics and their influence on participation in sugarcane farming. Chapter Seven presents the findings about sugarcane farming vis-à-vis key livelihood indicators such as income, jobs, assets, education and youth networks, and the underlying issues of sugarcane farming. Chapter Eight presents youth opinions on enhancing livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming while the last chapter (Chapter Nine) concludes the study and presents its recommendations and implications.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This study adopted a theoretical framework that combines Marxism, the Capability Approach (CA) and the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA). Marxism provided perspectives for explaining the dialectical relationships embedded in commercial farming. The SLA was vital for livelihood analysis, while the CA was used as a normative framework for interpreting the implications of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods from a human development lens.

2.2 The Marxist theory of Capital Accumulation

The Marxist theory of capital accumulation is a socioeconomic and political theory based on the works of Karl Marx who offers insights into the dynamics of capitalism. Marxism provides perspectives for understanding the dynamics of economic exploitation embedded in dialectical relationships between classes, surplus value or profit accumulation, materialism and its impact on socioeconomic relationships. Karl Marx examined capitalism in terms of bourgeoisie economy, wages, class formation, labour, landed property, foreign and world trade, and the deterministic nature of resources towards man's life (Marx 1859). In applying Marx's views, I was cautious since Marxism is a broad subject defined by various concepts and theoretical standpoints. In light of it being a broad theory, three theoretical concepts were applied, namely accumulation (profit/surplus value), exploitation and class structures. The selected theoretical ideas are also the central tenets of Marxism, namely classification, materialism and exploitation as presented below.

Marx argues that capitalism is driven by surplus value/profit motives. In order to maximize profit, capitalism engenders dichotomies by classifying people into '*haves',* namely the bourgeoisies,[2] and '*have-nots'* that is, proletariats[3] or labourers (Marx 1977). These classes breed dialectical relationships in the sense that resource owners exploit workers to generate surplus value while the workers struggle to emancipate themselves from poor wages and conditions of work (Bakshi 2011, Fulcher and Scott 2011, Harvey 2006, Marx 1844b). These

[2] Bourgeoisie is used in reference to owners of means of production or employers of wage labour.
[3] Proletariats constitute the working class who lack means of production and as a result, they depend on selling their labour as a means of survival (Tucker 1978).

dialectical relationships engender exploitation, which results in profit for resource owners and pauperization for the workers. In this case, poverty is a result of powerful groups exploiting and disenfranchising the underclass (Wright 1994). The exploitation takes place within and outside of labour relationships.

Labour-based exploitation is embedded in business booms and busts (Resnick and Wolff 2006). The business booms resonate with profit maximization which involve exploitative employer-worker relationships. The exploitation takes the form of lower wages, extended hours of work, intensity of labour power, or work exacted in a given time, restraining workers' bargaining power and freedom of expression (Marx 1844a, Marx 1844b, Wright 1994). These different forms of exploitation lead to labour alienation as labour becomes an externally determined commodity controlled by the bourgeoisie. Consequently, workers become cheaper than the value of commodities, or what is referred to as '*devaluation'* of the world of men in direct proportion to the '*increasing value'* of the world of things (Marx 1844b, Ollman 1971). Consequently, the producers of wealth remain poor and get poorer while the largest portion of the surplus value goes to those that control the resources. Due to a lack of resources, workers are compelled to sell their labour at a lower value due to the unequal power relationships emerging from minority groups owning resources (Araghi 2003). In this case, the worker is the most wretched commodity, inversely proportional to the magnitude of their production because their earnings enable them to subsist and reproduce their race both within and outside labour.

Outside of labour relationships, capital accumulation involves aggressive practices. These aggressive practices constitute what is called primitive accumulation where non-capitalists are expropriated and disempowered; and through the appropriation of existing opportunities to challenge potential competition and direct production they thus reduce victims to a workforce (Chakrabarti and Dhar 2009, Chakrabarti, Cullenberg and Dhar 2017, Marx and Engels 1846). Taken together, the processes outside of labour constitute what is referred to as 'accumulation by dispossession'. Accumulation by dispossession includes privatization, forceful expulsion of poor groups, suppression of workers' rights and consumption (Harvey 2006:43). Thus:

> ". . .to expropriate the tillers of the land it is not necessary to drive them from their land as was the case in England and elsewhere; nor is it necessary to abolish communal property… Just go and deprive the peasants of the product of their labour beyond a certain point and you will not be able to chain them to their fields even with the help of your police and army" (Marx 1970:159).

Taking advantage of existing structures is seen as the power of the economic superstructure controlling the substructure of the economy (Fulcher and Scott 2011). This involves controlling existing structures using resources aimed at seizing economic opportunities by powerful groups. In commercial farming, this is manifested in heightened competition by Trans-National Corporations (TNCs) to establish empires of large scale farming in the Global South. The TNCs are funded by their wealthy countries, and this has resulted in massive land grabs (Akram-Lodhi 2007, Borras Jr and Franco 2012, McMichael 2012). Such appropriation results in changes in local land use from subsistence to market production, which incorporate the peasant community into circuits of market imperatives. As a result, peasants are turned into semi-proletariats as they tend to survive between their small plots of land and the sale of their labour, thus predisposing people to exploitation by neo-liberal forces (Akram-Lodhi 2007, Araghi 2003).

The Marxist theory of capital accumulation was relevant for this study because commercial farming resonates with market and profit. The theory was vital in explaining the inherent contradictions embedded in commercial farming and its processes of profit maximization. Apart from the current study, the theory has been applied in studies of commercial farming and neo-liberal agrarian regimes which predominate in North-South relationships: global food regimes, agrarian enclosures and political economy, postcolonial politics, land grabbing, large- and small-scale farming (Akram-Lodhi 2007, Akram-Lodhi 2018, Baglioni and Gibbon 2013, McMichael 2012). In this study, Marxist theory provided both an analytical framework and an epistemological tool for generating knowledge about sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods. As a philosophy, Marxism is anchored in the correspondence theory of truth, where knowledge is received through correspondence with fact, namely the relational properties embedded in reality (Marian 2016) and accounts of entrenchment in dialectical processes (Dunham 1962). It is in cognizance of this that the assumptions of Marxist theory were applied to identify and explain the implications of sugarcane farming's impacts on livelihoods.

2.3 The Capability Approach (CA)

The CA is concerned with questions of what people can be and do, their opportunities and freedoms to realize their desires. From a human development lens, the CA is concerned with people's freedom and achievements in terms of their ability to do things they value and wish to be (Sen 2009). Based on its views, the CA was adopted as a theoretical framework because of its standpoints of subjective evaluation of wellbeing and dignity, structural inequalities,

social justice, political liberalism and evaluating development programs in both poor and affluent countries (Alkire 2002, Kjellberg and Jansson 2020, Nussbaum 2001, Robeyns 2006, Wolff and De-Shalit 2007). Furthermore, the CA was adopted because of the intertwined relationship between capabilities and livelihood, namely means and ends; and livelihoods as a subject of capabilities and capabilities as core components of livelihood (Chambers and Conway 1991).

In applying the CA, my focus was on theoretical concepts and assumptions about livelihood and wellbeing as a subject of capability deprivation (Sen 1999, Foster and Sen 1997), the value of freedom in determining one's doings and beings (functionings), or freedom to exercise ones' valued lifestyle (Walker 2005). Other assumptions include resources as critical components for one's desires or functionings. Scholarship about the CA encapsulates livelihood as a range of elementary issues such as agency, freedom, social justice, functionings, capabilities, resources, and conversion factors. For the purposes of this study, four theoretical ideas were selected, and these include freedom, agency, capabilities and resources.

Firstly, the CA treats livelihood as a subject of capabilities, namely people's ability to do and be in order to realize functionings or things that people value (Sen 1999:75). In this case, functionings constitute the capability set, or the extent to which one is free to live a desirable life. The capacity to achieve one's beings and doings is embedded in resources and the degree of freedom to choose from the existing combination of functionings at a given period (Sen 1985, Sen 1999). With the CA lens, the lack of freedom is not only a sign of poverty but also a form of deprivation of capabilities. Thus, the overarching assumption of the CA is that overcoming poverty and living a decent life is subject to different capability sets bound by both context and period (Fukuda-Parr 2003). For the purposes of this study, the capability set denotes opportunities, freedom and resources that support youth livelihood desires.

Secondly, the CA is concerned with resources and resource conversion factors. The main assumption here is that resources are critical because they convert into valid functionings in terms of size, robustness, and context (Chambers and Conway 1991, Robeyns 2016a, Robeyns 2017, Sen 1993). The major resources include income, time, physical ability, goods and services such as education, freedom and participation. The CA perspectives on resources were relevant in evaluating the implications of sugarcane farming for youth livelihoods in terms of ability to acquire resources and the impact of resources on youth agency, freedom and life

quality. In applying the resource perspectives, I was cognizant that: (i) some capabilities do not need material resources; and (ii) the resource impact on livelihoods depends on conversion factors, that is, influencing factors or the degree to which a person can transform resources or capabilities into functionings (Frediani 2010, Robeyns 2017). These conversion factors are embedded in individual, social and environmental settings. They include skills, physical conditions, social norms, gender, power relationships, government policies and existing infrastructures, which taken together, cause variations in people's realizations (Alkire 2005, Alkire 2008, Robeyns 2017).

Thirdly, the CA assumes that people are agents of their own lives through liberty and autonomy. As such, wellbeing is about the capacity to act and bring about valued change (Sen 1985). In this case, agency is regarded as an achieved outcome of people's freedom but for the purposes of this study, agency denotes young people's capacity to influence outcomes both at the individual and group levels. While there is no standard measure for the amount of agency that guarantees wellbeing, agency and agency freedom are critical requirements for one's desires due to the power to make choices from existing capability sets (Robeyns 2016a). In this case, the main assumption is that livelihood is about creating opportunities that build and strengthen human agency both as means and ends. However, this was applied cognizant that agency and agency freedom depend on factors such as availability of options, the nature of options and the significance of the available options (Pettit 2003). Thus, it is not necessarily the availability of options but the nature and impact of available options for one's wellbeing.

Based on its livelihood and human development assumptions, the CA provided relevant perspectives for analysing sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods in different ways. Firstly, the approach was vital in explaining the influence of socio-economic characteristics, social norms and existing policy environment on youth involvement in sugarcane farming and their implications for livelihoods. Secondly, the approach provided an analytical framework for interpreting modes of youth involvement in sugarcane farming and livelihood outcomes in relationship to youth agency, youth capacities and freedoms vis-à-vis major livelihood indicators such as jobs, income, education, food and wealth accumulation. In operationalising the livelihood indicators, I was keen to explore questions regarding youth agency and youth freedom regarding job choices, youth position in sugarcane farming and their ability to influence their own agendas. The major concepts applied include agency, freedom, capability, and conversion factors.

Notwithstanding the relevance of CA in analysing welfare and poverty, it is criticized for overshadowing the significance of class and structure. For example, issues of rights and freedoms can be politically controlled through decisions that influence production and distribution (DeMartino 2003). Furthermore, the CA assumes a stable world without competition, ignoring the distortionary effects of capitalism, its antagonism and resultant structures which involve what is referred to as 'struggle for the fittest' (Harvey 2006). In the real world, such economic dynamics undermine humanistic assumptions. However, being a normative approach, the epistemological utility of the CA is embedded in viewing knowledge from normative considerations of values. Thus, the CA is a normative rather than explanatory theory, and its notions of functionings, capabilities and resources are explanatory elements for problems of poverty, inequality, social change and quality of life (Robeyns 2016b).

Despite its multidimensionality, the CA was adopted in the context of poverty analysis and wellbeing, specifically analysing what sugarcane farming means for youth livelihoods. The CA was adopted both as a philosophy of knowledge and as an analytical framework mainly because of its ability to provide multidimensional tools of poverty analysis and addressing constraints to wellbeing (Kjellberg and Jansson 2020). Despite a relevant normative framework for livelihoods, the CA alone cannot deal with questions of poverty and deprivation (Robeyns 2006). This explains why I adopted the SLA which is a relevant tool in contexts of primary production and rural settings.

2.4 The Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA)

The SLA has origins in the 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) report, 1990s United Nations Human Development, and Chambers and Conway's (1992) livelihood research. The SLA is part of the 'New Poverty Agenda' of the 1990s and a product of efforts to realize lasting progress for human wellbeing (Morse and McNamara 2013, Prowse 2008). Firstly, the SLA was mainly relevant for this study as a diagnostic tool for measuring the effectiveness of development interventions (Morse and McNamara 2013). Secondly, the SLA was adopted because its notions provide perspectives for analysing sugarcane farming as a development intervention for youth livelihoods, and thirdly because its assumptions resonate with contexts of primary production and the rural settings in which my study is anchored.

The SLA makes several assumptions such as putting people at the centre of development (Carney 2003, DFID 1999). By putting people at the centre, the SLA challenges the top-down approaches of development evaluation. The notion of people-centred development was useful in exploring youth involvement and position in sugarcane farming in terms of the extent to which the youth are at the centre or periphery of sugarcane farming and the explanatory factors. Furthermore, the SLA assumptions of livelihood rest on five major strands, namely the vulnerability context, the asset pentagon, transformation structures, livelihood strategies and outcomes (DFID 1999, Prowse 2008, Scoones 1998). The interrelationship between people and the different strands influence livelihoods measured by income levels, food security, wellbeing, reduced vulnerability and enhanced sustainability development (Carney 2003, DFID 1999). In applying the SLA, four theoretical ideas were adopted: assets, institutional factors, activities/strategies and outcomes, as presented below.

Regarding assets and the asset pentagon, the SLA argues that poor people operate in vulnerable or vulnerability contexts, namely the external environment which affects people's livelihoods in terms of shocks and trends such as calamities and seasonality (DFID 1999, Morse and McNamara 2013). In such contexts, the SLA assumes that people have access to assets or poverty-reducing factors. The assets broadly include human capital (skills, labour, health), social capital (networks and connection), natural capital (such as land), financial capital (stocks of money) and physical capital, all of which enable people to pursue livelihood objectives (Krantz 2001, Scoones 1998). These tangible and intangible assets are building blocks for livelihoods. For instance, access to land arguably guarantees both direct benefits in the form of farm production as well as collateral security for accessing bank loans, while financial resources are versatile and convertible into livelihoods (DFID 1999).

The assumption here is that access to assets guarantees livelihood security and more assets are associated with more security while few or no assets cause insecurity and vulnerability (Bebbington 1999, Chambers and Conway 1991, de Haan and Zoomers 2005, Moser 1998). On the one hand, the asset lens was applied in examining the impact of sugarcane farming on tangible youth assets portfolios such as land, finance and buildings, and intangible assets such as education, agency and social networks. On the other hand, the SLA perspectives on assets were applied in analysing the nature of assets obtained and their impact on youth livelihoods.

Regarding strategies, the SLA argues that people rationally survive in complex environments using different strategies. Livelihood strategies denote a combination of choices and activities that enable people to realize livelihood goals by coping with shocks and stressors (DFID 1999, Scoones 1998). The strategies range from productive to reproductive choices, and activities, and vary from individual, household, or community level to permanent, part-time commitments or both (Carney 2003, Chambers and Conway 1992). The livelihood strategies can be affected by economic endowments and social factors such as gender, income levels, age, social and political status (Scoones 1998:11). For rural and farm communities, the majority of the activities and strategies revolve around natural resources for primary production. The SLA aspects of strategy were vital in determining youth manoeuvres and livelihood strategies in a competitive sugarcane sector in terms of modes of participation and the nature of activities and how the different strategies influence livelihood outcomes, and in assessing the influence of sugarcane farming on youth livelihood strategies.

Regarding institutional settings, the SLA emphasizes the role of private and public agencies on livelihood outcomes. Institutions are regularized patterns of behaviour based on society's rules and norms for widespread use (Giddens 1979). These institutions are the hardware because policies and decisions mediate processes of realizing people's livelihood goals and needs (DFID 1999). Furthermore, institutions engender power relationships because of their influence on access to livelihood resources, power structures and social relationships (Morse and McNamara 2013). Thus, focusing on structures was important in understanding what is referred to as existing trade-offs for livelihood opportunities, and identifying barriers and underlying social processes (Carney 2003). The trade-offs are found in both private and public structures, hence the SLA perspective was applied in examining the institutional framework of social, private and public structures such as individual characteristics, social norms, government and private policies and implications for youth livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming. Furthermore, social norms governing gender, access to land, commercial farming and other covert and overt social constructions were examined in terms of opportunities and disadvantages.

The SLA perspectives on livelihood outcomes were also applied in examining youth achievements from sugarcane farming. Livelihood outcomes denote results or achievements from the complex interrelationships between people utilizing assets, and undertaking different strategies through existing institutional frameworks; and these include health, incomes, food

security, education and sustainable resource utilization (DFID 1999, Scoones 1998). These outcomes motivate people to engage in activities. For example, increased incomes enhance household purchasing power and guarantee decent wellbeing, which reduces one's precariat and vulnerable conditions. Other achievements such as food security mitigate vulnerability because hunger and inadequate dietary intake denotes deprivation among poor households (DFID 1999). In this case, key livelihood outcomes were adopted to measure the implications of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods.

Despite offering relevant analytical perspectives, the SLA is flawed by weaknesses such as ambitiousness and impractical assumptions of uniform political and socioeconomic environments (Morse and McNamara 2013). Furthermore, the SLA overshadows the role of powerful actors and structural issues and the SLA's focus on households is different from the current study's focus, which is on individual youth. However, the SLA logic rests on generating livelihood thoughts by studying social units' capacity to enhance assets and capabilities, thus measuring and explaining livelihoods (Morse, McNamara and Acholo 2009). In addition, the close focus on the community in this study can be useful in generating evidence-based knowledge about interventions (Allison and Horemans 2006, Krantz 2001). Thus, as a philosophy, reality from the SLA lens is obtained by studying, observing, and taking stock of people's capital as well as outcomes, which resonates with this study's methodological design.

2.5 Synthesis of theories

The three theoretical frameworks have varying epistemological standpoints which pose ambiguities and incompatibilities as well as points of convergence, which constitute strength. For instance, the CA and SLA are normative frameworks for interpretive based knowledge, which is similar to Marxism, where knowledge is generated based on observation of the properties of relationships between classes. In addition, the three theoretical frameworks revolve around livelihood as a subject of freedom, wellbeing, resources, agency and influence, the lack of which constitutes deprivation and poverty. For instance, Marxism views lack of freedom as disenfranchisement because it undermines people's agency, something that is orchestrated by global capitalism which alienates people through poor pay and working conditions (Ochangco 2016). More still, Sen's CA conceives wellbeing as the subject of freedom and capabilities, which is similar to Marx's ideas of freedom as human agency (Ochangco 2016, Sen 1999). Similarly, the SLA is centred on welfare and building people's

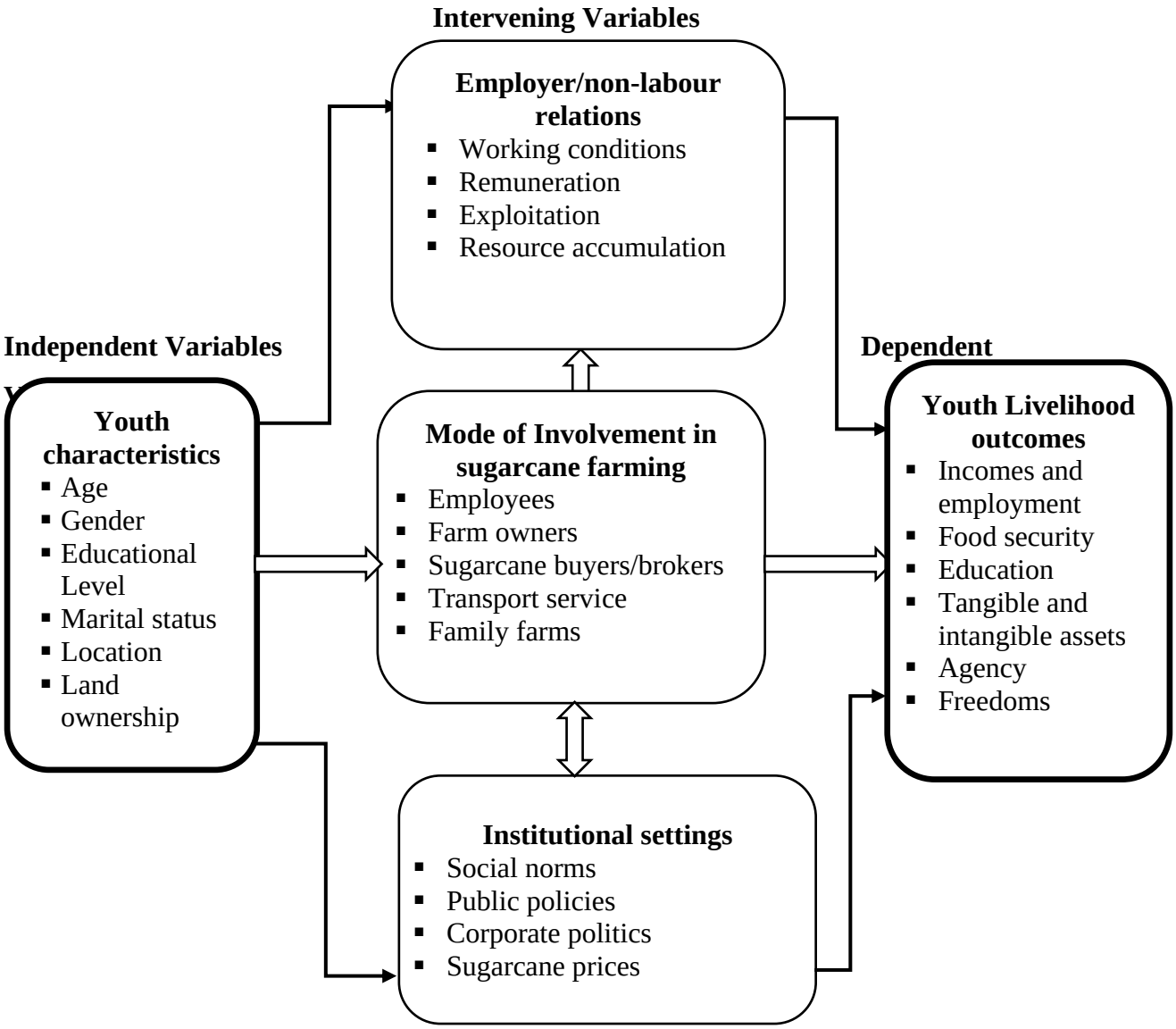
capacity through livelihood resources, which reiterates resources as building blocks for capabilities, wellbeing and agency (DFID 1999, Ochangco 2016, Robeyns 2006, Sen 1999).

Notwithstanding the similarities, there are differences that constitute incompatibility. For instance, Marxism is based on industrial revolution and Western modernization (Marx and Engels 1846). This poses both philosophical and geographical limitations. However, Marxism has a global outlook because its dialectical and materialist entities affect a significant proportion of the world population (Dunham 1962). Such aspects of capitalism are neither limited to the West nor to the industrial sector. In Uganda's context, commercial sugarcane farming embodies industrial relationships and capitalism, which makes Marxist concepts relevant. Regarding the SLA, the unit of analysis is the household (DFID 1999, Morse and McNamara 2013, Scoones 1998). This is a point of departure from my study, which focuses on individual youth. Whereas the measure of sugarcane farming concerned individual livelihood outcomes akin to the SLA, my tools covered some captured household-level data for analytical utility. Regarding the CA, there is more compatibility than incompatibility because it espouses individuals rather than groups, which resonates with my study based on aggregated findings from individual youth.

2.6 The conceptual framework

The framework for this study was born out of three variables, namely the independent, intervening and dependent variables shown in the figure below.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework



As illustrated in the figure above, the interrelationship between the independent, intervening and dependent variables is an illustrative summary of the study. The underlying assumption is that sugarcane farming offers opportunities for youth livelihoods in Busoga. It is assumed that by engaging in sugarcane farming, the youth derive livelihood opportunities such as jobs and incomes, food, agency, jobs, education, and general wellbeing denoted by agency, freedoms and valued desires or functionings. However, the impact of sugarcane farming on the different livelihood domains depends on individual characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, education level and land ownership, which constituted independent variables, and which presumably influence the mode of one's involvement in sugarcane farming.

Using the CA lens, the individual factors affect the conversion of opportunities into functionings, which also resonates with the Marxist question of materialism or the 'haves and have nots' and the implications for one's status in society. For instance, gender and age influence access to and control of resources and shape the power relationships and benefits from sugarcane farming; while others such as financial capacity and land ownership have a bearing on one's status in sugarcane farming, such as having a sugarcane farm or providing casual labour. Furthermore, it is assumed that outcomes from sugarcane farming fundamentally depend on the structural establishment of sugarcane farming such as policies regarding remuneration, working conditions, and policies regarding sugarcane prices. Taken together, structural and individual issues constitute the intervening variables or what is referred to as the institutional settings (in the SLA lens), the socio-political and environmental factors (the CA lens) and the dialectical relationships, which have an impact on youth incomes, agency, the nature of assets and other livelihood achievements from sugarcane farming.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

To grasp the implications of sugarcane farming on rural youth, a review of existing studies is important for positioning the current study, identifying research gaps, and suggesting new knowledge dimensions. This chapter presents a review of existing studies of commercial farming and the questions surrounding capitalist development. This literature review chapter seeks to answer questions such as what is the existing evidence about commercial farming and rural livelihoods. What lessons can be drawn from existing studies of sugarcane farming and livelihoods? What can be learned from existing evidence about capitalist development ventures? The chapter starts by presenting the concepts of livelihood and youth/young people, and the relationship between farming and youth livelihood patterns. This is followed by farming and youth livelihoods, commercial farming and livelihoods, sugarcane farming and livelihoods, sugarcane as a capitalist development crop, and maximizing outcomes of commercial farming, and the last section concludes the chapter.

3.2 Concept and dimensions of Livelihood

Discussions of livelihood require conceptual clarity. In this section, the question is: what is a livelihood and what constitutes livelihood? These questions demand adequate conceptual clarity. Drawing on Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway's ideas, livelihood refers to the means of gaining a living, including capabilities, and tangible and intangible assets (Chambers and Conway 1992). In the simplest terms, livelihood denotes a set of activities by which people sustain themselves. In terms of form and composition, livelihood is a subject of stocks. The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) conceived livelihood as stocks and flows of food and cash to meet basic needs (WCED 1987). In the WCED lens, a livelihood "comprises of capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living" (Chambers and Conway 1992:6). Regarding form, assets and resources are important components of livelihood definition.

Academic and policy research depict an intertwined relationship between assets and livelihoods. Thus, capital is critical to the study and comprehension of livelihood. Pierre Bourdieu's work about '*the forms of capital'*, introduced capital/assets as constitutive issues of

livelihoods by converting them into resources such as cash, education achievements and social capital (Bourdieu 1986). Similarly, the SLA views livelihood as a subject of five forms of capital, which constitute the asset pentagon composed of human, social, physical and financial capital (DFID 1999). These different assets or forms of capital are regarded as poverty-reducing factors and building blocks on which people survive. Thus, assets are the ones "from which different productive streams are derived from which livelihoods are constructed*"* (Scoones 1998:7). The relationship between assets and livelihoods is not only inseparable but also inversely proportional. In this case, "the more assets people have, the less vulnerable they are, and the greater the erosion of people's assets, the greater their insecurity" (Moser 1998:3). The issue is that restricted access to livelihood resources weakens one's wellbeing and increases defencelessness and vulnerability.

Vulnerability is applied in reference to poverty as a result of a lack of assets/wealth and resource endowments to support one's wellbeing. From this lens, lacking resources constitutes vulnerability because assets are not only used in a strict sense as building blocks for livelihoods but are also critical to one's capabilities. Anthony Bebbington's study of assets and capabilities and peasant viability, rural livelihoods and poverty illustrated that "people's assets are not merely means through which they make a living: they also give meaning to the person's world" (Bebbington 1999:2022). In this way, possession of assets such as land, cash and education come with complementary advantages which build people's capability to act and be (DFID 1999, Sen 1997). For farming communities such as in Uganda's countryside, lack of assets such as land is a sign of poverty. A lack of land not only constrains people's capacity to engage in agriculture but also affects other income-generating activities that depend on land (Ellis and Bahiigwa 2003). The significance of assets, however, does not imply that livelihood is exclusively a question of assets and resources.

While resources are vital components of livelihood, it goes beyond assets. Livelihood is also shaped by socio-economic differentiations. Routinized mechanisms of closure and exclusion based on age, race and religion cause differences and durable inequalities among people (Tilly 1998). Such differentiations produce both privilege and disadvantage because they affect access to resources. Such variations affect people by creating monopolies which result in fencing off opportunities for certain groups. Consequently, dichotomies of 'eligibles and ineligibles' emerge, which cause inequalities in individual, household, and community livelihood portfolios (Bebbington 1999, Chambers 1992, de Haan and Zoomers 2005).

Furthermore, livelihood is affected by one's social, economic and ecological environments. The external environment causes vulnerabilities arising from seasonality, trends and shocks, social norms, and power relationships that affect one's capacity to convert resources into livelihoods (DFID 1999, Robeyns 2006, Robeyns 2016a). This clearly indicates that livelihood is beyond resources; it can be affected by social issues such as cultural norms and structural factors. This is important to the current study because young people do not operate in a vacuum. Therefore, understanding livelihood dynamics is important in understanding how young people's characteristics and external environments shape their outcomes from sugarcane farming.

3.2.1 The concept of youth and its challenges

The concept of *youth* varies according to context, community, culture, traditions, norms, and roles (International Labour Organisation 2010, Waldie 2004). Notwithstanding these variations, age is a core defining variable because youth represents a transitory state from childhood to adulthood. The United Nations (UN) defines young people as persons between 15 and 24 years (United Nations 2001) while the African Youth Charter conceives of youth as referring to persons between 15 to 35 years (Organisation of African Unity 2009). Often times, youth is used interchangeably to mean young people or young adults. The UN uses the term youth to mean young people aged 15-24, but this is not prejudicial to the contextual application of the concept (United Nations 2010). The lack of uniform conceptualization presents a challenge to studying youth in the sense that, as a group, the youth are a considerably fluid, dynamic and a non-permanent category.

In actual fact, *Youth* embodies a transitory stage not only to adulthood but from being provided for to providing for oneself (Kristensen and Birch-Thomsen 2013). This transitory stage is part of human development, whose definition is complicated by the non-static nature of youth. The continuous mobility of young people makes a dichotomy of rural and urban youths rather challenging, especially due to the existence of peri-urban conditions in rural settings (Bennell 2007). Despite their high mobility, rural youth denotes young people residing in rural areas. These young people are characteristically heterogeneous. Youth heterogeneity is manifested by differences in age, religion, education, and family position among other personal factors (Bennell 2007, Sumberg, Anyidoho and Chasukwa 2015). Notwithstanding youth heterogeneity, the socio-economic characteristics constitute youth uniformity due to their economic powerlessness and vulnerability.

In Africa, the youth are caught up in complex life situations and recurring challenges of poverty. The majority of the youth in Africa suffer common constraints of illiteracy, high levels of informal engagements, unemployment, and an unprecedented rise in the youth population (Mabala 2011, Wallace 2017). In pursuing their livelihoods agenda, the youth are regarded an explosive force characterized by violence and threats to democracy and functioning citizenship and yet, the youth's behaviour is in actual sense a strategic approach to asserting their plight (Hart 2009, Inayatullah 2016, Mabala 2011). In an attempt to realise livelihoods, the youth approaches are suspiciously treated as a form of instability. In Uganda, the youth are regarded a time bomb and potential danger to national stability (Bwambale 2013, State House of Uganda 2018). This is mainly because the youth are regarded as an idle and violent group, and the problem cuts across urban and rural youth both in Uganda and beyond. The cases of Tanzania, West Africa and the majority of Sub-Saharan Africa show that urban youth suffer harsh socio-economic conditions which constrain their aspirations for self-sustainability (Banks 2016, Fortune, Ismail and Stephen 2015, Proctor and Lucchesi 2012, Williams and Pompa 2017).

Despite urban youth facing challenges, rural youth suffer more disproportionately. Evidence from Ghana and Uganda shows a shortage of formal and informal employment in rural areas, which forces young people into strategies such as doing casual work and operating retail businesses (Wallace 2017). The high incidence of rural youth challenges is attributed to their lack of economic autonomy. Rural youth tend to suffer from a lack of economic autonomy due to the joint venture structure of rural households where young people do not own resources, and the degree of the problem is relatively higher among the female gender because they do not have full control of productive resources (Bennell 2007). In this case, enhancing the status of young people in Sub-Saharan Africa requires more inclusive development programmes. Vital interventions could take the form of increased youth participation, and investment in technology, education, health and the labour market in order for the communities to benefit from the productivity of youth citizenry (Goldin, Patel and Perry 2014, Hart 2009, Mabala 2011). Being largely agro-based economies, the majority of the countries look to farming, especially market production, as a solution to rising youth numbers and corresponding livelihood challenges. But the question is: does farming match youth livelihood patterns?

3.3 Farming and youth livelihoods

In the majority of the countries in SSA, agriculture is the major activity and therefore regarded as the most resilient pathway for solving the attendant challenges of a rising youth population.

The focus on farming is mainly because the largest proportion of Africa's population is engaged in the farm sector as farmers or labourers or both; and secondly, because of limited informal and formal sector opportunities for the youth (Kokanova 2013, Kristensen and Birch-Thomsen 2013, Williams and Pompa 2017). There is evidence of a strong relationship between primary production and poverty reduction because the majority of poor people are engaged in farming.

Studies based on long-term series show that primary production sectors were more effective in poverty reduction in comparison to industrial sectors in countries such as India (Ravallion and Datt 1996). In West African countries, studies based on the Living Standards Survey and the additive poverty of popular indicators of poverty show that the agricultural sector had a comparatively greater and significant trickle-down effect on poverty reduction compared with service sectors in the Ivory Coast (Kakwani 1993). Similarly, an analysis of sectoral contributions towards poverty reduction further strengthened the agriculture-poverty reduction nexus in using a social Accounting Matrix in countries such as Indonesia and South Africa (Khan 1999). In Indonesia, the multiplier effect of agriculture on poverty reduction was higher in comparison to other sectors. The main reason is that the income gains from agriculture have higher distributional effects than those from the industrial sector (Thorbecke and Jung 1996).

However, whether farming can be a solution to youth livelihood challenges is a begging question because of the attitudes of young people towards farming. This observation is helpful in interrogating how the youth can have a stake in rural settings, and the extent to which farming meets youth livelihood strategies by objectively analysing the relationship between farming and youth livelihoods. The agriculture and youth intermixture constitutes what is termed 'youth in peril' or 'agriculture in peril' in the sense that a modernized and inclusive agriculture can be a source of opportunities or a saviour of young people and, young people can be saviours of agriculture through the demographic dividends of their labour force (Dyer 2013, Fortune, Ismail and Stephen 2015). Evidence shows a direct impact of commercial farming on youth livelihoods. In Nigeria, youth participation in farm activities such as poultry not only generates incomes but increases profitability through substantial returns (Oladeebo and Ambe-Lamidi 2007). Similarly, the government of Uganda views youth engagement in commercial farming as a solution to problems of low incomes, unemployment, and poverty (State House 2018). Despite the positive outcomes and government support for farming, there is evidence of increasing youth disinterest in the farming sector.

The rising youth disinterest in farming has two major implications. One is that the commercial farm agenda may not match the youth livelihood patterns because it is outside of the youth interest. Secondly, youth disregard for farming implies aspects of youth peculiarities which could undermine the contribution of farming. In the first instance, the growing youth shunning of farming is attributed to constraints such as poor market access, financial services, and a lack of land, knowledge, information and policy dialogue, which affect young people more than other populations (International Fund for Agricultural Development 2014, White 2012). Such factors not only affect youth involvement and disinterest in farming but also weaken youth capacity to fight poverty.

The challenge is that when the youth regard farming as merely a means of survival, it implies that agriculture is merely a last resort. In such cases, the youth involuntarily get involved in farming activities due to a lack of alternative opportunities emerging from the problems of the youth bulge (Chinsinga and Chasukwa 2012, Kristensen and Birch-Thomsen 2013, Proctor and Lucchesi 2012). Such scenarios not only affect the farming sector's contribution to youth livelihoods but also have a bearing on young people's contribution to farming. The farming sector misses out on the demographic dividend of the youth bulge such as resilience, resourcefulness and perseverance (Hardgrove et al. 2014, Naamwintome and Bagson 2013). This partly explains the different youth livelihood strategies such as youth migration to urban areas in search of alternative sources of survival. This brings us to the second question of the implications of youth disinterest in farming, namely youth peculiarities and the generation factor.

As a group, the youth are characterised by labour mobility associated with intergenerational and occupational fluidity between farm and non-farm jobs in Africa. In Madagascar, the Ivory Coast, Guinea, Ghana and Uganda, the youth mobility is associated with dualism in income and employment, and the spatial and geographical separation of farm and non-farm jobs between urban and rural areas (Bossuroy and Cogneau 2013). Furthermore, youth occupational fluidity is attributed to a decrease in farm labour productivity and rising literacy rates, which increase youth preferences for non-farming jobs and urban lifestyles. Despite the youth preferences for formal and urban lifestyles, the prevailing conditions are not in line with their aspirations for professional jobs and decent livelihoods (Mabala 2011, OECD Development Center 2018). The problem stems from persistent unemployment. For instance, at 9.4 per cent overall, Uganda's unemployment rate is relatively high in rural areas (10 per cent) compared

to (8 per cent) in urban areas (Ahaibwe, Mbowa and Lwanga 2013, Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2014, Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2016). The situation is similar in neighbouring East African countries. In Tanzania, agriculture employs at least 65 per cent of the youth while the informal sector, which is the second largest employer, contributes only 23 per cent of youth employment (Banks 2016).

These unaligned conditions mean that the professional sector accommodates a smaller percentage of the youth, and thus, the majority of rural youth have to engage in farming. Given the glaring burden of unemployment and underemployment, it is believed that commercializing and intensifying agriculture could offer sustainable solutions (White 2012). This hypothesis is valid in the sense that compared to the formal and informal sectors, agriculture is the most accessible sector for the growing number of youths. This underlines the agenda for commercial farming in SSA, but based on existing evidence, promoting the farming sector requires paying attention to the institutional and individual issues that undermine productive youth engagement in farming.

3.4 Commercial farming and livelihoods

Commercial farming denotes production for market purposes (Pingali and Rosegrant 1995). Commercial farming takes the form of medium to large scale privately-owned farms which are typically different from average farm sizes with greater capacity to employ wage labour (Smalley 2013). The increase in output and technology has implications for local livelihoods. The process of intensification comes with both qualitative and quantitative increases in livelihood benefits (Carswell 1997). Gustavo and Stamoulis (2007) offer empirical evidence about the expansion of the farming sector and pro-poor growth. Specifically, agricultural transformation increases the incomes and consumption levels of smallholder farmers and reduces food prices which improves the welfare of the poor as they are able to maintain major items of consumption.

In addition, agricultural transformation indirectly contributes to the productive capacities of the non-farming rural economy, as the majority of such activities serve the farming sector or depend on markets composed of people with strong ties to the agriculture sector. In addition, agricultural transformation generates jobs and incomes for the unskilled rural population because intensified agriculture tends to depend on unskilled labour in rural areas. Thus, “the agricultural growth through an increase in unskilled labour demand will increase unskilled

employment and/or wags of the unskilled, most of which are poor'' (Gustavo and Stamoulis 2007:18). Such benefits underscore the agenda for commercial farming in most countries.

In East Africa, it is believed that transforming from smallholder to commercial farming both revitalizes the role of the farming sector and directly addresses poverty, as the majority of people are engaged in agriculture (Salami, Kamara and Brixiova 2010). Concentrating resources in commercial farming has a direct impact on poverty reduction, especially in rural areas. It is observed that "in countries where most of the poor live in rural areas, agricultural growth reduces poverty because it generates income for poor farmers and increases the demand for goods and services that can easily be produced by the poor" (Klugman 2002:6). In this case, farming is a feasible alternative for most African countries whose economies depend on farming in rural areas. This gives credence to the analogy that rural areas of development are major centres for evaluating the win or lose of the poverty reduction agenda (Gustavo and Stamoulis 2007). For instance, about 80 per cent of the poorest people in Africa live in rural areas and depend on farming, which accounts for 60 per cent of Africa's labour force, and 20 per cent of Africa's exports and Gross Domestic Product (Economic Commission for Africa 2007). Central to the commitments of African countries is to increase investment in research for intensified agricultural production.

Regarding rural livelihoods, agricultural intensification is a significant process and is important because commercial farming generates jobs and incomes which increase rural people's linkages with urban areas through markets (Gustavo and Stamoulis 2007). In Mozambique, commercial farming initiatives such as access to markets, fair prices and information were powerful tools for rural livelihoods and poverty reduction (Båge 2001). For young people, commercial farming is a source of livelihood opportunities such as jobs and incomes, which are alternatives for the resource constraints such as a lack of land. However, investment in agriculture might not be an absolute solution to poverty in rural areas. Whereas growth of the farming sector presents opportunities for poverty reduction, it may increase rather than decrease poverty because of the impact on output variability (Klugman 2002). This raises the question of the extent to which increased investment in farming can be a pro-poor activity. Empirically, agriculture's role is measured through forward and backward linkages such as food, foreign exchange, and incomes (Hirschman 1958, Johnstone and Mellor 1961, Tiffen and Mortimore 1990). With this lens, the assessment of commercial farming is based on the extent

to which its outcomes touch poor people's livelihoods. But the question of how a shift from subsistence to commercial farming impacts on poverty reduction is critical.

Existing studies show that outcomes can be skewed to the relatively wealthy groups. A case in point is Malawi, where the highest proportions of benefits from the commercialization of Burley went to better-off households compared to the poorest groups (Peters 1999). This is largely due to limited agency emerging from a lack of resources such as land. For the youth, the evidence from Zambia shows that the youth are excluded from major benefits of commercial farming due to their poor economic status; thus, the benefits are appropriated by local elites that have land (Matenga and Hichaambwa 2017). In such cases, the youth are attached to farms as workers, but the problem is that surviving off poor wage labour creates a situation where people tend to 'drop out' and shift away from both the activity and the area. The youth end up with strategies such as moving to urban areas to seek attractive non-farming jobs which are sometimes unavailable or even predispose the youth to more socio-economic challenges (Hall, Scoones and Tsikata 2017, Loevinsohn, Tadele and Atekyereza 2012). Thus, the opposing voices show that Africa's agriculture is still marred by numerous challenges which undermine its role as a driver for pro-poor economic growth.

Some of the challenges include low input supplies, poor and declining input use due to higher input costs, uncertain prices for produce, and limited market opportunities, which fundamentally undermine farming profitability in Africa (Kydd et al. 2007, Naseem and Kelly 1999, Poulton 1998). This means that for agriculture to be meaningful to the rural population, institutional and sectoral constraints would need to be addressed through access to land, skills, and farmer support programmes that reduce transaction costs on inputs and market costs in order to boost rural farm competitiveness and social cohesion and empower the poorest groups (International Fund for Agricultural Development 2001, Kydd et al. 2007, Salami, Kamara and Brixiova 2010). However, the question of who benefits and who loses from the commercialization drive is critical. What is clear is that continuous transformation and commercialization often have limited outcomes for the poorest groups.

Despite income and job linkages, commercial farming does not meet poverty-reducing expectations because people end up surviving off meagre incomes (Hall, Scoones and Tsikata 2017). The minimal outcomes stem from the embeddedness of the accumulation and dispossession circuits of capitalism. In Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique and the

Congo, evidence shows that investor interests in land have contributed to landlessness (Hall, Scoones and Tsikata 2015). Such processes displace local people and also affect local land use, which creates social differentiations that stem from constrained access to land, which has minimal outcomes and integration because the process resonates with global markets (Borras Jr and Franco 2012, Hall, Scoones and Tsikata 2017, Matthews 1988a). In his work about Global Shadows and Africa in the neo-Liberal world, James Ferguson argues that plantation farms are enclave economies and polemic shadows of private capital flows through foreign direct investment services (Ferguson 2006). Being anchored in the global market undermines the significance of commercial farming in relation to the local economy (Hall et al. 2017:519). In view of this mixed picture, the current study aims to generate knowledge based specifically on sugarcane farming.

3.5 Sugarcane farming and livelihoods

Sugarcane is one of the tropical crops whose growth has been relatively faster than other cash crops. A perennial crop in the giant grass family, sugarcane thrives in tropical or semi-tropical conditions of sunlight and water resources. Flanked by other crops such as coffee, tobacco and cotton, sugarcane has surpassed the majority of cash crops and became one of the most popular crops in the world (Mintz 1986). The high global demand for sweetening substances gave sugarcane an edge over other crops and a market niche in the early 1800s and by 1900, sugarcane was the most popular commodity in countries such as Britain (ibid.). In East Africa, sugarcane is one of the oldest and largest industries whose growth and expansion is attributed to its significance for individual and industrial sugar needs in the region (Ogendo and Obiero 1978). The sugarcane industry continues to steadily expand, and this growth means that sugarcane can be a source of livelihood opportunities.

The major contribution of sugarcane to rural livelihoods is through job and income opportunities. Globally, sugarcane farming supports over 100 million livelihoods through formal and informal, seasonal, and full-time work and income opportunities (International Labour Organisation 2017). Evidence from India, South Africa, Kenya, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique and Ethiopia suggests that sugarcane farming contributes to farmers' and workers' wellbeing through incomes earned from sugarcane farming (Kshirsagar 2006, Maloa 2001, Richardson 2010, Waswa, Gweyi-Onyango and Mcharo 2012, Wendimu, Henningsen and Gibbon 2016). Farmers earn incomes from sugarcane sales, while workers earn incomes through different jobs in the sugarcane production value chain. Despite being a job and income

source, there are questions regarding the nature of sugarcane jobs, working conditions and incomes.

The issue is that sugarcane farming is associated with capitalist imperatives of labour exploitation, working conditions and remuneration. Sugarcane jobs emblemize slavery because most of the labour processes involve sugarcane corporations keeping workers in a docile but useful state, and circumstances that entail degraded working conditions, accidents, disease and risks (de Menezes, da Silva and Cover 2012, Richardson 2010). In addition to exploitation, sugarcane farming abets child labour. Evidence from Brazil, Bolivia, Kenya and Philippine shows that the majority of sugarcane employees are underage, starting as early as at age 7 to 9 years with boys younger than 18 working as contract sugarcane harvesters (International Labour Organisation 2017, Trebilcock et al. 2011). Children working in sugarcane farming are subjected to harmful and hazardous working conditions. The harmful conditions affect children's education while the hazardous conditions include exposure to dangerous tools, and long hours of heavy work, and exposure to dangerous chemicals (International Labour Organisation 2017, Schwarzbach and Richardson 2015). The health hazards are not exclusive to young people.

In Central America especially, the Pacific Coast and Nicaragua, the majority of the male workers suffer the unusual health condition of Non-traditional Chronic Kidney Disease due to exposure to excessive heat, stress, pesticide inhalation, high sugar intake and chewing sugarcane during working hours (Conrad and Lehner 2015, Weiner et al. 2013). In Africa, the experiences of Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia show that sugarcane work involves harsh working conditions with heavy work. Notably, sugarcane jobs expose workers to accidents arising from of car crashes and machinery including the spillage of boiling water, and field challenges such as cuts, back trauma, dehydration and exhaustion (Castel-Branco 2012, Richardson 2010). The situation is worse for poor and weak groups such as seasonal and migrant workers who lack agency to advocate for employment rights due to a lack of skills and job security (de Menezes, da Silva and Cover 2012). The work hazards are exacerbated by capitalist exploitative processes of long hours of work coupled with low and poor pay.

Despite the physical challenges, some studies show that sugarcane farming contributes to wellbeing. In the KwaZulu Natal region of South Africa, sugarcane farming generates adequate incomes for acquiring livelihood needs such as food stuffs and education for children

(Cockburn et al. 2014). The magnitude of the problem is higher among workers than farmers. For instance, in KwaZulu Natal and Rwanda, workers earn incomes which are inadequate to meet family needs such as paying for food and children's education (Castel-Branco 2012, Veldman and Lankhorst 2011). However, the situation varies, with some farmers earning low incomes. In Ethiopia, farmers who contributed irrigated land in sugarcane out-grower schemes experienced reduced asset stocks and incomes (Wendimu, Henningsen and Gibbon 2016). The minimal income returns were attributed to low prices paid by sugar corporations, thus making sugarcane farming less profitable. Similarly, Kenya's sugarcane producing regions of Mumias, Bungoma, Kakamega, Migori and Homabay are characterised by persistent poor income returns because of the exploitative policies of sugar factories (Amadala and Shilista 2014). The low impact on incomes is attributed to appropriation of the benefits by sugar companies through out-grower contracts which benefit sugar corporations in the form of exorbitant interest rates on farm input support.

The two cases imply that sugarcane farming outcomes can be meagre for both workers and farmers. However, the highest magnitude of income is skewed against the workers because the largest proceeds from sugarcane farming go to the sugar companies (Waswa, Gweyi-Onyango and Mcharo 2012). Such marginal outcomes symbolize most non-food crop commercial ventures. Scholarship about commercial farm projects in SSA shows that often, commercial farming does not provide the expected benefits because of its marginal impact on jobs and incomes (Hall, Scoones and Tsikata 2017). A case study investigating agro-forestry farming in Kenya's Busia county showed rising rural poverty despite a flourishing agro-forestry industry which was implemented as a poverty mitigation project (Mugure and Oino 2013). Rather than reducing poverty, agro-forestry in Kenya reduced livelihood opportunities for rural poor households by contributing to food insecurity. Similarly, sugarcane farming has consequences of dispossession and primitive accumulation which have damaging effects on food security.

In Kenya, the introduction of sugarcane farming in Mumias and the Kericho district reduced the land acreage for food crop production, precipitating food insecurity among households (Chebii 1993, Owuor, Chanyalew and Sambili 1996). Despite existing policies governing sugarcane farming such as committing only one-third of the land for sugarcane farming, up to 47 per cent of the households in Mumias experienced food insecurity. This explains why sugarcane is regarded as a 'hunger crop', namely because of its tendency to dominate land use and yet the income proceeds are inadequate for workers to obtain adequate food stuffs (Coote

1987). The dominance of land use dispossesses the local community and deprives them of the opportunity to produce food crops.

This takes different forms including direct land takeovers, government structures and policies, or foreign business corporations buying land as is the case in Brazil, Mozambique and Paraguay (Clements and Fernandes 2013). In Paraguay, land loss emerged from Brazil's Bourgeoisie class interests in producing soybeans and biofuels, thus taking over up to 29 per cent of the land in Paraguay, which sparked land conflicts. In Mozambique, the government allocated land to a sugar company, predisposing over 1,100 households to displacement and reallocation to insufficient plots for settlement, cattle and food crops (Richardson 2010). Similar approaches have been used by the government of Uganda in relationship to the sugarcane sector. For instance, the government's plan to allocate 7,100 hectares of land to the Sugar Corporation of Uganda Limited (SCOUL) in 2011 failed in 2011 because of public demonstrations (Hönig 2014). Such 'dispossessive' approaches exemplify sugarcane as a representative case of capitalist developments which have implications for local economies as presented in the next sub-section.

3.6 Sugarcane farming: Capitalist Development

The sugarcane sector in Africa is dominated by multinational corporations. The sugarcane operations in Africa are standardized and replicate conditions of the sugarcane industry in big sugarcane-producing countries such as Brazil in Latin America and Asian countries (Seebaluck et al. 2008). The sugarcane corporations have a global context, not only originating from the Global North but also exhibiting a uniform *modus operandi*. Most of the transnational corporations represent the neo-liberal motives of 19th century industrial capital development which gave rise to trade with former colonies through food regimes which constitute what is considered the second wave of colonialism (Araghi 2003). Such capitalist developments take the form of agro-industry agrarian relationships involving large-scale land investments and, in extreme circumstances, land grabbing shrouded in aims of pro-poor growth, rural development and increased government taxes as ulterior motives of capital accumulation in offshore businesses (Borras Jr and Franco 2012, McMichael 2012). The global market dynamics thus underscore the transnational expansion of sugarcane corporations in Africa due to increase competitiveness in peculiar niches.

Africa's sugar sector is flooded with multinational corporations due to comparative advantages such as low costs of production, the availability of land, favourable production and marketing agreements for sugarcane and auxiliary products such as bio-gas and ethanol, in the case of the Southern Africa region (Johnson and Matsika 2006, Yamba et al. 2008). As global companies benefit from peculiar opportunities, host countries in Africa look at the relationships with the Global North in terms of access to market. However, since the North-based sugar corporations own the largest shares in the sugar companies in Africa, the profitability of the sugarcane industry is centred on corporations' interests (Hess et al. 2016). This raises questions about commercial farming as a pro-poor strategy. Africa's sugarcane sector being run by international business companies raises scepticism as to whether or not sugarcane can be a 'sweet deal' for the rural poor groups in host countries (Richardson 2010). Furthermore, scepticism about sugarcane contributing to rural poverty reduction is based on its history and sugarcane being part of global capitalism.

Historically, sugarcane farming was embedded in colony-metropolis imperialist activities of slavery and exploitation (Mintz 1986). Building from its colony-metropolis history, evidence from Latin American countries such as Haiti, Jamaica and Puerto Rico shows that sugarcane was produced by highly capitalized companies from powerful states from the Global North (Coote 1987, Mintz 1986). Sugarcane production served the economic interests of the Global North using land and slave labour exposed to harsh environmental conditions of extreme heat and pressure. A case in point is the sugarcane boom and plantations in the Caribbean region, which encapsulate what is referred to as '*the favoured child of capitalism'* (Mintz 1986:32). Situating sugarcane in capitalism was done in reference to global sugarcane trade where control of final products is based in the North.

The domination of sugarcane farming by a few multinational corporations comes with a monopoly which endangers the local community by creating a dependency syndrome for resources and other aspects such as market and farm inputs (Hess et al. 2016, Martiniello 2017, Veldman and Lankhorst 2011). Such a structure implies that the outcomes are skewed towards sugarcane companies rather than the local community, which is typical of development in the form of underdevelopment. This is rooted in the theory of uneven geographical development involving processes of differentiated diffusion of resources from the centre while leaving out the residuals (Harvey 2006). Such processes are implemented under the auspices of neo-liberal freedom which shape and re-shape systems for the purposes of development. However, the

poor growth rates of the 1960s and 1970s proved neo-liberal approaches such as emphasizing capitalist class power are less of a solution to global capitalism.

In the 'development of underdevelopment', Andre Gunder Frank shows that the largest proportion of benefits from capitalist developments go to the centre while the periphery is only a producer rather than owner of wealth (Frank 1978). Based on development trajectories for China and Latin American countries, exposure to world capitalist development and industrial capitalism yields insignificant or longstanding issues of underdevelopment (Frank 1966a, Frank 1978, Lippit 1978). In China's case, opening up to foreign business only stimulated a moderate level in China's development trajectory and the process largely benefited foreign business companies as part of Western imperialism. In Latin America, rather than directly contributing development in Chile and Brazil, capitalism introduced a monopolistic metropolis-satellite structure of development which was not self-generating nor self-perpetuating (Frank 1966a).

In both cases, China and Latin America, the damaging effects of capitalist developments were the introduction and formation of bourgeoisie and comprador classes that produced systems that generated misery for the local population through dialectical processes of exploitation. The problem is that capitalism thrives on systems that yield proletariat and wage labour where profit is generated by bourgeoisies or compradors dominating the working class (Harvey 2006). The result is dispossession, either directly by multinational corporations taking control of the existing order, or indirectly through the use of existing administrative structures to create a monopoly and corporate exploitation. Understanding these intricate connections embedded in sugarcane farming is important in explaining the outcomes of sugarcane farming in rural communities. In addition, reviewing such evidence is important in two ways namely: (i) understanding and explaining the variations in sugarcane impact on livelihoods; and (ii) attributing the findings from the Busoga sub-region to the existing order or body of knowledge.

3.7 Maximizing farming outcomes

The foregoing discussions consist of two key issues. Firstly, farming as a fall-back sector for young people population, and secondly, the shrinking interest of young people in a sector that is presumed to hold their future. This lack of alignment with the interests of young people in farming means that the farm structure and youth agency must be put in tandem with each other. In this sub--section, the question is: what should be fixed, the structure or their agency? What

are the dominant debates about mechanisms and processes of enhancing farming sector outcomes?

Evidence suggests that the youth have mixed feelings about farming, forcing them into non-farming activities such as small businesses and strategies such as rural to urban migration and migrating to other countries (Chinsinga and Chasukwa 2012). Whereas this shift diversifies youth livelihoods beyond rural areas and the farming sector, its implications such as reducing youth involvement in agriculture jeopardises the future of the farming sector. Being cautious about youth migration does not imply that the youth should be predominantly based in rural areas because it is not ideal to envisage full-time youth engagement in farming. However, being the major livelihood activity in SSA, maintaining a youth connection with farming directly mitigates vulnerabilities such as unemployment, poverty and low incomes (Naamwintome and Bagson 2013).

The youth are not a uniform category; they are fluid and as shown earlier, young people are prototypes of a vulnerable and sympathetic population category (Fineman 2014, Kohn 2010). Being a part of this weak group means that the youth should be supported to benefit from farming. This involves dealing with youth agency and empowering them to engage in farming. When poor groups are empowered through improved farm conditions, they can reap the benefits from farming and become active contributors to poverty reduction and welfare (International Fund for Agricultural Development 2001). This involves addressing older challenges of poor harvests, pests and diseases and this could renew young people's interest in farming. In Nigeria, income and cash proceeds from farming and livestock motivate youth participation in farming (Muhammad-Lawal, Omotesho and Falola 2009, Oladeebo and Ambe-Lamidi 2007). Thus, approaches that look at both farming and youths are more reassuring.

A holistic approach is more reassuring because dealing with youth perceptions of the farming sector is critical to reassuring the potential benefits of farming. Negative attitudes not only limit these benefits but, critically, they bar parents from encouraging their children's participation and engagement in the farming sector (Ganpat and Webster 2011). As such, attitude change is one way of increasing acceptance of farming as an activity. Yet, when the youth are positively disposed to farming, they benefit in terms of income and food security (Oladoja, Adisa and Adeokun 2008). Such poor attitudes can be overcome through education and awareness-

raising, contract farming and increased government involvement and support for the farming sector.

Contract farming is more vital to increasing benefits from commercial farming in particular, because the youth can more easily accept farming and tap into its benefits such as income and employment (Bahaman et al. 2010). This is because the process comes with the advantages of institutionalized farming such as marketing, production and quality, which maximizes benefits and therefore attracts young people regardless of location. Essentially, contract farming presents enormous benefits in terms of marketing, capital investment, credit and financial services and higher income, which is one of the major youth constraints in farming (Baumman 2000, Bolwig and Jones 2008). However, the challenge is that contract farming can be exclusionary in nature. The approach is less helpful to poor smallholder farmers as large farmers are mostly preferred due to ease of organization and the costs of management (Baumman 2000). Consequently, smallholder farmers tend to be left out and such exclusion can breed economic gaps which reinforce economic vulnerabilities.

Furthermore, farming faces a number of challenges including financial, inputs and other logistical issues (International Fund for Agricultural Development 2014). Addressing such issues not only bolsters farming but also attracts and sustains young people's interest in farming. In this case, there is a need to enhance youth agency through enhancing youth skills, and increasing their access to land, technology and financial services which are critical ways of increasing the potential of farming to the population (Salami, Kamara and Brixiova 2010). In this case, the aim is to increase agriculture and farm labour productivity. In this way, rural populations such as the youth can have productive opportunities and live meaningful lives by treating the 'agriculture in peril' narrative, which inherently mitigates the 'youth in peril' narrative (Leavy and Hossain 2014). This means that a focus on agricultural productivity can have positive impact on youth wellbeing. Therefore, attention to both the youth and the farm sector strengthens the relationship between the two. It is the aim of this study to contribute to debates on enhancing commercial farming using the voices and experiences of the youth in sugarcane farming.

3.8 Conclusion and new directions of knowledge

The existing studies reviewed are relevant to the current study in different ways. For instance, the livelihood literature provides benchmarks for understanding and measuring livelihoods, the

youth challenge and emerging debates on farming and rural youth livelihoods (Bennell 2007, Leavy and Smith 2010, Mabala 2011). In the SLA context, development interventions must be measured basing on their effectiveness such as their impact on people's assets and wellbeing (Chambers and Conway 1992, DFID 1999, Scoones 1998). Anchoring this observation in youth and sugarcane farming research, the question is how developing resource-, agency- and capability-based views can provide an understanding of livelihood in the context of sugarcane and rural youth. Does livelihood in a sugarcane farming context require specific resources, different from those generally posited in livelihood literature? In relationship to youth livelihood patterns, what is known is that youth opinions of farming are shaped by outcomes and constraints. Most of the literature on young people's opinions of farming have incidentally been generically drawn.

The specific literature on young people largely focuses on sugarcane and child labour but seldom looks at what commercial farming means for youth livelihoods. How the youth perceive sugarcane farming as an activity is a knowledge gap, and another is whether commercial farming can be a solution to youth livelihood challenges in Busoga, Uganda and other countries using a business model of farming as a youth-based intervention. Furthermore, the literature is instrumental as it offers existing knowledge about commercial farming in relation to rural livelihoods, which in essence, is similar to my study. However, the cited cases differ from the current study in that they take different stances. According to the existing evidence, increased investment in farming can generate meaningful results for poverty reduction. However, the majority of the studies were based on statistical methods (such as Kakwani 1993, Khan and Khan 2015, Thorbecke and Jung 1996) which is different from my study that is built on synergies of qualitative and quantitative data.

In addition, most of the existing research findings and conclusions are generic analyses based on the general population, which is different from the current study which provides a group-specific analysis focusing on a population category, namely young people. Lastly, rather than focusing on commercial farming in general, the current study brings new directions of knowledge based on a particular commercial crop, namely sugarcane. Thus, the question that remains unanswered is: what are the implications of commercial sugarcane farming for rural youth livelihoods? By interrogating the impact of sugarcane farming on rural youth livelihoods, the current study contributes to existing debates on commercial farming through the crop- and group-specific dynamics of commercial farming.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the procedures and methods that were followed and applied in the data collection, analysis and presentation. Specifically, the chapter presents a detailed study design, methods and tools of data collection and data analysis. This chapter also provides details of the study area, population and sample size selection, sampling strategies, ethical procedures and dilemmas, and the study limitations and mechanisms for overcoming the challenges.

4.2 Research Design

This study was embedded in a pragmatist research orientation. Pragmatism allows the researcher to use a diversity of methods. As a philosophy, the pragmatist orientation can be used regardless of whether the study is qualitative or quantitative in nature and is able to combine positivist and constructivist approaches to studying social reality (Morgan 2014, Shannon-Baker 2016). As such, the research design adopted in this study resonated with the study's overall approach. Social research involves a number of designs such as experimental, correlational and ethnographical, among others. For the purposes of this study, I adopted a mixed design which allowed for the application of both qualitative methods and quantitative methods. The choice of a mixed methods design was mainly due to the benefits that can be derived from the synergies of combining qualitative and quantitative data collection for analysis and conclusion (Flick 2018, Gray, Mills and Airasian 2012). Specifically, I used a case study and survey research designs in order to generate both interpretive and descriptive findings.

For the interpretive qualitative findings, an embedded case study was used. A case study design is an appropriate design for generating an in-depth understanding of the issues in a real-life context. In this case, I used the case study design because it enabled me to realize the utility of the in-depth exploration of phenomena in a specific context (Rashid et al. 2019). Thus, an embedded case study was adopted to explore youth opinions of sugarcane farming and livelihoods but more so, because of its methodological utility in enabling the researcher to understand the entire case through different perspectives or sub-units of enquiry (Scholz and Tietje 2002). This was realised with the help of qualitative data collections tools.

Quantitatively, a cross-sectional research design was adopted. A cross-sectional research design mainly allows the researcher to collect data both at a single point in time and at various points in the study (Bryman 2012). The design was adopted mainly because of advantages such as enabling the comparison of findings across the different and selected study districts and sub-counties and study groups at the same period of time. To realise this, quantitative tools such as the survey was administered to 18 to 30-year-old male and female young people from three sub-counties drawn from the three districts of Jinja, Luuka and Mayuge. The use of the survey enabled me to generate measurable, determinant, quantifiable and testable data such as youth demographic characteristics, modes of youth involvement in sugarcane farming, sugarcane activities and their implications for youth incomes, jobs and other livelihood indicators, and mechanisms for enhancing sugarcane outcomes and youth benefits. The survey questions were mainly close-ended.

The methodological utility of combining a survey and a case study was the opportunity to blend qualitative data with quantitative data in the analysis and conclusions, which is arguably better than solely a qualitative or quantitative approach (Creswell and Miller 2000, Creswell 2012, Creswell and Creswell 2017, Kothari 2004). In order to realise the benefits of a mixed design, a sequential approach was adopted in the data collection. The first phase involved a youth survey whose findings and data gaps were filled through follow-up and rigorous interrogation using qualitative tools. In this way, all issues that required probing for details were covered by qualitative tools because of their ability to obtain insights and details as opposed to quantitative tools which have limits in relation to an in-depth inquiry.

4.3 Study Area

This study was conducted in the Busoga sub-region of Eastern Uganda. Composed of 11 districts, the Busoga sub-region is one of the fifteen sub-regions of Uganda. Located in Eastern Uganda, the Busoga sub-region is mainly occupied by the Basoga, and Lusoga is the dominant language. The region is separated from neighbouring regions by water bodies. The Nile river bounds Busoga in the west, the Mpologoma river in the east, Lake Victoria in the south and Lake Kyoga to the north (Isiko 2018). Given its geographical demarcation, Busoga is regarded as an island because of being surrounded by water bodies (Fallers 1965). The reference to Busoga as an island is based on two factors, namely being surrounded by water bodies and the intensity of its sugarcane farming.

In addition to being surrounded by water bodies, the Busoga sub-region is also referred to as an island because of the high concentration and embodiment of a sugarcane belt (Kyalya 2013). The Busoga sub-region's population depends on subsistence farming. The principal food crops are maize, cassava, sweet potatoes, beans and rice with coffee and cotton as old-time cash crops (Sørensen 1996). In the early 1930s, sugarcane farming was introduced in the Busoga sub-region by Madhvani, one of its pioneer promoters. Gradually, sugarcane farming became a dominant activity, making sugarcane a major cash crop in the Busoga sub-region. It even replaced cotton and coffee because of a slump in their prices as opposed to the attractive prices for sugarcane (Kyalya 2013, Martiniello 2017). As such, sugarcane farming became the largest commercial crop not only in the Busoga sub-region but also in other parts of Uganda.

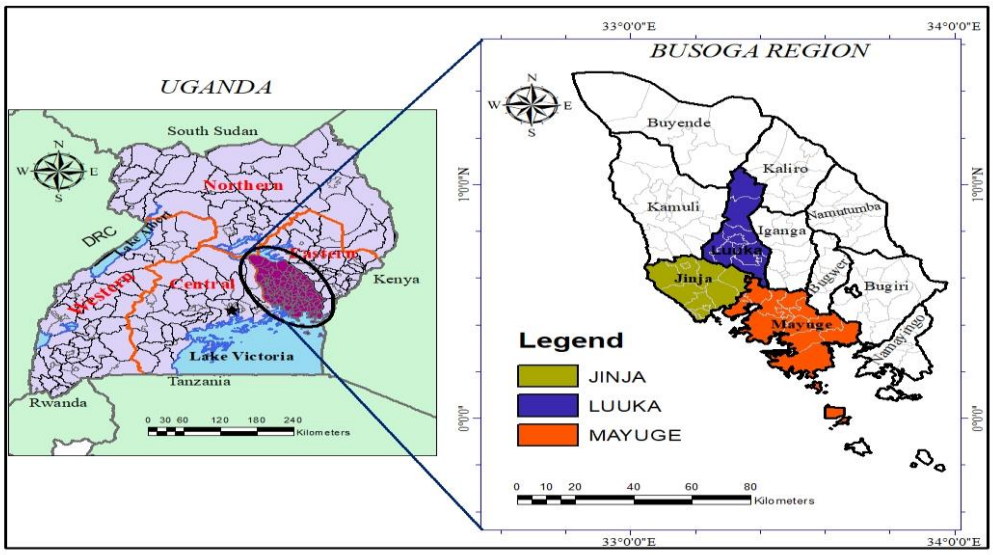
Whereas there is sugarcane farming in areas such as Rakai, Lugazi, Kinyara and recently, Amuru district in Northern Uganda, the study was conducted in the Busoga sub-region for three reasons. Firstly, the Busoga sub-region is not only the largest sugarcane producer, but it is also home to Kakira Sugar Works, a major licensed sugar company and the largest sugar producer in Uganda (Nakato 2017). Secondly, despite being the largest sugarcane producing region, Uganda's household survey shows that the Busoga sub-region is also the third poorest region in Uganda (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2017b). This makes the Busoga sub-region an ideal area for studies exploring the impact of commercial farming and poverty reduction. The third reason is obvious in nature, that is, relating to positionality and proximity to the Busoga sub-region. As one who comes from the Budaka district in the neighbouring Bukedi sub-region, my long-time exposure to youth engagement in sugarcane farming visible along the Iganga-Jinja-Kampala highway intrigued me into wanting to understand the implications of sugarcane farming for youth livelihoods.

The methodological utility of selecting a place I was familiar with was twofold. Firstly, my knowledge of the local language (Lusoga) which is quite similar to my mother tongue (Lugwere). Familiarity and understanding of the language were vital in comprehending the findings from the interviews, formal and informal group and individual discussions with the youth. Secondly, the two regions (Busoga and Bukedi) not only share boundaries but also share some norms of culture and language which reduce potential issues related to being an outsider. As such, my proximity to Busoga did not affect the objectivity expected of scientific research because of two reasons. One, I do not hail from the Busoga sub-region myself, and two, I have

only been exposed to but not involved in sugarcane farming, which would admit bias due to vested interests resulting from attachment to the selected districts.

The study was conducted in the three districts of Jinja, Mayuge and Luuka. The three districts have a total population of 1,182,501 people: 471,242 people in Jinja, 235,020 in Luuka, and 473,239 people in the Mayuge district (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2014). The criteria for selection of the three districts was mainly the high concentration of sugarcane farming. For instance, the Jinja district is the original centre of sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region. Furthermore, Mayuge and Luuka districts were selected for similar reasons emerging from their proximity to Jinja and the spill-over effects of the growth and expansion of sugarcane farming. Mayuge and Jinja, for example, have the highest concentrations of both large- and smallholder out-grower villages lying in a 21-kilometre radius from Kakira, the oldest sugar processing plant in the region (Mwavu et al. 2016). For the purposes of data collection, a sub--county was purposively selected from each of the Jinja, Luuka and Mayuge districts: Busedde, Bukanga and Imanyiro sub-counties, respectively. The study area is summarised in Figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1: Study Area Map



Developed by using updated shape files from the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2018)

4.4 Study population

Study population denotes the members or groups of members that share or conform to a set of characteristics or specifications who in this case are the youth. The study involved both male and female youth, not only aged 18 to 30 but also actively, directly or indirectly engaged in sugarcane farming. Direct involvement is used in reference to the youth engagement in factory

and field sugarcane activities such as cutting, loading, transporting, weeding, and ownership of individual or family sugarcane farms. Indirect involvement denotes youth engagement in auxiliary sugarcane activities such as brokering sugarcane, providing services to sugarcane workers such as food supplies, buying and selling of early level/immature sugarcane farms locally known as '*kimuli*[4]'.

The main study participants were youth residing in rural areas of the three districts. Following my reconnaissance and field pre-test activities, I noted that the youth in urban centres such as Kakira Mayuge and Luuka Town Councils were involved in sugarcane farming. However, it was challenging to identify the youth involved in sugarcane farming as the majority were preoccupied with non-farm activities in the informal sector as compared to rural settings where it was possible to identify young people involved in sugarcane farming activities as a primary livelihood activity.

Given that the majority (56.1 per cent) of young people in Busoga sub-region depend on farming and that the youth dominate the bulk of the sugarcane labour force in the region (Restless Development 2013, Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2017c), it was easier to interact with the rural than the urban youth. The choice of rural youth was further based on the limited presence of non-farming activities but also constant engagement with sugarcane farming because of its dominant position in commercial farming establishments in rural Busoga. In addition to the youth, the study engaged key informants' opinion, political and technical leaders at district and sub--county level, to obtain experiential and technical information about sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods in the different districts. The district technical leaders included community development officers, chief administrative officers, sub--county senior assistant secretaries, and welfare and probation officers. Political leaders included district youth representatives, sub--county youth leaders, parish chiefs and Local Council One (LC1) chairpersons who participated in key informant and in-depth interviews.

4.5 Sample size and selection

This study used both qualitative and quantitative data. As such, the sample sizes of qualitative and quantitative data were selected using different approaches. For quantitative sample size, a

[4] *Kimuli* literally means a flower which, in sugarcane business is applied to mean a sugarcane farm at flowering stage. In Busoga, some farmers sell their sugarcane farms at flowering stage especially when they are faced with crises that warrant urgent need for money (FGD with male and female youth in Mayuge).

positivist paradigm was assumed where scientific methods are applied in determining sample sizes in the study of social phenomena (Crotty 1998, Henn, Weinstein and Foard 2005). Using a scientific method in deriving sample sizes is vital because it allows for the generalization and reliability of findings when an appropriate and representative sample size is used (Henn, Weinstein and Foard 2005, Kish 2004). The youth survey was derived using a confidence level of 95 per cent against the proportion of sugarcane in commercial farming in Uganda. Using Kish's (2004) formula, I generated a sample extrapolated from the national population figures and the proportion of sugarcane in commercial farming was 28.6 per cent extrapolated from national statistics as a percentage of sugarcane in commercial farming in Uganda (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2015). Whereas it would have been more appropriate to use Busoga sub-region, this was not possible because of a lack of available region-specific data. The quantitative sample was arrived at as shown below.

Hence:

$$n_0 = \frac{Z^2pq}{e^2}$$

Where $\mathbf{n_o}$ is Sample size, **Z** is the confidence level (which is 1.96 on the Z table at 95%), **e** is the precision level (which is 5% in this case), **p** was the proportion estimate of sugarcane farming in Uganda (28.6 – rounded off to 29%) and **q** is the 1-p (in this case 100-29=72%). Thus, $\mathbf{n_o}$ = (3.8416)(0.29)(0.72)/0.0025 = 320. These were distributed proportionately among the three districts of Jinja, Luuka and Mayuge based on the district population sizes as indicated in the Table below:

Table 4.1: Sample size Distribution Summary

S/N	District	Total Population	Proportion of sugarcane farming (29%)	Proportion of Population sample (320)
1	Jinja	471,242	136,660	128
2	Luuka	238,020	69,025	64
3	Mayuge	473,239	137,239	128
Total		1,182,501	342,924	320

Source: Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2015:74) and Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2014:50-51)

It was possible to realise the same sample size using sub--county population sizes for example 32,075 for Imanyiro sub--county in Mayuge, 36,152 people for the Busedde – Jinja district and 23,525 people for Bukanga -sub-county in Luuka district (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2014). However, since the study was about the sub-region, it was more representative to use the district rather than -sub-county population totals. The 320 youth formed the sample sized from whom

numerical and quantifiable data was obtained. The quantitative data was substantiated by qualitative data obtained using purposive sampling. Qualitative data samples were purposively determined. In total, 18 participants were selected for key informant interviews and nine FGDs were also purposively determined.

4.6 Sampling procedure

With 11 districts, it was impractical to study the entire population of the Busoga sub-region, and neither was it possible to engage the total proportion of the youth in the three districts. As such, it was important to develop samples from which respondents were drawn. Based on a mixed methods study, the sampling procedures involved two levels namely: (i) the selection of the study area and (ii) the category of respondents. Regarding the study area, the three districts of Jinja, Mayuge and Luuka were purposively selected based on their high concentration of sugarcane farming activities as highlighted in Section 4.3 (above). Similarly, purposive sampling was applied in selecting the -sub-counties and the parishes from which data was collected. My initial plan was to randomly select the -sub-counties, but the reconnaissance and community entry meetings with district authorities objectively altered the plan from a random to purposive selection of sub-counties.

Despite sugarcane farming being a massive activity in all the three districts, some -sub-counties exhibited a high prevalence of sugarcane and had unique factors that naturally selected and eliminated others. For example, my initial choice was Kakira Town Council (KTC) in Jinja district. But following meetings with technical and political leaders, my plan changed to Busedde -sub-county for two reasons. Firstly, KTC is largely dominated by corporate farms which primarily depend on migrant labour; and secondly, the majority of the workers resided in the Kakira housing estates, and this confinement of workers made it difficult to access the youth and in addition, the majority were migrants. This does not mean that the study was only interested in the youth from Busoga.

The study targeted the youth in Busoga but leaving out KTC was for the purpose of gaining free access to all the youth in the study area. Another case is Baitambogwe -sub-county, which was my initial choice in Mayuge district, but I ended up with Imanyiro -sub-county due to a higher intensity of sugarcane farming and additional characteristics such as hosting Mayuge sugar factory. Only Bukanga -sub-county in Luuka district remained as planned because it is a predominantly rural area and met the sampling criteria of a huge presence of sugarcane farming

and auxiliary activities. It is from the three -sub-counties that nine (9) villages were randomly selected.

Random sampling requires a sampling frame, which constituted household lists obtained from the different village Chairpersons. The use of Local Council/Village Chairpersons was mainly because they were custodians of their village's information. This study mainly conducted interviews with the youth and not necessarily household interviews, but household lists were vital in generating clusters of respondents. Cluster sampling involves the selection of naturally occurring groups and dividing the population into groups or clusters from which a random sample is subsequently drawn (Sharma 2017, Wilson 2014). Cluster sampling is mainly useful in circumstances of a fragmented study population over a large geographical area because it saves time and financial resources.

From the 9 villages, the youth were clustered in averages of 40 per village (Jinja and Mayuge) and 32 (Luuka) to whom survey questionnaires were randomly administered. For qualitative data, purposive sampling was used in selecting participants for FGDs and individual in-depth key informant interviews based on age, responsibility in the village, and knowledge of and experience in sugarcane farming. The use of key purposive sampling in selecting key informants and FGD participants was mainly because of the ability to draw 'information-rich cases' for in-depth individual and group interviews (Gentles et al. 2015). Using purposive sampling, I was able to obtain survey participants as well as information-rich groups that generated qualitative data.

4.7 Data Collection Methods

Being a mixed methods study, both qualitative and quantitative tools were applied in the data collection. As already highlighted above (Section 4.2), the data collection process was sequential with the quantitative data taking up the first phase while qualitative data was collected in the second phase after highlighting gaps that needed further probing and follow-up using qualitative tools. The data collection tools are presented according to data types.

4.7.1 Quantitative data methods

Quantitative data resonates with the positivist research paradigm. A positivist paradigm assumes the existence of truth at large in which data analysis is central to unlocking the truth, thus it involves the collection and analysis of numerical data through deductive questions of

relationship and causation (Haardörfer 2019, Morse 2010, Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009). To obtain quantitative data, a structured questionnaire was administered in face-to-face interviews.

4.7.1.1 Structured questionnaire

Quantitative data was obtained through a youth survey in the three -sub-counties of Imanyiro, Bukanga and Busedde using a structured questionnaire. Structured interviews are usually based on standardized questions applicable to all the population or based on a representative sample (Kirsch 2001). A total of 320 youths sampled from the three districts were selected for interviews about sugarcane farming and their livelihoods using structured questions. Mainly closed-ended questions were set in three major headings of variables correlating with the study's objectives namely: youth involvement in sugarcane farming, sugarcane farming's impact on youth livelihoods (opportunities and challenges) and enhancing youth benefits from sugarcane farming. The aim was to generate youth characteristics in relation to sugarcane farming on key livelihood indicators, the challenges of sugarcane farming and making objective explanations and general conclusions on the effect of sugarcane farming on rural youth livelihoods in the Busoga sub-region.

The questionnaires were administered with the help of two Research Assistants (RAs) who were recruited from the research area, who had adequate knowledge of sugarcane farming. Using structured questionnaires enabled me to obtain numerical and quantifiable data for determining relationships and explanations, which is arguably vital and a precursor for qualitative inquiry (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009). Despite its vitality in scientific research, quantitative data-driven approaches arguably capitalize so much on chance and analysis that the approach tends to depend on the data set, which sometimes impedes progress in behavioural sciences (Haardörfer 2019). To mitigate the possibilities of telling a single-sided story, areas and questions that needed further interrogation were covered by qualitative data collection tools.

4.7.2 Qualitative data collection methods

This study benefited from a blend of data collection methods. Unlike quantitative data, qualitative data resonates with inductive research paradigms. While reductionists believe in reality measured by scientific principles, qualitative or induction research believes in multiple realities and meanings generated based on individual opinions using questions that stimulate descriptions and interpretations (Morse 2010, Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2005). To obtain

detailed insights from young people about sugarcane farming, descriptive and explorative tools were applied to establish their perceptions and opinions. Qualitative tools are usually handy in allowing for deeper interrogation and substantiating quantitative findings as well as examining respondents' opinions and meanings of their own life experience (Creswell 2012, Green and Thorogood 2004). The qualitative tools included interview guides for KIIs and FGDs guides.

4.7.2.1 Interview guides

The interviews involved direct face-to-face conversations with the respondents. The purpose of such verbal interchange is usually to elicit opinions, beliefs, and detailed information from the interviewees (Burns 1997). To generate detailed information about sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods, interview guides were applied during in-depth interviews with key informants. Participants in informant interviews were purposively identified and notified in advance and with their consent, appointments were set. Setting appointments was mainly important because the interviews were relatively time-consuming. On average, each interview lasted between one and a half to two hours.

I personally conducted the key informant interviews in face-to-face conversations with the help of an electronic recording which was done with the interviewee's consent. Given my knowledge of the local language, it was easy to conduct interviews without translators and this allowed for smooth interactions because of the ease and freedom of expression on the part of the interviewees. The interview guides had mainly open-ended questions seeking participants' views on major study themes such as youth involvement, and the benefits of and disincentives for sugarcane farming. As shown earlier, purposively selected categories including district and local government technical and political leaders, local farmers and opinion leaders constituted the key informants. In total, 18 key informant interviews were conducted with the different purposively selected individuals as indicated in Appendix II.

4.7.3 Focus Group Discussion (FGD) Guides

In addition to individual interviews, FGD guides were applied to generate responses from groups of individuals. In this study, FGDs were used for their relevance in collecting spontaneous, usually rich responses that are full of meaning (Creswell 2012, Mishra 2016). A total of 9 FGDs were conducted in the three -sub-counties. In each of the -sub-counties, there was one female group, one male group and one FGD composed of both male and female participants. Thus, three of the FGDs were composed of male youth and another three consisted

of only female youth while the last three FGDs were mixed. The differentiation between the sexes was to allow equal and independent chances for participation in the study especially for the female youth because there was not gender-equal participation in the survey. Just like the key informants, the FGD participants were purposively identified and selected. The FGD were mainly composed of the youth involved in various on- and off-farm sugarcane farming activities including but not limited to sugarcane planting, weeding, cutting and transportation. The inclusion criteria for FGD participants were mainly involvement in sugarcane farming, wealth of knowledge of sugarcane farming, age, sex and in some cases, position of responsibility or leadership.

The FGDs were conducted with the help of research assistants (RAs). The RAs mainly assisted in mobilizing the participants, identifying FGD venues and preparing the logistics for the participants. Similar to the key informant interviews, the FGD participants were identified and informed in advance because FGDs required time and some of participants had to travel a long distance to the FGD venue. In every FGD, I was the moderator while one of the RAs worked as secretary and took notes of the proceedings. The seating arrangement was 'U-shaped'. I sat at the end of one side of the 'U' while the RA in charge of recording proceedings sat at the other end, opposite me. Sitting closer to the secretary enabled me to keep a close eye on the note-taking process and whenever necessary I advised the RA to take note of some important responses. To generate the responses, a semi-structured and flexible interview guide contained questions that guided the discussion, although some questions arose from responses through probing. Equal chances were given to all participants to respond. With the consent of the participants, an electronic recorder was also used to capture the FGD proceedings. The different FGD participants' responses differed by -sub-county and sex are summarised in Appendix III.

4.7.4 Field observations

I used observation to collect information by looking at activities as and when they happened in the field. Right from the reconnaissance phase, I undertook field visits and conducted observation exercises throughout the data collection phase. The visits included studying and observing young people, their work patterns and the sugarcane activities in which they were engaged. Due to fluidity of the youth, it was important to observe their activities as a way of matching or confirming responses so there could be no doubt of their validity. As such, the field visits and passive observations were vital in what is referred to as ascertaining personal behaviour in an interactive manner (Kumar 2014). Through my passive and participant

observations on sugarcane farms, at sugarcane collection centres, during transportation activities and activities at the sugar factory, especially in Mayuge, I was able to make sense of the nature of the sugarcane jobs in which young people were engaged. Furthermore, the field visits gave me an opportunity to engage in some activities such as loading trucks where I also passively witnessed the youth cutting sugarcane.

Through these different formal and informal interactions, I was able to document events about daily activity schedules and most importantly, the field visits and interactions enabled me to collect what is referred to as spontaneous responses, usually rich and full of meaning, about respondents' social patterns and reflections on their lives (Tremblay 1957). These findings were based on keen observations of both on- and off-farm sugarcane activities and youth claims regarding outcomes and achievements for them such as shelter, livestock, land use and asset portfolios. The different findings helped me to reveal necessary evidence which is arguably central to the interpretive paradigm of qualitative studies (Bowen 2009). The various observational findings were later combined with document reviews and quantitative data as a way of ensuring the validity and reliability of results.

4.8 Data Analysis

Data analysis involves extracting and making meaning from the data collected. As shown earlier, this study collected both qualitative and quantitative data and the data were analysed using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Qualitative data was analysed and presented using what is referred to as narratives and descriptions (Creswell 2012, Patton and Cochran 2002). Unlike quantitative data analysis which deals with numerical information, qualitative data analysis is concerned with extracting meaning from field notes and texts, thereby understanding and explaining phenomenon. Qualitative data analysis was done both manually and through thematic context analysis.

The process involved extracting data from field interviews and FGD notes, electronic recordings and transcripts which were cleaned, transcribed and translated into report form. The first stages involved content analysis. As a process, content analysis elicits and organizes meaning from the data collected in order to reach realistic conclusions (Bengtsson 2016). In order to elicit meaning from the data, the qualitative data analysis involved revising all my interview notes and recordings from which I created and developed codes and themes in which the different data was associated and grouped into what are known as families and associates.

The process was phased and followed a chronological order starting with data familiarization, generating codes, reviewing, and naming themes.

The themes included modes of youth involvement in sugarcane farming activities, factors for differentiated modes of youth participation in sugarcane farming, youth motives for sugarcane farming, benefits and problems associated with sugarcane farming and enhancing youth benefits from sugarcane farming. By revising the notes and recordings and grouping data, the aim was to identify synergies from both manifest and latent analysis. On the one hand, manifest analysis involves a description of respondents' opinions, keeping close to the informant's words and describing 'the visible and obvious in the text' (Bengtsson 2016:10). On the other hand, latent analysis extends to the interpretation of respondents' opinions. Interpretive content analysis involves a description of the underlying meaning of the text or what it is all about (Catanzaro 1988). For the purposes of this study, relevant verbatim transcripts from the participants were carefully selected and where necessary quotations were used in the report, for the purposes of both latent and manifest analysis, which substantiated quantitative data.

The quantitative data was analysed using descriptive statistics such as frequencies and percentages. The process involved coding, tallying, tabulation and cross-tabulations to determine the relationships. In quantitative data analysis, cross-tabulations allow for the comparison of different groups in order to test hypotheses and research questions (Peil and Rimmer 1985). Cross-tabulations were conducted to test and determine the relationships between variables such as the influence of age, marital status and economic characteristics on youth livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming. Inferential statistics such as Chi-Square tests were used to interpret and determine the nature of the relationships between the variables. Furthermore, I used statistics such as frequencies and percentages for descriptive and generalization purposes because of their interpretive simplicity. Results were summarized into tables and figures in which patterns of relationships were determined. The quantitative data was analysed with the help a software program, namely Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

Furthermore, SPSS was used in designing a data entry screen in which all the questions were captured together with their responses from the 320 youth. With the help of SPSS, the data were analysed to generate cross-tabulations, frequencies, and percentages and to test relationships using both inferential and descriptive statistics. The observed statistical

significances and relationships were used in analysing patterns and and interpreting and describing the implications of sugarcane farming for youth socio-economic aspects such as education, social capital and income. The different variables were presented using tables and figures generated using Microsoft Excel and SPSS.

4.9 Reflexivity and positionality

Reflexivity is a critical aspect of social science research. Reflexivity is about considering one's position and prevailing circumstances in a given environment in relationship to one's studies. As a concept and practice, reflexivity is about noticing one's position vis-à-vis the research environment, other people, knowledge of our actions and thinking about self-consciousness, self-awareness and paying attention to the dynamics between the researcher and the subjects of the research (Etherington 2004, Finlay 2003). Given the potential impact of one's position and circumstances on the research environment and the impact of the research, it is vital to pay attention to the processes and dynamics of field activities and interactions because they have significant implications for the validity of the study (Schiltz and Büscher 2018). During field work, I encountered issues that required harmonization in order to navigate and limit the impact of field dynamics on the study findings. These included relationships with my Research Assistants (RAs), community perceptions and the issue of positionality, especially being an outsider.

As shown earlier, despite sharing a reasonable social understanding of the community such as language and cultural norms, I needed support from RAs for entry to the community as well as winning the trust of the youth. Despite the importance in of RAs in brokering the field work, RAs can bias and influence both respondents and research outcomes (Schiltz and Büscher 2018). In order to mitigate RA'sthe RA's' potential influence on respondents, I was keen to construct and concretize my relationships with the youth in the different villages through passive and participant interactions as a way of being becoming part of them. By maintaining a closer connection with the youth, I built trust and confidence through free and open informal discussions and participant observations which constructed friendship and gained me entrance to the community. The constructed friendship was useful in building trust and given my height and appearance, the age difference was not so noticeable, which made it possible for me to blend in with the majority of the participants, and build trust among the youth, thus, minimizing the potential challenges of biases arising from the brokers' strong control and understanding of the respondents.

Furthermore, I encountered issues of positionality emerging from being an outsider for two reasons. Firstly, the youth survey and my qualitative studies coincided with debates of around an emerging Sugar Bill and the governance of sugar production in Uganda. From January 2018 to the early 2019, the Parliament of Uganda was debating a Sugar Bill which had several issues including limiting emerging sugar factories to a radius of 25 kilometres (KMs) from existing (old) factories. The 25-kilometer radius was treated by the community as a move to maintain the monopoly of old sugar firms such as Madhvani by crowding out new market entrants. As such, there was community apprehension that some sugar factories such as Mayuge would be closed because they fell short of the 25-kilometer radius from Kakira Sugar Works. According to some opinion leaders, closing some sugar factories would give a monopoly to Kakira sugar works and thus negatively affect sugarcane prices. Being external to the community, some participants were suspicious that my study was part of the process to enforce the unpopular Sugar Bill.

In addition to the Sugar Bill, there was an issue concerning young people's increasing alienation from school. Due to negative perceptions of sugarcane farming on school attendance, district authorities such as the office of the Resident District Commissioner (RDC) of Luuka who announced stringent measures which included the immediate arrest of all young people, their parents and their employers, if they were found doing sugarcane work during school time. Being outsiders, my team and I were treated suspiciously by some young people as being possible agents of the district security office, especially in Luuka district. However, the fears and mixed feelings about the research team as both agents of the Sugar Bill and the district security offices were allayed by proving that the research was purely academic and that it had no connection with the government nor the district security offices. I ably explained the purpose of the study using evidence such as my Makerere University Student Identity Card, clearance letters from the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology, and permits from the respective district authorities. Furthermore, the RAs who were from the region together with the local guides were helpful in convincing the youth about our intentions.

4.10 Ethical considerations, procedures and dilemmas

Ethics constitute an important aspect of social research, both to the researcher and the researched community. Following the satisfactory presentation of my research proposal and upon the recommendation of the Higher Degrees Committee of the School of Social Sciences, I submitted my proposal to the Makerere University School of Social Sciences Research and

Ethics Committee (MAKSSREC) for clearance. After obtaining clearance from Makerere University (protocol number MAKSSREC 12.17.133), my research proposal was presented to the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) which cleared me for field work with a registration number (SS 4590) – see Appendices VII and VIII.

The clearance certificates were used to obtain community entrance permission from district and -sub-county authorities in Jinja, Mayuge and Luuka district. This was procedurally important because it protected me and my team from what is referred to as the risks of undue intrusion and a lack of understanding on the part of the respondents and the local authorities (Morrow and Richards 1996, Ritchie et al. 2013). As a requirement in social research, greater attention was paid to every detail of the ethical issues cited by the ethical bodies. Issues such as informed consent, confidentiality, honesty, respect and other concerns like data use and its impact on the respondents were given the attention they deserved as espoused in social research (Creswell 2012, Wackenhut 2018). The different issues were reflected on before, during and after field work but as expected, my study was not exceptional in having ethical dilemmas.

One of the ethical dilemmas concerned protecting data sources. While this was not a household interview, my plan was to conduct interviews in respondents' homesteads but due to youth mobility and peer interactions, I was in some cases forced to conduct interviews from places such as sugarcane farms and trading centres which presented the first ethical dilemma. Whereas this enabled me to generate data by conducting some interviews in busy centres, it was sometimes challenging to maintain the confidentiality of the youth who I used interviewed or what is referred to as sources of data (Wackenhut 2018). The second dilemma of conducting interviews at workplaces and busy centres was in relation to guarding against the *others*[5] youth who wanted to be part of an exclusively individual interview which could influence responses and respondents' freedom and right to interview privacy. The problem of peer interactions especially in such busy places was overcome by convincing non-participants to respect the individual interviews and the most appropriate strategy was convincing respondents to shift to a less busy and quieter place; but this raised the issue of compensating youths for their extra time to get there.

[5] I use the *others* to refer to the young people youths that who were not being interviewed during household surveys.

Compensation constituted an ethical dilemma because some youths treated the interviews as an opportunity to get money. Being an economically constrained group, evidence shows that young people's participation in research usually impedes income generation (Edmonds 2003). As a result, any form of reward especially monetary may be necessary to compensate for young people's time. However, the ethical dilemma about compensation in research is that where resources are involved, there can be issues of attrition of interests (Clark 2008). What emerges from this study is that a PhD study is associated with higher achievement and expectations financial benefits before or after the interviews. The youth perceptions arose from the appearance of the research team and the logistics used. Firstly, we had a small car that we used for field movements which the majority of the youth had knowledge of, and this may have raised their financial expectations. Secondly, my supervisors from Makerere University and the University of Gothenburg occasionally visited me during field work. In one of the villages in Mayuge, the supervisors came in a vehicle with a logo from Makerere University, School of Social Sciences which further raised their expectations. On another occasion, my Supervisor from the University of Gothenburg joined me during an FGD and upon seeing her, the youth perceived the entire team to be rich as they associated 'white people' with money.

In spite of the fact that I managed to navigate through negotiations which created understanding of student research with evidence of my university identity cards and other evidence, overcoming the idea of my being a rich student was considerably harder in some cases because of being visited by what the youth regarded to be high-profile persons. In such cases, it was pertinent to part with a monetary compensation at the end of some interviews. While monetary compensation was good for navigating field dynamics, save for FGDs where transport costs can be reimbursed and a refreshment provided, many ethical review boards do not believe in monetary compensation for study participants. From this experience, I noted that sometimes our appearance and the perceptions of the respondents predisposed the researcher to ethical challenges. This not only goes against ethical principles but can be financially straining in budgetary terms.

In relation to informed consent, I found a dilemma between the Makerere University School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee's (MAKSSREC) and the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology's requirements for administering consent forms. As a requirement in social research, every participant is required to provide informed consent before interviews are conducted. However, most of young people were less interested in signing forms

as they felt intimidated by paperwork while some young people actually reasoned that signing was only applicable when exchanging money. In this case, I had to adopt a mechanism for verbal consent, which I used in a few cases where young people were reluctant to append signatures or thumb prints. The key issue is the dilemma between institutional ethical requirements and the individual decisions which are informed by the circumstances in the field. Sometimes, one is forced to act different or slightly contrary to the provisions in order to navigate the challenging and changing field dynamics. Another interesting finding is that some pertinent information can be generated from informal discussions where administering an informed consent form could change the flow of the discussion.

4.11 Validity and reliability

Validity and reliability are cores aspects of research because they are core denominators of credibility. Validity and reliability not only minimize researcher bias but also increase transparency which can be achieved through the assessment of data collection methods (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009, Singh 2014). Denoting the accuracy of the presentation of respondents' views of social phenomena and the consistency of the results, validity and reliability mainly depend on the research paradigm (Creswell and Miller 2000, Golafshani 2003). Reliability is about the consistency of findings and mainly concerns repeatability and precision across time and across researchers (Chakrabartty 2013). The major aim of reliability is to ensure dependability. To ensure the reliability of findings, a triangulation of methods was adopted.

As a process, triangulation involves the application of multiple research tools and data sources to comprehend the research phenomenon and a strategy to test validity through the convergence of methods and information (Carter et al. 2014, Patton 1999). Triangulation takes different forms but for the purposes of this study, I applied triangulation in the form of data sources, methods and theory triangulation. Data was drawn from different sources using multiple tools such as a questionnaire, key informant interviews and FGD guides. Furthermore, data was presented, interpreted and discussed using a mixture of theoretical perspectives from the SLA, the CA and Marxism. By triangulating methods, data sources and theories, I benefited from the synergies of blending quantitative and qualitative data. The triangulation also allowed for follow-up, data gap filling exercises and probing through in-depth interviews and FGDs, which generated comparable data from different sources and thus, were a key strategy for testing validity.

Validity denotes the extent to which the study findings represent the actual respondents' picture. As a process, validity is concerned with the quality of the research by way of checking, theorizing and questioning the explored phenomena (Kvale 1995). In social research, validity is concerned with means rather than ends and as a process, validity involves a focus on control measures throughout every stage of knowledge production; thus a shift of emphasis from end product to the process of quality control. As such, achieving validity has more to do with the study instruments and the extent to which the instruments measure the intended purpose (Robson 2011). In this case, validity depends on data collection tools such as the questionnaire, and their confirmation through pre-test studies before being administered to the respondents. In this study, validity was ensured through data collection processes before, during and after data collection. Before data collection, pre-tests were conducted with RAs to determine the applicability of the tool and its capacity to generate accurate and valid findings. The pretesting process was useful in identifying potential challenges, missing questions and revising ways of asking some questions. During the data collection, debriefs were conducted on a daily basis to take care of any emerging challenges to the process of data collection.

In addition, routine checks were conducted to ensure that RAs captured the right data from respondents. For example, there was an emphasis on understanding the research questions and the questions asked prepared the ground for both validity and reliability, as the responses were based on an understanding of the study. My knowledge and understanding of the local language enabled me to deal with any divergences and validate the findings through further probing and in-depth interviews. Some findings from the quantitative studies and individual interviews were subjected to member-checking activities using FGDs and Key Informant Interviews and prolonged field engagements to give vitality and meaning to the study findings.

It is on the basis of careful processes of validity and reliability that the findings were generalized about the Busoga sub-region. While interview results and qualitative studies cannot be generalized for the whole population, analytical generalization was adopted. Analytical generalization focuses on patterns of findings in relationship to understanding how and why processes or actions occur (Halkier 2011). One way to make generalizations was through positioning, which is based on patterns of expressions, actions and relationships on which conclusions are drawn. In this study, generalization was based on observed youth relationships, physical ownership and sugarcane farming activities in which young people were engaged.

4.12 Study challenges and limitations

Being a mixed methods study was in itself a strength because of benefits embedded in triangulating qualitative and quantitative data. The initial target was to cover the Busoga sub-region, but the field realities required a logistical consideration which precluded covering the entire region because of budget implications. As such, the findings and conclusions of this study are based on the three districts of Jinja, Luuka and Mayuge and their respective -sub-counties from which data were obtained. Given the high concentration and intensity of sugarcane activities, the selected districts were representative cases of the subject of sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region in terms of spatial, socio-economic characteristics and previous studies carried out in the area (Mwavu et al. 2016, Nsubuga 2013). In addition to the methodological issues associated with the selection of the study area, I encountered some limitations worth mentioning.

Firstly, it was a challenge to achieve a gender balance among the participants. Despite sugarcane farming being a massive activity in the region, the survey showed that sugarcane farming was a male dominated activity with a significantly lower number of female young people. The majority of the survey participants were male. The high percentages of male participation in the survey was attributed to their dominance the majority of the on- and off-farm sugarcane farming activities. For homestead-based interviews, the majority of the participants were still dominated by males; even where a female was preferred, we were referred to the available male participants for two reasons. One was the gender-based dynamics of the Busoga sub-region where males are treated as the gate-keepers of information and more so, concerning commercial farming, the reserve of the male gender. Secondly, the interpretation and application of the concept of youth, which resonated with young males rather than young females.

The second challenge was in conducting key informant interviews with elites[6] because of power dynamics and the question of interview fatigue. Some elites, especially technical persons, were unwilling to create time for interviews. The elites that created time for interviews complained about interview fatigue, not necessarily about this particular study but mainly in reference to sugarcane farming interview fatigue as a result of overwhelming interest from

[6] By elites, I mean interviewees who had power vested in them as a result of working as technical and political heads of units at the district and sub-county levels.

different information seekers. I noted that interview fatigue was among the reasons why technical persons treated some of my appointments with apathy because it is common that participants feel overreached but also characteristic of elite interviews (Clark 2008, Smith 2006). Notwithstanding the challenges of apathy and interview fatigue among elites, I was able to conduct and realize the targeted number of interviewees.

In addition to interview fatigue, I also experienced challenges in dealing with excessively assertive political elites. Some of the political heads exhibited what is referred to as transferring elite power into research interviews (Smith 2006). Such groups, especially political heads of lower local government units, dominated interview proceedings by meandering beyond the scope of the interviews and using their political positions as a source of power. Using my knowledge of the asymmetrical power relationships in interviews and their implications for objectivity and ethicality (Kvale 2006), I was able to hold on to the end of the discussion, with polite interjections to keep the flow of the discussion on the subject matter of sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods.

It is on the basis of this methodology that the findings were realised and from which the report was written. Before presenting the study findings, the next section (Chapter Five) is about the context, which mainly sets the scene about commercial farming in Uganda and sugarcane farming. The presentation is both historical and contemporary, aimed at setting the background against which a clear picture of sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods can be objectively drawn. In addition to commercial farming, the chapter also focuses on the plight of the youth in Uganda and Busoga sub--region and their characteristics.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONTEXT OF COMMERCIAL FARMING IN UGANDA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the context of sugarcane farming and youth settings in Uganda. Before highlighting the question of sugarcane farming and youth settings, the chapter starts with a brief history of commercial farming and the processes that gradually led to sugarcane farming and its growth and expansion. This focus on commercial farming and sugarcane farming generally aims to assist in understanding the motives of the process and the key dynamics from the very start. In this case, I argue that a grasp of commercial farming and sugarcane farming contexts is vital to comprehending the impact of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods through an historical lens, a grasp of history, the key players, their motivations and why sugarcane farming has become a massive sector both in Uganda and Busoga.

A focus on the motives and the key actors and layers is important in understanding how the process includes or excludes poor, indigenous groups or promotes the interests of the investors. In this case, layers denote the major categories or levels in which sugarcane farming is exercised while players are interchangeably used in reference to the major agents or actors in sugarcane farming. The first part of the chapter presents a brief background of the growth and expansion of commercial farming of sugarcane as a cash crop. The second section focuses on the Busoga sub-region to show how and when sugarcane farming became a dominant crop. The third section presents the structure of sugarcane farming in Busoga, highlighting the different levels, the respective players, and the reasons for the differentiations. The fourth section highlights the youth socio-economic characteristics in Uganda and Busoga while the last section concludes the chapter.

5.2 Commercial farming in Uganda

Uganda's economic history portrays commercial farming as a foreign project. Foreign in the sense that, like the rest of the East African countries, subsistence farming predominated the pre-colonial farming structure of Uganda. The emergence of colonialism led to significant changes in Uganda's socio-economic spheres. From 1894 when it became a British protectorate, colonialism dominated the political and economic structure of Uganda for nearly 69 years until 1962 when the country became independent (Sejjaaka 2004). Throughout the

colonial period, Uganda underwent economic and socio-political changes which included but were not limited to, a transition from a barter to a monetary or cash economy. Along with these changes, monetization in Uganda took the form of urbanization and industrialization which presented opportunities for people to earn incomes for meeting consumer needs and administrative requirements such as tax polls (Golooba-Mutebi 2008). Just as in other sectors, Uganda's agricultural sector was permeated by the monetary agenda through the introduction of cash crops.

The pioneer cash crops included sisal, rubber, cotton, tea and coffee which were mainly concentrated in central Uganda (Ahluwalia 1995). The process of cash crop farming was mainly pioneered in central Uganda because the local compradors in Buganda willingly provided access to land for commercial farming (Martiniello 2019). Gradually, cash crop farming spread beyond the central region of Buganda, covering other parts of Uganda and by the 1930s, crops such as cotton had spread to the northern region, Bunyoro, Ankole, Busoga and other remote parts of Uganda while others such as coffee spread beyond the Lake Victoria region (de Haas 2014, Nayenga 1981).

The rationale for cash crop farming in Uganda varies and includes natural, human and economic motivations. On the one hand, the introduction of commercial farming in Uganda is attributed to fertile land and optimal environmental conditions for farming (Sørensen 1996). On the other hand, cash crop farming was part of British imperialism and economic extraction to suit domestic interests in Europe and the world market. Furthermore, commercial farming was a way of dealing with the fiscal pressure of sustaining colonial administration (Carswell 2003a, de Haas 2014, Russell 1941, Tothill 1940). The different economic agendas for cash crop farming were implemented using coercive and non-coercive means, and by constituting communities into classes.

Some communities for example in northern Uganda were clustered into labourers while other communities such as in central Uganda were designated for production of cash crops/raw materials (Mamdani 1987). Using the different approaches, the imperialist agenda of metropolis accumulation was realized by generating needed raw materials using cheap land and labour in Uganda. For instance, by the early 1920s, cotton production accounted for 90 per cent of the colonial government's revenue (Taylor 1978). However, the economic depression of the early 1900s affected the profitability of the hitherto booming crops such as cotton

because of plummeting prices, which necessitated venturing into other crops. The 1920s' economic crises and declining profitability fundamentally affected the competitiveness of European farmers because it led to bankruptcy and withdrawal from some commercial projects, thus enabling the penetration of Indian capital in plantation farming in Uganda (Martiniello 2017). On the one hand, the economic depression reduced European competitiveness and reduced the international domination of traditional cash crop farming but on the other hand, the plunging prices were avenues for the local bourgeoisie class (mainly Indians) to engage in cash crop farming.

Following the economic depression, Indians, who originally occupied an intermediary position in in the European dominated cash crops sector, started venturing into alternative crops such as sugarcane. As a result, sugarcane production started in 1910 on a peasant scale and gradually transformed into a commercial level by1921 (Ahluwalia 1995, Hansford 1935, O'Connor 1965). The transformation from peasant to commercial sugarcane farming was manifested in two ways, namely (i) the establishment of sugarcane plantations, and (ii) sugar factories in Central and Eastern Uganda, that is in Lugazi promoted by Mehta and Jinja under the Madhvani group. These different processes precipitated sugarcane farming into a major cash crop and revenue source for Uganda's colonial and post-colonial governments. Together with tea, sugarcane is one of the largest estate and plantation crops in Uganda (Republic of Uganda 2010). The growth and expansion of sugarcane farming is attributed to a combination of factors.

The growth and expansion of sugarcane farming was attributed to suitable climate and physical conditions, available demand from local and regional markets in East African countries and the Indian bourgeoisie factor (Ahluwalia 1995, O'Connor 1965). The availability of a wealthy Indian bourgeoisie class provided the needed massive capital investment in Uganda's sugarcane industry. The Indian bourgeoisie gained status from their long-time engagement and success in business following the Ugandan railway construction from which they gathered the resources to invest in massive capital ventures such as sugarcane farming, which the majority of the local population in Uganda could not afford (Ahluwalia 1995, Mamdani 1976). This partly explains why the first two sugarcane plantations in Lugazi and Jinja were operated by Indians as they could afford the requisite resources such as land.

5.2.1 The land factor and Uganda's political terrain

A focus on land is particularly important because it is a critical factor in the development of sugarcane farming in Uganda. Being a large-scale agro-industrial project, there was a need for large expanses of arable land to accommodate sugarcane plantations in Central and Eastern Uganda. The 1916 Government policies regarding non-alienation of land to non-Africans and developing Uganda based on a local African agriculture approach was initially a challenge to investors in the sugarcane sector (Ahluwalia 1995). Being foreign, Indians had minimal land rights compared to local Ugandans. Paradoxically, the local Ugandans had access to land but lacked the financial resources for investing in sugarcane farming.

In order to access land, Indians circumvented restrictions by acquiring Mailo[7] land from the local owners, leasing untenanted colonial government land, exchanging freehold land with consent from Buganda and the British government, and circumventing existing policies of non-alienation of land to non-Africans through agreements with locals (Ahluwalia 1995, Olanya 2014). In addition, the sugar companies took advantage of the reduced profitability of cotton by buying defunct commercial farmlands that hitherto had belonged to Europeans in Central Uganda. By taking over ownership of European plantations, the Indians secured an estimated 7,000 acres of land, that is 5,000 acres in Kyaggwe and 2,000 acres in Lugazi (Olanya 2014). Despite successful manoeuvres in accessing land, sugarcane farming was also faced with dynamics of the political regimes.

During Obote's regime as president of Uganda (1966 to 1971), a *Move to the Left*, which is popularly referred to as the *Common Man's Charter* was declared as a symbol of embracing socialism in Uganda. The central feature of the *Common Man's Charter* was the nationalization of business enterprises to provide for state control of Uganda's economy by Ugandans (Gershenberg 1972). The explicit declaration of socialism had implications for Uganda's commercial sectors, including the sugarcane industry. Conceding to the nationalization of business enterprises, sugar companies such as Kakira Sugar Works (KSW) agreed to give 50 per cent shares to the government in expectation of reciprocal increases in government investment (Ahluwalia 1995). However, surrendering 50 per cent shares to the government did not yield the envisioned support, as these government promises remained pure rhetoric. During

[7] According to the Land Act (1998), Mailo Land is one of the four land tenure systems in Uganda where land registered and owned in perpetuity with its holder having a land title for it, the owner has absolute ownership, and this is registered under the Registration of Titles Act.

Amin's regime (1971 to 1979), Uganda's economy was disrupted and ground to a standstill, leading to shortages of essential commodities (Tindigarukayo 1988). Specifically, the sugarcane industry suffered the damaging consequences of the policy decisions of the regime.

In 1972, President Idi Amin ordered the expulsion of Indians. Following Amin's attack on the Indian community and their subsequent expulsion, sugar companies became government corporations. The attack on the Indian community quickly plunged the sugarcane industry into a slump due to financial crises and management issues. By 1983, sugar production had plummeted, leaving Uganda in a sugar crisis (Ahluwalia 1995, Serunkuma and Kimera 2006). Following Amin's downfall, during Yusuf Lule's 68 days as president from 13th April 1979 to 20th June 1979 (Lubega 2019), the government recalled the Indians and renegotiated ownership rights and re-kindled the sugarcane industry through funding using donor resources. However, Uganda's economy continued to decline due to the massive economic challenges of inflation and the black market which permeated President Binaisa's regime, that is June 1979 to May 1980 (Tindigarukayo 1988). From 1980 to 1985, Uganda was involved in series of political crises following the return of Milton Obote. This was characterized by guerrilla wars which ushered in President Museveni in 1986.

From 1986, there was a drive to build a self-sustaining industrial economy by the new regime under Museveni. The move included rehabilitating the sugarcane industry partly by commissioning the Sugar Corporation of Uganda Limited (SCOUL) in 1988, while other sugar companies such as Kakira and Kinyara Sugar Works underwent renovations between 1986 and 1995-6, respectively (Serunkuma and Kimera 2006). The recovery of the sugar industry is attributed to the 1990s' structural adjustment reforms whose focus was rehabilitating agriculture for both food and export-oriented produce, which arguably increased the competitiveness of the sugar industry. To date, the regime continues to demonstrate support for sugarcane farming through various incentives. The most common incentives provided by the current government include subsidies and the policy environment, especially regarding access to land. In 2007, there was a move by President Museveni to gazette a quarter of Mabira[8] forest reserve to SCOUL as an incentive for increasing agricultural and industrial production

[8] Mabira is Uganda's largest forest reserve found in central Uganda and adjacent to the Mehta Group of companies, one of the producers of sugar in Uganda.

(Hönig 2014). However, the move generated massive public protests known as the Save Mabira Campaign[9].

A combination of ecological, social justice and political concerns among others forced the government to abandon and shelve plans for giving away the Mabira forest (Hönig 2014). Similar circumstances surrounded renewed plans to give 7,100 hectares of Mabira forest land to SCOUL in 2011. This was rejected by legislators who viewed the move as a repeat of the 2007 protests against the designation of forest land for sugarcane production (Nalugo 2011). In both 2007 and 2011, there are two explicit issues. One was the unequivocal government's interest in corporate farmers and the second was the government's failed attempts to gazette land to large scale farmers. Despite these failed attempts, there is evidence of support for the sugar industry through access to land and policy frameworks. For instance, despite the longstanding opposition to sugarcane farming in northern Uganda, state intervention through community engagement eventually yielded access to land for sugarcane farming in the Amuru district (Martiniello 2015).

In terms of policy, the government has also put in place regimes to govern sugarcane production in Uganda. A case in point is the 2010 National Sugar Policy (Ministry of Tourism Trade and Industry 2010). In 2018, the Parliament of Uganda passed a Sugar Bill to regulate sugarcane farming and sugar production in Uganda. The president initially declined to sign the Bill into law and reverted it to parliament for further scrutiny because the Bill was arguably antagonistic to the old large-scale farmers while favouring the new sugar producers but after further scrutiny, the Bill was signed into law (Kyeyune 2019, Murungi 2020). The cause of the antagonism was the increasing number of new entrants into sugar production which would affect the existing large sugar producers by increasing competition for raw materials, namely sugarcane. In order to protect the large producers, a zoning policy was introduced in the Sugar Bill, which was passed into Law in 2020, stipulating that new sugar firms can only operate within a radius of 25 kilometres from an existing producer. Apart from controversies regarding the Sugar Act, it is evident that the current government has good will and support for the sugarcane industry through law and policy as well as physical incentives that have enabled the growth and expansion of sugarcane farming including in the Busoga sub-region.

[9] The Save Mabira campaign was led by politicians and a section of civil society organizations, galvanizing public support in lobbying against gazetting Mabira forest land for sugarcane farming. Consequently, the government and the private sugar company withdrew the proposed plans in October 2007.

5.3 Sugarcane farming in Busoga

Situated in the east, Busoga is one of the fifteen sub-regions in Uganda. The sub-region is made up of 11 districts occupied mainly by Bantu speaking people called the Basoga, a name drawn from their language (Lusoga). Made up of 11 principalities, Busoga is one of the largest traditional kingdoms whose capital base is Jinja, the second largest city in Uganda (Abbo et al. 2008). Socially, Busoga is characterized by cultural norms which permeate most spheres of life. As a people, the Basoga are strongly attached to cultural values. A case in point is patriarchy, which is highly exercised in relationship to access and control of major factors of production such as land which is reserved for the male gender (Isiko 2019, Mudoola 1993). Economically, Busoga sub-region is a predominantly subsistence community.

Benefiting from the abundance of good soils and weather conditions, Busoga sub-region traditionally depends on a diversity of cash and food crops such as cotton, coffee, maize, sweet potatoes, plantain (locally known as matooke), rice and cassava, with cash crops as a preserve of the male gender (Nabuguzi 1993, Sørensen 1996). Being a subsistence community, farm production depends on rudimentary tools such as the hand hoe. Given the dominance of the hoe, precolonial Busoga was described as a 'hoe economy' because the hoe was the major farm tool for all homesteads (Cohen 1972). The emergence of colonialism mainly had an impact on the nature of crops grown but had less impact on the tools used. Apart from the introduction of cash crops such as coffee and cotton which altered Busoga's orientation from subsistence to cash crop farming, the 19th century did not change Busoga from a hoe economy.

Traditional cash crops such as cotton flourished and dominated until the early 1900s' economic crises. As shown earlier, the early 1900s' economic depression affected cotton profitability which pushed Indian bourgeoisies to venture into sugarcane jaggery in Jinja. The pioneer promoters such as the Madhvani group shifted from cotton to sugarcane farming in the Kakira Jinja district which was the home to the first sugar factory in 1930 (Serunkuma and Kimera 2006). The establishment of the sugar factory followed the acquisition of 800 acres of land in Jinja, although access to land by the Indian community in Busoga was contested. For instance, the 1920s' government proposal to allocate uncultivated land to Indian migrants was regarded by the local community, especially religious leaders, as a form of alienation, spoliation and an act warranted not by law but a triumph of 'might over right' (Kyomuhendo and McIntosh 2006). Furthermore, plans by the Kakira Sugar Works to plant sugarcane on existing vacant land because of sleeping sickness was initially rejected by the Busoga local government

(O'Connor 1965). However, compared to the central region, the Busoga sub-region was not densely populated and secondly, the land issues were not as complicated as they were in central Uganda, which worked in Madhvani's favour (Ahluwalia 1995).

Although Busoga's local government initially had concerns about the move by sugarcane promoters to acquire land, the local administration agreed to exchange land through agreements and by 1945, Kakira had 22,750 acres of land compared to Lugazi Sugar Works which had only 15,000 acres of land (Ahluwalia 1995, O'Connor 1965). Information available on the Kakira Sugar Works website (in April 2019) indicated that the company occupies at least 10,000 hectares of land on which their own nucleus cane farm sits (Kakira Sugar Works 2019). To minimize challenges to land acquisition, the out-grower scheme was adopted by Kakira Sugar Works. Under the out-grower scheme, local farmers were engaged and incorporated as sugarcane producers using their own land (Ahluwalia 1995, O'Connor 1965, Pim 1946). Through the out-grower scheme, sugarcane gradually spread across Jinja to other districts in the region where the majority of the households have adopted it as a cash crop.

The expansion of sugarcane farming in Busoga sub-region is attributed to historical factors of plummeting cotton prices on the one hand and on the other hand, sugarcane farming incentives such as quick cash farming (Kyalya 2013, Mwavu et al. 2018). As such, sugarcane farming which originally started on a small scale as a complementary activity to traditional cash crops turned out to be the dominant crop in the region. To date, sugarcane farming is the major commercial farming activity, giving Busoga sub-region a new identity as the centre for large-scale sugarcane farming manifested by different layers and actors.

5.4 Structure of Sugarcane Farming in Busoga sub-region

To understand the broader context and structure of sugarcane farming in Busoga is vital in grasping what the whole process means for youth livelihoods. This is important in two ways, namely to shed light on the power structures and relationships embedded in the activity and to determine the major actors and most importantly, the position of young people. Based on the circumstances in Busoga, sugarcane farming is not only a massive activity but is also multi-layered in nature. Sugarcane farming is multi-layered in the sense that it rests on three major levels with different actors. The three layers include the corporate level composed of large-scale commercial sugarcane plantations and the sugar factories, then the out-grower/contract

farmers and the private small-scale independent farmers. The last category of actors constitutes the *de facto* third layer are the workers or the proletariats.

5.4.1 Corporate level of sugarcane farming

The agro-industrial sector in the Global South is dominated by North-based Trans-National Corporations (TNCs). The TNCs interest in agro-industrial business in the Global South embodies unending old forms of imperialism manifested in the dominance of industrial capital in the 19th century (Araghi 2003). Industrial capital is a longstanding agenda manifested in the re-establishment of economic relationships with former colonial states. The 19th century dominance of industrial capital bred relationships based on the law of value manifested in colonial administrators' extended specialization in export-led commodities and agricultural products (Araghi 2003). The imperialist agenda gave rise to TNCs supported by their 'finance-rich, but resource poor' states entering into the Global South through heightened land transactions and empire building for largescale production of food, biofuel, forest products, minerals and food needs (Borras Jr and Franco 2012). In this case, SSA is targeted due to abundant land and cheap labour, thus the dominance of the plantation sector, especially sugarcane farming (Brass and Bernstein 1992, Hess et al. 2016). This partly explains why the sugarcane industry in most African countries is dominated by Global North based corporations.

In Uganda, sugarcane farming is dominated by corporate companies owned by Indians. The different companies are the key players in sugarcane farming in central, central west, northern and Eastern Uganda, wherein lies Busoga sub-region. In the Busoga sub-region, there are over five sugar producing companies led by the Kakira Sugar Works operated by the Madhvani Group of Companies, which is also the dominant company in the sugar industry of East Africa with business empires stretching down to Rwanda (Veldman and Lankhorst 2011). Taken together with other sugar producers, the different sugar companies constitute the corporate layer which constitutes the key players in sugarcane farming in Busoga sub-region. The corporate level is significant to sugarcane farming in relationship to providing a market for sugarcane produced by out-growers and offering technical and financial support to local farmers (Martiniello 2015). The significance of the corporate layer to sugarcane farming is predicated on strong financial capacity.

Given their strong financial status, the corporate level of sugarcane farming is characterized by large-scale investments in sugarcane plantations and sugar factories. The corporate layer is led

by Kakira Sugar Works, the largest and oldest investor in sugarcane in Busoga sub-region. In the three districts and throughout the region, the corporate layer is mainly situated in Jinja, which is arguably 'an agricultural area prevalently dedicated to sugarcane cultivation' (Martiniello 2017:2). In Jinja, the corporate layer is manifested by the presence of huge venture capital investments in sugarcane plantations evident in large acreages of land on which sugarcane is cultivated using advanced technologies such as tilling, irrigation and machinery for sugarcane processing. Based on plantation estates, visible technology and sugar processing machinery, the corporate layer is a dominant feature in Kakira Town Council (KTC).

Using the second characterization of investment in sugar processing machinery, the corporate level is also present in Mayuge manifested by the Mayuge Sugar factory, in Kaliro because of Kaliro Sugar Limited, in Kamuli district due to Kamuli Sugar factory among other districts that are home to sugar factories (Nakato 2017). However, apart from KSW, the majority of the new sugar producers do not have sugarcane estate plantations. Historically, the estate sugarcane plantation establishment belongs to KSW stretching beyond Jinja to neighbouring sub-counties west of Mayuge district. With or without sugarcane plantations, most of the sugar factories depend on sugarcane out-growers for sugarcane supplies (Mwavu et al. 2018). This suggests that the out-growers are a core part of sugarcane farming in Busoga, yet the limited presence of corporate farms means that their significance is limited to areas of concentration.

5.4.2 Out-growers and small-scale independent sugarcane farming

Corporate sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region is followed by out-growers and small-scale independent farmers. While relatively less well-documented in commercial farming literature, small-scale farming has been vital in Africa since colonial times and the significance has grown over time, transforming into what is referred to as a 'new capitalist class of farmers' (Hall, Scoones and Tsikata 2017). In Uganda, smallholder farmers have a strong influence in domestic and export sectors and their strength is based on environmental and physical factors such as the availability of land and good soils (Brett 1998). Smallholder farmers constitute three quarters (¾) of Uganda's agricultural output and over time the value of produce sold by smallholder farmers has steadily increased in most regions of the country (Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development 2014, Republic of Uganda 2010). This is not confined to sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region.

Being a subsistence community, Busoga has historically depended on small-scale farming both in the pre-colonial and post-colonial periods. As such, the introduction of cash crops such as cotton mainly thrived on small-scale farming until the mid-1970s and early 1980s events such as the expulsion of Indians and declining demand for cotton (Nabuguzi 1993). The declining demand for cotton did not undermine the role of small-scale farmers but instead, showcased the potential and resilience of small-scale farmers. Subsequent to the economic crises and broken infrastructure for cotton production and marketing, the smallholder farmers in the Busoga sub-region resorted to food crop production as cash crops for the domestic market (Nabuguzi 1993, Sørensen 1996). The resilience and flexibility of small-scale farmers enabled them to benefit from the liberalization policies of the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Since the liberalization of commercial farming in the early 1990s, the market reforms and agricultural support breathed more life into small-scale farmers. The 1990s marked a resurgence of out-grower schemes which symbolizes the significance of small-scale farmers. To date, smallholder farmers have sustained Uganda's subsistence food and market production. In Busoga, small-scale farmers constitute the second layer of sugarcane farming, mainly composed of farmers growing sugarcane as a cash crop on their own land. As shown earlier, the reduced significance of traditional cash crops such as cotton attracted farmers to sugarcane farming, making it the dominant cash crop. Furthermore, prospects such as an available market and the comparative benefits of sugarcane farming such as resistance to pests, contributed to a shift to sugarcane farming (Martiniello 2017). This shift constitutes a significant layer in the structure of sugarcane farming in Busoga sub-region. Some of the small-scale farmers are out-growers while others are independent farmers. There is a thin line that separates a small-scale farmer from out-growers because in essence, they are all out-growers who emblemise market-based sugarcane farming. The major difference appears to be the aspect of independence which arises from aided and un-aided out-growers.

Out-grower schemes are contractual arrangements between farmers and other firms involving either oral or written agreements concerning the production and conditions of marketing agricultural products in which the buyers purchase the products for prices agreeable to the two parties (Holtland 2017, Prowse 2012). In some cases, the contracts are transferable and involve production support through technical advice, input support, access to funds and mechanization services. As a practice, the out-grower scheme dates back to the colonial and 20th century activities of commercial farming in African countries where

local farmers were integrated in largescale production as a process of maintaining circuits of commercial production in colonial economies (Martiniello 2017). In SSA, the out-grower scheme was part of the 1970s' agrarian reforms which involved integrating rural production processes into industrial production and opportunities for accumulation by smallholder farmers (Little and Watts 1994).

In East Africa, out-grower or contract farming took shape in the early 1920s in commercial farm schemes such as Gezira Irrigation Scheme in Sudan, and the Tea Development Authority in Kenya; and the 1950s which ushered in the Kakira Sugar Works out-growers scheme (Ahluwalia 1995, Martiniello 2017). In Busoga, the out-grower scheme emerged in 1958 as an initiative by KSW to contract private farmers to supply sugarcane using their own land (Martiniello 2017). While it was viewed as a means of incorporating the community of Busoga into sugarcane farming, the out-grower scheme was also adapted to increase production and foster positive relationships with the community (Ahluwalia 1995, Serunkuma and Kimera 2006). The need for positive relationships with the community was arguably based on experiences of local resistance towards sugarcane farming by the Basoga for fear of land alienation. While it was not the sole objective, the out-grower scheme was one way of constructing community acceptance to sugarcane farming and getting access to land. In this case, the out-grower scheme was vital because people would produce sugarcane on their own land and become part of the sugarcane production chain.

To date, the out-grower scheme constitutes a significant layer in the structure of sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region. At the time this study was conducted, information available on the KSW website shows that at least 7,000 registered farmers supply over 1,000,000 tonnes (65 per cent) of the factory's cane consumption (Kakira Sugar Works 2020). The majority of the out-growers subscribe to the Kakira Sugar Works in Jinja. It is not surprising that the largest sugarcane out-grower establishment is located within a 21-kilometre radius from the Kakira sugar factory (Mwavu et al. 2016). A 21-kilometre radius stretches into the Mayuge district in the eastern part of Jinja as it is less than 20 kilometres from Kakira to the western part of Mayuge district. Some of the out-growers are supported by finance and farm inputs while others are only registered and not supported but guaranteed a market. The most common support includes technical advice, farm-input support, transport services and labour costs, which are recovered after harvesting (Kakira Sugar Works 2020, Martiniello 2017). Being unsupported is in itself a differentiation from

independent farmers because apart from the market guarantee, the majority of the smallholder farmers are not bound by strict contractual obligations.

Furthermore, the majority of the private sugarcane farmers operate on relatively small landholdings compared to registered and aided out-growers. These smallholder farmers constitute the largest concentration of sugarcane farming especially outside Jinja district. Their concentration outside of Jinja is because, other than the western part of Mayuge district which have large-scale sugarcane estates, other districts in Busoga sub-region are dominated by either mid-scale out-growers or small-scale independent farmers. This group of farmers largely operate without obligations and reserved rights over sugarcane supply. Throughout the three districts studied, the small independent farmers from Jinja and Mayuge are free to sell their sugarcane to either KSW or Mayuge while those in Luuka district can sell to either Kaliro Sugar Works or KSW. However, there are implications for increased smallholder sugarcane farming in Busoga sub-region. The increase in the number of smallholder farmers in sugarcane farming has partly been associated with problems of poverty and food insecurity in Busoga (Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development 2014).

Both independent and supported sugarcane farmers are incorporated into circuits of commercial sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region. The connection to the circuit of largescale production has implications for the sugar business such as increasing sugarcane supply; and for the farmers, being an out-grower is flanked by benefits of access to financial resources from the sale of sugarcane, sugar factory support and guaranteed access to credit from banks (Martiniello 2017). And to the community, out-growers in Busoga are sources of jobs, especially those with substantial landholdings and capital to hire young people and other landless groups who constitute the proletariat class.

5.4.3 Workers and Semi-Proletariat class

In a setting of capitalism, the two major classes are the bourgeoisie and the working class, also referred to as the proletariats. The Proletariat or labour is defined by Karl Marx as the "…aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in the physical form, the living personality, of a human being, capacities that he sets in motion whenever he produces a use-value of any kind" (Marx 1977:270). In a neo-liberal agrarian lens, the inability of local peasants to survive on their own pieces of land incorporates them into what is referred to as the 'logic of the market imperative' (Akram-Lodhi 2007). In this case, the behaviour of the sub-

sectors or peasant groups is based on the circuit of capital into which they are incorporated through the market imperatives regulated by the powerful forces in the structure. For the groups that are not directly involved in commercial production, land is the major source of survival and where this fails, they become proletariats or semi-proletariats. This is, however, part of the processes and features of capitalism. To ensure abundance of labour, capitalism assimilates the population through primitive accumulation policies of dispossession.

In the agrarian political economy, it is about who owns and controls the land and the purpose for which it is controlled because such structures come with the question of power and privilege in the countryside (Akram-Lodhi 2007). In Busoga, households and landless individuals constitute the working class while peasants that survive on small plots constitute the semi-proletariat class as they survive through selling their labour power to the large or richer peasants and capitalists. Such groups are usually compelled by the capitalist objectives of enclosure such as appropriations of land for minority groups and the dispossession of the poor peasants (Martiniello 2017).

Due to pressure from settlers and sugarcane investors, the poor groups in Busoga have resorted to 'renting their plots' due to either lack of capital, the small nature of their landholdings, or both. Given the competitive dynamics of sugarcane farming, some peasants rent their small plots of land for as little as 100,000 to 150,000 Uganda shillings for every acre, per year (Martiniello 2017). Further evidence shows that some families are predisposed to landlessness due to land grabs by powerful sugarcane tycoons who mostly target poor households such as widows and the elderly (Kyalya 2013). As such, the landless peasants without start-up capital are caught between landlessness and sugarcane workers. In such conditions, the local resource poor groups' productive engagement in sugarcane farming is constrained by increased competition for land and labour commodification, which raises operational costs where they need more than family labour. Besides, the structure of sugarcane farming in Busoga and the central government's policies seem to directly eliminate the peasants with small landholdings.

In his support for the policy involving a 25-kilometre zone where no new sugar mill is allowed within this radius, the President of Uganda observed that "only medium and large scale sugarcane farmers operating on more than six acres should be allowed to partner with the factories" (Parliament of Uganda 2019). By all means, the social differentiations based on the political economy of labour and capital have yielded the labour class in Busoga's sugarcane

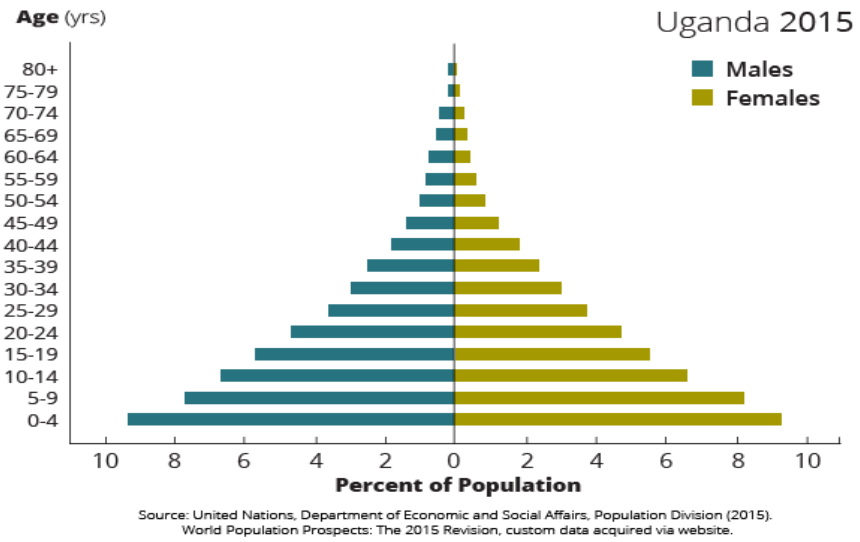
farming a structure. The labourers provide the bulk of the needed energy through out-growers that have the capacity to hire. The victims of landlessness have to survive between their small farms and commercial labour in sugarcane in order to support their poor families (Kyalya 2013). The problem of landlessness and its impact on one's position in the commercial farming structure can be seen as a feature of the impact of capitalism on social classifications.

In capitalist settings, class differentiations usually emerge from commercial farming regimes where farmers with land become employers of their landless counterparts, often young males that constitute the labour class surviving on piecework (Hall, Scoones and Tsikata 2017). Evidence shows that groups such as young people often find it hard to fit into the processes of commercialization due to the lack of farms as a fall-back position (Bernstein 2010, Hall, Scoones and Tsikata 2017). As a result, they are forced to seek precarious employment opportunities. The challenge is that such groups have to survive in the circuits of diverse labour regimes which rarely conform to standardized wage employment. As a result of constraints, some groups find themselves 'hanging in' while others choose to 'drop-out' entirely of farming in preference for non-farming jobs and urban areas (Hall, Scoones and Tsikata 2017). For the groups that can 'hang in', the labour status is their major form of engagement in sugarcane farming.

5.5 Youth in Context: Uganda and Busoga sub-region

The global youth bulge and its implications for young people can be viewed in relation to Uganda's population structure and economic conditions. In terms of population structure, Uganda has a relatively young population with the majority of the population being below 30 years (78 per cent) and those between 18 to 30 years constituting 22.5 per cent of the population (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2014, Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2017c). The majority of Uganda's population is between the age groups 5-9 years and 30-34 years while those in age group 35-39 and 80+ years are the least as shown in the Figure below:

Figure 5 1: Uganda's Population pyramid



As shown in figure 5.1 (above), Uganda's population structure depicts two things: a fast-growing population and a representative case of the youth bulge where children or young adults constitute the largest proportion of the population (Lin 2012). By nature, Uganda's population is predominantly young and such a population structure means that young people have a bearing on the socio-economic development of the country. In this case, the youth bulge can be harnessed for economic development by looking at youth numbers as alternative avenues for viewing the future in terms of changing needs (Gidley, Ingwersen and Inayatullah 2002, Inayatullah 2016). However, young people's contribution to development mainly depends on their socio-economic characteristics.

To harness the demographic dividend of high numbers, the youth have to be empowered through access to resources, involvement in decision-making, and economic entrepreneurship (Inayatullah 2016). This is different from Uganda's case as manifested in its youth characteristics. The youth are categorically vulnerable. The indicators of youth vulnerability include low incomes, high unemployment, problems of illiteracy, living in rural areas, shortage of land and dependency on subsistence farming (Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development 2001). Just like other African countries, youth problems are spread between rural and urban areas. For instance, Uganda's unemployment rates are relatively high in rural areas (10 per cent) compared to (8 per cent) in urban areas (Ahaibwe, Mbowa and Lwanga 2013, Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2014, Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2016). A low percentage of youths are employed in professional jobs and the majority are in the informal sector, leaving agriculture as the largest livelihood source for the youth. With 63 per cent of rural youth

engaged in farming, it is envisaged that commercialization of farming can enhance their contribution to Uganda's socio-economic development to national development (National Planning Authority 2015).

Specifically, the youth (18-30 years) exhibit characteristics of vulnerability. According to a Youth Monograph by the Uganda National Bureau of Statistics (2017), the majority (72 per cent) of the youth are self-employed. Only 24 per cent of the youth are involved in paid employment and yet the majority of (working) youth (79 per cent) are involved in vulnerable employment – characterized by insecurity and low earnings (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2017c). In addition, the majority (59 per cent) are engaged in subsistence agriculture work followed by sales and service work (10 per cent) and the lowest percentage are involved in professional work. Socially, the majority (59 per cent) of the youth are married, and these are found in rural areas, and many are already engaged in family and childbearing responsibilities. These characteristics are similar to those of the youth in Busoga sub-region. Socially, 61 per cent of the youth in Busoga sub-region are married, with at last 26 per cent being household heads and in terms of education, most the youth have attained primary (46.8 per cent) and secondary (39.6 per cent) level, while far fewer (5.7 per cent) have attained tertiary education (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2017c). Economically, (56 per cent) of the youth in Busoga are engaged in crop farming and other primary production such as fishing, and trade in agricultural commodities.

Young people's engagement in primary production strengthens the significance of farming as a fall-back and the most available activity to accommodate the majority of the youth in Uganda. Specifically, the potential of agriculture to accommodate the youth is based on its ability to integrate both skilled and unskilled labour and for Uganda, it is believed that agriculture has the potential to grow further (Williams and Pompa 2017, World Bank 2011). Commercial farming is therefore seen as one way of attaining national poverty reduction goals in Uganda. Specifically, youth involvement in commercial farming is believed to contribute to poverty reduction through access to incomes which could enhance youth wellbeing (State House 2018). Scholarship about commercial farming and local livelihoods shows that commercial farming has the potential to benefit the local population. One of the advantages of commercial farming is that it contributes to the local economy by absorbing both the semi-skilled and skilled local labour (Gustavo and Stamoulis 2007). Given the high levels of unemployment and problems

of vulnerability such as lack stable jobs and income sources means that commercial farming offers solutions youth livelihood challenges.

Given the agenda for commercial farming as a solution to problems of income, jobs and potential to enhance livelihoods of the weak and vulnerable groups, the question is whether sugarcane farming can produce the presumed livelihood outcomes for economically constrained young people. Notwithstanding the role of commercial farming, the youth face enormous socio-economic constraints that could limit potential gains from Uganda's commercial farming agenda. Some of the challenges include lack of land, climate change or seasonality of weather among others that require strategic interventions. The challenges are exacerbated by the fact that the alternative informal sector, which is also the second largest employer, is unable to accommodate enough the youth population and yet, the available jobs are not the best for the youth in Uganda (Williams and Pompa 2017). This means that the modernization of farming not only retains its position as the major employer for youth but also comes with attendant opportunities that may directly solve youth problems.

5.6 Conclusion and emerging issues

This chapter highlights the context and structure of sugarcane farming and the youth settings in Uganda and the Busoga sub-region. Rooted in colonial history and an imperialist accumulation agenda, this chapter has shown that sugarcane farming as a prototype of capitalist farming to which land and finance are pertinent resources. Thus, sugarcane farming is an embodiment of a business venture and its emergence was part of the diversification of farm businesses. This economic connotation explains why sugarcane has structured the community of Busoga into classes of haves and have-nots and their respective layers. The classification is mainly based on resource capacity, with the wealthy groups constituting the corporate level that owns sugar processing plants while the middle level groups constitute the out-growers. The majority of the 'have-nots', namely the non-capitalized, less capitalized or both, constitute the bulk of the sugarcane labour force: both the semi-proletariat and proletariat class.

What emerges from the structure and context of sugarcane farming in Busoga is that one can be in sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region at corporate level, out-grower level or labourer level. Except for the latter, the former require significant capital. As such, the labour class is mainly composed of groups whose exclusion from the corporate and out-grower class compels them into proletariats and semi-proletariats in sugarcane farming. Since the majority

of the youth in Uganda and Busoga sub region are involved in subsistence farming, commercial sugarcane farming is an opportunity for one to be an out-grower farmer or replace their lack of land by exchanging their labour and time for sugarcane jobs. This is mainly because of explicit government support for commercial sugarcane farming, which means that the rural population have to make use of this policy agenda as a livelihood strategy. However, to understand what commercial farming means for young people, it is important to answer the questions of which youths are in sugarcane farming and how are they involved in order to determine whether commercial sugarcane farming can be a good strategy for the youth in the Busoga sub-region.

CHAPTER SIX

YOUTH INVOLVEMENT IN SUGARCANE FARMING

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings about the nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region. Nature is used in reference to the different modes and levels of youth involvement in sugarcane farming. Furthermore, youth involvement, which is a term used interchangeably with participation and engagement, also includes on the sugarcane activities in which the youth are involved, why the youth are involved the way they are involved, and the motivations for youth involvement in sugarcane farming. Focusing on the modes of youth involvement in sugarcane farming was necessary in examining the relationship between sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods. The chapter mainly answers three questions. Firstly, how are the youth involved in sugarcane farming? Secondly, why are the youth involved in sugarcane farming and why are they involved in the way they are involved? Thirdly, how can youth involvement in sugarcane farming in Busoga sub-region be understood and interpreted?

By focusing on youth modes of engagement, the aim was mainly to highlight the youth position in sugarcane farming and to explain youth status in Busoga sub-region. In order to describe the youth in sugarcane farming, I focused on different socio-demographic characteristics of the youth such as education qualifications, marital status, age, sex and livelihood activities among other attributes. As posited in the theoretical framework, the main assumption was that socio-demographic characteristics were important because personal heterogeneities and social issues such as gender, skills, physical condition and society hierarchy influence one's ability to convert available resources into desired livelihoods or wellbeing (Robeyns 2016a, Sen 2009). Furthermore, social factors such as gender and class constitute what is referred to as durable inequalities namely, the relational issues that emerge from asymmetrical structures that cause routinized mechanisms of closure and exclusion which produce both exploitation and privilege (Tilly 1998). My focus on socio-demographic characteristics was important for two reasons.

The first was to describe the youth involved in sugarcane farming and secondly, to show the causal influence of these characteristics on youth involvement in sugarcane farming. Data from the youth survey indicates that the youth involved in sugarcane farming in Busoga are

heterogeneous, marked by differences in age, sex, education levels, marital status, settlement pattern or location as summarized in Table 6.1

Table 6.1: Respondents' Socio-demographic Characteristics

1	Age	Frequency	Percentage
	18 - 21	130	41
	22 – 25	78	24
	26 – 29	112	35
	Total	320	100
2	Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
	Married	152	47.5
	Unmarried	164	51.2
	Divorced	3	0.9
	Widow/widower	1	0.3
	Total	320	100
3	Living status	Frequency	Percentage
	Independent	187	58
	Dependent	133	42
4	Education Level	Frequency	Percentage
	None	4	1
	Primary	181	56
	O'level	110	34
	A'Level	17	6
	Tertiary	8	3
	Total	320	100
5	Location	Frequency	Percentage
	Rural	259	81
	Peri-urban	61	19
	Total	320	100
6	Respondents Gender	Frequency	Percentage
	Male	263	82
	Female	57	18
	Total	320	100

Source: Youth Survey (2018)

In addition to the Table (6.1) above, data was also collected on other socio-demographic characteristics of the youth such as land ownership, sugarcane farm ownership and youth livelihood activities which are presented in the subsequent sections of this chapter. The different characteristics have a direct or indirect influence on youth involvement in sugarcane farming as presented below.

6.1.1 Respondents' Age

Age was significant because it was a defining variable for the study participants that is, 18 to 30 years. Based on the survey findings, all the study participants characteristically were young

adults. The respondent's age was categorized into groups recorded on a self-reported basis because there was no control mechanism to prove or disapprove one's declared age. In rural settings, there is a tendency to report overage or underage in low-income countries due to a lack of birth records and the majority of the population are less educated, thus, less likely to register their children's births (Selim 2019, United Nations Children's Fund 2013). For this study, some youth may have been younger than 18 years but may have inflated their age for the purposes of meeting the threshold for waged labour. Inflated age reporting in rural areas is mainly attributed to early marriage but in a labour context, misinformation about age is intentional to be eligible for work rights. The average age for the study participants was 24 years and most of the youth were in the age group 18 to 21 followed by 26 to 29 years while 22 to 25 years was the smallest group.

The different age groups provided analytical utility for comparing experiences of the youth in the various age groups. For example, it was important in comparing the experiences of younger age-groups with the older age groups who had longer experience of sugarcane farming. Eighteen is the age of consent in Uganda, so young people in the age groups from 18 to 30 years are well able to understand and describe their experiences of sugarcane farming. It was therefore important to focus on age as a variable to explore its relational influence on youth involvement in sugarcane farming and the benefits and vulnerabilities associated with one's age. The question was thus how does age influence youth involvement in sugarcane farming?

Contextually, apart from social aspects such as family, village and clan, age is an important organizing feature of Busoga's society (Isiko 2019). At 18 years, one is free to start independent life including seeking employment for self-sustainability. For boys, this is the stage at which they erect their own shelter in preparation for an independent life, including marriage especially for those not in school. Economically, age confers privilege as well as disadvantage. For example, age is a gateway for boys to access resources such as land, a major resource for a community such as Busoga that depends on farming. Traditionally, parents allocate land to their sons who have reached the stage of living independently. This is different for those below 18 years because they depend on shared resources under the support of parents and guardians. In this case, on the one hand one's age constitutes a disadvantage and causes vulnerability, and on the other hand, age constitutes privilege and an opportunity. Age is a form of opportunity in the sense that one can own land at an older age and a vulnerability in the sense that younger ones are not entitled to land. Therefore, the influence of age on youth involvement in sugarcane

farming is indirect and this is mainly in relation to access to land, a key resource in commercial farming.

6.1.2 Marital status of respondents

Marital status is a vital component of livelihoods because it categorizes people into individual or extra family responsibilities. At 18 years, one attains adulthood because it is the age of both consent and young adulthood in Uganda. In traditional communities, adulthood is signified by responsibilities such as marriage. As such, marriage, familial responsibilities and socially constructed practices such as living in an independent shelter are defining characteristics of adulthood among rural youth in Sub-Saharan Africa (Bennell 2007, Namuggala 2018). The youth who participated in the study were in two main categories: married and unmarried. Slightly less than half (48 per cent) of the youth were married while the majority (51per cent) were unmarried. Apart from being married or unmarried, 1 per cent of the youth constituted those that had separated or divorced.

In addition to marital status, there were distinctions based on living with or dependent on parents/guardians. The majority (58 per cent) of the youth were living independently while 48 per cent were living with their parents or guardians. Analysis of marital status by age groups and whether one is independent or dependent revealed significant relationships between age, marriage and living status. Responses to the question of marital status vis-à-vis age and dependent or independent status are summarized in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Marital status by Living Status and Age Group

Marital status of dependent and independent youth		**Age groups**				
	Count/Percentage	18 to 21	21 to 25	26 to 29	Total	P-value
Married and Independent	Count	16	37	90	143	
	Percentage	12%	48%	80%	45%	
Married and Dependent	Count	2	4	7	13	
	Percentage	2%	5%	6%	4%	
Unmarried and Independent	Count	14	18	12	44	*.000
	Percentage	11%	23%	11%	14%	
Unmarried and Dependent	Count	98	19	3	120	
	Percentage	75%	24%	3%	37%	
Total	Count	130	78	112	320	
	Percentage	100%	100%	100%	100%	

Source: Youth Survey (2018)

Table 6.2 above illustrates a statistically significant (P.000) relationship between age groups of the youth living independently, dependently and being married. The majority of the married youth are in the upper (26-29) and mid (22-25) age groups while the youngest (18-21) age group have the lowest incidence of marriage. Furthermore, marriage is common among the youth living independently, which is less surprising because marriage is itself a manifestation of readiness to live independently. What is surprising is that some dependent youth were also married but such cases were common among youth living in the same compound with their parents. The majority (90 per cent) of the married youth had children but the key issue here was to examine what marriage means for participation in sugarcane farming.

In Busoga community, marriage is an important feature of socio-economic life for three reasons. Firstly, marriage symbolizes maturity and capacity on the part of males because procuring a wife is a sign of manhood (Isiko 2019). Secondly, marriage has implications for the definition and application of the term youth in Busoga. Upon marriage, one becomes a man and a woman as marriage comes with responsibilities of adulthood and childbearing. Thirdly, marriage is an opportunity for males to access resources such as land from parents (Fallers 1965). Being a farming community, access to land enables one to engage in farming activities, including sugarcane farming. However, due to the increasing population and land fragmentation, the youth revealed that marriage is no longer a guarantee of access to ample land for farming. The key issue, however, is that marital status influences involvement in sugarcane farming.

The influence is threefold: access to land and its bearing on sugarcane farm ownership; access to sugarcane work; and spouse rights to work. In this case, being married or unmarried comes with an opportunity as well as a vulnerability. Existing evidence shows that marital responsibilities subject the youth to vulnerable conditions compared to their unmarried counterparts because marriage comes with the problems of economic stress and poverty as victims have to support themselves and members of their family under their care (Mechanic and Tanner 2007). In Busoga, what emerged is that marriage is both an opportunity and a disadvantage in the sense that there were reports of employers' preferring unmarried youth to married youth. According to young people interviewed, unmarried young people were preferred by employers because they are cheap to hire because of their willingness to work for offered wages as opposed to their married counterparts who arguably prefer reasonable wages to support their families.

However, employers' preference for unmarried youth is disadvantageous and is a source of vulnerability for married youth because married youth were considered to be expensive because of their extra social responsibilities. Despite the challenges of exclusion, being married has advantages such as agency to own sugarcane farms. For instance, most of the married and independent youth had sugarcane farms compared to their unmarried counterparts. The married youth sugarcane farm ownership was associated with land ownership, which was less common among the unmarried youth who dominated the labour class. Furthermore, marital status also raised the question of social relationships or gender issues such as usurping the rights of female youth in sugarcane farming[10]. Limiting female youth engagement in sugarcane farming implies that marriage is a form of exclusion from the livelihood opportunities of sugarcane farming. However, the hindrance or crowding out of female youth was attributed to Busoga's gender norms which allocate public space, rights and control of commercial farming to men while limiting the female gender to the domestic sphere.

6.1.3 Respondents' education levels

Education is a critical livelihood variable for building capabilities. For the youth, education enhances their capabilities through skills and training, numeracy and literacy, which are critical for rural youth livelihoods (Bennell 2007, World Bank 2007). Pre-colonial Busoga largely depended on informal education based on existing norms and economic activities such as farming. The introduction of Western formal education enabled people to acquire skills for formal employment in the civil service, cotton ginneries and the private sector (Isiko 2019, Nayenga 1981). Acquiring formal education increased people's competitiveness beyond traditional farming. In this study, the focus on education was to determine the influence of education levels on youth involvement in sugarcane farming. From the survey, it could be seen that the majority of the youth had attained primary and secondary school education.

The majority (56 per cent) of the youth had attained primary education, namely attending at least one to seven years of primary school education. The high number of youth with primary education was attributed to the presence of Universal Primary Education (UPE), a government of Uganda programme which entitles all children of school age to free education in government-aided schools. Furthermore, 34 per cent of the youth had acquired ordinary level

[10] Most of the married female youth that I interviewed in the three sub counties revealed that their male spouses confined them to household and domestic chores for mainly subsistence as production. According to the female youth, commercial farming is a preserve for their male counterparts.

education while advanced level education and tertiary education were the smallest groups. The relatively higher percentage of ordinary secondary education was attributed to the prevailing Universal Secondary Education (USE), a government programme which provides free education to all children of school age in government-aided secondary schools while the low percentage of youth with tertiary education was attributed to the high costs of education which the majority of the youth could not afford.

My findings about education levels were in line with the regional statistics on youth education levels in Busoga where the highest figure (46.8 per cent) of young people have primary education followed by 39.6 per cent with secondary education while the smallest groups are the youth without any formal education (7.9 per cent) and with tertiary education (5.7 per cent) (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2017a). In my study, the presence of youth with different education levels suggests that sugarcane farming is a gateway for youth of all education levels. The fact that sugarcane farming includes youth with high, low and no education implies that one's education is not a critical issue in sugarcane farming. According to the interviews and FGD findings, the education level was lower in the majority of the sugarcane activities, and this partly explains why sugarcane farming was considered to be a gateway for both the educated and uneducated categories. From the youth's opinions, what emerges is the weak or no link between one's education level and sugarcane farming.

According to most of the interview findings, nearly all sugarcane jobs do not require specialized training. What one requires is a healthy and energetic body. Emphasizing the weak link between education and sugarcane farming, one of the interviewees argued:

> "In sugarcane farming you only need a healthy and energetic body. Whether educated or not, sugarcane farming is 'Kayoola'[11] for every energetic person can do these sugarcane jobs …(laughs, poses). .. You do not need to go to school to learn how to cut sugarcanes or load them on a lorry" (*27-year-old male sugarcane cutter – FGD Mbaale Parish, Mayuge district*).

The narrative above indicates that sugarcane farming is an inclusive activity. Compared to formal jobs that exclude those without formal education skills, sugarcane farming is inclusive and the criterion of inclusion is one's body, health and energy, not education. For the majority of youth who mainly had primary and secondary education, sugarcane farming is an inclusive

[11] Kayoola is used to mean all-accommodating in the context of employment where both educated and uneducated young people can work.

opportunity because it does not require special skills. Under normal circumstances, a lower education level is associated with limited opportunities while a higher educational level presents more and better livelihood opportunities because education or human capital development empowers people to engage in meaningful and fruitful activities (Sen 1997). In the case of sugarcane farming in Busoga, the conventional view of education does not hold up in sugarcane farming because there are no formal training requirements.

Furthermore, given the physical nature of sugarcane activities and being a blue-collar job, sugarcane farming should in fact be a preserve for the non-educated and school drop-outs who are less competitive for formal jobs. What is surprising is that even highly educated youth were actively engaged in sugarcane farming. This has two implications: (i) sugarcane farming is a gateway for both the educated and uneducated; and (ii) it is a sign of vulnerability such as failure to find formal jobs in the urban sector. Information obtained from interviews revealed that such young people are referred to as '*abakona',* meaning *a frustrated group of* educated but unemployed people in sugarcane jobs. Furthermore, it is also evident that while young people with low or a lack of formal education exploit the utility of the weak link between education and sugarcane farming; it is also a sign of vulnerability because a lack of education means limited preparedness and competitiveness for opportunities.

6.1.4 Youth Location

While the study participants were rural in nature, there were variations based on their location. A focus on location is critical in shaping livelihood strategies that depend on the socio-demographic contexts in which people live (Peng et al. 2017). One's location has both positive and negative livelihood implications. Location can be a source of vulnerability to populations limited by their locality but at the same time, settlement and location can be important in relation to livelihood support programs and benefits such as access to resources especially for rural groups (Maruyama 2003, Mechanic and Tanner 2007). In this study, all the districts were characterized by rural, and peri-urban living conditions. Similarly, the selected -sub-counties exhibited living conditions with rural and semi-urban characteristics manifested in their respective trading centres.

To determine youth location, the questionnaire had predetermined options of urban, peri-urban and rural settlements. Peri-urban was used to denote rural areas with conditions of proximity to urban lifestyles. Such areas were common in trading centres and those within or in proximity

to the town councils of Mayuge and Luuka. The majority (81 per cent) of the youth were from rural settings while a minority (19 per cent) were from settings with conditions of rural transition to semi-urban. Notwithstanding the differences, the analytical question concerned the influence of location on youth involvement in sugarcane farming in Busoga. According to the youth, the influence of location on involvement in sugarcane farming is three-fold, namely in terms of the costs of sugarcane farming, access to land, and access to sugarcane jobs. To the youth, proximity to main roads was an opportunity to access jobs such as sugarcane loading and transportation because such jobs are found along transport routes, while proximity to sugar processing plants provided opportunities for accessing jobs in sugar factories.

However, there were disadvantages associated with proximity to sugar factories and main transport routes. Most of youth interviewed associated proximity to transport routes and sugar factories with the challenges of access to land and the high costs of sugarcane farming. According to the youth, the cost of land tends to vary with plots nearest to the roads being expensive as compared to locations further from the roads, which has implications for the cost of sugarcane farm ownership. Being mainly employees, the youth are more concerned with opportunities for jobs. As such, to overcome the disadvantages of location and distance from main roads, the youth use strategies such as routine daily commuting to sugarcane jobs.

The key issue about urban and rural differentiation was about the mode of engagement in sugarcane farming in terms of sugarcane farm ownership, family farms and working on other people's farms. For instance, data analysis showed a high tendency for the youth in rural areas have their own sugarcane farms compared to their counterparts in peri-urban settings where the majority (82 per cent) of the youth work on other people's sugarcane farms, and this was significant at 0.011. Similarly, there is a significant relationship between living in a rural setting and working on a family farm (0.006), but this is less surprising because urban conditions mean less access to land as compared to rural settings where families have farms that depend on family labour.

6.1.5 Source of youth livelihoods

Livelihood sources are used in reference to Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway's view of livelihood as a set of activities which support people's survival (Chambers and Conway 1992). The youth survey results revealed that farming was the main youth livelihood activity, with the

majority (81 per cent) of the youth involved in farming crops such as maize, sweet potatoes, beans and cassava for home consumption. In addition to farming, the youth were involved in activities such as motorcycle taxis (locally known as *boda-boda*), retail trade, truck driving, livestock rearing and petty trade such as baking, salon businesses, bricklaying and casual labour jobs at building and construction sites. The smallest group (1.8 per cent) of the survey participants depend on formal employment. An analysis of the livelihood activities by sex shows that nearly all the youth sexes are involved in similar livelihood activities, as summarized below.

Table 6.3: Youth livelihood Activities (Multiple Responses)

Livelihood Activity	Frequency (N=320)	Percentage of Cases Male	Female	P-value
Farming	260	82	78	.372
Civil servant	2	0.4	1.8	.325
Retail Business/shop owner	23	6	12	.092
Truck driver	17	6	2	.159
Motorcycle taxi (Boda-boda)	57	20	7	*.011
Livestock	12	4	4	.637
Street selling	4	1	4	.147
Casual labour	90	29	23	.207

Source: Youth Survey

Table 6.3 (above) is an illustrative summary of the diverse nature of livelihood sources. Apart from motorcycle taxi (boda-boda) where there is statistical relationship, there was no significant relationship between being males or females with regard to engagement in diverse livelihood activities.

On the one hand, the low percentage of the youth in formal employment can be attributed to lower prevalence of formal jobs in Uganda's rural settings which predisposes the youth to the agriculture sector (Ahaibwe, Mbowa and Lwanga 2013, Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2016). On the other hand, however, the high percentage of youths in farming is a mirror-image of the centrality of farming not only to Busoga but Uganda's rural livelihood structure. For example, 69.6 per cent of Uganda's population depends on farming and in Busoga's case, out of the total working population (14 to 64 years), 53.1 per cent work in subsistence agriculture (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2016, Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2018). In Busoga sub-region, it is evident that the majority (56.1 per cent) of the 18–30-year-olds depend on subsistence crop farming, followed by trade in agricultural commodities which is (12 per cent) while the smallest number are engaged in paid employment (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2017c). Despite the

dominance of farming, the major finding is that the youth who participated in the study depended on diverse and multiple sources of livelihood.

Scholarship on rural livelihoods shows that a diversity of activities is often a strategy adopted to support meagre earnings from farming, which alone cannot meet people's numerous livelihood needs (Ellis 2005). For the youth in Busoga, my FGD with male sugarcane transporters in the Mayuge district (Bufulubi Parish) confirmed the significance of livelihood diversification especially in terms of frequency of access to cash resources. Most of the youth interviewed revealed that farming guaranteed food availability but not sufficient cash liquidity. As such, youth engagement in daily income-generating activities such as boda-boda driving and casual labour is regarded as a strategy to generate cash resources to supplement farming for acquiring consumer goods.

Furthermore, a diverse livelihood activity structure means that there is livelihood security but as shown in Table 6.3, nearly all the livelihood activities barely guarantee secure livelihoods as they are precarious. The different livelihood activities are evidently precarious, characterized by poor working conditions, low earnings, lack of status and insecure jobs which symbolize what is referred to as precarity (Standing 2014). For instance, in spite of the fact that farming is the mainstay, it is quite risky because it is rain-fed and therefore affected by seasonality issues. The precarious nature of livelihoods implies youth vulnerability but also entrapment in a vulnerable context which forces the youth into surviving on a plural livelihood structure.

For the case of the youth in sugarcane farming in Busoga, the diversity of activities is a sign of livelihood security and wealth creation but in actual fact, although the youth engage in various activities, they still remain poor. In this case, the youth livelihood structure aligns with existing scholarship suggesting that multiple livelihood activities symbolize the multiple challenges which require multiple activities in order to meet people's diverse demands and mitigate their vulnerabilities (Chambers and Conway 1991, Ellis 1999, Scoones 2009). The diverse sources of livelihood can be seen as a safety net on the one hand but on the other hand, a pointer to the lack of a single, broad, secure and substantial activity for youth livelihood needs. In this case, it is yet to be seen whether sugarcane farming could be a feasible and more sustaining activity for rural youth in Busoga.

6.1.6 Gender of respondents

By gender, I mean the contextually and socially constructed norms governing interactions between men and women. Gender is an important aspect of livelihood analysis because it determines both how people are structured and how resources and roles are distributed in society. As earlier noted, Busoga is a patriarchal society that engenders cultural and gender-based discrimination conferring power and control to the male gender. Patriarchy in Busoga is exhibited in various ways including the division of labour where men are not only given authority over family members but also control resources such as land (Fallers 1965, Mudoola 1993). Traditionally, the role of women in Busoga was childbearing, household chores and producing food for household consumption. However, colonialism had an impact on the gender dynamics in Busoga in two ways: the introduction of formal education and cash crop farming.

The introduction of cash crops reinforced male supremacy and domination over the female gender. The men took a dominant position in commercial farming by controlling production and marketing while keeping the women in a subordinate position of assisting in production work such as weeding (Isiko 2019, Sørensen 1996). In this case, commercial farming reinforced male supremacy over women in Busoga through domination of the cash crop economy. However, the introduction of formal education represented a turn in gender dynamics. With the coming of formal education, girls got an opportunity to go to school. The few that succeeded attained minimal education qualification and elements of empowerment. Women's access to education was treated to advantages of urbanization in Jinja, Iganga and Kamuli which created opportunities for women to circumvent male authority by seeking jobs (Fallers 1965, Isiko 2018).

Education was an opportunity for women to exercise elements of social and economic independence, but given Busoga's patriarchal establishment, the economic independence of women was treated with despair. Despite women's socio-economic breakthrough, gender remains a significant feature of Busoga's socio-economic organization and gender norms continue to define women's position in society (Mudoola 1993). A brief account of gender issues encapsulates prevalent male dominance over females, which seems to reproduce itself in sugarcane farming. In this study, there were stark and clear-cut gender differences among the survey participants.

The majority (82 per cent) of the respondents were male and only 18 per cent of the respondents were female because of two reasons. Firstly, the patriarchal nature of Busoga community engenders discrimination conferring dominance in commercial farming activities to the male gender. The second reason is in relation to the use and application of the term '*youth/* young people*'*. In Busoga, the youth are referred to as '*abavubuka*' which resonates more with male than female youth. Busoga's gendered application of the term aligns with existing studies highlighting the gender connotations embedded in term 'youth which is more often applied with reference to young men than young women (Mabala 2011). The challenge of this gendered conceptualization comes with implications such as limited opportunities for interaction such as in Busoga's case where the male youth are seen as the gatekeepers of knowledge and information.

Interview findings revealed that in Busoga, being male implies that one's scope and activities are in the public arena and their roles are recognized in the public sphere. This means they are free to seek employment in activities such as sugarcane plantation because a man is regarded as the family breadwinner. Thus, engaging in paid work is normal among boys and men. However, the situation is different for girls or women, who are confined to the private sphere both at the family and community level. The private sphere confines women to domestic, family or household chores. As such, a woman or a young female is castigated if found looking for employment outside the home. It is, therefore, not surprising that female respondents constituted the smallest number because in Busoga, the term youths and aspects of commercial farming refers to male rather than female young people.

My observation of sugarcane activities across the study area revealed male dominance in most field activities. Field observations revealed that on a normal day of sugarcane business, it was quite obvious to see more male youth in sugarcane farms, sugarcane collection centres and transportation activities with less presence of female youth in most field activities. Interviews with female youth painted a picture of confinement to domestic activities, denial and exclusion from the opportunities of commercial sugarcane farming. Reflecting on this denial of opportunities, a 24-year-old female from Luuka district commented that:

> These people (employers) lock us out of sugarcane farming. They claim we are weak for manual sugarcane work and when it comes to payment, we are paid less than the boys, yet many times, we do the same work. Yet, we do the same jobs and we all have problems that require money.

This narrative indicates that female youth livelihood challenges force them into what is seen as physical and masculine sugarcane farming activities. Undertones such as "we all have p*roblems that require money"* imply female youth preparedness to circumvent existing issues to meet their financial and livelihood needs. In this case, crowding female youth out of sugarcane farming under the pretext of femininity and masculinities constitute disadvantage and a denial of opportunities for females. Yet, evidence shows that women who participate in sugarcane farming earn financial resources that support their livelihood needs as well as financial security through savings groups (Yolisigira 2016). This implies that denying female youth access to sugarcane jobs is a form of livelihood insecurity.

In Busoga's case, despite the limited numbers, the female youth in Busoga are engage in similar farm and off-farm sugarcane activities to their male counterparts. This means that the limited scope for female youth in sugarcane farming is not necessarily because they are unable to do the jobs but rather, is a cover-up for the dominant gender discrimination in Busoga. Given the physical nature of sugarcane activities, it would be a privilege for females not to be engaged in what is deemed heavy labour, but economic vulnerability compels female youth into doing these jobs, thus, any form of discrimination gives female youth a feeling of being denied an opportunity.

The findings about the constrained scope for female youth in sugarcane farming in Busoga aligns with the existing research about sex and gender dynamics in commercial farming. In Bolivia, girls are seldom hired for harvesting because they are regarded as too weak for heavy sugarcane jobs (Trebilcock et al. 2011). What is clear is the evidence of elements of masculinity associated with sugarcane farming because of the physical nature of sugarcane jobs, but the case of Busoga shows that the lesser presence of the female gender in commercial farming mainly stems from what other studies refer to as systemic, social and cultural discrimination against women (Croppenstedt, Goldstein and Rosas 2013, Daley 2011, Rocca 2016). The challenge is that such discrimination has negative implications on the female gender in terms of incomes.

In Tanzania and Zambia, the limited involvement of the female gender in sugarcane farming affects income outcomes and also breeds socio-economic vulnerabilities arising from poor pay and limited capacity to make decisions (Dancer and Sulle 2015, Rocca 2016). In Busoga's case, the dominance of male youth in sugarcane activities confirms that sex is a source of

vulnerability for female youth and a cause of durable inequalities between the two genders and that this is worse in settings of discriminative gender norms. From the Capability Approach lens, it is evident that female youth potential to participate in sugarcane farming is limited not by personal factors but is mainly influenced by society/social norms (Robeyns 2017). From the SLA lens, the local gender norms in Busoga constitute environmental constraints on female youth livelihood strategies and desires, thus, affecting their ability to convert their energy into livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming.

6.1.7 Land ownership

Land is a key factor in livelihood and vulnerability analysis. For the purposes of this study, the focus on land was predicated on the fact that land is a major factor in production and livelihood resources for communities that depend on primary production, especially farming (DFID 1999). In contexts of farming, natural assets such as land are building blocks for livelihoods because land comes with both the actual benefits of direct farm production as well as indirect benefits such as finance. As such, a focus on land ownership and access was a vital analytical tool for measuring youth involvement and benefits from sugarcane farming. Furthermore, commercial farming is synonymous with capitalism, where land access and ownership is pertinent. Usually, capitalist development involves processes of land acquisition which embody primitive accumulation through processes that expropriate and dispossess people of their land (Marx 1970, Marx 1983).

To grasp the picture of youth and land, three guiding questions were used. Do youth have access to land? How can the nature of youth access to land be described in relation to sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region? What is the influence of land ownership on youth involvement in sugarcane farming? I argue that grasping the youth-land nexus is important in determining both the position of youth in sugarcane farming and livelihood outcomes. To youth, owning land comes with opportunities such as owning a sugarcane farm and accessing loan facilities to engage in auxiliary sugarcane activities. Given the centrality of land, youth treated the lack of land as a form of vulnerability. However, results from the survey suggest that youth have access to land. In their responses to the questions concerning access to land, mode of access and ownership, the majority (83 per cent) of the youth indicated access to land. The key issue from the data obtained is that, not all youth have access to land and neither does access mean adequacy. Across the age groups, the majority of the youth had access to one to two acres of land as summarised in the Table below.

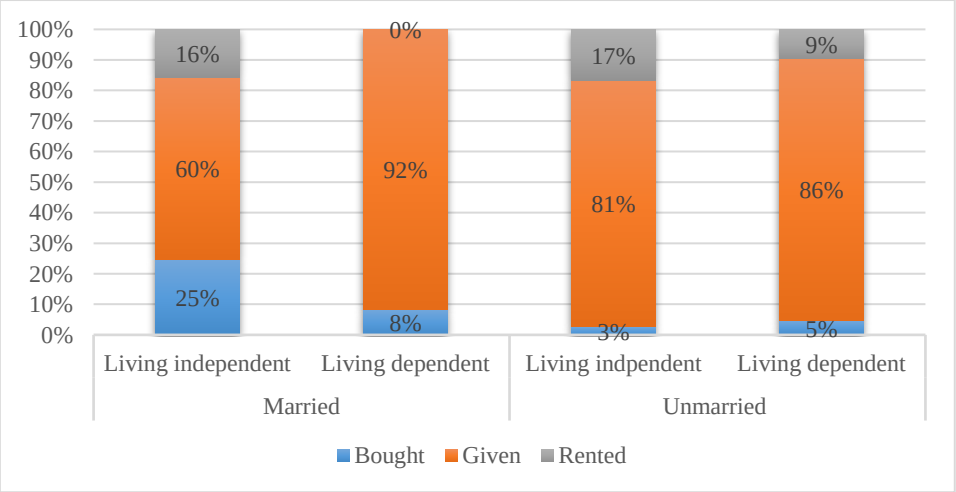
Table 6.4: Land Ownership by Age Group

How much land do you have?		Age Groups				
		18 to 21	22 to 25	26 to 29	Total	P-value
No land	Count	32	12	8	52	
	Percentage	25%	15%	7%	16%	
Less than 1 acre	Count	24	16	10	50	
	Percentage	19%	21%	9%	16%	
1-2 acres	Count	56	31	60	147	
	Percentage	43%	40%	54%	46%	*.000
3 acres or more	Count	18	19	34	71	
	Percentage	14%	24%	30%	22%	
Total	Count	130	78	112	320	
	Percentage	100%	100%	100%	100%	

Source: Youth Survey Data

From Table 6.4 above, it is clear that the lack of land or less of it is more common among the younger age groups compared to their older counterparts who have relatively large pieces of land. From the findings, it is not obvious that all the youth in the upper age category have land, but the low access and ownership of land among younger age groups implies that they are relatively vulnerable to issues of land. Furthermore, responses to the question about modes of land owned revealed critical issues regarding land. For instance, disaggregated data on mode of land owned vis-à-vis marital status and whether one was dependent or lived independently showed that the majority of the youth had access to given/family land, that is, they owned and used land together with parents or guardians as presented in the figure below.

Figure 6.1: Youth Mode of Land Ownership



Source: Youth Survey Questionnaire Data

Figure 6.1 shows that a large proportion of married youth have access to land. Being relatively older, the majority of the married youth had land and some, especially those living

independently, had bought land. The key findings about the landholding picture are that the majority of the youth owned or were given land and 70 to 80 per cent of the youth had small pieces of land, less than two (2) acres, with the situation varying according to one's age. The limited access to land access has implications for questions regarding commercial farming as a youth-based intervention for livelihoods.

From a commercial farming context, such landholdings (size) do not guarantee a secure place for the youth in sugarcane farming. Furthermore, such small plots of land directly undermine youth engagement in commercial farming because the same land has to be shared between settlement and the cultivation of food crops. As shown earlier, the small landholdings among the youth were attributed to land fragmentation, high population arising from high fertility rates, and land grabs caused by sugarcane farming (Isiko 2019, Kyalya 2013, Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2016, Wafula and Okeya 2019). As such, it is less surprising that the majority of the of the youth have access to only 1 to 2 acres of given land.

As shown earlier, sugarcane farming is a free-market business characterized by free entry and free exit. The process largely depends on ownership of substantial resources wherein having land is a guarantee of a better position in the structure of sugarcane farming. Aligned with this, the majority of young people underscored the centrality of land in terms of owning sugarcane farms, access to financial resources and partnerships or condominium agreements with local farmers and sugar companies. With the exception of a few youths who had sugarcane farms, the majority of young people are trapped with limited freedom and room to manoeuvre in sugarcane farming due to lack of land.

The land constraints are exacerbated by overarching policy strategies and by-laws confining sugarcane farming to households with a landholding capacity of at least 5 acres as a measure to curb the effect of sugarcane farming on food security. In 2013, a presidential directive was given to the presidential advisor and coordinator of the poverty alleviation programme in the Busoga sub-region that households reserve 5 acres of land for food crop production (Kyalya 2013). Throughout the study area, there was no evidence of a functioning implementation of this policy, as most of the claims were anecdotal reports from some of the leaders. Those I managed to interview revealed that District Local Government authorities had plans to institute by-laws that require households to save at least three acres of land for food crop and settlement activities.

While not yet instituted, the youth viewed the presidential directive of a 5-acre threshold as a form of direct exclusion, locking and crowding out young people from sugarcane farming because of a lack of land. In order to overcome the problem of land, one must have funds to buy or rent land, which was very expensive for youth. The exchange rates referred to here are for Uganda shillings: 3,600 to 1 USD which equates to 430 shillings to 1 SEK.

On average, it costs between Uganda Shillings (/=) 500,000/= to 1,000,000/= to lease an acre of land for sugarcane farming for a period of four to six years. The cost is not uniform; it varies according to locational factors such as proximity to sugar factories and transportation routes. In Imanyiro -sub-county, an acre of land costs an average of 800,000/= but it is higher in Bufulubi Parish where an acre averaged 1,000,000/= because of proximity to the Mayuge Sugar factory. According to the youth, the differences in costs of land are precipitated by costs and profit levels. For instance, proximity to the sugar factory in Bufulubi and transport routes means high costs of land but with high profit. The situation is different for relatively distant places such as the Kigandalo and Kityerera sub-counties in Mayuge where an acre of land was estimated to be worth at least 500,000/= but with less profitability due to high transport costs. Notwithstanding the differences in profitability, the key issue here is that the majority of the youth indicated that they could not afford land even in distant and relatively cheap locations. Lack of land and the inability to lease land raises analytical points of debate.

Firstly, lack of land and the inability to lease it is a sign of vulnerability manifested by failure to afford between USD 140 to 280 to lease land for a period of six years. In settings where people depend on farming, the lack of land predisposes young people to problems of poverty. Evidence of livelihood vulnerability in Uganda suggests that lack of land symbolizes poverty because it constrains rural people's production capacity (Ellis and Bahiigwa 2003). For the youth in Busoga, lack of land has significant implications for their involvement in sugarcane farming such as precluding them from owning sugarcane farms. Whereas vulnerability to land is not confined to young people in the Busoga sub-region, the expansion of sugarcane farming appears to exacerbate the problem through competition. It can be argued that sugarcane farming has not only contributed to youth landlessness in Busoga but also rendered the youth with small plots of land into being virtually landlessness in relation to the structure of sugarcane farming. For the majority of the youth, a competitive sugarcane structure affects the conversion factor of their tiny plots of land into functioning as sugarcane farms. Busoga's case is typical of capitalism aiming to maximize surplus value by seizing opportunities and resources and

chaining the victims into gangs of field labour (Marx 1970). The competitive seizure or appropriation of resources by capitalist projects such as commercial farming has consequences such as turning the host communities into victims of market forces.

In a commercial farming context, land becomes expensive because it is the major factor of production that investors seek to appropriate. In this case, it can be argued that sugarcane farming has turned Busoga sub-region into a prototype of a liberal state where land is a competitive market resource. Such a situation is challenging for poor young people in Busoga because, as a process, neo-liberalism assumes that all participants are equal in the market (Akram-Lodhi 2007). The assumption of equality, however, falls short in Busoga where the majority of the youth are evidently vulnerable and unable to afford land. The structures created by sugarcane farming have created situations where poor young people are unable to acquire land using the traditional communal structures.

However, the case of land is not unique to young people in Busoga as the situation for sugarcane farming is only a symbolic case of the attendant problems of medium- to large-scale farming. The case of Busoga manifests the challenges such as community dispossession as well as constrained access to land which arise from medium- and large-scale farming contexts. Evidence from Ghana, Kenya and Zambia shows that dispossession or constrained access is manifested in heightened consolidation of land for commercial farming which creates scarcity of land due to pressure from commercial farming and the market domination of land and possibilities of expansion of landholdings (Hall, Scoones and Tsikata 2017). In northern Uganda, the introduction of sugarcane farming has escalated land problems in a bid to create space for sugarcane production in the Amuru district (Martiniello 2015). For young people, a lack of land narrows their opportunities, including precluding the majority from sugarcane farm ownership.

6.1.8 Sugarcane farm ownership

The outlook in Busoga sub-region and its visibility from all the entry and exit points leads to the assumption that every person or household owns a sugarcane farm. In the three districts of Jinja, Mayuge and Luuka, the majority of the arable land is covered by large-, medium- and small-scale sugarcane farms. The analytical question was, do youth own sugarcane farms? Which youth own sugarcane farms? Existing studies show that having a sugarcane farm is of advantage to the owners. For the youth, ownership of sugarcane farms is a motivation for young

people and at the same time, an important aspect of the sustainability of sugarcane farming (Ntshangase 2016).

In this study, my aim was to determine the status of sugarcane farm ownership and what this means for youth livelihoods in Busoga. From the youth survey, it can be seen that only 20 per cent of the youth owned sugarcane farms. The majority of young people who had sugarcane farms were also those who owned land, which further symbolizes the significance of land and status in sugarcane farming. Responses to the question of the amount of land owned and the status of sugarcane farm ownership were cross-tabulated, generating the relationship between sugarcane farm and land ownership as summarized in Table 6.5 below.

Table 6.5: Sugarcane Farm Ownership by Land Ownership

			How much land do you have?					
			No land	Less than 1 acre	1-2 acres	3 acres or more	Total	P-value
Do you have a sugarcane farm?	**No**	Count	51	49	116	41	257	
		Percentage	19.8%	19.1%	45.1%	16.0%	100%	
	Yes	Count		1	31	30	63	
		Percentage	1.6%	1.6%	49.2%	47.6%	100%	*.000
Total		Count	52	50	147	71	320	
		Percentage	16.3%	15.6%	45.9%	22.2%	100%	

Source: Youth Questionnaire survey data

From table (6.5) above, sugarcane ownership is significantly related to land ownership and the relationship (P.000). Furthermore, it is also evident that sugarcane farm ownership is common among the youth that have land ranging from 1-2 and more than three acres of land. This implies that they are better off when they have land, although there were issues regarding the size of sugarcane farms owned by the youth.

Notwithstanding the size and low percentage of sugarcane farm ownership, the key issue here is that having a sugarcane farm enhances one's capabilities and agency. Evidence gathered from interviews and the FGDs shows that having a sugarcane farm comes with greater opportunities such as collaboration and support from sugar factories, obtaining loans from banks, especially from Tropical Bank, which reportedly advances loans to sugarcane farmers. Furthermore, the young people argued that earnings from sugarcane farm ownership are higher than incomes got from being casual labourers on sugarcane farms. This partly explains why the majority of sugarcane farm owners were more content with sugarcane farming than the

youth in the labour class. Analysis of responses to the question regarding youth contentment with sugarcane farming showed a skewed picture towards sugarcane farm owners, shown below.

Table 6.6: Youth Contentment by Sugarcane Farm Ownership (n=320)

Do you feel contented with sugarcane farming	Count/Percentage	Connected to sugarcane farming by sugarcane farm ownership		P- value
		NO	YES	
YES	Count	190	45	
	Percentage	71.2%	84.9%	
NO	Count	77	8	*.039
	Percentage	28.8%	15.1%	
Total	Count	267	53	
	Percentage	100%	100%	

Source: Youth Questionnaire survey data

As illustrated in the Table 6.6 above, youth contentment with sugarcane farming correlates with owning sugarcane farms. In other words, they are better off when they own sugarcane farms than being involved in the activity in other ways, but more importantly, the lack of sugarcane farms generates discontentment.

Furthermore, sugarcane farm ownership is generally low among the youth in Busoga but the problem is remarkably high among female youth. A comparison of sugarcane farm ownership by sex revealed that farm ownership is prevalent among male youth. It was less common to find female youth indicating ownership of sugarcane farms. The low prevalence of sugarcane farm ownership among the female youth in Busoga was attributed to the discriminative gender norms in Busoga, which restrain the female gender from land ownership and allow them only a limited role in commercial farming. Emphasizing the problem of Busoga's traditional norms, one of the youth leaders from Mayuge district argued that:

> Sugarcane farming is a lucrative activity but you must have adequate land which girls do not have. Apart from our male counterparts, the norms in Busoga bar us (females) from owning land. How will the girls have sugarcane farms? (*Wondered a 27-year-old Female youth leader from Bufulubi Village in Mayuge district*).

This narrative suggests that sugarcane farm ownership is skewed towards male youth. This gendered sugarcane farm ownership implies female youth vulnerability arising from lockouts caused by social norms. Whereas this may be part of Busoga's norms which bar the female gender from owning and controlling land, it reserves cash crop farming for men (Sørensen

1996). However, constrained land ownership has implications on the benefits from sugarcane farming for female youth. Due to the joint venture structure of rural households, some of the female youth interviewed claimed that joint ownership of farms with their male spouses. Such a perception was mostly common among married female youth, arguing that sugarcane farms belonging to their male spouses were co-owned with their female partners. However, this female farm ownership appears to be rhetoric and implied rather than actual. In line with this observation, interviews with male youth revealed the prevalence of an overarching power structure in Busoga where control over sales and cash outcomes of commercial produce in Busoga was vested in the household head, that is the male gender.

The dynamics in Busoga corroborate existing studies about the negative effects of norms and traditions on women's access to and ownership of land in Uganda's rural areas (Doss, Meinzen-Dick and Bomuhangi 2014). The lack of control over land has fundamental implications for the female gender's position in commercial sugarcane farming. Experiences in sugarcane-producing countries such as Fiji indicate that gender norms not only affect female ownership of land but also affect control over smallholder farms (Carswell 2003b). In Busoga's case, the most common phenomenon was limited female gender ownership of sugarcane farms which directly constrains the female youth from opportunities for owning a sugarcane farm. Despite the gender issues embedded in sugarcane farm establishment, the main finding here shows that only a small number of youths own sugarcane farms because of constraints on land. The lack of sugarcane farms among the majority youth can be seen as a form of vulnerability, limited capabilities, and freedom for young people because owning a sugarcane farm gives one more agency in terms of income, networks and above all, status or mode of involvement in sugarcane farming.

6.2 Mode of youth involvement in sugarcane farming

Modes of youth involvement denote the different ways in which the youth are engaged or attached to sugarcane farming. A focus on ways of engagement in sugarcane farming was important in determining the position of the youth in the structure of sugarcane farming. Furthermore, the focus on ways of youth involvement was also important in establishing reasons for differentiations of youth connections to sugarcane farming. This section deals with two issues. How are the youth involved in sugarcane farming? How can the nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming in Busoga be described? I argue that grasping modes of youth involvement in sugarcane farming is a precursor to understanding the impact of

sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods in Busoga. In making this argument, I am cognizant of observations that youth livelihoods usually depend on their response to opportunities in their environment (Waldie 2004). This means that taking part in activities within one's vicinity is a major step in constructing youth livelihoods. My argument thus extends Kevin Waldie's (2004) observation by positing that this response is important but livelihoods go beyond a response to activities. In this case, youth livelihoods are more about how one is engaged in a given activity.

As shown earlier, sugarcane farming is a massive and multi-layered activity composed of different actors. In the structure of sugarcane farming, there are three major entry points: the corporate level, contract or out-grower farmer level; and the proletariat or labour class level. Similarly, the youth are connected to sugarcane farming in line with different layers, but the key issue is that youth involvement in sugarcane farming mainly resonates with the proletariat or labour class layer. Survey data shows that the majority (71 per cent) of the youth were engaged as workers in farms and as casual labourers at sugarcane collection centres[12] and other field activities in the sugarcane value chain.

In addition to their status as workers, some youth were directly engaged in their own sugarcane farms while others were occupied with sugarcane transportation, buying/brokering and family farms. The smallest number of youths were engaged in sugar factory jobs in the Mayuge and Jinja districts because of Mayuge Sugar and Kakira Sugar Works, respectively. Both male and female youth were asked: how are you connected to sugarcane farming? Analysis of responses by the sex of the young people showed that both males and females were engaged in nearly similar sugarcane activities as summarized below.

[12] Sugarcane collection centres are designated places where sugarcane is deposited for convenient collection for transportation to the sugar factories. These collection centres are usually between the sugarcane farm and the roads for easy access by trucks.

Table 6.7 Mode of Youth Involvement in Sugarcane farming (n=320)

Mode of Involvement	Percentage Cases (N=320)	Male	Female	P-value
Working on sugarcane farms	71%	69.6%	68.4%	.875
Own sugarcane farm	17%	16.7%	15.8	0.863
Sugarcane transporter	16%	16.7%	10.5%	.315
Family farms	7%	5.7%	14%	*043
Buyers/brokers	7%	7.2%	7.0%	.1.000
Working at sugarcane collection centres	2%	1.5%	3.5%	.291
Work at sugar factory farms	1%	0.8%	0%	1.000

Source: Youth Survey Data

Table 6.7 shows a significant relationship (P.043) between being female and getting involved in family sugarcane farming. This confirms findings about sugarcane farm ownership where female youth are merely confined to family farms belonging to their spouses or parents. Apart from this, the family farm mode, both male and female youth share modes of engagement in sugarcane farming.

The surprising finding is the low percentage of the youth working in corporate sugarcane farms and factories. With over five sugar factories in the region and two sugar factories in the Jinja and Mayuge districts where the study was conducted, one would expect a high number of cases working in sugar factories, especially in Jinja which has both corporate farms and a sugar works. In Jinja, the presence of sugarcane plantations is evident on both sides of the Jinja–Kampala highway. The sugarcane plantations are the largest land cover in Kakira Town Council, stretching to the western border with the Mayuge district. The density of sugarcane farms in Jinja ought to be an opportunity for youth labour in the farming activities of the sugarcane value chain. However, both survey and interview findings revealed that the vast presence of corporate farms and sugar factories are not commensurate with youth involvement, which is paradoxical and it is intriguing to explore the reasons.

According to most of the interview findings, the limited youth involvement in corporate farms and factory activities was attributed to three reasons. Firstly, most sugar factory jobs are largely formal and require specialized skills which most youths do not have. The second reason is the high level of mechanization (use of machines) in corporate sugarcane farms and factory works. The mechanization of corporate farms is more common in Jinja where most of the field activities such as ploughing, sugarcane planting, fertilizer application and farm irrigation is

evidently done by tractors and other machinery. To youth, the use of machines for ploughing and planting leaves few jobs such as sugarcane cutting, and such jobs are taken by the youth in proximity to Kakira Town Council and/or migrant estate workers. The third reason for the limited youth presence in corporate jobs was the use of migrant workers. The youth argued that Kakira Sugar Works estate workers come from northern Uganda, the Teso region and the Uganda-Kenya border which leaves little or no room for the local youth.

The use of migrant workers was regarded as a form of denial and exclusion of the local population from corporate jobs especially in Kakira where the majority of the workers are migrants residing in estates. Residence in a sugar estate was considered by the youth as a form of alienation from their families, social life and freedom of controlling one's labour opportunities for frequent cash liquidity from daily work as opposed to an estate establishment which involved monthly wages. Youth opinions of estate conditions are dialectical to capitalist models of labour control which involves established working conditions and time-bound performance and quantity of work (Marx and Engels 1846). The perceptions of local youth towards corporate labour, in conjunction with limited job opportunities in sugar factories portrayed an unwillingness to conform to corporate policies of confinement of workers as it infringes on their freedom and social bonding with their families.

The limited youth involvement in corporate work raises questions regarding the implications of plantation farms on the integration of the local population. It shows that the majority of the young people in Busoga are engaged in small-scale and out-grower farms owned by local elites. The different modes of youth connection to sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region generate significant discussion points. Firstly, the different ways are significant for the response of the youth to sugarcane as a livelihood activity in their environment. Secondly, sugarcane farming has created linkages and livelihood gateways for rural young people. The modes of youth involvement in sugarcane farming can be seen as opportunities which the youth exploit in order to do and be, or realize what is referred to as functionings (Sen 1999).

However, the fact that the youth constitute the bulk of the sugarcane labour force indicates that the outcomes from sugarcane farming can be limited to the rewards of labour namely, wages. In this case, rather than the end justifying the means, I argue that the impact of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods can be measured based on the means or mode of youth connection to sugarcane farming and that it is from these different ways that one can adequately determine

youth position in sugarcane farming. For the youth, the most accessible space and opportunity is to exchange their labour and time, which incorporates victims into circuits of capitalism where employers are deterministic of the outcomes of youth involvement. However, the question that still begs is: what are the reasons for differentiated youth involvement in sugarcane farming and is it by choice or forced on them?

6.2.1 Reasons for the low status of the youth in sugarcane farming

As shown in the preceding discussion, it is quite clear that the youth constitute the labour class. This section seeks to address one issue, that is; why the youth are involved the way they are in sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region? The focus on reasons for the youth labour status in sugarcane farming was mainly to identify and describe the covert and overt processes and circumstances that shape youth involvement in sugarcane farming. Furthermore, a focus on the rationale for the low status of young people was important in determining whether the youth position in sugarcane farming is rooted in their choices and agency or is a result of structural dispositions. The key issue here is that the majority of the youth are forced into the labour status in sugarcane farming by two major factors namely (i) financial constraints and (ii) lack of adequate land.

In relationship to land, most interview findings confirmed the centrality of land in farming. According to the youth, having or lack of land had implications for one's position in sugarcane farming. However, due to a lack of adequate land for sugarcane farming, the majority of the youth were engaged in sugarcane farming through the exchange of their labour in casual jobs. In one of the FGDs with male youth ng from Mbaale Parish in the Mayuge district, most argued that the lack of land undermines one's choices and preferences in sugarcane farming:

> If you have land, you have choice over how to be involved in sugarcane; a farm owner or employer. This is what the majority of us really prefer, to have our own sugarcane farms. Unfortunately, the majority of us have labour, not land so we fit by use of our bodies and energy, that is what we take to other people's farms (*25-year-old male*).

Emphasizing the significance of land on one's position, my interview with a 29-year-old male sugarcane farmer in Bukanga -sub-county (Luuka district) reiterated that:

> When you have enough land, you benefit from sugarcane farming in different ways. Firstly, you can grow sugarcane. Secondly, many people are willing to use your land for sugarcane farming through sharing agreements for sugarcane harvests and sales. For example, I gave out my land to a local investor who plants sugarcane and out of 5 acres, I harvest two acres and he harvests the other three. This is not possible for people who don't have land and money, whether young or old, they can only be workers.

The two quotations emphasize the influence of land on one's position and involvement in sugarcane farming in Busoga. The nuances such as "*if you have land, you have choice over how to be involved in sugarcane"* and *"this is not possible for people who don't have land and money, whether young or old, they can only be workers*" depict the power associated with land ownership on the one hand and on the other hand the vulnerability associated with a lack of land. For young people, lack of land seems to undermine agency and limits options and choices regarding participation in sugarcane farming. Due to lack of land, the majority of the youth argued that a labour status was the most inevitable option. In this case, the labour status is an alternative livelihood strategy to substitute for lack of land because as already shown, leasing or buying land is expensive for the financially constrained youth.

In addition to land, the low status of the youth in sugarcane farming was attributed to financial constraints. According to the youth, finance is an important to sugarcane farming in two ways. Firstly, financial resources cover the costs of sugarcane farming such as inputs and planting, weeding and cutting. Secondly, for those without land, financial resources help one to buy or lease land, or both. The costs are arguably higher where one has no land because more financial resources are needed to cover the costs of buying or leasing land and meeting farming costs of labour and farm inputs. The most of the youth interviews showed a double burden of land and financial constraints, with participants revealing an inability to lease land and meet the costs of sugarcane farming.

The low status of the youth namely, the proletariat class in sugarcane farming arises from a double burden of a lack of the main factors of production, such as finances and land. This lack of the two requisite resources affects the youth desire to get involved in sugarcane farming beyond offering their labour. Based on the interview findings and proceedings of observations during my time in the villages of Kigalagala, Kisozi and Kisasi in Jinja; Namadudu and Bufulubi in Mayuge; Bukanga and Nawantale in Luuka, youth involvement in sugarcane farming is not only matched with the lowest activities in the sugarcane production chain but is also synonymous with the underclass. Most of the activities are field-based and physical in nature.

6.3 Main Sugarcane Activities

This section presents the main sugarcane activities in which the youth are engaged. A focus on sugarcane activities was necessary for two reasons. Firstly, to make a case for position and

level of youth involvement in sugarcane farming, and secondly, to understand and compare the youth position in Busoga with existing evidence of young people in sugarcane farming more broadly. Evidence from sugarcane producing countries such as India, Kenya and South Africa shows that young people mainly engage in field-based activities such as broadcasting fertilizer, harvesting sugarcanes, making sugarcane bundles and sugarcane transportation (Beinart 1991, Fair Labour Association 2012, Waswa, Gweyi-Onyango and Mcharo 2012). In Busoga, my findings reveal that the youth are mainly engaged in field activities, similar to the existing research.

The majority of the youth were engaged in sugarcane cutting, planting and weeding while others were involved in ploughing, transportation, buying and brokering. Analysis of the different sugarcane activities by sex shows that both males and females engage in similar sugarcane activities as shown below.

Table 6.8: Sugarcane Activities by Sex

Sugarcane activities	Respondent's Sex				
	Count/Percentage	Male	Female	Total	P-value
Ploughing	Count	44	17	61	*.021
	Percentage	17%	30%	19%	
Panting	Count	114	29	143	.187
	Percentage	43%	51%	45%	
Weeding	Count	108	26	134	.313
	Percentage	41%	46%	42%	
Cutting	Count	159	31	190	.242
	Percentage	61%	54%	59%	
Brokering	Count	37	1	38	*.004
	Percentage	14%	2%	13%	
Buying	Count	25	6	31	.487
	Percentage	10%	12%	10%	
Transportation	Count	49	5	54	*.048
	Percentage	19%	9%	17%	
Marketing	Count	15	2	17	.389
	Percentage	6%	4%	5.3%	

Source: Youth Survey Data

From the Table above, apart from ploughing where female youth are more often engaged than males (P.021), and brokering and transportation which is dominated by the males (P.048), all youth were engaged in similar sugarcane activities. In addition to differences based on sex, there are clear variations based on the intensity of the activities, with sugarcane cutting apparently dominating.

The dominance of sugarcane cutting was evident in the business at farms, sugarcane collection centres and trucks transporting sugarcanes to different sugar factories. My field observations revealed that on a normal business day in the -sub-counties of Busedde, Bukange and Imanyiro, it was common to meet groups of young men moving about in the morning and evening hours. Being the major tool and symbol of sugarcane cutting activities, some of young people were sighted carrying machetes to and from sugarcane farms. Sugarcane cutting was mainly dominant because of three factors. Firstly, sugar factories run on a daily basis and largely depend on daily sugarcane harvesting. Secondly, save for other sugarcane activities such as offloading and ploughing where technology such as tractors could be used, sugarcane harvesting is typically a manual labour activity. Thirdly, sugarcane cutting was attributed to the mobility of sugarcane cutters which enables them to get sugarcane cutting jobs beyond their villages, -sub-counties and often, beyond their home districts.

In addition to sugarcane cutting, some youth were engaged in sugarcane planting. Interviews revealed that the youth mainly plant sugarcane for contract farmers and private individual farmers who have the capacity to hire labour. Compared to sugarcane cutting, planting jobs were arguably less common especially in plantation farms and mid- to large-scale farms because of mechanization. The relatively lower number of planting activities was also attributed to their frequency. According to the youth interview findings, sugarcane planting can be a one-time job in the space of 2 years or even three years because some farmers cut costs by allowing for regeneration without necessarily replanting. Similar sentiments were shared about weeding jobs, which were reportedly limited because it normally occurs at the earliest stage of sugarcane planting. Furthermore, youth argued that the availability of weeding jobs was affected by the emergence of technologies such as weed-killing chemicals which replaced manual labour.

In addition to cutting, planting and weeding, some youth were engaged in sugarcane buying, brokering and marketing activities. According to findings from the youth interviewed, sugarcane buying takes place at different levels. Apart from buying in tonnes, sugarcane buying takes place at the flowering stage, locally known as ‘kimuli’ which denotes sugarcane at the flowering stage. Whether it refers to mature or immature fields, sugarcane buying and marketing is an activity which the youth do for the wealthy groups because it requires significant financial resources which is a constraint for the majority of young people. Some of young people that I interviewed indicated that one needs a Supply License or Permit which the

majority of the youth do not have. Yet, securing a Supply Permit was arguably a lengthy process which involves costs that crowd out the youth due to a lack of financial resources. According to a 24-year-old male youth leader from in Mayuge, being a sugarcane middleman requires a lot of money:

> Middleman activities are the best for us because it is more profitable. You can buy a 'kimuli' farm and sell it at 400 per cent profit. For a mature farm, you don't negotiate on the basis of actual tonnes, you only make estimates but, in the end, it is a sure deal that a middleman makes substantial profits. The profitability comes with less physical energy but requires strong financial muscle and that is why we are few 'sugarcane middlemen', the majority of the young people are working for sugarcane tycoons.

The quotation above has two major implications. One is the emphasis on finance as a requisite resource for a profitable sugarcane business and this brings up the second implication which is the manifestation of youth vulnerability affecting their freedom to engage in profitable sugarcane activities. Consequently, the emerging scenario is the difference between the sugarcane activities in which the youth were engaged vis-à-vis their desires. According to most of the interview findings, the youth were working with sugarcane marketing (buying and selling), transportation and owning sugarcane farms because of reasons such as profitability and less labour intensiveness.

However, given their weak financial position, the majority of the youth were engaged in what they referred to as 'undesirable, painful and unprofitable' sugarcane activities. From the CA lens, when people do not have the capacity to freely participate in what they feel happy with, it symbolizes limited agency which also undermines one's capabilities to survive from the existing livelihood options (Sen 1999). Having less or no control over the desired sugarcane activities symbolizes weak youth agency relative to the sugarcane structure, which is also a symbol of youth vulnerability. However, the situation in Busoga partly mirrors the overall image of the activities in which poor groups engage.

Scholarship on sugarcane farming shows that activities such as planting, weeding, cutting and transportation are odd jobs analogous with slavery and usually for impoverished groups with limited choices (Coote 1987, Mintz 1986). Thus, youth engagement in the lowest chains in sugarcane activities in Busoga can be seen as a representative case of capitalist development where the poorest groups are involved in the hardest activities in the process of wealth accumulation. In capitalist dispensations, the principle of "survival of the fittest" is embedded in the deterministic nature of materialism in neo-liberal business ventures where resource

ownership guarantees control and choice (Harvey 2006). In this case, it can be argued that the sugarcane activities in which the youth are engaged reflect their weak economic status. The explicitly profitable opportunities such as sugarcane farm ownership and middleman businesses are seized by local compradors who have substantial cash resources. In this case, youth involvement in activities they cannot choose is a representative case of capitalism where the bourgeoisie capital and material resources condition the underclass to the proletariat class (Marx 1844b). Resource ownership means power of control and choice over what, where, when and how to produce, and without resources, all these can be greatly undermined.

This study confirms existing research that underscores land and finance as fundamental constraints on youth involvement in commercial farming not only in Uganda but the majority of Africa (Adams 1991, Chinsinga and Chasukwa 2012, Food and Agriculture Organisation 2014, Khapayi and Celliers 2016, Ministry of Agriculture Animal Industry and Fisheries 2010). Due to lack of resources, victims are compelled to adopt adaptation strategies in complex environments. In Busoga's case, there is a way in which capitalism has seized youth opportunities and capacity to own sugarcane business and conditioned the youth into the labour class as a fall-back position, typical of 'survival of the fittest' in capitalism. In this case, youth engagement in non-desired activities in Busoga is not about agency capacity but the problem is instead mainly rooted in the structure which produces and reproduces youth economic vulnerabilities which undermine youth choices.

In order to compensate for their weak status, the youth adopt strategies such as flexibility and the ability to engage in any sugarcane activity. Youth ability to engage in most sugarcane activities is a survival strategy because, as opposed to the mainstream and modern industrial sector, there is no specialization in the different sugarcane farming activities. According to the interviews, a person does more than one sugarcane activity, depending on their availability and energy because of lack of specialization. To the youth in Busoga, lack of specialization is advantageous because flexibility strategically guarantees daily survival.

Furthermore, flexibility was seen as a buffer for one's survival because it insulates the youth from the risks of sporadic and intermittent periods of redundancy arising from specializing in non-common sugarcane activities due to seasonality or routinized processes of sugarcane production. The high level of flexibility was attributed to the fact that the majority of the field-based sugarcane activities do not require specialized training. Despite the low status of

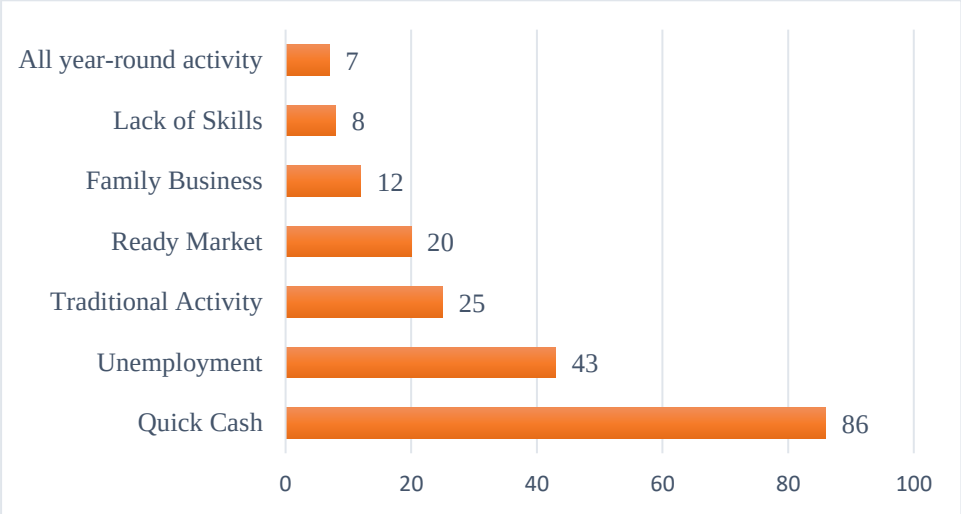
considerably undesirable sugarcane activities, the youth continue to engage in sugarcane jobs, something which is intriguing and interesting to investigate.

6.4 Motivations for youth involvement in sugarcane farming

For the purposes of this study, motivation denotes the youth interests and reasons for participation in sugarcane farming. A focus on the youth motivations was particularly important in understanding the extent to which youth participation in sugarcane farming corresponds to it being a solution to their livelihood challenges. As shown earlier, the findings show a massive youth response to sugarcane farming manifested by their dominance of field sugarcane activities which raises three assumptions. One, that youth participation in sugarcane activities is an indicator of a positive trend among the youth in favour of farming. The second is that sugarcane farming has unique pull factors for young people and thirdly, that youth participation in sugarcane farming is a matter of fulfilling socio-economic livelihood needs. To unravel these assumptions, two questions were raised: what are the motivations for youth involvement in sugarcane farming and how can the youth motivations for their involvement in sugarcane farming be described?

According to the interviews and FGD findings, the youth are motivated to get involved in sugarcane farming by pull and push factors. A careful analysis and ranking of responses showed that the youth are mainly motivated by sugarcane cash (incomes from sugarcane jobs and sales) and jobs. The majority (86 per cent) of the youth from the three districts considered sugarcane cash as a major attraction to sugarcane farming. These cash sentiments were proportionally similar throughout the three districts of Mayuge (88.3 per cent), Luuka (85.9 per cent) and Jinja (83.6 per cent). The high affirmation of cash as a motivation is attributable to two reasons: firstly, that sugarcane farming is the most accessible source of income not only to the youth but also to the general population in the Busoga sub-region, and secondly the overwhelming problems of low income and the poor socio-economic characteristics of Busoga's population (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2017b). Other factors included lack of skills and attributes of sugarcane farming such as a ready market and sugarcane being a non-seasonal crop as summarized in the Figure below.

Figure 6.2: Youth Motivations for Sugarcane farming



Source: Youth Survey (2018) - Multiple responses recorded

For the majority labour-class youths, sugarcane cash is obtained in form of wages for labour in exchange for sugarcane work. In this case, there is a high sense of youth affinity towards sugarcane farming because of guaranteeing access to cash liquidity. As such, the majority of the youth portrayed cash both as an incentive and retainer for youth engagement in sugarcane farming. To the youth, the high affinity with and sense of attachment to sugarcane farming stems from the cash thread, which seems to sustain the youth interest in sugarcane farming. An interview with a 21-year-old female sugarcane cutter confirmed the significance of sugarcane cash in attracting the youth:

> I like sugarcane farming because you can get some cash. It is not much but with sugarcane, you are sure to get some money. Compared to maize, you have to wait until you harvest to get some money, but you can go and work at a sugarcane farm and get some daily money. Sugarcane farming is a guarantee; you can get cash whenever you need.

Similar sentiments were shared by sugarcane farm owners whose cash motivations were rooted in sugarcane sales. Emphasizing the significance of sugarcane cash, one of the sugarcane farm owners said:

> When you get into sugarcane farming, you are sure that you will get cash. It takes a long time (up to 18 months) for you to make sales but when you get it, sugarcane cash brings a moment of happiness. Because of sugarcane cash, people (both young and the old) are actually shifting to sugarcane because they want to taste the cash. You see all those young boys in sugarcane farms, what are they looking for? Cash. People do not have money, and sugarcane farming is a now a cash pot (*29-year-old Male Sugarcane farmer from Kisasi village, Jinja District*).

The two quotations reiterate the significance of cash incentives in attracting not only the youth but also the general population. From the two narratives, there are two points for reflection. On

the one hand, sugarcane cash is treated as a pull factor and on the other hand, cash or the lack of it is a significant push factor for the youth into sugarcane farming. Undertones such as "*I like sugarcane is because you can get some cash"* and "*when you get into sugarcane farming, you are sure that you will get cash*" are pointers of the power of sugarcane cash in pulling the youth to sugarcane farming. However, others such as "*You need cash but where else will you find it? In sugarcane" and "People do not have money, and sugarcane farming is a now a cash pot"* imply that the lack of cash pushes young people into sugarcane farming. However, the issue is beyond cash. Young people in Busoga are motivated by other socio-economic factors.

In addition to the cash, some youth are pushed into sugarcane farming due to a lack of jobs. Interview findings from three -sub-counties agree that the youth are a trapped group in a community of limited job opportunities. From Imanyiro -sub-county in Mayuge to Bukanga and Busedde in Luuka and Jinja, the youth claims of unemployment as a push factor for sugarcane farming were evident in their limited presence in alternative livelihood activities. Being the dominant activity, it is less surprising that the youth look to sugarcane farming as the most accessible activity and opportunity for the majority to seek jobs. Thus, there are both a push and pull or motivational factors in sugarcane farming being the major activity and the youth lacking jobs and alternative livelihoods. Being the largest activity, it is less surprising that the majority of the youth argued that sugarcane farming offers opportunities for exchanging youth labour entitlements.

In addition to cash and employment, some youth argued that they were motivated to get into sugarcane farming because it is a traditional activity in Busoga. For the youth, growing up in a sugarcane farming environment and their lived experiences seem to prepare them for going into sugarcane farming as a livelihood activity. Evidence shows that people tend to be attracted to activities in which they are nurtured and raised (Oladoja, Adisa and Adeokun 2008). In Busoga, lived experience of sugarcane farming as a livelihood activity seems to shape interest in sugarcane farming as a tradition that the population have to maintain. As such, youth involvement in sugarcane farming can be seen as part of the continuity of their childhood and a community livelihood tradition.

Furthermore, some youth underscored the advantages of it being non-seasonal and an all-year-round activity as motivations for getting into sugarcane farming. Compared to crops such as maize which has two seasons (March to July and September to December) of each year, some

youth praised sugarcane for offering all-time engagement. Other motivational factors such as a ready market were mainly applicable to young people who had sugarcane farms. Notably, sugarcane was attractive because of guaranteed market from sugar factories. Compared to traditional food staples, the market for sugarcane was, according to the youth, accessible and comparably better. However, youth motivations for sugarcane farming appear to vary with one's education level as illustrated in the Table below.

Table 6.9: Youth Motivations for Sugarcane Farming by Education Level

	Overall	Education Levels					P-value
Motivations	Percentage	None	Primary	O Level	A Level	Tertiary	
Quick Cash	87%	75%	88%	89%	82%	63%	.258
Unemployment	35%	50%	37%	31%	35%	25%	.793
Ready market	20%	0%	13%	30%	24%	50%	*001
Family business	20%	0%	11%	16%	12%	0%	.414
Lack of skills	8%	50%	10%	4%	0%	0%	*002
Non-seasonal activity	7%	25%	3%	9%	24%	13%	*007

Source: Youth Survey Data – (Multiple responses recorded)

Table 6.9 above illustrates the relationship between youth education and motivations for sugarcane farming. A significant relationship is observed between a lack of education skills and motivation for getting into sugarcane farming (*002) as evidenced by high percentages. For instance, 50 per cent of the youth without any formal education are motivated to get into sugarcane farming as compared to the youth who had attained at least primary school (10.5 per cent), ordinary secondary (3.6per cent), advanced and ordinary secondary levels. Furthermore, there is a significant relationship between youth education levels and sugarcane being an all-time and non-seasonal activity (*007), and ready market as a motivation for youth involvement in sugarcane farming (*001). In this case, it is clear that the youth with relatively higher education levels seem to be attracted to sugarcane farming for rational factors such as the market and sugarcane being a sustainable activity. The significant relationships between education and youth motivation factors affirm Sen Amartya's ideas about education or human capital development in forming people's capabilities in decision making and meaningful engagement with their world (Sen 1997). In this case, education appears to shape some youth opinions and choices of sugarcane farming.

Notwithstanding the relevance of education, reflections about youth motivations for sugarcane farming show that the youth in the Busoga sub-region are motivated to get into sugarcane farming because of push factors embedded in socio-economic hardships. By emphasizing push

factors, my argument does not overshadow sugarcane incentives such as (quick) cash pull factors for youth involvement in farming (Oladeebo and Ambe-Lamidi 2007, Oladoja, Adisa and Adeokun 2008). In Uganda, evidence of sugarcane farming in Busoga sub-region shows that income and sugarcane cash are significant incentives for young people as well as general population engagement in sugarcane farming (Kristensen and Birch-Thomsen 2013, Kyalya 2013). What emerges from the youth motives for sugarcane farming is that the cash incentive embodies the income hardships among the youth.

The youth are motivated into sugarcane farming as a way of meeting cash needs which according to livelihood studies, is ostensibly an important livelihood resource (Department for International Development 1999, Karthikeyan and Swathi Lekshmi 2007). Furthermore, evidence of glaring youth's lack of jobs in the all the -sub-counties significantly drive young people into sugarcane farming as the majority lack education skills to enable them to survive outside of sugarcane farming. In this case, youth motivations for sugarcane farming can be interpreted as a drive precipitated by dire need to meet daily livelihood needs in a socio-economically complex situation, characterized by a lack of choice.

6.5 Conclusion

The objective of this chapter was to determine the nature and level of youth involvement in sugarcane farming in Busoga sub-region. Specifically, the chapter sought to explore youth characteristics, examine and describe young people and how they are involved in sugarcane farming. Based on the findings, the youth who are involved in sugarcane farming embody a non-homogenous group, with heterogeneity manifested by differentiations emerging in sex, age, marital status, education levels and other characteristics such as livelihood sources and resource capacity. Their different characteristics have a bearing on how the youth are engaged in sugarcane farming wherein the relatively well-off own sugarcane farms while the poorer categories constitute the labour class. What comes out here is that the poorest groups are also engaged in the activities on the lowest rung of the sugarcane production chain constituting the bulk of the labour class while the relatively well-off are engaged as sugarcane owners and out-growers. This reinforces the power of resource ownership especially for sugarcane farming, which embodies a competitive capitalist setting where economic power and resource ownership determines one's position and mode of engagement. Due to a lack of critical resources such as land and finance, the youth are forced into a peripheral position of proletariats while the central and most preferred activities such as ownership of farms and profitable auxiliary sugarcane

businesses are dominated by wealthy groups to whom the majority of the youth are linked through the exchange of labour and time.

The youth are not only in a subordinate labour position but also engaged in manifestly undesirable modes of involvement and sugarcane activities. However, the labour status is a survival strategy in an evidently competitive sugarcane environment because it compensates for the lack of requisite resources as one only needs a healthy and energetic body, which confirms the capitalist imperatives of labour versus capital. The undesirable situation is precipitated by two factors. First is a lack of choice emerging from economic vulnerabilities and the second is a combination of push factors such as unemployment, low incomes, lack of alternative livelihood activities and the need for cash.

The problem is evidently high for the female youth who appear to be constrained by both economic constraints and gender norms in Busoga which restricts female land ownership and limits them to the traditional subsistence sector. In this case, there is a way in which gender increases the female youth burden of having to struggle for space in a sugarcane environment which is already narrow for the youth whose proceeds from sugarcane farming have to be assessed based on their employment status. Furthermore, sugarcane farming has classified Busoga's society into haves and have-nots. In this case, the 'haves' are the capitalists while the majority of the youth are the underclass and subordinates in sugarcane farming. To understand what this means for youth livelihoods requires an analysis of the youth opinions of sugarcane farming vis-à-vis major livelihood indicators as shown in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUGARCANE FARMING AND YOUTH LIVELIHOODS

7.1 Introduction

Commercial farming is viewed as a pathway to poverty reduction and an important intervention in terms of jobs and income for the increasing number of young people. However, there is a dearth of evidence regarding the link between commercial farming and specific population categories such as rural young people. Using sugarcane farming, this chapter aims to provide a specific understanding of the implications of commercial farming or means for rural youth livelihoods. By implications, I refer to the impact/livelihood outcomes of sugarcane farming. In order to understand the implications of sugarcane farming, four analytical questions were raised. Firstly, how does sugarcane farming contribute to youth livelihoods in the Busoga sub-region? Secondly, how does sugarcane farming constrain youth livelihoods in Busoga sub-region? Thirdly, how can the impact of sugarcane farming in Busoga sub-region on youth livelihoods be interpreted and described?

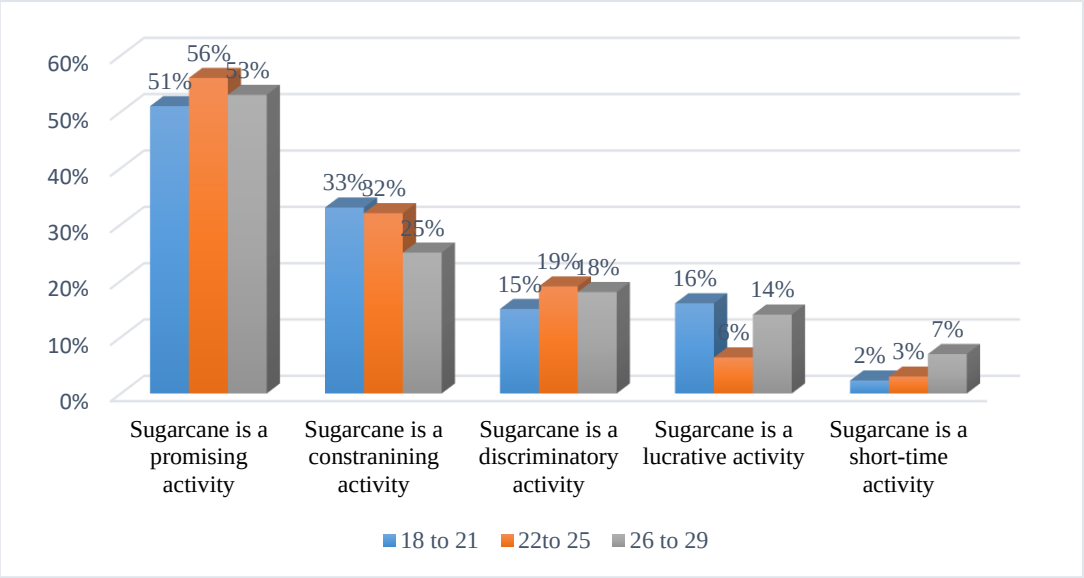
The questions were useful in determining whether sugarcane farming in Busoga has a positive, negative, or both positive and negative impact in order to nuance a clear picture of sugarcane farming as a strategy for rural youth livelihoods. In answering the questions, I focused on the traditional roles of agriculture and sustainable livelihood outcomes such as employment, incomes, food, education and selected livelihood capital. The findings were presented and discussed in line with the theoretical underpinnings of Marxism, the CA and the SLA. The first part of this chapter presents youth opinions of sugarcane farming, followed by the implications of sugarcane farming for the youth, the third section looks at youth's opinions of food cropping and sugarcane farming while the last section concludes the chapter.

7.2 Youth opinions of sugarcane farming

Before addressing the question of sugarcane farming's implications for youth livelihoods, it was important to understand the youth opinions of sugarcane farming and the underlying reasons for their different sentiments. The youth opinions of sugarcane farming were collected and categorized according to age groups in order to collate the differences between the young, mid and later stages of youth-hood. At ages 18-21, the experience of sugarcane farming is quite brief because many are of school age while 22 to 25 years is a mid-age group with a relatively

mid-length experience of sugarcane farming, but shorter than those aged 26 to 30 years who are exiting youth-hood. Findings obtained from both interviews and the survey data indicate different youth opinions of sugarcane farming, but the main issue is that the youth had both positive and negative perceptions of sugarcane farming. The crosscutting issue about youth opinions was the tendency for young people to consider sugarcane farming as a major source of livelihood. The positive youth opinions of sugarcane farming included that it was a lucrative and promising venture. However, others regarded it as a discriminatory and short-term livelihood activity as illustrated below.

Figure 7.1: Youth Perceptions of Sugarcane Farming in Busoga (n=320)



Source: Youth Survey Data (2018) – Multiple responses recorded

Figure 7.1 above, shows that the youth perceptions of sugarcane farming are both positive and negative and vary according to age. The positive perceptions of sugarcane farming as a lucrative activity are associated with the youngest age category, as a relatively smaller percentage consider sugarcane farming as a discriminatory (15 per cent) and a short-time activity as compared with the middle and upper age groups. The variations in perceptions and the reasons for this fall into two categories.

On the one hand, youth negative opinions were associated with the challenges of sugarcane farming such as requiring substantial financial resources and land which constrain the majority of the youth. Since the majority of the youth were resource-poor and mainly engaged as employees, it can be argued that resource constraints shape their negative perceptions of sugarcane farming. On the other hand, their positive perceptions of sugarcane farming are

embedded in sugarcane benefits such as the rising demand for sugarcane and perceived future income returns. Furthermore, some youth perceived sugarcane farming as a positive activity because it is a dominant activity in Busoga in which they have been engaged since childhood. In line with this, one of the youth leaders in Mayuge emphasized the implications of sugarcane's domination of the commercial farm crop structure in shaping positive youth attitudes:

> Many of us started engaging in sugarcane at an early age, working for the family and providing paid labour in out-grower farms. You don't expect me to talk ill of sugarcane. Isn't that shooting your own feet? To condemn an activity on which you have survived since you were born . . . (smiles, quietly). Sugarcane is part of my life and it is growing day-by-day, many of us look to it for the future (*26-year old male youth leader – Mayuge district).*

In the narrative above, what comes out is that the high density of sugarcane farming in Busoga forms a positive affinity with and positive perceptions of the activity among the youth. This partly explains why the positive opinions were the most common phenomenon among the youngest youth categories. This was mainly predicated on sugarcane being the most accessible activity to which they were exposed from childhood. Being relatively young, it can be argued that their positive opinions about sugarcane farming was because it is their first job and income opportunity; thus, most of their perceptions were based on both immediate and limited exposure as well as speculations about the future.

The situation is different for older-age categories whose perceptions of sugarcane farming were based on long-term attachment to sugarcane farming. In this case, their life history and livelihood patterns have a bearing on their opinions of a given activity. This confirms existing evidence which shows that people tend to have strong bonds with livelihood activities in which they have been nurtured especially due to a lack of alternative sources (FAO 2018, Narain, Singh and Singh 2016). For young people in Busoga, it is logical to consider sugarcane as a promising activity, given that it has been part of their livelihood structure

The youth perceptions of sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region have two main discussion points and implications. Firstly, the positive perceptions corroborate the benefits and opportunities in forming youth opinions about farming. Some of the existing studies show that economic, income, perceived and actual outcomes are important in shaping young people's opinions about farming (FAO 2018, Oladeebo and Ambe-Lamidi 2007). This is typical of Busoga's case where the positive youth opinions are informed by benefits from sugarcane

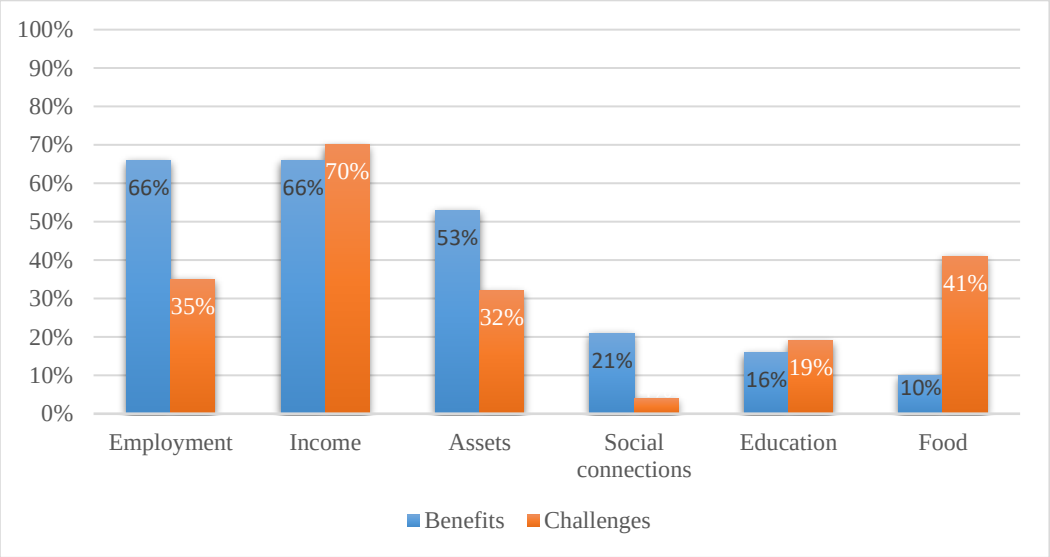
farming. Secondly. the negative perceptions of sugarcane farming symbolize the significance of constraints in shaping youth perceptions about farming. For the youth in Busoga, negative opinions of sugarcane farming tend to arise from resource constraints, which also confirms existing research about the influence of the age-old challenges of land and financial constraints, lack of inputs and limited farm productivity in shaping negative youth opinions of farming (Leavy and Smith 2010, Njeru 2017). As shown in the previous chapter (six), the lack of resources disenfranchises the youth in sugarcane farming by driving them into the lowest status and hardest activities. The key issue about youth perceptions of sugarcane farming in Busoga is that one's sentiment about any activity is formed by its challenges, benefits and relevance to their wellbeing.

7.3 Sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods

Rural youth are characterized by unemployment and poverty arising from a lack of major livelihood resources that constrain their strategies for survival in economically complex rural settings. For the majority of that the youth who lack economic autonomy, commercial ventures such as sugarcane farming should be a gateway and a solution to youth socio-economic challenges. However, despite the fact that commercial farming is regarded as a pathway to poverty reduction, group-specific evidence is still rare and the question of whether a purely capitalist business model of farming can be a productive strategy for young people remains unanswered. To comprehend what sugarcane farming means for rural youth, knowledge of the youth's own experiences of sugarcane is a useful way of measuring whether and how commercial farming is or is not a working strategy for youth livelihoods.

Livelihood can be measured in different ways but in this study, my focus was on traditional roles in agriculture in terms of food, employment and income and SLA livelihood outcomes and indicators. In this study, the implications of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods were measured basing on youth agency/capacity to act or influence, livelihood options and freedoms available, and the impact within and outside-labour relations. From the study findings, the main link through which the youth derive livelihoods from sugarcane farming is through jobs and incomes as indicated below.

Figure 7.2: Implications of Sugarcane Farming on Youth Livelihoods



Source: Youth Survey Data (multiple responses were recorded)

The above figure (7.2) is an illustrative summary of the binary implications of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods in Busoga. This is manifested by a thin line between positive and negative livelihood outcomes. The key issue is that, whereas sugarcane farming generates livelihood outcomes such as income, employment, education and assets, at the same time, the youth are trapped in similar livelihood challenges, thus, the dual challenges of opportunities and risks as analysed in the following discussion.

7.3.1 Sugarcane farming as a food resource

Food is a vital aspect of livelihood analysis. A focus on food is particularly important because it is the primary life support mechanism and a major component in the hierarchy of needs (Hagerty 1999, Maslow 1943, Stewart 1985). Furthermore, food is among the easiest ways of measuring livelihood because everyone needs food to survive and thus, the lack of it is a sign of vulnerability. In livelihood analysis, hunger and a failure to meet dietary needs are distinct signs of deprivation and weak capability because when a person fails to obtain adequate food, they degenerate into destitution, starvation and even death (Sen 1981). To understand the relationship between sugarcane farming and youth's food needs, two questions were raised: (i) what are young people's opinions of the impact of sugarcane farming on food needs? and (ii) what does the case of sugarcane farming in Busoga imply for young people's food security? The youth had mixed opinions regarding sugarcane farming and food security.

Survey data shows that 41 per cent of the youth indicated that food was a persistent livelihood challenge, while10 per cent of considered sugarcane farming as a source of food security. Furthermore, in response to the question of problems solved by sugarcane farming, the majority (54 per cent) indicated that sugarcane farming enabled them to meet their food needs. From both the qualitative and quantitative data gathered, the key issue is that the impact of sugarcane farming on food security was via the sugarcane-income-food nexus; the key issue being both the direct and indirect implications of sugarcane farming for the youth food needs. On the one hand, the direct mechanism resonates with sugarcane farm ownership where food is obtained through mixed gardening and incomes from sugarcane sales, which enabled owners to harvest and buy food stuffs. Due to a lack of adequate land, the youth engage in sugarcane farming jobs from which earnings are used for buying food.

Reminiscing the land constraints vis-à-vis the significance of sugarcane farming in relation to food security, a 24-year-old married female youth from Jinja district said:

> Due to limited land, you cannot survive without working on someone's farm. As a woman (keeps quiet for a moment), you must put food on the table but unless you get into the daily sugarcane jobs, you can easily fail because what we produce from our small plots of land cannot support us throughout the year. Sometimes, the sugarcane incomes are more useful to our food needs than the produce from our small plots of land.

On the other hand, the indirect means resonates with the labour class where food is acquired through wages earned from sugarcane jobs. Emphasizing the importance of sugarcane farming in relation to food needs, one of the youth chairpersons in the Luuka district argued that:

> You know we face acute food challenges in Busoga as a region because of lack of adequate land. The problem is worse among the youth, especially those that have families. They don't have enough land, so in order to survive, one must work in sugarcane, earn money for buying food. That is how the majority are surviving. So, you can see that sugarcane is a life and family support mechanism for us (*26-year-old Bukanga -sub-county male youth leader*).

The two narratives underline the relevance of sugarcane farming to the food needs of the youth and the population in Busoga. Undertones such as: "*in order to survive, one must work in sugarcane, earn money for buying food*", and '*So, you can see that sugarcane is a life and family support mechanism for us*", depict sugarcane farming as a resource and buffer for food needs. This partly explains why the issue of working to earn money for food was very common among married youth. As one of the female interviewees argues:

> You know here (in Busoga), men are heads of the families but I can tell you, the same culture puts the responsibility of food upon us (women). Imagine, you have children,

> the man has not come back, sometimes, they return with nothing and they want to eat. So, for us sugarcane is a blessing, most of the women you see in the farms are working to earn money to buy food. This is how sugarcane is supporting us, we feed from it (*26-year-old housewife and mother of two children from Luuka district*).

The quotation above underscores the importance of sugarcane farming not only in meeting food needs but also towards empowering female youth you to fulfil their gender roles of providing for the family. By enabling them to meet their social responsibilities, most of the female interviewees portrayed sugarcane farming as a source of agency to fulfil their socially constructed gender roles. Similarly, the males treated sugarcane farming as an opportunity for incomes that supported their family's food needs. By providing income sources, sugarcane farming enables young people to meet one of the primary survival needs of food. However, the impact of sugarcane farming on food varies according to one's socio-economic characteristics, with some of the youth agreeing while others disagreed that sugarcane farming was relevant to their food needs.

The youth opinions of sugarcane farming and food needs in Busoga vary according to their age, social status and land ownership. For the youth who had land, sugarcane farming is a blessing in terms of both money and food; a blessing in the sense that having land is a form of agency for them to make sugarcane cash and at the same time cultivate or buy food. Furthermore, having land enables them to grow crops such as maize at the earliest stage of the sugarcane growing cycle. It was uncommon to find a mixed sugarcane farm but most of the youth I interviewed argued that it was possible to mix maize with sugarcane especially in the first two to three months of the sugarcane plantation and this has two implications.

Firstly, it confirms the significance of owning natural capital in a community that depends on primary production; and secondly, it reinforces the fact that material resources guarantee more benefits than owning labour. What emerges from this study is that labour is important because it limits a person to wage earnings as opposed to landowners who have the freedom and agency to make money from sugarcane farming and, at the same time, produce food. This conforms to the SLA opinions of the significance of natural capital (such as land) to a community that depends on primary production because it offers opportunities for direct production by cultivating the land, among other opportunities such as access to credit facilities (DFID 1999).

The situation is different for the youth without land and those with or without family responsibilities. For most of the interviewees who were unmarried and those without family responsibilities, incomes from sugarcane farming appeared to be adequate for survival, while the married youth indicated limits and the inadequacy of sugarcane farming in relation to food security. Emphasizing the limits of sugarcane farming on food needs, one of the district Welfare and Probation Officers argued that "*in a vehemently food insecure regions such as ours Busoga, sugarcane earnings are only adequate for young people without families because the little money enables them to maintain the hands-to-mouth situation".* In line with this quotation, interview findings revealed that the majority of the youth could at utmost, afford two meals for their families per day. The failure to have at least two meals was attributed to low incomes earned from sugarcane work vis-à-vis the high costs of food stuffs. The problem is reportedly greater during the dry season (January to April) when food stuffs become more expensive due to high demand vis-à-vis limited food supply. For the youth with family responsibilities, obtaining food for their families involves navigating strategies such as working extra hours and jobs in order to earn extra income that can pay for food stuffs.

The major observation is that the effect of sugarcane on food needs is embedded in the income effect of sugarcane farming. The case of Busoga can be equated to the 1970s and the early 1980s food-for-work programmes where the rural poor groups were supported to acquire food through employment in India (Krishna 2003, Mahajan 1991). However, in contrast to the popular food-for-work approaches where one is paid in kind in food grains, sugarcane farming contributes to young people's food needs in Busoga through sugarcane job earnings. The emerging issue from the different youth narratives in Busoga is that the impact of sugarcane farming varies according to one's socio-economic characteristics. For instance, having or lacking family responsibilities determines the degree of relevance and the impact of sugarcane farming on food security. In this case, social issues of family responsibilities have an influence on the degree to which one's earnings or resources yield food, or what is referred to as resource conversion factors (Robeyns 2017). From a broader lens, the youth experiences of the limited impact of sugarcane farming on food security reflects the fundamental problem of sugarcane farming and food security issues in the Busoga sub-region.

7.3.1.1 Sugarcane farming and food insecurity

Despite being a significant resource for food for the youth, sugarcane farming has negative effects on food needs in the Busoga sub-region. Evidence gathered by this study shows that

sugarcane farming causes food insecurity in two major ways. Firstly, sugarcane farming dominates the local land use over food production. Existing studies show that the dominance of sugarcane production translates into a decline in food availability due to the typical monoculture of sugarcane (Chebii 1993, Kennedy 1989, Owuor, Chanyalew and Sambili 1996). This is typical of Busoga's case where most entry and exit directions of the region are dominated by sugarcane farming. The second reason is in relation to earnings from sugarcane farming.

In this study, the youth responses regarding sugarcane farming vis-à-vis food availability, accessibility and sustainability confirmed a minimal impact on food security. From the survey, 41 per cent indicated that food was a fundamental livelihood challenge. For the majority of the youth that I interviewed, sugarcane farming facilitates a hand-to-mouth kind of support through daily work to meet food needs. However, most the youth viewed sugarcane farming as a buffer for their acute food needs through jobs and income opportunities. Notwithstanding its relevance, most of the youth responses portrayed sugarcane farming as a source of insecurity and rising food prices in Busoga. My inquiries about the question of rising food insecurity in a historically food-secure community showed sugarcane farming to be major cause of food problems.

Being a predominantly subsistence community, Busoga was referred to as the 'hoe economy' because the hoe provided everything needed for survival from the garden (Cohen 1972). As such, every homestead had at least a plantain garden, among other seasonal crops such as peanuts, millet, corn, cassava and potatoes, to guarantee a supply of food staples (Isiko 2019, Mudoola 1993). Owning a food garden was one way of protecting families against problems of hunger by ensuring food availability. Food availability was attributed to functioning cultural and institutional leadership policies such as mandatory food production, with each household expected to have at least two gardens, with one ceremoniously ascribed to the chief as a way of ensuring adequate food (Isiko 2019).

On the contrary, the current outlook in the Busoga sub-region is a shadow of its former glory of a stable food basket. From my observations, the majority of households had sugarcane gardens (to guarantee access to sugarcane cash) and fewer food crops which seems to be the source of constraints such as having to buy food. Earlier research from the same region shows that the expansion of sugarcane farming and its cash incentives have increased sugarcane

production at the expense of food crops in Busoga (Kyalya 2013, Mwavu et al. 2016). According to the youth, low food crop production has increased the cost of food, yet wages from sugarcane farming seem to be inadequate. As one of the female youth from Luuka district argues:

> I have mixed feelings. I like sugarcane because it is a source of cash but it is disappointing because it has taken up most of the land we use for the production of food for consumption. When you reach here, your eyes are set on sugarcane farms. We are excited with sugarcane farming because we use the wages to buy food but it is not enough because food prices are high, you cannot balance your diet. The money only helps us to buy basic food for family survival (*23-year-old married female*).

Corroborating the narrative above, evidence shows that most households in the districts of Mayuge (44.2 per cent) and Jinja (39.4 per cent) suffer from inadequate food for consumption due to changing patterns of land use especially prioritizing land for sugarcane farming over food crop production (Anguyo 2014). The increasing land use for sugarcane farming was evident throughout the three districts in this study, with the largest areas of arable land covered by sugarcane farms. Most of the food crop gardens were considerably smaller in size, with some food crop gardens only lying on the sides of sugarcane farms which precipitates a decline in food availability and high food prices. As one of the male youth leaders from Mayuge argues:

> Busoga is paying the price for embracing large-scale sugarcane farming. Right now, the Indians are happy because they have a constant flow of sugarcane but the farmers are hungrily hurting down here. The boys are languishing in fields looking for jobs to find something to eat. When you study the whole process, the scales are tipped in favour of sugar factories because for us, the money we earn from sugarcane farming has turned to be for food and yet, you cannot eat what you want, you can only eat what you can afford *(28-year-old male youth leader – Mayuge district – Key informant Interview)*.

The quotation above symbolizes unbalanced capitalist interests versus the local population food needs. The imbalances of high sugarcane production in relation to low food production are advantageous to the sugar investors but considerably detrimental to the local population's food needs. The lopsided situation can be attributed to capitalism and its tendencies of dispossession outside of labour relationships. Without directly grabbing land, there is a way in which sugarcane farming in Busoga has deprived the community of producing food crops for household consumption by influencing land use choices at household and community levels in order to suit sugarcane production motives. This is typical of accumulation by dispossession or primitive accumulation precipitated through direct and indirect control or takeover of land (Harvey 2006, Marx 1970). The case of the Busoga sub-region is less surprising because

sugarcane farming is a typical example of neo-liberal, large-scale farming regimes impacting on the host community's land use in the Global South.

Evidence shows that capitalist large-scale farming tends to push existing forms of production into new land use regimes such as changing from food to non-food to biofuel, to market-based production and other land use choices (Akram-Lodhi 2007, Araghi 2003). The case of Busoga is particularly challenging in relation to the youth food needs because it embodies a shift from food to non-food production which apparently hurts the local food needs. Being vulnerable, the youth are trapped in a hand-to-mouth cycle because the entire process supports capital accumulation.

My findings corroborate those of empirical studies that consider sugarcane as a 'hunger crop' because, being a capitalist development, the sector's concern is never the food security of the local community which fits perfectly with the lamentation of one the workers in Jamaica's sugarcane plantations that "the sweetening of the British tea has always taken priority over filling of Jamaican stomachs" (Coote 1987:19). This is in line with what one of the -sub-county chairperson's comments about sugarcane farming and the food situation in Busoga, namely "sugarcane is simply oiling the wheels of sugar factories while draining the local capacity to feed themselves''. While the problem is general, its degree is high among the youth because of their vulnerability arising from a lack of livelihood resources, and the problem is exacerbated by both increased land use for sugarcane and meagre earnings.

7.3.2 Youth employment and income

In livelihoods, labour is the primary asset that everyone mobilizes in response to available opportunities. For young people, a lack of land implies that labour is their fall-back resource that bridges the gap between direct dependence on natural assets and labour markets or employment. Therefore, as opposed to in-kind support, employment and income are critical to livelihood analysis because they empower poor groups to be independent in meeting their livelihood needs (Nkurunziza 2006). Furthermore, employment represents agency for making independent livelihood decisions, based on one's earnings and purchasing power, which directly affect wellbeing. Cognizant of this, attention was paid to employment and income because of the assumption that youth engagement in commercial farming reduces their economic vulnerability through jobs and income linkages (State House 2018). The focus on income and employment aimed to determine how and whether sugarcane farming directly

addresses the pertinent challenges of rural youth in Busoga. To determine the impact of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods, my focus was on sugarcane farming's contributions to youth labour and incomes and its implications for youth livelihoods in terms of the nature of jobs and conditions of work, remuneration, and the extent to which sugarcane incomes are convertible into young people's desires or functioning.

Data from the youth survey indicated employment and income as the major livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming. The majority (66 per cent) of the youth affirmed that sugarcane farming was a source of jobs and income opportunities. Furthermore, data obtained from individual interviews, FGDs and field observations confirmed sugarcane farming as a job source for the youth in the three districts. The youth stating that sugarcane farming is a source of work was validated by the absence of vibrant livelihood activities both in the three districts and the entire region. Apart from the predominant subsistence farming and scanty presence of retail businesses in trading centres, sugarcane farming is apparently the most vibrant activity visible in most of the studied villages. The youth's claims of a lack of jobs align with existing evidence of former job hubs in regional and industrial cities such as Jinja, which is currently a shadow of its former glory (Mwanika et al. 2020). Evidently, sugarcane farming is the largest available economic activity manifested both in land coverage and intensive farm and off-farm businesses.

According to the youth, the value chain of sugarcane farming and sugar processing involves a range of activities such as ploughing, planting, weeding, cutting, sugarcane collection, loading and transportation, constituting job opportunities for the youth. From the field observations, the youth were the dominant workforce in the majority of the sugarcane jobs. The youth's dominance of sugarcane farming activities was attributed to three factors: availability in large numbers and ability to provide the energetic labour required for the heavy sugarcane jobs. Also, there is no need for special training for nearly all the sugarcane activities, which makes the majority of the youth employable. However, there was a considerably lower percentage of the youth engaged in factory jobs. The smallest number of the youth were engaged in factory jobs which was attributed to the use of migrant workers, especially in Kakira Sugar Works in Jinja and being formal jobs, some youth argued that a lack of appropriate skills prevented them from getting factory jobs.

However, the low number of the youth in formal jobs in Busoga's sugarcane factories reflects the fundamental challenge of formal youth employment in Uganda. Uganda's national employment statistics shows a low percentage of the youth employed in the formal sector in paid jobs (Bbaale 2014, Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2017c). According to findings from the youth interviews, the most compelling reason for the limited number of formal jobs in Busoga is the large numbers of young people vis-à-vis the limited number of jobs. Without delving into the details of variations between formal and field jobs, the key issue is that sugarcane farming is a source of casual job opportunities. By providing casual jobs to the youth, sugarcane farming affirms the conventional relevance of commercial farming, namely the ability to contribute to the local economy by incorporating both semi- and unskilled people (Gustavo and Stamoulis 2007). For the youth in Busoga, the different jobs in the sugarcane value chain are fundamental sources of income which support livelihoods.

I use income in the financial sense to refer to earnings in the form of wages in exchange for labour and sugarcane sales. The youth's responses showed that sugarcane farming had increased access to income. However, these sentiments towards sugarcane farming and incomes had discernible variations depending on their marital status and whether they were dependent or independent (see Table 7.1)

Table 7.1: Impact of Sugarcane Farming on Youth Incomes

How has sugarcane farming affected your income?	Count/ Percentage	Youth Marital and living status				Total	P-Value
		Married & independent	Married and dependent	Unmarried and independent	Unmarried and dependent		
My income has increased	Count	119	7	34	94	254	
	Percentage	84%	54%	77%	78%	80%	
My income has reduced	Count	2	3	1	9	5	
	Percentage	1%	23%	2%	7.5%	17%	
My income has remained the same	Count	21	3	9	21	54	
	Percentage	15%	23%	21%	17.5%	18%	*.004

Source: Youth survey data (2018)

As illustrated above, sugarcane farming has positive, negative and neutral impacts on youth incomes. The income impact is significant among the unmarried independent and dependent youth. The finding about sugarcane farming and youth incomes in Busoga confirms existing evidence of the sugarcane-income nexus among sugarcane farmers and workers (Cockburn et al. 2014, Kennedy 1989, Waswa, Gweyi-Onyango and Mcharo 2012). In the SLA lens, access

to income supports livelihoods in different ways due to versatility and convertibility advantages associated with cash resources, which support acquiring livelihood needs.

In Busoga's case, both male and female youth responses confirmed that access to sugarcane incomes enhanced their capacity to acquire basic household needs such as bedding, food stuffs, basic health and education. Some of the females interviewed applauded sugarcane farming for creating access to incomes that enabled them to acquire personal items such as petroleum jelly, hair products, lingerie such as knickers and bras, and other personal effects that their husbands and parents could not buy them. For the male married youth, incomes from sugarcane farming enabled them to acquire basic family needs such as soap, salt, sugar, clothes and food, while the unmarried male youth considered sugarcane incomes to be significant in obtaining individual items and enjoying a sense of self-worth. A 22-year-old unmarried male from the Luuka district confirmed the fulfilling aspect of sugarcane incomes by arguing that *'sugarcane money gives me a sense of fulfilment, happiness and pride'.*

Some unmarried youth regarded sugarcane farming as major social and cultural life supporting mechanism because it enabled them to fulfil marital obligations such as paying a bride price for female partners. For both males and females, income from sugarcane farming was viewed as a source of purchasing power that supports young people's daily needs. Emphasizing the significance of sugarcane farming, a 24-year-old from Bukanga in Luuka argued that:

> We have a strong connection with sugarcane farming. Our connection is based on sugarcane work and cash. We depend on many activities but it is only sugarcane farming which touches the majority of our lives. For me, sugarcane is a custodian of my life. My family and I depend on sugarcane farming. If you close down sugarcane farming, you are closing down my life. You can suggest new activities but for now, sugarcane farming that has proved to be a dependable activity for me.

The above quotation signifies the strong affinity young people have with sugarcane farming. The youth's affinity with sugarcane farming is clearly predicated on income outcomes to the extent that anything that restrains the existence of sugarcane farming is regarded as a threat to youth livelihoods. Given the significance of sugarcane farming, the youth are unwilling to exchange sugarcane farming for another untested activity because sugarcane is apparently a known devil and seen as better than an unknown angel. By contributing to youth employment and incomes, sugarcane farming constitutes an income stream and building block for youth livelihoods through what is referred to as capabilities and functionings in terms of work (Sen 1981, Sen 1999).

Sugarcane farming is a building block in the sense that it enables the young people in Busoga to exchange their labour for work from which they earn incomes that support their survival. In a livelihood analysis, access to income is a panacea for livelihood issues but access to and the possession of income reduces defenceless and vulnerability (Chambers 1995, Devereux 2001, Xu et al. 2015). Building on the significance of income and employment for livelihood strategies and choices, my interest was to determine how sugarcane jobs and incomes affect youth wellbeing, especially with regard to the nature of jobs and incomes earned vi-a-vis youth freedom and agency to overcome livelihood constraints.

7.3.2.1 Nature of sugarcane jobs, incomes and youth livelihoods

Notwithstanding the positive opinions of the youth about sugarcane farming, the contribution of sugarcane farming towards youth employment and incomes is subject to fundamental flaws. From the survey, the majority (70 per cent) indicated low income as a persistent livelihood challenge while 35 per cent of the youth indicated constraints of unemployment. The major finding here is that the same the youth engaged in different sugarcane farming activities and earning wages appear to be pressed by unemployment and income problems. This raises two analytical questions. Firstly, are sugarcane incomes and jobs inadequate to solve youth income and job challenges? Secondly, do sugarcane jobs and incomes have peculiar issues which create incompatibilities with youth livelihood interests?

In the first instance, the most common phenomenon was that, despite sugarcane farming offering a range of job opportunities, the jobs could not accommodate all the youth in the region. My interviews and interactions with youths in the villages of Kigalagala and Kisasi in Jinja; Bukanga and Budoma in Luuka and Wante and Bufulubi in Mayuge show that despite the majority of the youth being occupied in sugarcane activities, it was uncommon for all the youth to be engaged on a daily basis. In this case, youth's claims of unemployment can be valid, stemming from an inadequate jobs lens. In the second case, most of the youth's interviews revealed that sugarcane jobs have fundamental issues regarding working conditions as well as remuneration. From the findings, the major issue is that sugarcane jobs and incomes offer poor remuneration and harsh working conditions.

By nature, the sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region is characterized by largely small- to medium-scale farms owned by local farmers. Apart from the Kakira Sugar Works with large-scale corporate sugarcane plantations in Jinja, the majority of the farms in rural Busoga are

relatively small to guarantee fulltime work. To the youth, such settings force one to look for jobs on a daily basis, from one farm to another and often, require wandering to neighbouring - sub-counties and beyond one's home district. Wandering within and outside one's districts has implications for the availability, accessibility and sustainability of sugarcane jobs and incomes.

One of the most frequently reported issues about the sporadic nature of sugarcane jobs was interruptions in access to financial resources, which affect one's livelihood choices and plans. Such wanderings were considered exclusionary to female youth due to their domestic duties which constrain their ability to walk to and work in distant settings. In addition to the sporadic and intermittent nature of jobs, the majority of the youth also decried the working conditions as well as remuneration. This picture below provides an example of how sugarcane cutting is done and how sugarcane is bundled for transportation.

Figure 7.3: A picture of Youth in Sugarcane Cutting and Loading

Source: Field Picture: Taken in August 2019 during the field visits and participant observations of the youth in field sugarcane jobs. On the left-hand side is an example of sugarcane cutting while the right-hand side shows how sugarcane is bundled into heaps locally referred to as musingi.

Interviews with the youth revealed that the different jobs have fundamental challenges. In emphasis, one of the male sugarcane cutters for example lamented that:

> As you can see, this is how we work. It is hot, but I am at work. My boss doesn't really care about how much I sweat, he cares about how much I cut and pile for him. This job you see hummmm (pauses…) involves three things; cutting, tying and heaping sugarcane but I am paid for only sugarcane cutting. For every heap 'Musingi'[13](local name for sugarcane heaps) I am paid 1,000 shillings but you know every musingi

[13] *Musingi* is a local term used to refer to a heap of sugarcane, consisting of 20 to 25 small bundles of 18 to 20 sugarcanes.

> contains 20 to 25 smaller bundles of 18 to 25 sugarcanes. To make 10,000 shillings, you need to cut 10 Misingi (plural for Musingi). You can see the energy you have to inject and the little you are paid (keeps quiet), sugarcane is another form of grave for us (*23-year-old male sugarcane cutter – Mayuge District*).

Similar sentiments were shared about other sugarcane activities such as loading and transportation:

> To load a complete truck of 10 to 20 tonnes of sugarcane, you are paid about 70,000 shillings which is shared by 5 to 7 people. For loading trucks, the drivers are the major sources and agents of work, so you have to give (motivate) them something small (money). So, everyone contributes about 1,000 to the driver which fundamentally reduces the net earnings. You remain with about 8,000 shillings in the end, what can this really do? And for sugarcane cutting, we have the brokers[14] who connect you to a sugarcane garden. For them it is worse, sometimes you have to share in a ratio of 1:3. Sir, sugarcane farming is just about survival (Male Participant in FGD of sugarcane loaders, Jinja district).

The narratives above underscore the dual burden associated with sugarcane activities, that is, harsh working conditions and poor remuneration. Regarding the conditions of work, the data collection exercise coincided with the December to March 2018 dry season. Interviewing and observing the youth at work such as loading trucks and cutting sugarcane gave me a sense of young people's claims of harsh working conditions such as scorching sunny conditions without protective gear. From the youth experiences, it appears that working in sugarcane farming one has to be prepared for a dual burden of harsh working conditions and poor remuneration.

In this case, I contend that the youth claims of unemployment are not necessarily embedded in inadequate sugarcane jobs but also a reflection of the deplorable sugarcane working conditions which give the youth a feeling of unemployment and sugarcane farming as less of a solution. This argument does not detract from the contribution of sugarcane farming to youth jobs and incomes in Busoga, but the key issue is that the jobs and incomes from sugarcane farming are poor, low quality and precarious. The precarious working conditions in sugarcane farming in Busoga can be interpreted as a reflection of the fundamental problem of precarious jobs in Uganda. In the Busoga sub-region, household statistics indicate that 79.3 per cent of the youth are engaged in precarious jobs, which is quite similar to the national statistics of 79 per cent of Uganda's young people engaged in precarious jobs (UBOS 2017). Taken together, Busoga and Uganda's cases reflect the Africa-wide problem of youth engagement in precarious jobs,

[14] These are people who make contacts with farmers that have sugarcane cutting jobs and then link young people to the different farms at a negotiated commission which varies according to the size of farm and the number of bundles.

characterized by low productivity due to poor wages and insecurity, which does not enable the youth to develop (Ighobor 2013). For the youth in Busoga, the precarious working conditions are a precursor for mixed sentiments about sugarcane farming and interests in quitting the activity.

Responding to the question of contentment with sugarcane jobs, the majority of the youth people expressed discontentment with sugarcane farming, as illustrated in the table below:

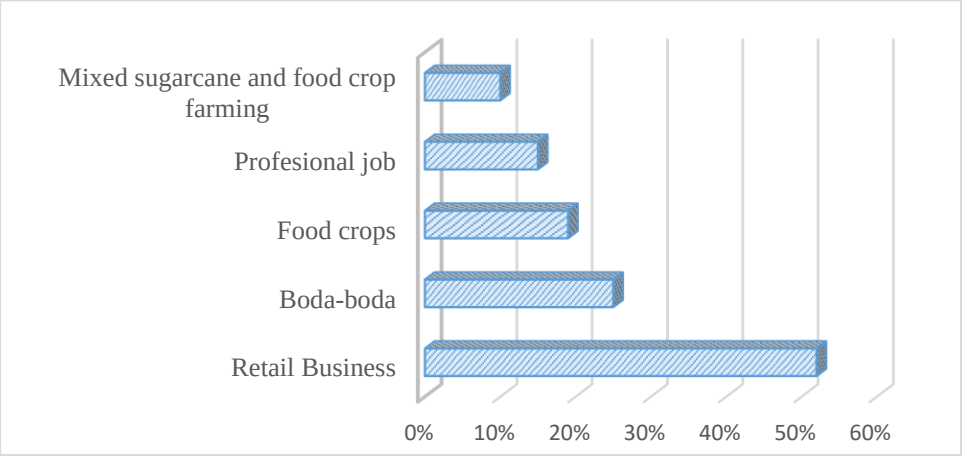
Table 7.2: Youth Contentment by Desire to Leave Sugarcane Farming

Do you feel contented with sugarcane farming?	Would you wish to change from sugarcane farming?			Total	P-value
	Count/Percentage	**Yes**	**No**		
Yes	Count	34	198	232	
	Percentage	15%	85%	100%	
No	Count	70	14	84	*.000
	Percentage	83%	17%	100%	
Total	Count	104	212	316	
	Percentage	33%	67%	100%	

Source: Youth Survey data (2018)

As seen in Table 7.2 above, there is a significant relationship between youth contentment levels and their desire to leave sugarcane farming (P.000). On the one hand, it is interesting to note that among the youth who are not content, 17 per cent did not wish to leave. Their unwillingness to leave sugarcane farming can be attributed to a lack of alternative livelihood activities, thus making sugarcane farming a 'necessary evil'. On the other hand, among the youth who were content, 15 per cent wished to leave sugarcane farming because the jobs pay poorly (59 per cent) and are physical in nature (19 per cent). Given the challenges associated with sugarcane jobs and incomes, the youth were willing to quit sugarcane farming, with the majority desiring to join business, professional and boda-boda activities which they perceived to be better paying than sugarcane farming as showed in figure 7.4.

Figure 7.4: Activities preferred to sugarcane farming



Source: Youth Survey Questionnaire Data (2018)

In Figure 7.4 above, the main finding is that young people are interested in informal and non-agricultural activities. Young people's preference for informal sector activities to farming symbolizes discontent with and shunning not only of sugarcane farming but farming as a sector in general. This corroborates existing research about increasing youth disinterest in the farming sector, not only in Uganda but Africa at large (Kristensen and Birch-Thomsen 2013, Leavy and Smith 2010, Leavy and Hossain 2014). Generally, findings about sugarcane farming, youth employment and incomes in Busoga provide interesting analytical points.

Given the prevalence of high unemployment, sugarcane farming is an opportunity for young people to exchange their labour for jobs and incomes. The job factor is particularly important because, whether farm or non-farm, access to employment in rural areas fundamentally reduces poverty and vulnerability because decent livelihoods depend on gainful employment (Imai, Gaiha and Thapa 2015, Scoones 1998). However, the explicit issue is that the jobs generated by sugarcane farming in Busoga are less profitable. Without detracting from the contribution of sugarcane farming to employment, Busoga's case indicates that sugarcane jobs are not only inadequate for solving the severe unemployment problem but also characterized by harsh working conditions and poor pay. The poor working conditions and low pay can be explained by two issues.

Firstly, what the youth in Busoga regard as poor working conditions symbolize capitalism where such conditions are intentional processes to keep the producers of wealth in deplorable conditions. In order to save surplus value and further the wealth accumulation agenda, the

workers tend to be subjected to long hours of work, payments lower than the value of their labour, and further subjected to conditions of subsistence (Akram-Lodhi 2007, Marx and Engels 1846). Being part of the global agrarian neo-liberal agenda, the youth negative sentiments concerning remuneration standards and working conditions is not surprising because large-scale agrarian developments in the Global South are engendered by metropolitan goals of profiting from offshore business due to low costs of production (McMichael 2012). This partly explains why commercial farm projects are viewed as enclaves of market and profit, thus bypassing the poor groups by benefiting a few rich and powerful categories.

Secondly, scholarship about commercial farming in Africa shows that the process tends to have minimal impact on wage labour employment as it generates low wages and poor-quality jobs (Hall, Scoones and Tsikata 2017). For the case of sugarcane farming, evidence from SSA shows that incomes and wages from sugarcane are often insufficient for the employees to have a decent living with their families because the largest profit margins go to the sugar companies (Hess et al. 2016, Richardson 2010, Waswa, Gweyi-Onyango and Mcharo 2012). Furthermore, evidence from South America and Africa shows that sugarcane farming is characterized by conditions of worker exploitation through poor pay and harsh conditions of work (de Menezes, da Silva and Cover 2012, Mintz 1986). In most cases, the workers stick to sugarcane jobs due to a lack of alternative livelihoods.

Similarly, Busoga's case shows that vulnerabilities of low incomes and unemployment force the youth into sugarcane jobs not necessarily because they are the best but because they are the most accessible. Given the problems of income and unemployment, low or poor pay is better than no pay, and in the same way, such conditions make a bad job better than no job. In the circumstances, the only thing worse than sugarcane incomes or jobs is perhaps not working or earning money from sugarcane jobs. As such, the youth in Busoga have to heed the norms in capitalist settings, namely, selling their labour below its real value, which works for investors but at the expense of labourers. Such conditions give young people a feeling of enduring rather than enjoying the process and the proceeds of their labour because of limited freedom and agency. In spite of the fact that plantation farming should increase people's incomes through job creation, sugarcane farming in Busoga falls short of this benchmark because the majority of young people are caught in persistent problems of low incomes and precarious jobs despite being engaged in a booming sugarcane sector.

7.3.3 Sugarcane farming and youth education

Education is vital to livelihoods because it builds human agency through life skills that enhance one's employability. Number four of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals underscores the importance of education to people's livelihoods through skills, considered as tools for innovative solution to problems. For young people, education is a livelihood support mechanism through capacity development which increases opportunities for jobs as well as self-employment (Grierson, Schnurr and Young 2002). My focus on education was to determine how sugarcane farming contributes to youth human capital development in the Busoga sub-region. Both qualitative and quantitative data indicated education as one of the benefits ascribed to sugarcane farming. For instance, 16 per cent of the youth revealed that sugarcane farming contributed to their education and that of their children.

The main finding about sugarcane farming and youth education is that sugarcane farming makes indirect and direct contributions to youth education but mainly benefits wealthy rather than poor youth. Direct impact meant use of sugarcane sales by parents to meet children's education costs while an indirect contribution refers to the use of one's labour earnings to meet their own school costs. To the majority of the labour class youth, the use of their wages from sugarcane was considered indirect because of their lack of farms from which their rich counterparts directly obtain financial resources for education. Be it in the form of a direct or indirect contribution, what emerges from this study is that earnings from sugarcane enable young people to meet education costs. The youth who had children of school-going age indicated that cash from sugarcane jobs supported their children's education through the acquisition of scholastic materials and tuition. Confirming the contribution of sugarcane farming to youth education, one of the technical leaders in Busedde -sub-county in Jinja argued that:

> By working in sugarcane farms, children especially from poor families use the little money to buy themselves uniforms, books and pens to keep in school. Some of these people have children whom they support through using sugarcane farming. Whereas we have free primary education and secondary education (USE), not many parents can support their children with basic school requirements. To keep them in school, many of young people work in sugarcane farms and that money meets their school requirements.

Confirming the contribution of sugarcane farming to their education, a 21-year-old male from Nawantale village in the Luuka district commented that:

> In primary school, I never paid fees because I was under Universal Primary Education (UPE) but they could not give us books, pens, uniforms and other things. I had to work

> in sugarcane farms in order to acquire school requirements for my primary school level. Today (July 2019), I am in senior three and it is all because of sugarcane farming. Up to now, I am two in one. I go to school from Monday to Friday but in the evenings and during weekends I look for sugarcane jobs to get money for school requirements and my pocket money (for upkeep).

The above narratives reiterate the contribution of sugarcane farming towards young people's education and also underscores youth vulnerability which predisposes poor young people to having dual roles as pupils and workers. In order to navigate this difficult situation, young people reportedly engage in sugarcane jobs after school, and sometimes during school time as a strategy to remain in school. For the majority being labour class youth, mixing the roles of pupil and worker is a strategy to circumvent the financial challenges to their education as well as contributing to household survival.

The situation is different for the well-off youth whose parents have land and sugarcane farms. Rather than having to work and use their wages for school, their school costs are paid by their parents using cash from sugarcane sales. The majority of the youth in this category had completed tertiary education while others were students in higher education institutions because their parents could afford education costs. My interviews with one of the leaders of Busoga Sugarcane Out-growers' Association (BUSOA) revealed that the majority of the members were able to support their children's education because of incomes from sugarcane sales and privileges such as support from sugar companies in terms of credit facilities, advance payments, scholarships and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programmes.

Through different CSR programmes and activities, KSW reportedly offers education support, scholarships and support for school infrastructure. A case in point is the 400,000,000/= Busoga Scholarship Fund launched in 2018 by KSW with 60 per cent shared between employees and out-growers' children with the other 40 per cent open to children in the Busoga sub-region (Wambuzi 2018). In view of the fund structure, some of the labour class youth argued that the sponsorship was discriminatory and limited opportunities for non-sugarcane farmers due to preference given to out-growers and estate employees.

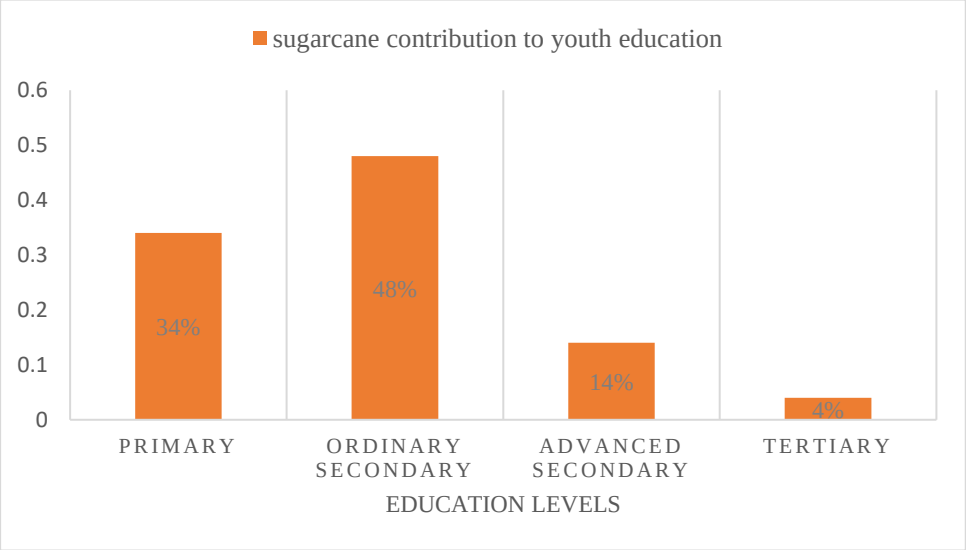
According to the application forms reviewed during the study for the intake for the academic year 2020, eligibility was tagged to residence in Busoga, but being a biological child of a KSW employee or sugarcane out-grower was an advantage. In addition to sponsorships, this study

revealed the existence of direct school infrastructure programmes by KSW. A case in point is the support towards the construction of a Science Laboratory in Busedde College and Buyengo Secondary School in the Busedde and Buyengo -sub-counties in Jinja and the Baitambogwe Secondary School in the Mayuge district. Despite income opportunities and education support programmes by sugar corporations, the youth's opinions indicated that sugarcane farming has a minimal impact on education for the majority poor youth.

7.3.3.1 Limits of sugarcane farming on youth education

Notwithstanding its direct and indirect contributions, the impact of sugarcane farming on youth education was arguably minimal and varies according to one's economic situation. This was evident in the mixed responses of the youth, with some regarding sugarcane as useful to their education, some negative, while others were neutral. However, there were three major issues about sugarcane farming and youth education in Busoga. Firstly, sugarcane farming is castigated for causing a drift away from school to sugarcane work because of its cash incentives. The second issue is that the relevance of sugarcane farming to youth education was limited to the lower education levels of poor youth, and the third is that sugarcane farming is more relevant to young people from well-off families. The majority of the youth who ascribed a positive impact of sugarcane farming on youth education were mainly in primary and lower secondary school levels while the advanced and tertiary education group were the smallest as illustrated below.

Figure 7.5: Impact of sugarcane farming on youth education levels



Source: Youth Survey Data.

From figure 7.5 above, the impact of sugarcane farming on youth education tends to reduce as education level rises. It is evident that the relevance is high at low levels but drops at advanced secondary and tertiary education.

The inverse relationship was attributed to two reasons. On the one hand, primary school education is relatively cheap because of the UPE programme and as was the case with lower secondary because of USE. On the other hand, higher education at the tertiary level is relatively expensive because it requires substantial financial resources in terms of tuition and other requirements which the majority of the youth said they could not afford. As one of the female respondents from Mayuge district illustrates:

> Education is a preserve for the rich families. If your parents do not have a stable business or big sugarcane farm, you are destined for lower education because you have to support yourself until you can no longer manage. Some people have made it by working in sugarcane farms but the majority can only go up to senior four (ordinary secondary level) and may be senior six (advanced) level but you cannot educate yourself to university with these small earnings (wages) from sugarcane jobs. Unless you have an additional income but for us here, sugarcane largely benefits children from rich families with large sugarcane farms *(26-year-old female– Imanyiro -sub-county).*

Reminiscing the relationship between sugarcane farm ownership and youth education, one of the -sub-county chairpersons argued that:

> Education is a luxury for children from poor families. Poor children toil by working in sugarcane to support themselves but they cannot do much. Their earnings truly support them at school but they become insignificant at higher education level due to higher costs. Children from rich families with sugarcane farms do not have to work in farms, you don't even see them in the villages, their parents have taken them to city schools (in Kampala) schools and a few appear for holidays. For them (the rich), sugarcane is a windfall but for the poor young people, sugarcane is a bad harvest.

The two narratives illustrate the skewed impact of sugarcane farming on youth education In Busoga. Based on the interviews with the youth, the variations are precipitated by a materialist imperative. In this case, having or not having a sugarcane farm permeates children's education attainment in Busoga, with the well-off being winners while the poor are ultimately losers in relation to education goals. What emerges from this study is that the youth from poor families can only support their education by using their meagre earnings from sugarcane jobs and for such categories, education remains a challenge compared to their rich counterparts whose parents have sugarcane farms from which they draw cash resources to support their children. For the majority of working-class youth, sugarcane farming is less useful and relevant to their education than it is for their relatively well-off counterparts. It is not surprising that when asked

about livelihood needs solved by sugarcane farming, education was the least-solved problem, as showed in the table below.

Table 7.3: Youth problems solved by sugarcane farming

Problems solved	Response (N=320)	Percentage of cases
Financial problems	165	67%
Unemployment	137	56%
Shelter and housing	126	50%
Food	118	47%
Personal health	108	43%
Children's health	58	23%
Education for children	57	23%
Education for self	45	18%

Source: Youth Survey Data

With only 18 per cent and 23 per cent being able to afford education for themselves and their children, sugarcane farming's contribution to youth education is visibly minimal among the majority of the labour class young people. Suffice it to say is that education is on the lowest rung of young people's problems solved by sugarcane farming. Since education is meant to enhance people's agency to engage with their world in a more meaningful manner, sugarcane farming in Busoga appears to fall short of Amartya Sen's view of the purpose of human capital development, namely building people's capabilities (Sen 1997). In addition to its limited contribution to youth education, contrasting evidence portrayed sugarcane farming as a pain for youth education.

Sugarcane farming was considered a pain mainly because of the luring aspect of job and income incentives. Sugarcane farming was mainly castigated for luring young people from school to sugarcane work to earn quick cash. Interviews with some district technical persons revealed that the community was wary of the luring consequences of sugarcane cash on young people choosing sugarcane jobs over attending school. Due to these negative sentiments concerning sugarcane farming's impact on young people's education, local authorities were compelled to institute stringent measures to curb the increasing youth engagement in sugarcane jobs during school hours. A case in point was the Resident District Commission (RDC) office that reportedly conducted impromptu arrests of all young people found in sugarcane jobs during school hours. Some of the youth interviewed revealed that the arrests included apprehending the parents of the children as well as the employers. This move was corroborated during

interviews in Bukanga sub–- county, where some of the youth appeared suspicious about the research team for fear of apprehension by the district security office.

Most of the youth argued that engagement in sugarcane work during school hours was caused by socio-economic constraints. This corroborates existing studies which show that young people's choice of sugarcane work over school is precipitated by the high poverty spiral in the Busoga sub-region (Mwanika et al. 2021). As such, the prevalent socio-economic hardships and imperatives of survival become dominant over one's future education achievement. The economic constraints tend to affect children from poor families because being in school limits their much-needed contribution to their household requirements and yet, school-related costs drain resources from households (Chant and Jones 2005). In Busoga's case, the socio-economic constraints appear to reduce the opportunity cost of attending school.

For the youth, engaging in sugarcane work is instead a strategy to contribute to the household's livelihood while earning resources to support their education. However, when work affects youth education, it turns out to be harmful labour because it is a structural obstacle to young people's human capital in the form of educational attainment (Brown 2001, Verner and Blunch 1999). Therefore, apart from being a livelihood source, sugarcane farming also jeopardises youth education in Busoga. Whereas education may not be relevant in Busoga's sugarcane jobs as shown earlier, low educational attainment has implications on youth wellbeing and can be a source of acute vulnerability because it limits young people's agency to convert their human capital into livelihood opportunities.

The findings about sugarcane farming's impact on youth education in Busoga challenges but also validates the existing evidence about sugarcane farming and education. On the one hand, evidence shows that sugarcane provides incomes which directly yield livelihood benefits such as supporting children's education even up to higher levels (Cockburn et al. 2014, James and Woodhouse 2017). In Busoga's case, this is valid and applicable to young people from relatively wealthy families with sugarcane farms. On the other hand, the study's findings confirm existing evidence that sugarcane earnings are usually inadequate for workers to meet the costs of their children's education (Castel-Branco 2012). This study aligns with studies from sugarcane-producing countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia about the damaging and harmful impact of sugarcane farming on young people's education (International Labour Organisation 2017, Schwarzbach and Richardson 2015).

Different from other cases which involve long-term and seasonal migrations to support parents in sugarcane farms however, Busoga's case shows that its minimal impact on education arises from low income returns from sugarcane farming. In order to navigate their challenges, the youth revealed that they embark on strategies such as mixing work and school. Furthermore, being relevant at lower education levels implies minimal impact because lower education achievement has implications for one's capabilities and competitiveness.

7.3.4 Sugarcane farming and youth assets

Assets and asset ownership are building blocks from which livelihood streams are constructed. As such, having assets constitutes livelihood security and a lack of assets means insecurity and therefore, vulnerability. Assets broadly include human, social and financial assets, but for this section, the term assets was used in reference to physical things such as buildings, automobiles and livestock. Focusing on physical assets does not narrow the broader definition of assets but financial and human assets have been discussed under employment and education while social capital will be presented in a separate section. Young people need different assets as building blocks for their current and future livelihoods because they are young. A focus on the youth asset portfolios was relevant in determining how sugarcane farming reduces or reinforces youth vulnerabilities related to assets and the impact of different assets on youth livelihoods.

Survey data shows that nearly all the youth own at least one or some of the major physical assets including land, money, physical assets, livestock, social capital and labour. The youth's responses about asset ownership were analysed according to their age group. Nearly all age groups own assets but there were variations based on age, with the youngest owning the lowest percentages of assets as compared to the older age groups as summarized below.

Table 7.4: Which assets do you own? (N=320)

Assets owned by the Youth	18-21	22-25	26-29	Value
Land	58%	68%	71%	.119
Cash	86%	95%	93%	.105
Physical (house, bicycle, household items)	49%	51%	71%	*.001
Livestock	58%	53%	55%	.752
Social Capital	53%	50%	48%	.746
Labour	14%	12%	12%	.349

Source: Youth Survey Data (2018) -multiple responses recorded

Table 7.4 above shows a significant relationship between being relatively older and owning physical assets such as houses, household items and bicycles (P.001). The prevalence of more physical assets among older age groups is less surprising because asset accumulation takes time and therefore, being relatively older means a longer time spent in sugarcane farming, which comes with advantages over the younger categories. However, no significant relationship exists between the different age groups and other assets, but the intriguing finding is that labour is the least owned asset. This is intriguing because, being a natural given, labour is the primary asset expected of everyone on the top list of assets owned by the youth. The smallest percentage for labour among assets could be a sign that rural youth in Busoga seldom consider labour as an asset, yet it is their primary means of engagement in sugarcane farming.

In relation to land, data from the survey shows that the youth have access to small plots. My focus in this section is on the youth's opinions about the influence of sugarcane farming on land acquisition. According to the interview findings, two major phenomena emerged about sugarcane farming and land accumulation. Firstly, fewer youth attributed owning land to sugarcane farming, and this was due to the second issue which is that sugarcane farming increases competition for land through commoditization. In this case, most of the youth portrayed the growth and expansion of sugarcane farming as a disadvantage because of the competition, making it hard to buy or lease land. Emphasizing the complexities of sugarcane farming on land acquisition, a 21-year-old male from Bufulubi parish in the Mayuge district said:

> About sugarcane and land, ahahaaa . . . (laughs). When you ask the whole community, those who had land before getting into sugarcane are the very people that have land. For me, I don't have land and what I earn from sugarcane jobs is not enough to buy land. Sugarcane farming is good for survival but I am unhappy because it has increased the cost of land due to high competition. Some people have managed to buy land using money from sugarcane farming but these are rich boys from rich families. For us (casual labourers), the impact of sugarcane farming on landholding is zero because, you cannot buy or even lease with our little wages.

The situation varies, with some youth admitting to the enabling effect of sugarcane for land acquisition, but this comes over a period of time. In line with this, a 26-year-old male from Jinja also said:

> You can get money from sugarcane and buy land but you need to be very patient. I started working on sugarcane farms way back in 2008 after sitting my ordinary secondary school level exams. I worked as a sugarcane cutter, loading trucks and weeding but also worked on our family farm. I gathered my money slowly. In 2015, my father gave me 1 acre of land and using my savings, I leased 2 acres of land on

> which I planted my own farm. In 2017, I sold my sugarcane and I bought an acre of land and I plan to add more because my father contributes some money for buying land.

Furthermore, a 27-year-old male in the Mayuge district reiterated the enabling effect of sugarcane farming on land ownership, arguing that:

> I am a businessman and a youth leader at district level. I started working in sugarcane after graduating from university in 2014 with a small amount of capital as a sugarcane buyer. From sugarcane buying, I managed to lease four acres of land to plant sugarcane and I have since bought my own land and also managed to build a business house in one of the suburbs of Mayuge town, on a 50 feet by 100 feet piece (a quarter acre) of land which I bought using sugarcane money.

From the quotations above, the most common phenomenon is that acquiring land is a challenge to young people in the Busoga sub-region. Furthermore, the youth's narratives show that the impact of sugarcane on youth land acquisition depends on one's socio-economic characteristics, with the relatively well-off youth having success stories compared to their poorer counterparts. For instance, the first verbatim is taken from a 21-year-old male whose failure to acquire land arises from his labour class status and low earnings from sugarcane jobs. For such a person, the largest proportion of the earnings is used for survival, thus limiting his chances of acquiring land in a costly and competitive environment.

The situation is different for relatively wealthy groups, for instance, the second verbatim is drawn from an ordinary secondary school dropout whose success in sugarcane farming and land acquisition arises from family support, while the third verbatim presents a case of a university graduate who got into sugarcane farming as a businessman and, after four years, gets both cultivatable and commercial plots of land. However, what comes out clearly is that sugarcane farming indirectly solves the problem of a lack of land by providing jobs for the landless categories.

Similar sentiments were shared about other physical assets. Some youth revealed that sugarcane farming enabled them to build houses and acquire assets such as motorcycles, bicycles, and livestock, especially poultry, goats and a few cases reported owning cows. Other young people were able to buy household items such as mattresses and bedding, and entertainment gadgets such as radios and mobile telephones. Most of the interviews portrayed sugarcane farming as a gateway and source of physical wealth, personal belongings such as clothes for themselves and their family members. To some male young people, having a good

number of nice trousers and shirts was a sign of physical wealth and constituted one's asset portfolio.

By contributing to young people's asset portfolios, sugarcane farming directly supports youth livelihoods because assets are enablers for livelihoods. Evidence shows that an expanded asset portfolio has implications for people's livelihood choices because freedom of agency depends on the availability of options (Pettit 2003). By creating access to different assets, it can be argued that sugarcane farming expands young people's building blocks for survival. However, the impact of sugarcane farming on youth assets and the implication of these assets for youth livelihoods varies from one individual to another and fundamentally depends on one's economic status.

7.3.4.1 Nature of assets and youth wellbeing

In livelihood analysis, quality of life is measured not by the physical nature of assets owned but by the value derived from them by the asset holders (Lane 1994). In this section, I present the nature of assets owned by the youth and their implications for youth wellbeing. Regarding shelter, young people's options show that the quality and type of house is subjective. What most of the youth referred to as houses were temporary, semi-permanent small structures of one, two or three rooms. From close observation, the majority of the houses were constructed using blocks (unburned bricks) and roofed using an average of 10 to 20 sheets of 32 gauge corrugated iron. The youth I interviewed revealed that the common use of 32-gauge corrugated iron sheets was not because they were the best but the cheapest compared to the lower gauges such as 30 and 28 which are better but expensive. From close-range observation, it was apparent that most of the houses had unfinished floors with some completed using mud. The visibly poor housing standards were attributed to the low earnings from sugarcane jobs. However, in spite of their subjectively poor status, such houses were significant achievements and sources of esteem, a sense of worthiness because not all the youth could afford to build such a shelter. The picture is however different for the youth who had sugarcane farms.

The youth who owned sugarcane farms had relatively better housing structures ranging from semi-permanent to permanent structures with two to three middle-sized bedrooms with floors completed using cement. Some youth had extra facilities such as solar systems for lighting at night and charging their gadgets such as mobile phones. In addition to better housing, some sugarcane farm owners had assets such as motorcycles which they used for boda-boda

businesses to earn extra income to maintain a relatively better standard of living. In this case, having a sugarcane farm and an extra income source differentiates the youth and their assets, including those who have sugarcane farms. A case in point is a 28-year-old youth from Kisasi in Jinja who had a permanent residential house stacked with relatively good furniture and powered by solar panels. In addition to owning a sugarcane farm, the 28-year-old male had a motorcycle bringing in a weekly income 50,000 to 60,000/= and, according to him, the boda-boda business contributed to the building of their nice house.

Another case was a 27-year-old male youth leader from the Mayuge district who had one permanent residential house and a permanent commercial building. In addition to sugarcane farming, he had a money-lending business and also earned a monthly allowance from his leadership position at the district headquarters. He also reported having five cows with two producing an average of three litres of milk per day, which is different from the youth who only exchanged their labour. Interviews and FGDs with the majority of the labour class youth revealed a desire for nice houses and assets such as motorcycles that guarantee access to additional incomes enjoyed by their counterparts who owned sugarcane farms. Due to their economic constraints, the majority of the youth ended up with the lowest assets both in number and value. This shows a minimal impact of sugarcane farming on physical assets owned by the relatively well-off and the poor youth. The findings about sugarcane farming and youth assets have implications and raise critical discussion points.

Firstly, the case of sugarcane farming in Busoga shows that the relatively good quality of assets that guarantee good quality of life are skewed towards the well-off groups. The poorest youth categories, who are also the majority who need physical assets as building blocks for their livelihoods, are on the lowest side of asset ownership. The low-quality of assets implies two things. Firstly, it is a sign of vulnerability and insecurity manifested by a low assets value which in itself symbolizes poverty. The second implication is limited youth agency and youth freedom. Agency and agency freedom depend on assets being available and the extent to which such assets provide options to individuals for a suitable livelihood because agency freedom all depends on both the subjective and objective options available (Ma et al. 2018, Pettit 2003). In this case, confining asset accumulation to the well-off youth is a form of exclusion which also implies that the poor youths are unable to break out of the traps of a highly competitive environment. This study confirms empirical studies which consider commercial farming as an enclave for market and profit which end up by-passing the poor by benefiting the well-off and

powerful groups (Matthews 1988a, Von Braun 1995). In Busoga's case, it is evident that the asset curve is skewed towards the wealthy groups.

Notwithstanding the fact that sugarcane farming is a source of livelihood assets, two issues emerge about sugarcane farming and youth assets. The first is that the proceeds from sugarcane are inadequate for the poor to acquire meaningful livelihood assets. The second is that most of the assets acquired do not translate into decent livelihood outcomes, except for the few well-off groups. In Busoga's case, low- and poor-quality assets convert into low and poor livelihood outcomes. The quality of assets obtained from the livelihood raises questions about the potential of commercial farming to reduce poverty and as youth livelihood interventions. Rather than contributing to youth asset portfolios, sugarcane farming appears to constrain the youth ability to acquire the most critical livelihood assets such as land because of stiff competition. In this case, the youth are trapped in an environment where the major strategy is subsistence which produces and reproduces structures that undermine asset accumulation.

In livelihood analysis, improving rural people's livelihoods involves helping people to obtain, defend and convert assets into livelihoods because constrained access to assets increases people's weakness and defencelessness when exposed to livelihood shocks which in actual fact amount to economic exclusion (Bebbington 1999, Devereux 2001, Moser and Dani 2008, Shahbaz 2008, Taket et al. 2009). By constraining asset accumulation, sugarcane farming undermines youth freedom to accumulate wealth. The suboptimal impact on youth asset portfolios implies that sugarcane farming in Busoga falls short of enhancing livelihoods because assets are poverty-reducing factors (DFID 1999). Without necessarily being speculative, the case of sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region seems to suggest that poor youth are bound to remain poor as the structure appears to favour the 'haves' and not the 'have-nots'.

7.3.5 Sugarcane farming, youth networks and connectivity

As a community, Busoga is held together in a cultural context based on family, clan, shared values and identities that bring people together to enjoy the benefits of reciprocity. In livelihood analysis, social capital stretches beyond family and cultural establishments to formal and informal connections. Networks of formal and informal relationships, friendship, goodwill, fellowship and social intercourse breed benefits of inclusion and cooperation such as careers, integration, information, identity and influence (Bourdieu 1986, de Haan and Zoomers 2005).

Being young people, bonds of family, close friends, bridges of common identity and linkages to people below, above, within and outside one's location can be significant threads for survival. In this section, the main focus is on the influence of sugarcane farming on the social capital of the youth, the nature of networks created, and how the different networks contribute to or constrain youth livelihoods.

From the survey, 21 per cent of the youth regarded sugarcane farming as beneficial in terms of creating networks and social connectivity. The major finding about sugarcane farming and youth networks is that the sugarcane networks are gendered and dominated by male youth. Furthermore, the impact of sugarcane farming on social capital is mainly two-fold, namely networks of peer relationships and networks of membership of formal and informal organizations.

7.3.6 Peer networks and youth livelihoods

Livelihood networks refer to tangible or physical assets and a combination of intangible resources referred to as social capital. Scholarship about social capital and rural livelihoods in Uganda shows that peer networks are important sources of information and ideas beyond one's residence upon which people construct livelihoods (State 2005). Similarly, interviews with the youth from the Jinja, Luuka and Mayuge districts revealed that sugarcane farming had both positive and negative impacts on youth networks. Negative in the sense that the networks are arguably exclusionary, as they benefited only members, especially the males; but positive in the sense that the connections of family, peers, within and outside of their -sub-counties and districts generated information and job opportunities. The interviews and FGDs findings in this study portrayed sugarcane farming as a centre of connection and meeting point for peers from different backgrounds and locations drawn together by common livelihood goals of employment and income.

A focus group discussion in the Luuka district revealed that sugarcane farming enables the youth to connect with peers from the Kaliro and Jinja districts. Similar sentiments were shared in Busedde, with youth networks spanning beyond Jinja to Mayuge. In the Mayuge district, most of the youth revealed links with peers in the neighbouring Jinja district due to constant meetings in sugarcane farms in the bordering -sub-counties of Wairasa in Mayuge and Wairaka and Kakira Town Council in the Jinja district. Throughout the three districts, the commonest phenomenon was a two-fold sugarcane farming impact on youth connections through

sugarcane jobs and the mobility of the sugarcane jobs. As shown earlier, the majority of the field sugarcane jobs in Busoga are sporadic and characteristically mobile, as one has to move from one farm or field to another. Through the constant mobility, young people are exposed to new faces who become peers and friends. According to the youth, such social networks are major sources of information for further job connections in farther-distant locations.

For wandering youth, accessing jobs beyond one's -sub-county and village reduces the challenges of intermittent redundancy emanating from high competition and a scarcity of jobs in one's local settings. To maintain constant access to jobs, the youth keep constantly lubricating connections through constant telephone communication and information flows with peers in order to navigate for jobs in neighbouring districts. In Jinja, some of the youth I interviewed described how they mobilized themselves in groups through peer linkages and travel for sugarcane jobs outside the Busedde -sub-county. According to the narratives obtained, the youth start by searching for information about work availability, the number of people required for the work, and estimated completion time.

The process is followed by planning travel usually conducted through mobilization meetings in the wee hours. Central to the evening meeting are sound signals as wake-up calls and to indicate meeting points for early morning trips. The early morning movements arguably enable early reporting for work but most importantly, enable young people to circumvent district authorities, fearing arrest as some are still of school age. As one of the male youth in Jinja reveals:

> Some of us are supposed to be at school so you have to be careful because you can be penalized by authorities. What we do is to move to Mayuge and sometimes to Kaliro and Bugiri but there must be someone that takes us to the workplace and they have to pick us. So, you wake up at about 4.00am and the team leader makes a sound signal which is only understood by us, so you walk to the designated (converging centre) place because everyone in the network will be aware of the departure time *(22-year-old male youth)*.

This narrative has two implications. One is that sugarcane has given young people avenues for establishing peer connections and networks as strategies of survival, which confirms existing research about youth networks as support mechanisms for rural youth livelihoods. Evidence from Uganda and Ghana shows that youth connections are important because networks generate information about how and where to find jobs and other livelihood resources such as finance (Williams and Pompa 2017). Most of the interview findings encapsulate a picture that

being outside of youth networks presents fundamental livelihood constraints and additional challenges for constructing pathways that can match the economic gains of the members. Secondly, the narratives imply that youth networks are inherently exclusionary. Undertones such as *"the team leader makes a sound signal which is only understood by us"* means that those outside of such networks are closed out of the peer benefits.

In Jinja's case, the network benefits are limited not only to members but also inclined towards the male rather than female youth. Indeed, the most of the female youth interviewed indicated that the network benefits such as jobs, information and even cash resources were enjoyed by their male counterparts:

> Here, it is the boys that are connected. They have every sort of information about jobs within and outside of Jinja. You just see them disappearing and re-appearing and they tell you they at work with their buddies (friends). Sometimes you just wake up one morning and you don't see some boys in the village but they reappear in the evening, claiming to be returning from Mayuge and Kaliro. We are told their (males) deals start at night and get executed in the early hours of the morning. It is very hard for girls to benefit; those information and job networks are for boys *(23-year-old female youth).*

This narrative emphasizes the male gender dominance of sugarcane networks both in form and outcome. This confirms the fact that social networks not only engender mutual exclusion and isolation, but underscores the significance of gender as a factor for exclusion from networks (de Haan and Zoomers 2005). In Busoga's case, the female youth appear to be closed out of the networks, especially those involving opportunities outside of their villages.

The limited presence of female in sugarcane job network establishments was attributed to two factors. Firstly, female youth are traditionally attached to family farms and non-commercial food crops which means that the female youth networks are confined to subsistence realms. Secondly, the female youth are constrained by meetings at night and early morning trips and could not stay away from home for a long time due to domestic and reproductive chores. This implies that the female youth are excluded from the benefits accruing from movements at night, and connections beyond one's home -sub-county and districts. This limited network span also means limited female youth capabilities and agency to tap into sugarcane opportunities beyond their locality. In this case, it is quite clear that the capacity of female youths to realise benefits arising from networks of connection is affected by both individual and social issues.

7.3.7 Networks of membership

Networks of membership are used in reference to belonging to formal and informal organizations. Being part of formal or informal establishments can be a safety net to members in the form of incomes. In Uganda, studies show that networks cultivated based on membership of farmer organizations are a source of income which is vital for poverty reduction (Hassan and Birungi 2011). As such, the aim here was to explore the impact of sugarcane farming on youth benefits from institutionalization. In addition to peer connections, the survey results showed that sugarcane farming yielded benefits of institutionalization through occupation- or work-based associations and village groups such as farmer, peer and credit groups as indicated in the Table below.

Table 7.5: Sugarcane farming's impact on youth institutional membership

What is the impact of sugarcane farming on social capital?	Response (N=320)	Percentage Cases
Peer groups	146	51%
Work associations	120	42%
Savings and Credit Cooperative Organizations (SACCOs)	61	21%
Local farmer groups	19	7%

Source: Youth Survey Data–- Multiple responses recorded

The table above is an illustrative example of youth's responses regarding institutional outcomes and network formations arising from sugarcane farming. As shown in the table, the majority (51 per cent) of the youth belong to peer associations followed by work, village savings and credit groups, while farmer groups were the smallest. In-depth youth interviews and group discussion findings portrayed group establishments as important livelihood support mechanisms especially in regard to income. Emphasizing the significance of group membership, a 23-year-old male sugarcane cutter from Luuka district said:

> I belong to two groups. One is a work group and the second is a savings group. In the former, I get work opportunities from which I earn some income which I save in the latter. All these groups are hinged on sugarcane. We meet for work, form working groups which are also saving groups. From these savings, we are free to borrow and get back with some interest. You cannot be a member of a group if you are not working and here, you know it is sugarcane work, our members are all sugarcane employees. Who knows? May be these groups wouldn't exist because how could be getting the little to save?

Despite the relevance of sugarcane for work and credit associations as emphasized in the above narrative, the impact appears to be minimal for farmer groups. According to the youth that I interviewed, the low number of farmer group establishments was attributed to the low

prevalence of sugarcane farm ownership among young people. Information obtained about membership of farmer groups revealed that very few of the youth who had sugarcane farms could meet the threshold for membership of the Busoga Sugarcane Out-growers Association because the majority of the youth did not have sugarcane farms and the majority of those who had, owned very small sugarcane farms. However, the most outstanding reason for the limited youth presence in farmer groups was the fact that the majority of the youth constituted the labour class in sugarcane farming, thus it is less surprising that the majority of the youth were members of work-based groups.

Most of the work groups were composed of the youth living in proximity to each other and the nomenclature symbolized members' villages, parishes and at best, -sub-counties. The youth had different opinions of the group establishments in relation to the nature of the associations formed and the livelihood benefits and challenges. The major finding was that the majority perceived sugarcane farming organizational networks as discriminatory. By discrimination, the youth meant that sugarcane networks requiring membership mainly benefited wealthy categories. For example, the majority of the profitable groups and networks such as out-growers, producers, and transporters' associations were arguably limited to groups that could afford to have trucks and sugarcane farms. Being economically constrained and mostly employees, most of the youth's responses portrayed a feeling of exclusion from the most formal and also profitable associations, confining them to informal peer groups.

Confining the youth to peer associations limits youth mobility and opportunities to benefit from vertical linkages, which is referred to as social closure resulting from categorizations of 'eligibles' and 'ineligibles' (de Haan and Zoomers 2005). Notably, the youth eligibility for formal associations is constrained by a lack of resources such as land and finance. In terms of legality, the youth revealed that nearly all their associations were informal. In one of my interviews with a 26-year-old male from Luuka, the informality of the youth groups was described thus:

> For your information, all these associations are by word of mouth. Apart from registering our names in exercise books, we are not registered, neither the -sub-county nor district know about our establishment. We only have one working group, that is the drivers because they have qualifications (driving licences). But apart from being able to meet with their employers, do they even have any registration? Nothing. The good groups here are for the rich people, you know farmers have a registered association, but for us, the issue is different, we seem to be non-existent.

The quotation above confirms the informal nature of youth groups but also suggests that networks of institutional formation are permeated by the capitalist imperatives of the 'haves' and 'have-nots' with the former having better and more formalized groups than the latter. In addition to being informal, resource determinism permeates all the youth group dynamics including levels of capitalization. A case in point is the youth savings groups which, compared to sugarcane farmers' SACCOs, were poor and undercapitalized because they depended on the limited savings from members' meagre earnings from sugarcane jobs. This has implications for youth agency because it is evident that the youth associations are not strong enough to guarantee influence based on concerted group efforts, which raises reflection points about sugarcane farming and youth networks in Busoga.

Firstly, notwithstanding the type of institutional and individual networks formed and their outcomes, it is important to acknowledge that there are networks akin to sugarcane farming in Busoga. By contributing to young people's linkages and connections for jobs and cash resources, sugarcane farming contributes to youth social capital and its attendant benefits of information, group membership and job outcomes. Secondly, capabilities are a function of agency which denotes having the opportunity to pursue desired outcomes as individuals and in groups, which contribute towards general and social goals (Alkire 2005). Although quite limited, youth narratives of associations such as credit groups show that young people have opportunities for minimal institutional benefits such as saving and borrowing from their groups. Compared to peer networks, the youth opinions show that the institutional benefits from sugarcane farming are marginal because they largely benefit rich groups as the majority of the young people belong to informal peer groups which are less profitable.

The lower profitability of youth networks implies limited agency because youth networks appear less concrete in relation to out-growers, producers and transporters' associations. This can be seen as characteristic of poor group relations and the difficulty of engagement with institutional settings. This is mainly because weak groups are less likely to benefit from aspects of 'unionization', thus the victims are left "keeping their heads down", due to limited resources and options, which undermines collective action (Standing 2014). In this case, it is not necessarily because the young people do not want to be part of the good and better networks, but their poor socio-economic conditions compel them to be part of the smallest and also less beneficial networks.

Thirdly, the sugarcane farming networks have elements of gender discrimination. By engendering isolation of the female gender, sugarcane farming networks in Busoga reinforce female youth vulnerabilities. In Ghana, a study of the livelihood impact of biofuel land deals shows that many households suffered land dispossession and job losses due to relocation requirements but only those that had social networks managed to benefit from the commercialization (Boamah and Overa 2015). The majority of the cases that suffered the consequences of limited connection were weaker groups such as migrant workers and women. In Busoga's case, there is a way in which social capital from sugarcane farming increases the benefits of working together for males, while increasing female youth costs of less connectedness and limited networks.

Notwithstanding the gender dynamics, the peer connections and relationships are more meaningful and relevant to young people than institutional or group establishments. Being employees in sugarcane, the peer connections seem to be the most important because they touch the majority of youth livelihoods by yielding information about where and how to access sugarcane jobs. In this case, the institutional establishments are more useful to relatively rich categories as the majority of the youth networks are informal and less significant. For instance, although poorly capitalized and beneficial to those with sugarcane farms, the SACCOs are useful to the youth because they are sources of financial resources. Thus, the idea that memberships of organizations in a farm setting can yield incomes is unravelled but falls short of benefiting the majority of the youth in Busoga as the benefits are skewed to the well-off categories.

7.4 Youth opinions of sugarcane and food crop production

As shown earlier, young people's livelihood sources were diverse with the majority straddling between sugarcane farming and traditional subsistence food crop farming. The key issue is that farming is the mainstay for the youth. Given the enduring connection to the traditional food sector, it was vital to explore youth opinions of sugarcane and food crop farming not only to determine their incentives in relation to the two sectors but also to understand the relative positions of sugarcane farming and food crop farming in youth livelihood patterns. To unravel, the youth's opinions of sugarcane and food crop farming, two questions were raised: (i) what are the incentives and disincentives for young people in sugarcane and food crop farming? (ii) how can youth opinions of sugarcane and food crop farming be described vis-à-vis youth livelihood patterns and aspirations? To answer the questions, the pull or push factors for young

people in either sector were explored, focusing on their advantages and disadvantages and their contribution to youth livelihoods.

The youth are pushed into sugarcane farming by the challenges of low income and unemployment. The majority (66 per cent) of the youth were positive about sugarcane farming, but up to 34 per cent wanted to shift to food crop farming. On the one hand, the youth who were willing to shift to food crop farming were mainly interested in maize production because of its value, arising from it being food and also a cash crop. According to the youth, the metamorphosing status of maize has been precipitated by the overall reduction in food crop availability, attributed to an increased focus on sugarcane production. The youth viewed he rising value of maize as an advantage that some of them wanted to exploit. On the other hand, the youth who wished to stay in sugarcane farming highlighted the disadvantages of the food crop sector.

Young people who were unwilling to shift to food crop farming cited challenges such as fluctuating prices, vulnerability to weather changes, especially extreme droughts which cause seasonality trends of poor harvests, and the problems of crop pests. Responses to the question of wanting to shift to food crop farming were cross-tabulated with data about food crop challenges, which revealed a relationship between young people's desire to stay in sugarcane farming because of the challenges in the food crop sector. The majority (67 per cent) of the youth did not wish to switch from sugarcane to food crop farming due to two main factors: price fluctuations (47 per cent), and vulnerability to weather changes (46 per cent). Other factors included poor food crop harvests (44 per cent) and problems of crop pests. The youth reluctance to shift to food crop farming is not necessarily because sugarcane farming is the best alternative but remaining in sugarcane farming seems to be a better alternative because of the challenges embedded in food crop production. This symbolizes youth vulnerability because the alternative farming activity is beset with a myriad of challenges.

The complex situation between food crops and sugarcane farming raises two analytical assumptions: that sugarcane farming is associated with less challenges and has much to offer to the youth; and that food crop farming is less productive and subject to unending, unpredictable production challenges. In the first instance, the issue was not because sugarcane farming was without its own challenges. As shown earlier, sugarcane farming is characterized by challenges such as meagre wages, high exploitation and exclusion due to massive financial

resources and the question of land. Thus, notwithstanding the challenges of sugarcane farming, the young people portrayed sugarcane farming as a better option compared to the traditional food crop sector. As a result, the youth indicated an increasing community inclination towards sugarcane farming and a mix of both.

What is clear is that the youth's preference for sugarcane farming is rooted in the structural changes evident in an increasing community shift from food crops to sugarcane farming. Whereas this thought may be unravelled, the youth responses concerning the two sectors suggest that their preference for sugarcane farming is a rational choice based on existing realities in the two sectors. In an FGD with the youth in Luuka district, one of argued that:

> There is an increasing shift from food crops to sugarcane farming. This shift is increasing because food crops are affected by pests, harvests are poor and yet, the proceeds from sales are so marginal. Yet, with sugarcane farming, even if you don't have land, your labour can bail you out more than the food crop farming which doesn't generate many jobs. Now moving from sugarcane back to food crops means that we will not get jobs because for many young people who lack land, someone can go and work in someone's farm and survive. So, sugarcane may not be a magic bullet so far, but food crops may not take us far *(22-year-old female FGD Participant*).

This verbatim comment strengthens this study's finding concerning the youth's perceptions of sugarcane as a promising livelihood activity. Narratives such as "*even if you don't have land, your labour can bail you out"* show that sugarcane farming is more appealing the youth as it enables them to manoeuvre through strategies such as surviving on their own labour even when they lack resources such as land and finance. By offering labour opportunities, sugarcane farming further solves the problem of landlessness, and in addition, its capacity to provide more livelihood opportunities confirms the fact that commercial farming has more potential than traditional subsistence farming in their minds.

Based on the youth opinions of sugarcane farming and linkages to labour, it can be argued that young people are positive towards sugarcane farming because the alternative is not only characterized by limited livelihood opportunities such as job creation but also constrained by the perennial challenges of primary production. This finding confirms existing studies about rising trends of youth shunning the farming sector due to limited outcomes and its failure to meet youth aspirations (Leavy and Smith 2010, White 2012). In Busoga's case, the issue is that young people's decisions to stay in sugarcane farming are not necessarily due to the best outcomes from sugarcane farming but that young people are afraid of the attendant challenges of the alternative food crop sector.

However, while food crop farming challenges could be compelling factors keeping youth in sugarcane farming in Busoga, it is important to keep in mind that young people's choices of sugarcane over food crops are not necessarily solely informed by the disadvantages of food crops but also by the advantages of sugarcane farming. This brings us to the second analytical point that the sugarcane farming has fewer challenges compared to outcomes from food crop production.

Data from the youth survey indicated that sugarcane farming was advantageous in terms of yields per acre of land (50 per cent) with the majority (64 per cent) of the youth affirming that sugarcane had a higher market value compared to traditional food crops. As we showed earlier, the high value of sugarcane is attributed to a ready market and the rising number of sugar factories in the region. To the youth, the problems of sugarcane price fluctuations were discouraging, but not comparable to the production challenges of traditional food crops. As such, young people are more concerned by food crop production issues than sugarcane farming issues, especially in relation to yields and productivity. For example, on average, an acre of maize reportedly yielded about 400 kilograms (kgs) to a maximum of 1,000 kgs which according to the youth, attracts a maximum of 500,000/= with an average price of 500/= per kg compared to sugarcane, where farmers get at least two to three million shillings from an acre of land. Apart from relatively higher prices, the youth indicated that sugarcane was also prioritized because it does not suffer problems of seasonality resulting from weather changes, and problems of pests and costs of pest control. which are associated with food crops that have to be sprayed every season.

Notwithstanding both sugarcane and food crop farming appearing to have unique advantages, on the one hand, food crop farming was mainly important in guaranteeing food security (86 per cent) which is not surprising because the primary role of farming is to produce food. On the other hand, young people's affinity with sugarcane farming was based on the multiplier advantages of the market (50 per cent), relatively better prices (64 per cent) and safety from seasonality challenges (36 per cent) which allows young people to constantly engage with the sector through their labour. Despite the relative advantages of food crop farming, most of the findings from the interviews emphasised a desire to stay in sugarcane rather than shift to food crop farming.

Based on these different opinions, I argue that the greater youth inclination towards sugarcane farming is predicated on its diversified advantages in the form of jobs and the income opportunities, making sugarcane farming replace food crops as sugarcane incomes can be used to buy food and other household needs. In spite of food crops guaranteeing food security, the youth's choice of sugarcane is based on the benefits of guaranteeing cash liquidity, which is not the case with food crops. In this case, sugarcane farming gives them agency to obtain the products of food crop farming as well consumer items from the market because of a high liquidity frequency. The picture is different when they are engaged in food crop farming, as one of the youth from Luuka district illustrates:

> It is very hard to sustain life strictly on crop farming. Things are difficult, nowadays, it is about money and to fit in the system (market economy), you have to divide yourself between your own garden and do some sugarcane labour because what the garden gives is not enough. The garden cannot give you daily money, so you keep (life) going by working in sugarcane farms *(25-year-old female youth).*

This narrative has two major implications. One is that the alluring incentives of sugarcane farming have turned the local people into what are referred to as 'semi-proletarians' which denotes processes of having to survive between one's subsistence farm and offering labour in agro-industrial farm settings (Akram-Lodhi 2007). The second implication is that the semi-proletarian state glorifies sugarcane as a supreme sector in comparison to food crops because of the forces of commercial farming which gradually push peasants into the market imperative. Being in sugarcane farming is therefore seen as a sort of magic bullet because it brings more than what a local food crop farmer can get.

Whereas sugarcane may be associated with some livelihood vulnerabilities, it is a necessary evil to young people as its impact is relatively better than the traditional food crop sector. Presumably, the better status of sugarcane farming can be attributed to the power of capitalism in promoting business ventures. From the very start, commercial sugarcane farming was part of imperialist regimes in Uganda, introduced in a manner that seemed necessary for Uganda's broad-based development, but the whole agenda was to replace indigenous farming with modern and Western farming models as part of metropolis accumulation (Mamdani 1987, Taylor 1978). A similar trend appears to be gradually taking root in Busoga's farming structure as sugarcane farming seems to be glorified in comparison to traditional farming. Despite its capitalist dynamics, the circumstances in Busoga suggest that the traditional food crop sector is less likely to attract young people because its challenges make it less attractive and tend instead to increase young people's shunning of the farming sector.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to examine the implications of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods in the Busoga sub-region. The chapter has shown that sugarcane farming has a binary impact on youth livelihoods with a thin line between positive and negative outcomes. Measured on the basis of selected livelihood outcomes and indicators, sugarcane farming mainly benefits young people through jobs and incomes. However, access to sugarcane employment and incomes seldom guarantees decent youth livelihoods because of the underlying circuits of capitalist imperatives such as harsh conditions and poor pay, which undermine young people's capacity to have decent livelihoods. Rather than reducing youth vulnerabilities, sugarcane farming benefits the relatively well-off categories, leaving the majority of the youth with disproportionately poor and enduring livelihood conditions. Being a business model of farming, sugarcane farming is an enclave of market and profit, and thus, the largest proportion of the surplus value goes to the employers, which leaves young people with low incomes translating into low purchasing power and minimal livelihood outcomes.

Due to meagre earnings, the majority of the youth are unable to enjoy decent livelihoods, which is manifested in enduring problems of food insecurity, low education achievements and difficulties with asset accumulation. As such, sugarcane farming is actually an opportunity for the well-off groups to thrive, but an inadequate survival activity for the youth to get out of poverty. The process is exacerbated by the fact that alternative farming activities such as food crop farming is also beset by challenges which compel the youth to look at sugarcane farming as a necessary evil. For the lack of better livelihood alternatives, youth participation in sugarcane farming does not necessarily mean they are satisfied by sugarcane farming, but their vulnerabilities compel them to applaud sugarcane farming as a bad job or low income being better than no job or income. As a symbol of discontent, some youth want to quit sugarcane farming but they are structurally trapped by vulnerabilities such as of a lack of starting capital for their desired projects.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ENHANCING OUTCOMES FROM SUGARCANE FARMING

8.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapters, I have argued that understanding modes of youth involvement in sugarcane farming is vital in examining the implications of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods in Busoga sub-region. Based on the modes of involvement, I have shown that the youth mainly constitute the proletariat class and their livelihood outcomes are limited to wage earnings and are binary in nature, with a thin line between benefits and challenges. Despite these binary outcomes, there is an intertwined connection between sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods. While the major benefits are skewed towards the wealthy groups as shown in the previous chapter, sugarcane farming and the youth depend on and support each other. Sugarcane farming is an opportunity for young people to derive various livelihood needs while young people are important to sugarcane farming as they constitute the bulk of an energetic and available labour force on which sugarcane farming thrives.

The intertwined connection between sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods evokes an inquiry into mechanisms for enhancing outcomes from sugarcane farming; it is necessary to understand how the two reinforce each other. A focus on enhancing sugarcane outcomes is mainly important because sugarcane farming is the most available and largest commercial activity in which the majority of the youth in Busoga are heavily and actively engaged. This chapter addresses four main questions. Firstly, what are the youth opinions about enhancing and maximising sugarcane farming outcomes? Secondly, what are the individual specific constraints on maximising youth benefits from sugarcane farming in Busoga sub-region? What are the structural constraints of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods? What are the youth opinions about how to address the individual structural limitations of sugarcane farming outcomes? In answering the different questions, the chapter analyses youth opinions in relation to what works and what may not work.

In answering the questions above, I argue that maximizing the outcomes and benefits from sugarcane farming requires a structure-agency approach in order to identify and deal with structural and individual limitations. I start by analysing the individual limitations for the youth.

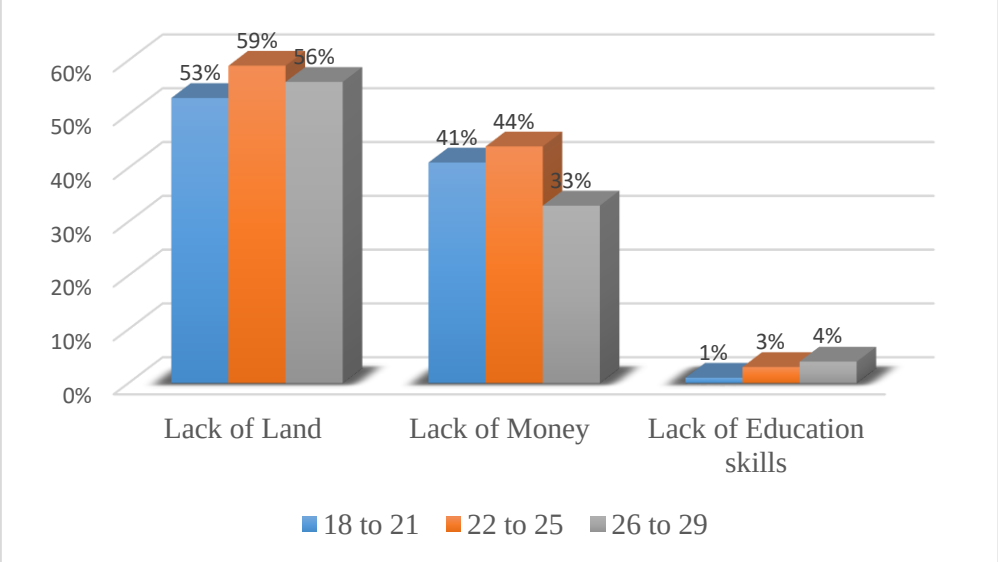
This is followed by the structural or sugarcane sector constraints and the corresponding youth mitigation measures. The last section concludes the chapter.

8.2 Youth-specific limitations

Whereas the structure determines the conditions and process which govern the constituents or agent's activities, their agency bears responsibility for their burdens and weaknesses emerging from social or individual peculiarities that determine how one interacts with opportunities available in their systems. Such peculiarities are found in one's location, gender, atmosphere, age and this can be at the individual level, household level and/or community level (Sen 1999, Yaro 2004). These individual differences create advantages or privileges for some groups while constraining other people's capacity to pursue means of living, and the quality and quantity of resources commanded (Fineman 2008, Moser 1998). In this study, a focus on individual limitations was important in exploring and addressing peculiarities that affect the youth potential to benefit from sugarcane farming.

From the findings, the youth in Busoga are mainly constrained by two major issues namely, land and financial constraints. The problems affect the youth in varying degrees. Responses to the question of individual youth constraints in relation to sugarcane farming indicated land and cash constraints with the problem being most common among the younger age groups as indicted in Figure 8.1 below.

Figure 8.1: Individual youth constraints in relation to sugarcane farming



Source: Youth Survey Data (2018)

Figure 8.1 above shows land and financial resources as the clear-cut individual limitations with greater tendencies in the mid and the youngest age groups. Others include lack of education, although this appears to be a less significant in percentage terms. The lower percentage of educated youth can be attributed to the fact that education is less significant for sugarcane jobs. Nonetheless, the low position of education has implications for intervention mechanisms because the youth are apparently more interested in physical resources than human capital development interventions.

The high youth affirmation of land and financial resources strengthens earlier findings in chapters (six) about the requisite resources for sugarcane farming. As shown earlier, owning land comes with the agency of owning sugarcane farms as much as financial resources to meet the costs of sugarcane farming. It is, therefore, less surprising that a lack of land and finance resources are forerunner limitations both to youth involvement in sugarcane farming and the benefits therefrom. As one of the female youth leaders from Jinja illustrates:

> For you are to profit from sugarcane, you must have land and money. You need one of the two resources. The majority of young people's benefits from sugarcane farming are limited to wages which is both the last and least form of earning from sugarcane. The problem is even bigger for the me and other female youth, because we are not given land yet we also don't have money (*24-year female in Jinja*).

Reiterating the question of land and financial constraints for young people, a 24-year-old male leader from Jinja argued that:

> Many of us lack land and money. But I am lucky, my father has land. When I completed my secondary school, my father gave me two acres of land on which I built my house and started sugarcane farming with one acre. He also gave me some money to buy seeds and that is how I started. Now I have 10 acres of land on which I cultivate sugarcane. You cannot compare me with my colleagues who do not have land because I get good money from sugarcane sales. Because they don't have land and money, they only depend on earnings as workers, not farm owners (*KII with male youth leader in Jinja*).

Similar sentiments were shared by technical leaders from the Mayuge and Luuka districts. In Mayuge, a District Technical Head of Community Services elaborates:

> Sugarcane is for the rich, the bigger the farm, the more the profits they make from sugarcane farming. Only young people from wealthy families with large land have benefited from sugarcane farming. How then can you even be a sugarcane farmer without land? That is why the young people are simply workers, only earning small wages.

From the above narratives, it is evident that land and money are core factors that determine the winners and losers in sugarcane farming. What comes out clearly is that that land and money

are gateways to profitable sugarcane farming and a lack of both condemns young people to being part of the underclass. Being major factors of production, the lack of land and financial resources automatically places the youth at the bottom of the sugarcane hierarchy. What is interesting is that the youth are knowledgeable about why they are stuck in the lower tier of sugarcane farming. This is typical of large-scale farm contexts in which the underclass tends to survive by working for the relatively well-off groups. This is typical of capitalism where society is inherently classified into the *'haves and have-nots' and how the elements of social class* have implications for the different groups. This can be explained by Marxism in the sense that, in agrarian contexts, capitalism seizes agricultural production by creating classes and shaping the behaviour of the different classes, which contributes to transcendence and the reproduction of capitalism (Levien, Watts and Yan 2018).

In large-scale agrarian developments, the poor or landless groups turn into workers on their own land in response to the market imperatives and the dynamics of local domination by capital commercial farming regimes (Akram-Lodhi 2007, Araghi 2003). In Busoga's case, land and money are clear circuits of neo-liberal enclosures which subject the youth to the proletariat status and furthermore, expose them to circuits of contemporary enslavement of neo-liberal alienation due to lack of requisite resources. This not only gives the youth a feeling of being an underclass but significantly limits their capacity to benefit from sugarcane farming. The emerging issue is that the youth's understanding of the implications of lacking resources demonstrates knowledge of how labour is necessary for young people to engage in sugarcane farming but not sufficient to guarantee maximum livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming.

The youth opinions of finance and land constraints confirm empirical studies underlining the significance of farm-based rural communities in Uganda. A study of livelihoods and rural poverty reduction in Uganda shows that a lack of land is a form of poverty because it constrains agricultural production on which the majority of the rural population depends (Ellis and Bahiigwa 2003). In the SLA lens, lack of land not only affects direct production but also undermines the complementary advantages such as access to financial capital in the form of credit (DFID 1999). In Busoga's case, land and financial constraints not only limit outcomes from sugarcane farming but also manifest youth vulnerability which is emerging from a lack of requisite livelihood resources, which is a fundamental problem in Africa. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the majority of young people lack land which limits youth aspirations in farming and the problem is likely to increase due to the rising population (Food and Agriculture

Organisation 2014, Leavy and Smith 2010, Ripoll et al. 2017). The financial and land constraints undermine the agenda for commercialization which has implications for the poor. As such, the agenda for commercial farming as a strategy for the young people's livelihoods should be embedded with measures that take into account resource constraints and vulnerabilities.

8.3 Mitigating limitations of sugarcane farming benefits for young people

In view of the individual limitations, young people were asked about possible means of increasing youth benefits from sugarcane farming. From the capability approach lens, exploring youth opinions was aimed at generating ideas from them as agents of their own destiny and enabling them to realize desired doings and beings in sugarcane farming in Busoga sub-region. Two questions were raised to guide the discussion. Firstly, what are the youth opinions of enhancing benefits from sugarcane farming? What is the applicability of the youth opinions in relation to realities in Busoga, Uganda and beyond? In answering the two questions, my focus was on youth opinions vis-à-vis the empirical evidence, in order to determine what works and what may not work.

Available evidence shows that the enhancing benefits to young people from farming is a subject of structural and agency interventions. Some approaches address input- and farm-based challenges and critical factors of production such as land access and financial services, while others address agency aspects of skilling and enhancing youth networks and partnerships in order to increase productivity and profitability (Njeru 2017, Salami, Kamara and Brixiova 2010). The main purpose of youth-specific interventions is twofold: to enhance farm profitability and absorb the youth into productive farm employment; and to attract, retain and reduce the youth negative perceptions and disregard for the farming sector which forces them out of the rural areas (Chinsinga and Chasukwa 2012, Naamwintome and Bagson 2013).

My findings underline the need for more than just attracting and sustaining the youth in sugarcane farming. The issue is about enabling young people to productively engage in sugarcane farming. Based on the youth opinions, the key issue to be addressed is the individual/agency limitations in sugarcane farming. Responses to the question of overcoming individual limitations revolved around youth access to finance and land as summarized in Table 8.1 below.

Table 8.1: Overcoming Youth Limitations in Sugarcane Farming

How can you be helped to overcome the limitations to benefits from sugarcane farming?	Responses N = 320	Percentage of Cases
Access to finance (loans, grants)	205	64%
Access to and ownership of land	169	53%
Education and sensitization	95	30%
Formation of youth groups	48	15%
Diversify livelihood activities	32	10%

Source: Youth Survey Data (multiple responses recorded)

8.3.1 Access to finance

Finance is a source and form of livelihood security. The lack of financial resources causes vulnerability because it increases one's weakness due to low purchasing power, while financial resources guarantee influence because they come with purchasing power. Financial resources are needed not necessarily for their own sake but because of versatility and convertibility into livelihood needs. In this study, the majority (64 per cent) of the young people viewed access to cash resources as a means of enhancing the benefits from sugarcane farming. To the youth, access to finance is a pathway to productive participation in sugarcane farming because it enables them to own a sugarcane farm and engage in auxiliary sugarcane businesses such as providing transport services and brokerage. Furthermore, access to finances was viewed as a gateway to increasing incomes as well as getting their fair share from sugarcane farming. Some FGD findings showed that profitability from sugarcane farming was associated with a strong financial status. As a 24-year-old male from Jinja narrates:

> Since my childhood, sugarcane farming is associated with Indians because they have money for controlling sugarcane farms and sugar factories. But we also have local tycoons – (out-grower farmers and transporters). For us, we work for those tycoons because we do not have money so we do not enjoy the best. The only way to help young people is to give us money, it is what (money) we lack, we know what to do we know to use money for sugarcane business.

Given the importance attached to financial resources, most interviewees underscored the need for access to cash:

> If you don't have money to start your own farm, you will be limited to wages, which are not enough to meet your needs. My friend (keeps quiet), how do you expect us to benefit when we do not have capital? Let them (government) give us, let us into sugarcane business *(Wonders a 26-year-old male– Busalamu Parish in the Luuka district).*

Reflecting on the importance of financial resources, one of the -sub-county chairpersons emphasized the need for youth access to finance as a pathway to maximum sugarcane benefits by arguing that:

> If youths are not given financial assistance, they will remain workers earning peanuts (low pay). Sugarcane is leaving young people; they need financial support in order to move with sugarcane because it is (apparently) the most available commercial activity here *(KII with 38-year-old -sub-county chairperson from Jinja District).*

These narratives signify the centrality of access to finance in enhancing youth agency in sugarcane farming. Undertones such as "*the only way to help young people is to give them money" and "how do you expect us to benefit when we do not have capital"* confirm that expanding the space for young people and their productive engagement in sugarcane farming requires a good financial standing. As a group, the youth had a belief that access to funds not only creates an enabling environment but is a form of expanding the current, presumably contracted space caused by their weak financial status. As such, the majority of the youth expressed a desire for access to government grants and subsidized loans with relatively lower interest rates. Talking about grants and low interest loans, which invokes reflections on existing revolving funds and loan schemes such as the Youth Livelihood Program[15] and SACCOs[16] program for financing sugarcane farmers, my interest was to investigate the rationale for youth financial assistance.

In-depth analysis of the youth's responses showed that the existing programmes were both inadequate and discriminatory due to the technical requirements. Regarding YLP, most of the youth argued that the programme benefited very few eligible youths with requirements such as registered businesses and operating bank accounts which the youth were unable to fulfil. Furthermore, some of the youth who had knowledge of the programme indicated that the YLP funds were neither adequate to finance sugarcane farming businesses nor did the SACCOs help the youth. In relation to the SACCOs programme for financing sugarcane farmers as enshrined in the National Sugar Policy (Ministry of Trade Tourism and Industry 2010), most of the youth expressed a lack of awareness of the SACCOs project for sugarcane financing. To some of the youth I interviewed, their knowledge of SACCOs was in relation to a savings groups initiated

[15] This is a Government of Uganda programme which was introduced in 2013 as a revolving fund targeting mainly poor unemployed youth to help themselves out of poverty through youth and business projects by generating employment opportunities and funding their businesses.

[16] The SACCOs programme is part Uganda's Sugarcane Policy of the Ministry of Trade and Industry (2010) to improve access to financial services by various communities in the country, including sugarcane growers.

by local people for their own savings and lending to members. In this vein, the majority of the youth advocated for a financing plan for individual youth in order to enhance their position in sugarcane farming. Notwithstanding the youth's views of the importance and implications of access to finance, my analytical questions concerned the applicability of financial support.

8.3.1.1 Applicability of Financial Support for Sugarcane Farming

Before presenting whether and how financial support for the youth is possible or not, the major issue is the implications of youth access to funds and its impact on farming. Livelihood studies underscore the significance of youth access to finance because of the complementary advantages such as generating self-sustainability in terms of business and employment (Bennell 2007). For the youth, the available research shows that a lack of finance resources has detrimental implications for youth participation in agribusiness because of its negative effects on profitability (Leavy and Smith 2010). In this case, youth advocacy for access to financial resources is apparently a valid cause; valid in the sense that interventions involving access to resources such as finance have the potential to generate tremendous outcomes for the youth in farming (Yami et al. 2019). Due to the significance of financial resources, governments and international development corporations support schemes of youth access to credit.

Schemes regarding youth access to credit and finance have been adopted in the agriculture supply chain in Rwanda, Tanzania and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to enable youth start-ups in agriculture businesses (Yami et al. 2019). Thus, youth access to finance can be one way of mitigating individual constraints on the profitability of sugarcane farming in Busoga for the youth. Despite the validity and convergence of existing evidence with the opinions of the youth in the study regarding access to finance, the question of applicability has to be answered based on reality.

Contrary to the view that wellbeing and human freedom is about what people are able to do and not necessarily the extent of the resources they have (Sen 1999), young people's opinions show that enhancing their capacity for sugarcane farming is about what people actually have, namely finance. However, youth advocacy for direct funding is undermined by limited evidence about direct, individual government financing for sugarcane farming. The commonest form of sugarcane financing is either individual, corporate support in the form of loans, or farm inputs and different forms of out-grower support (Martiniello 2017, Veldman and Lankhorst

2011). Such support is usually based on contractual agreements for sugarcane supply and normally targets established farmers who have land. Furthermore, cases of direct government funding for starters in sugarcane farming are rare and less well documented.

The most common government interventions include indirect subsidies to existing farmers to enhance production. For instance, in the 1980s, the Government of South Africa financed sugarcane farming through joint venture projects of land irrigation in Mpumalanga Province (James and Woodhouse 2017). The joint venture intervention arguably had positive results through increased sugarcane production, and it also increased the number of small-scale sugarcane growers as a result of incorporating them into the government funded irrigation scheme for sugarcane farmers.

In Pakistan, a Sugarcane Production Enhancement Project (SPEP) was set up to provide financing to small sugarcane farmers with small land holding capacity at minimal interest rates. The results were positive; marked by increased sugarcane production, but funding was not directly given to farmers. Instead it was invested in infrastructure such as irrigation, farm inputs and technical guidance (Bajwa 2012). Thus, youth advocacy for government funding could have positive outcomes but it may not be achievable. Evidence from other sugarcane-producing countries shows that sugarcane financing is seldom directed to individual farmers, which is something different from what the youth in Busoga envisage. What is clear is that government support to sugarcane farming is indirectly channelled through infrastructure and inputs which actually benefit farmers who are already established, which is different from what is envisaged by the youth in Busoga.

In view of the available evidence, while financing farming has positive implications, it is mainly associated with funding for sugarcane start-ups, something which raises questions about the appropriateness of the youth's calls for funding. This study's methodology and design precludes a speculative conclusion, but based on the growing competitiveness of sugarcane farming in Busoga, it is less likely to realise a government intervention involving direct youth financing for sugarcane business. In the existing circumstances, any form of financial or infrastructure support is most likely to benefit established farmers and not necessarily for start-ups, which is rather contrary to the desires of the youth in Busoga.

8.3.2 Access to land

In addition to accessing financial resources, the youth argued for access to and ownership of land as a way of enhancing their capacity to benefit from sugarcane farming. For sugarcane farming, access to land not only increases youth benefits but also their presence in farming, especially in the sugarcane sector whose sustainability and continuity relies on young people (Ntshangase 2016). In this study, the majority (53 per cent) of the youth considered access to land to be a significant measure for changing their status in sugarcane farming. Findings obtained from both individual youth interviews and focus group discussion encapsulate young people's view of land as a necessity for youth status in sugarcane in two ways. Firstly, the youth argued that land ownership lessens the dominant status of young people in sugarcane farming as employees. Secondly, access to land increases youth opportunities and complementary advantages such as access to bank credit and benefits arising from contractual agreements with sugar companies as out-growers.

From my field observations and interview findings, access to land is very important to the youth for both food crop and sugarcane farming. In a predominantly subsistence community such as Busoga, a land tenure that allows youth access to land is a form of empowerment. Evidence shows that local conditions such as land tenure are explanatory variables for the worst outcomes from large-scale agrarian developments and for the youth, constrained access to land undermines the benefits from commercial farming (Chinsinga and Chasukwa 2012, Hall, Scoones and Tsikata 2017). In Busoga, the majority of the youth did not have adequate land for even food crop farming; thus, access to land is one way of enhancing youth agency for both sugarcane farming and capacity to produce food. Given the significance of land in a farm community such as Busoga, young people's aspirations for access to land are valid because they mainly depend on primary production.

Experiences from Malawi, South Africa and Ethiopia suggest that increasing youth access to land through allocation and leasing systems can be fundamental enablers of youth engagement in the value chains of agriculture (Yami et al. 2019). In Busoga's case, youth access to land means agency to take part in most of the sugarcane businesses but the question is whether youth access to land is feasible in the current circumstances. While the youth's opinions and empirical evidence seem to converge on the fact that access to land gives agency to farmers, the difference is how the youth want it vis-à-vis existing realities both within and outside Uganda.

The question is what is possible and what is not possible? What does access to land mean for male and female young people in Busoga sub-region?

8.3.2.1 Possibility of Access to Land

As shown in the preceding discussion, there are questions regarding the feasibility of access to land. Furthermore, there were emerging questions regarding access and whether the move addresses the needs of both male and female youth. The most common issue is that access to land does not guarantee the principle of equity. From the interviews, the males were more interested and excited about the gaining access to land than the female youth. As opposed to the males, most of the female youth interviewed portrayed elements of reservation, less interest and less optimism about land ownership. The coldness of female youth towards land ownership was attributed to the existing culture and the norms of Busoga, which undermine the rights of the female gender to access and own land. Contrary to their male counterparts, the females were concerned that the policy would only reinforce existing cultural regimes which restrain females' access to land, thus maintaining the status quo of their low status in sugarcane farming. One of the females that I interviewed in Jinja elaborated that:

> The majority of t would welcome an access to land move because many are side-lined from sugarcane farming because of land. But in Busoga, access to land resonates with the male young people, so the girls will still be pressed by our cultural norms. I am not sure but still, the benefits will go to the male youths and the girls shall remain in the shadow *(KII with 23-year-old female in Jinja)*.

This suggests that a move for land access may not generate similar outcomes for male and female youth because of discriminatory gender norms. Apart from the gender dynamics, the second question relates to the applicability of access to land. The fact that land is a limited resource means that young people's aspirations are unachievable because of the rising youth population and government plans and priorities. Firstly, accessing land may not be possible in the wake of increasing population and land use needs especially in Uganda which is one of the land-scarce countries (Chamberlin, Jayne and Headey 2014). Whereas land reforms can create opportunities for access to land, youth access to land for sugarcane farming is unlikely in the short to medium as well as the long term periods. The problem mainly stems from increasing youth numbers as well as rising rural population (Chamberlin, Jayne and Headey 2014, Ripoll et al. 2017). The rising demographic trends for young people and the rural population in general suggest continuity of the chronic problem of land, not only in Busoga and Uganda's rural areas,

but in Sub-Saharan Africa more generally. The problem is exacerbated by the increasing evidence of government preference for large-scale over small-scale or poor peasant farmers.

Existing research shows that governments tend to prioritize large-scale farmers over individuals. In Ethiopia, land acquisition programmes for sugarcane farming favour large-scale multinational companies due to perceived advantages of corporate production (Liu 2012). Similarly, the Government of Uganda tends to prioritize large over small-scale individual farmers. In Uganda, the 2011 mass riots and demonstrations arose from government attempts to allocate the Mabira forest to the Sugar Corporation of Uganda (Hönig 2014, Nalugo 2011). The Mabira giveaway was not successful due to massive public protests, but the government successfully convinced the community in the Acholi sub-region in northern Uganda to allow sugarcane investors in Amuru district (Martiniello 2015).

In view of the available evidence, young people's appeals for free land access from government may be impossible because their wishes are incompatible with government plans. Therefore, despite being a realistic concern, the government of Uganda tends to promote large-scale commercial projects as opposed to individual start-up projects. This means that the status quo is likely to persist and the youth have to face competition in order to access land in the open market. The challenge with an open market is the unrealistic assumptions of capitalism where all payers are treated as equal competitors (Araghi 2003). Such circumstances reinforce youth vulnerability as the majority of the youth are unable to compete for expensive land, whose value continues to rise.

8.3.3 Education and training

Education is a critical aspect of livelihood because it builds people's capacity. In addition to capacity building, aspects of numeracy and literacy are important for commercial farming. For sugarcane farming, education enhances sugarcane yields because it empowers farmers with skills relating to production and application of farm inputs (Khan and Khan 2015). While there is scarce evidence of the negative effect of low or a lack of sugarcane yields, the importance of education remains unravelled. With the capability approach, education increases and expands people's freedoms, options and opportunities (Sen 1999). For young people, education enables them to acquire the necessary numeracy skills and abilities to identify their life course in terms of what one wants to be or become (Walker 2005). Responding to the question of enhancing

young people's capacity for sugarcane farming in Busoga, both quantitative and qualitative findings indicated education as a pathway for building youth agency.

From the survey, 30 per cent of the youth indicated the need for education and training interventions. Based on the field evidence gathered, the youth's advocacy for education and training does not mean the absence of education and literacy programs. As shown earlier, most of the youth had acquired primary level of education followed by ordinary secondary education while the smallest category had attained higher and tertiary education. Furthermore, education was notably less important to the majority or all the farm and field sugarcane jobs. In spite of formal education being less significant, education featured prominently in the interventions for enhancing youth agency. According to the youth responses, the education interventions needed vary according to one's status in sugarcane farming and one's future plans. The data obtained about the youth opinions of education interventions were broadly categorized as: (i) support for further formal education; and (ii) sugarcane-specific training.

Formal education and training were mainly advocated by school dropouts, who ended up in sugarcane farming because of financial constraints. These included the youth in the younger (18-21) and middle age groups (22-25 years), who constituted the labour class, mainly interested in support to acquire special skills and tertiary education beyond primary and secondary education. For such categories, sugarcane farming was a last resort and mere fall-back activity. Interviews with these categories of youth encapsulate a picture of people whose livelihood plans and aspirations are beyond sugarcane farming. For these youth, low education attainment was the limitation on non-farm opportunities and being in sugarcane farming was a manifestation of a lack of choice. With this background, the question is how does higher education guarantee better livelihood outcomes for people whose livelihood plans lie beyond sugarcane farming.

Individual and group discussions with the youth revealed that higher education indirectly influences outcomes from sugarcane farming. Specifically, narratives obtained from the youth with higher education qualifications revealed that higher education attainment enhances one's benefits from sugarcane farming through earnings from having formal jobs. Most of the youth argued that attaining higher education comes with complementary opportunities such as employment which enhance youth agency in the form of financial resources for investment. However, this does not mean that the most educated youth were the most successful in

sugarcane farming in Busoga, neither does it imply that education is a guarantee of youth livelihood success. While education is important for human capital development, it seldom guarantees increased income among all the youth (Brown 2004). This implies that education is not a panacea for ensuring youth benefits from sugarcane farming but, it comes with unique opportunities.

In Busoga's case, some of the youth who had higher education revealed that education was a gateway to formal jobs from which they obtained financial resources for investing in sugarcane farms and auxiliary businesses such as brokerage and transportation. As such, the need for further formal education and training is dependent on broadening opportunities within and outside of sugarcane farming. This confirms existing research about education as a contribution to one's development in terms of the skills and experience necessary for becoming and doing things that one desires (Robeyns 2016a). This partly explains why some the youth viewed education as important, including those whose livelihood plans are clearly embedded in sugarcane farming.

In addition to formal education interventions, some youth advocated for farmer literacy programmes tailored towards sugarcane production. Such sentiments were mainly common among the youth who had sugarcane farms. As opposed to the younger seeking education to increase their competitiveness outside sugarcane farming, the sugarcane farm owners' education needs were aimed at enhancing productivity and profitability. The difference between the two groups and their education needs was emphasized by one of young leaders, such as a 26-year-old male sugarcane farmer from the Mayuge district:

> At 26 years, I am quite old but very young in sugarcane farming. I started having my own farm 3 years back (2016), I really need to be educated on how to produce and profit from sugarcane. I see sugarcane as my future, so I need technical support. I am not seeking for jobs because I am not educated, I already have a sugarcane job. Further education would be good may be for my siblings who don't have sugarcane in their plans, their dreams are far, they want to study and get office jobs.

This narrative underscores the differences embedded in youth education interventions for labour class youth with outward-looking aspirations, and for the sugarcane farmers seeking to improve sugarcane farming.

For the youth who owned sugarcane farms, their main education needs included training about better (agronomic) practices for sugarcane production and bargaining and market

opportunities. For sustainability, some youth advocated for a contextualized education curriculum with sugarcane farming as component of the primary and secondary school education in Busoga sub-region. To the youth, a contextualised education enables sugarcane farming and the education sector to reinforce each other, and also creates a balance between youth education needs and livelihood needs from sugarcane farming to further address the inherent conflicts embedded in young people's preference for sugarcane work over school attendance. However, it may be challenging to have two unparallel education curricula in the same country. What I found more ideal is to complement formal education with local livelihood activities of sugarcane farming to realise mutual reinforcement.

Evidence shows that Complementary Opportunities for Primary Education (COPE) accelerates meeting the education needs of young people in lower to middle primary education (Dewees 2000). The process involves high operational costs but as a programme, COPE is a recommended strategy for meeting the educational needs of disadvantaged children in complex environments in Uganda. Similar approaches have been applied in pastoral communities to mitigate pastoral activity's impact on formal education. The Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK) is among the non-formal education programmes which not only contributed to literacy and numeracy but significantly enhanced youth understanding of livelihood activities such as crop production and livestock, among other benefits (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2017a). Busoga's peculiarities may require approaches which have a multiplier effect on mitigating barriers and enhancing youth outcomes from sugarcane farming. However, it is not clear whether such a move can be adopted in Busoga sub-region. In the circumstances, the most available alternative for the youth is to exploit the existing opportunities provided by the government and other stakeholders.

The Government of Uganda provides access to free primary and secondary education in government aided schools. Save for primary education where schools are found at parish level, not all -sub-counties in Uganda have a secondary school offering free education. The study area was no exception. In the three -sub-counties, Busedde -sub-county (in Jinja) had a well-established secondary school offering free secondary education. In addition to the UPE and USE programmes, there is a national sponsorship programme by the Government of Uganda for students at university and other tertiary institutions. In addition to the national education support programmes, evidence from the Busoga sub-region shows that most of the registered out-growers receive technical advice, agronomic and other forms of support including

transportation and farm inputs by sugar companies especially Kakira (Martiniello 2017). According to the youth interviews, the existing programmes are inadequate to guarantee higher outcomes from sugarcane farming. Furthermore, while the youth seem to understand the importance of education and how it should be provided, it is not something achievable overnight. For the sugarcane farmers, it may be challenging to realise more than the support provided by companies, because sugarcane farming is a business whose aim is to inject less than the surplus value.

8.3.4 Youth organizations and connectivity

In addition to land, finance and education, the youth called for institutionalized support through youth groups and organizations. Groups and organizations were used in reference a collection of the youth brought together as sugarcane farmers and workers. The youth's interest in group formation varied according to their category. For sugarcane farm owners, the main interest was in formation of youth farmer groups. To the sugarcane farm owners interviewed, some farmers were already members of existing sugarcane out-grower associations but expressed the need for support in youth-specific groups for their members' benefit.

Evidence shows that group membership in Uganda comes with the advantages of accessing farm support and income resources which help people to reduce poverty as a result of social capital and group synergies (Hassan and Birungi 2011). Similarly, the youth in Busoga viewed membership of farmer groups and networks as a form of social capital and other tangible outcomes. Specifically, the formation of youth-specific farmer groups was viewed as avenues for peer support both in the form of sugarcane farming requirements and access to financial resources. Emphasizing the relevance of forming youth-specific groups, one of the -sub-county LC III chairpersons stated that:

> We used to have a cooperative society called Busoga Growers which supported farmers in different ways. Busoga Growers supported every farmer, which is different Busoga Sugarcane Growers Association (BSGA) which covers the rich sugarcane farmers, leaving out the poor youth. This tells you that the young people need their own groups to support them. Besides, these people (youth) have unique challenges, so their own groups can voice their concerns when together as the youth *(KII with 38-year-old sub-county Chairperson)*.
>
> .

Reflecting on the significance of forming youth groups, a 25-year-old male sugarcane cutter from Luuka district argued that:

> The majority of us are struggling as individuals. I do not qualify to be a member of an out-growers' association because I do not have a sugarcane farm, others do but their

> farms are very small. I think we need our own groups. For the (casual) labourers, there is no umbrella under which we operate. We face many problems, farmers exploit us, they pay little, sometimes they don't pay but we are the losers because we are scattered and our employers are winners because they are united and they tend to behave the same way, everywhere. I think these groups can help us as workers and for the farmers.

From the statements above, it is clear that forming groups is important for both farmers and workers. The common ground for both workers and labourers is that a lack of formal and institutional networks inhibits youth outcomes from sugarcane farming. Thus, the assumption is that instituting youth organizations is a mitigation measure for youth constraints in sugarcane farming. From the two narratives, the key issue is the variations in the envisaged outcomes from the formation of institutional networks. For the farmers, youth groups are network avenues for increasing sugarcane productivity and profitability among members. Evidence shows that such groups are important networking strategies for young people in farming. In Kenya, youth groups are strong support mechanisms for young farmers because they constitute avenues for networking and linkages with business partners (Njeru 2017). In Busoga's case, youth groups were regarded as avenues for better outcomes from sugarcane farming in terms of levelling the conditions for sugarcane production and engaging with sugar factories. The situation is different for labour class youth.

For the labour class youth, groups were seen as points of collective action and bargaining for better working conditions and pay. Most FGDs and individual interviews portrayed the casual labourers as groups trapped in individual situations that required group synergies. For such categories, labour class groups were regarded as pathways for influencing behaviour changes on the part of employers based on a wider youth network. My finding about group synergies conforms to existing research about youth groups and network formations in relation to livelihood benefits and confers occupational advantages. Experiences from Tanzania suggests that youth groups and networks enhance youth livelihood strategies because they constitute avenues for collective organization used by young people to negotiate for better labour market conditions (Banks 2016). This notwithstanding, the advantages and outcomes of forming groups and networks can be contextual, with local conditions and characteristics shaping the outcomes and success of forming youth networks and groups.

In Busoga's case, the youth's conditions of work, population characteristics and relationships undermine their desire to form groups. Despite the significance of youth groups in enhancing group agency and capabilities, the case of Busoga is challenging and may be a long-term rather

than short- to medium-term fix for two reasons. Firstly, the youth population in Busoga is evidently high and the majority of the youth are desperate for sugarcane jobs because of high poverty and limited livelihood opportunities, which reinforces vulnerability on the part of the youth. Limited livelihood alternatives imply youth vulnerability, which works in favour of the wealthy employers because it undermines the youth's choices and power to decide, because under capitalism, labour tends to be alienated due to the resource constraints embedded in the working-class groups. Secondly, there is a high level of informality associated with sugarcane jobs in Busoga because the majority of the jobs are mainly casual. The informal structures seem to be deliberately created by the employers in order to exploit casual labourers.

The high level of informality has two implications. One is that the high level of informality presents challenges of actualizing group intentions. For example, in the Mayuge district, the youth revealed belonging to informal and unregistered groups based on job networks and proximity factors such as residence in similar villages. Being unregistered, some of the youth indicated that these groups were seldom useful in effectively advocating for youth rights and benefits from employers. This is not a uniform case because some informal groups had success stories. A case in point was Jinja district where truck drivers revealed that being professional workers with driving licenses, their informal associations were occasionally useful in negotiating terms with truck owners. This was an isolated case because the functioning of drivers' associations was attributed to their being professional and relatively fewer in number.

The second implication of informality and casualization is that having workers that are hired on short-term arrangements absolves employers from the usual responsibilities for working conditions and social protections (Hess et al. 2016). Apart from sugar factory jobs, the majority of the youth working in field-based sugarcane activities were hired on a daily basis and piecework arrangements depending on the amount of work available. without any formal considerations. In such circumstances, realizing collective agency is challenging because of uncertainties surrounding job security and low incomes which affect collective bargaining because such conditions strengthen what is referred to as incongruity within union movements (Standing 2014). In some contexts, the youth groups and network formations end up benefiting the employers rather than the members. Experiences from Brazil's sugarcane industry for example suggests that such youth networks and groupings tend to benefit employers by working as circuits for recruiting workers who remain caught in the difficult and exploitative dynamics of sugarcane farming (de Menezes, da Silva and Cover 2012). In Busoga, this was

said to be common with KSW whose workforce consisted of migrant workers residing on their estates. The problem is exacerbated by the low presence and success of workers' unions in sugarcane farming.

There is scarce evidence about the success of casual labour groups and networks in representing workers' interests. In cases where workers' unions exist such as in Brazil, bargaining power is arguably low because of increased mechanization and the trend is projected to continue on a downward-spiral due to continuous massive restructuring of the sugarcane industry (International Labour Organisation 2017). In this case, job scarcity causes fear and undermines the effectiveness of group action. This is further exacerbated by the fact that the majority of the workers' campaigns for improved pay and conditions of work on sugarcane farms have been inconsequential and often yielded less or nothing, leaving workers in deplorable conditions (Coote 1987). Busoga's case is particularly challenging for the youth because the commonest unions or associations were for smallholder farmers represented by their producer or cane out-grower organizations.

Evidence shows that farmer organizations confer the benefits of competitiveness and also build resilience in their members through input support and enhancing farm businesses (Chamala and Shingi 2005). While sugarcane farm owners envisage the benefits of farmer groups, chances appear to be minimal and limited because the majority of the youth had very small plots, below the threshold of 5 to 6 acres. For the majority of labour class youth, realizing group synergies is an uphill task because it is challenging to organize young people into groups as the majority are engaged in casual and informal jobs. In general, the structure of sugarcane farming in Busoga is still dominant over the youth capacity to constitute agency through groups and networks. Whereas Karl Marx envisaged possibilities of revolutions in the form of labour movements, this remains a challenge for the youth in Busoga. The challenge is directly embedded in capitalist settings where the whole agenda is organized to challenge emerging contradictions to the economic agenda of turning the bulk of the population into a pool of labour (Marx 1970). This is specifically common in sugarcane farming because it is usually the most dominant cash crop and livelihood activity.

8.3.5 Diversifying livelihood activities

Diversification denotes providing farm and non-farm alternative livelihood opportunities alongside sugarcane farming. Rural livelihood diversification involves processes of households

taking up or relying on on-farm activities for their wellbeing (Ellis 2005). In this study, some youth (10 per cent) advocated for livelihood diversification. To the youth, a diversified livelihood structure reduces the monopoly of sugarcane farming and guarantees youth freedom for youth survival. Diversity of livelihood activities arises from the inability of the farm sector to fully meet rural people's needs, and the rural population's limitless challenges which require extra survival sources (Chambers and Conway 1991, Ellis 1999, Ellis 2005). In Busoga's case, the call for diversity stems from a livelihood structure dominated by sugarcane farming.

The youth's affinity for alternative farming and non-farming activities was predicated on presumed outcomes such as reducing the sugarcane monopoly and extra income opportunities to meet youth livelihood needs. In one of my focus group discussions in Jinja, a female participant underlined the implications of the sugarcane monopoly and having a diversified livelihood structure thus:

> In Jinja, we are known for sugarcane jobs and the farmers are happy because we struggle for the same work . . . we don't have other things to do, they pay us anything they wish because we cannot back off (turn down work). But if other activities were there, there would be few youths fighting for sugarcane jobs, they will pay us well and we will have the freedom to choose between jobs. You see, the coming of more sugar factories has reduced the monopoly by Kakira Sugar *(25-year-old male).*

In addition, one of the FGD participants in the Mayuge district emphasized the need for diversification when he stated that:

> When you talk about sugarcane, you are talking about the youth. Wherever you find sugarcane activities, there is a swam of young people because that is where we all survive. But the more we surround the sugarcane works. It is obvious, we need some other activities to engage us. If the sugarcane monopoly continues, we shall continue suffering. We need some activities to rescue us from the current deadlock *(FGD participant, 23-year-old male sugarcane cutter).*

The quotations above underscore the youth's perceptions of a diversified livelihood structure. The key issue from the two narratives is that the monopoly of sugarcane farming infringes on youth freedom and has implications in terms of youth earnings. Undertones such as "*youth will have the freedom to choose between jobs" and "If sugarcane monopoly continues, we shall continue suffering"* imply that diversification enhances both youth agency and agency freedom.

Furthermore, the youth assume that additional activities enhance youth benefits from sugarcane farming in two ways. Firstly, a diversified livelihood structure reduces competition for

sugarcane jobs because some young people can be occupied in other activities. Secondly, the youth associated livelihood diversification with overcoming the vulnerability to exploitation that arises from young people being the bulk of the sugarcane labour force. In this case, the youth's appeals for diversification conform to the demand and supply dynamics of labour in capitalist settings where unlimited labour supply presents advantages to the employers who are its major beneficiaries. (Araghi 2003). In Busoga's case, the youth pleas for diversification are meant to address the problem of unlimited labour supply arising from high youth population and also tends to address the demand side by increasing the number of labour opportunities.

Concerning labour opportunities, the youth expressed interest in more investors in sugarcane farming. Having more sugar factories was regarded as an avenue for to increased demand for youth labour. However, some youth viewed the idea of more sugarcane firms with scepticism, arguing that intra-sector diversification would only have a minimal impact on youth labour conditions. Furthermore, the limited impact of intra-sugarcane diversification can be explained by the fact that it is capitalistic in nature, as intra-activity diversification involving the entry of new players in sugarcane would replicate existing conditions. Specifically, sugarcane farming tends to embody similar conditions of work. Evidence from South Africa shows that from time to time, labour conditions and poverty problems such as wages tend to cut across most sugarcane plantations (Castel-Branco 2012). Being mainly causal labourers, most youth had a feeling that new sugar factories and investments would produce similar conditions which would have a minimal impact on the status quo of the young people caught in the path of capitalism. As such, most interview findings revealed that the youth had a high affinity with and preference for inter-sectoral diversification.

The youth were interested in inter-sectoral diversification in the form of more commercial farm regimes and non-farm livelihood activities. A call for diversified livelihoods raises assumptions of a non-existing diversified livelihood structure in Busoga sub-region. In actual fact, Busoga's livelihood structure is characteristically diverse with most youth evidently depending on more than one activity. Notwithstanding the diverse livelihood structure, the youth indicated that the capacity of the non-sugarcane activities to accommodate the high youth population was minimal, thus, leaving sugarcane farming as a dominant activity. To the youth, boosting the performance of alternative livelihoods such as introducing large-scale non-farming activities in the form of industries would be ideal informal and formal sector interventions.

8.3.5.1 Applicability of diversification

Compared to land, access to funds and worker organizations, diversification appears to be more meaningful and quite realistic. In the continuum of land constraints, it is challenging to imagine continuous youth interest and engagement in farming. Evidence shows that stimulating both farming and non-farming alternative economic opportunities is vital for young people because it is difficult to assume that young people will become full-time farmers (Ripoll et al. 2017). This is because of increasing youth shunning of farming and enormous production constraints which constrain the youth in farming. Frank Ellis argues that problems of agriculture in liberalized markets are tantamount to the question of 'agriculture sceptics' but there is agreement that diversification can be a working alternative to the 'declining farm size in many densely settled small-farm rural areas' (Ellis 2005:2).

A diversified livelihood structure is therefore, a more valid alternative for the youth in Busoga. Valid in the sense that diversification directly tackles the monopoly on which capitalism directly thrives. Introducing large alternative commercial farming activities and non-farming livelihood activities reduces the bulk of youth labour in sugarcane farming, which mitigating the underlying challenges embedded in an unlimited labour supply. However, given the unlimited nature of the labour supply, it is difficult to envisage and determine the likelihood that the youth will have a feeling that diversification can improve labour outcomes from sugarcane farming.

However, for diversification to be realized, one is wary of two issues. Firstly, the diversification process can only be successful to the extent that the alternative activities do not interfere with the sugarcane sector. As shown earlier, sugarcane farming is operated by companies with massive economic power. Given their material strength, capitalist establishments tend to crowd out competitors and any such activities that inhibit their business agenda (Adams and Sydie 2002). Secondly, achieving diversification can also be a challenge because it requires substantial resources to invest in alternative activities such as industries. Thirdly, the high number of the youth may undermine the expected impact of diversification especially in relation to labour. To a greater extent, a reduced congestion of youth labour in the sugarcane industry comes with some advantages but does not guarantee a win for the youth whose number is evidently high.

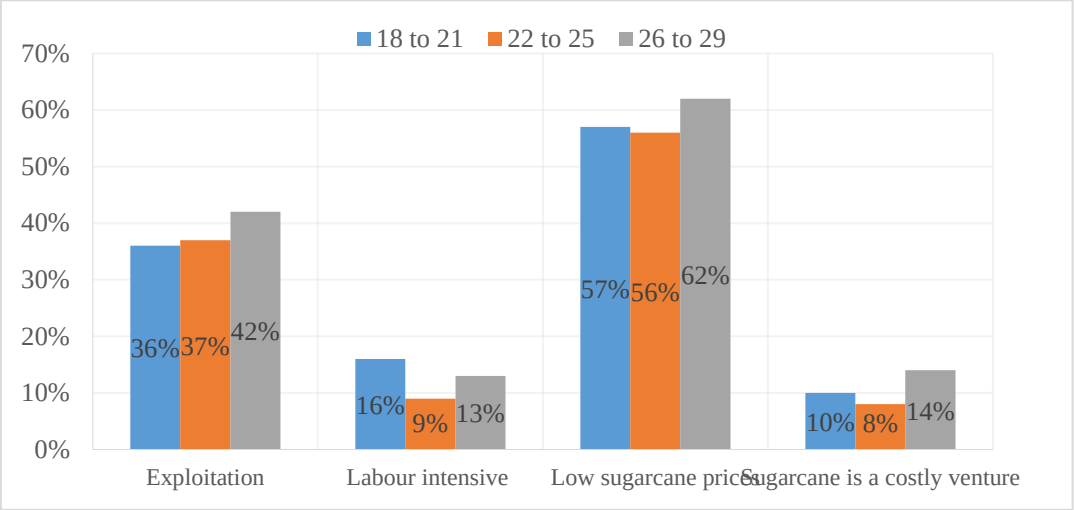
The high number of the youth means that the supply of labour remains inherently unlimited. Yet, unlimited labour supply in a capitalist context has implications on the power structure, where employers remain powerful while the weak position of the employee predisposes them to exchange labour at a less value (Araghi 2003). Notwithstanding the potential effects of youth numbers, the fact that diversification comes with benefits arising from a reduced monopoly structure cannot be overestimated. Furthermore, diversification means increased freedom of agency, which is a vital component of wellbeing as it enhances quality of life because increasing people's freedoms contributes to their flourishing (Sen 1999). Characteristically, rural livelihoods are inherently diverse and this, in a way, is meant to support people's diverse livelihood needs.

8.4 Structural limitations of sugarcane outcomes

In addition to the individual/agency related issues and their corresponding intervention mechanisms, this section presents the structural factors that constrain maximum livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming. Structural limitations denote constraints embedded in the sugarcane sector, which undermine outcomes and the trickle-down effect of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods. What is known is that farming is marred by individual and sectoral challenges which partly explain increasing youth shunning of farming across Africa (Kristensen and Birch-Thomsen 2013, Leavy and Hossain 2014, Wallace 2017). Some of the structural issues include uncertainties and delayed benefits and perceived low social status attributed to farming which undermine the trickle-down effect of farming to young people. To help them profit from and stay in farming, such structural constraints need to be addressed.

To explore the structural issues, two questions were used to guide the discussion. One, what are the sugarcane-specific/structural constraints and limitations on livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming? Secondly, what do the youth think about addressing the constraints embedded in sugarcane farming sector? In answering the two questions, there is constant reflection on what is in place, what works or may not work. Data from the youth survey shows two major challenges that undermine the trickle-down impact of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods in Busoga, viz: exploitation and unstable prices. There are minimal, discernible difference by age but the problems cut across all youth age groups as summarized below.

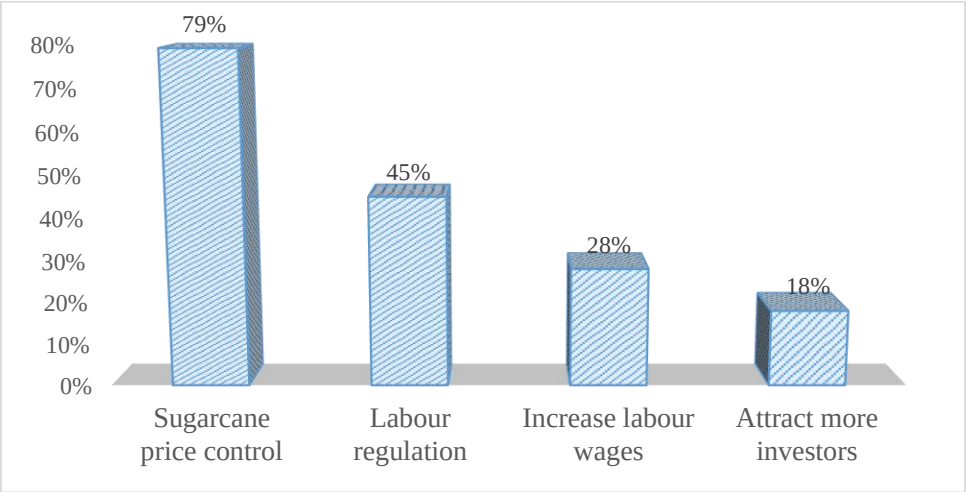
Figure 8.2: Individual Youth constraints on Sugarcane Farming?



Source: Youth Survey Questionnaire (2018)

From the figure above, exploitation and low sugarcane prices are the dominant structural limitations on sugarcane farming. The issues were common among youth in the older age group while those in the younger age group view sugarcane farming as a labour-intensive activity. Responses to the question of addressing constraints in the sugarcane sector indicate that increasing the trickle-down effect of sugarcane farming to youth livelihoods requires dealing with sugarcane prices and labour regulation as summarized in the Figure below:

Figure 8.3: Youth Opinions of Addressing Sugarcane Sector Constraints



Source: Youth Survey data – (Multiple responses recorded).

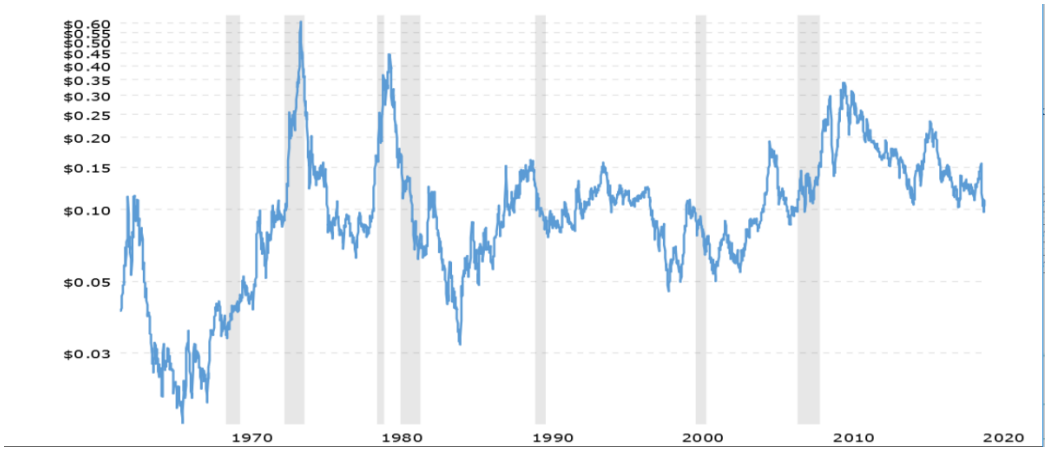
In the figure above, the overarching assumption is that regulating sugarcane prices and labour relations will enhance outcomes from sugarcane farming. Furthermore, the figure shows that the youth'sopinions about addressing sugarcane farming constraints are aimed at enhancing

individual welfare. but their implementing agency is evidently structural. Their different opinions are presented in the following discussion.

8.4.1 Low sugarcane prices

Price volatility is a critical challenge in primary production, especially farming, because of its susceptibility to fluctuations. A snapshot of the global sugar prices from the 1970s to 2020 shows that sugarcane farming is prone to price volatility as shown in the Figure below.

Figure 8.4: A snapshot of Global Sugarcane Prices from 1970 to 2020



A Sugar Prices - 37 Year Historical Chart obtained from Macrotrends LLC (2021) –

Adopted from:https://www.macrotrends.net/2537/sugar-prices-historical-chart-data (4th May 2021 at 14.32)

The burden of sugarcane prices is arguably high in developing countries and the obvious implication is that fluctuations especially downward spirals fundamentally affect farmers' profitability (Asiimwe 2018, Mhlanga-Ndlovu and Nhamo 2017, Tena et al. 2016). The volatility of sugarcane prices in developing countries is exacerbated by macro-economic challenges such as poor infrastructure development, weak financial institutional mechanisms, and inflationary tendencies (International Labour Organisation 2017). The Busoga sub-region is not immune from sugarcane price volatility and this partly explains why sugarcane prices featured prominently among the constraints for youth benefits from sugarcane farming. As shown in Figure 8.2, nearly all the youth in all age groups, ranging from 57 per cent for the younger age groups (18-21 years), 56 per cent for the middle age group (22-25 years) to 62 per cent for the oldest age (26 to 29 years), affirmed low price as a challenge in sugarcane farming.

Furthermore, data obtained from individual and FGDs affirmed the problem of persistent sugarcane price fluctuations in Busoga sub-region. In all cases, the most common challenge was the downward spiral or declining prices. The youth attributed the problem of declining

sugarcane prices to policies made by Indians whose policies are believed to have caused a deliberate sugarcane price cut. As one of my interviewees narrates, sugarcane price instability has become a common problem in Busoga:

> Sugarcane prices have become unpredictable. You can leave your farm with a different figure but when you reach the sugar factory, Indians tell you things have changed, usually a drop in prices per tonne of sugarcane. In 2017 alone, between January and June, a tonne of sugarcane sold for 140,000/= to 150,000/= and from June to October (in the same year) sugarcane tonnes sold for 150,000/= to 170,000/= and that was the highest record price offered. From October 2017 to June 2018, things started going down, a tone of sugarcane fluctuated between 140,000/= to 165,000/= and from June 2018 to early this year (2019) sugarcane was going for 120,000/= to 140,000/=. Now (April 2019), a sugarcane ton is going for less than 120,000/= *(KII with 30-year-old male sugarcane farmer – Luuka district).*

Reflecting on the downward spiral in of sugarcane prices in Busoga, a 28-year-old farmer from Mayuge said:

> We entered sugarcane to make money. But it seems all our energy (effort) is enjoyed by Indians because for my case, it was only 2017 when we sold sugarcane at a good price averaging 150,000/=. Today (May, 2019), you go around and see, the cost of a tonne of sugarcane is almost going below 100,000/=. Things (prices) are going down, every other day. How can we really be convinced that the Indians will increase the sugarcane prices? By the way when the prices fall, all factories offer similar prices, or sometimes, slight differences as if they meet and agree.

These narratives show the youth vulnerability to unstable sugarcane prices. Evidently, the price declines are attributed to the leaders in the sector. From the narratives, the price declines are viewed as a syndicated process to benefit the Indians at the expense of the farmers. The claims of declining sugarcane prices were confirmed by reports indicating sugarcane farmers across the Busoga sub-region were stuck with sugarcane stocks because of low sugarcane prices (Nakato and Kirunda 2019). In my field observation activities, sugarcane trucks were sighted clogging the entrances and parking yards of the Mayuge, Kamuli and Kaliro sugar factories (see pictures 1 and 2 in Figure 8.5).

Figure 8.5: Sugarcane Farmers and Trucks at Sugar Factories

Source: Field Picture (L) *Taken in December 2019 outside of Kamuli Sugar Factory along Jinja – Kamuli road while the second (R) picture was obtained from a report published by The Daily Monitor (Nakato and Kirunda 2019).*

Some of the truck drivers interviewed revealed spending three to six days awaiting negotiations between farmers and the sugar factories. However, the days varied, with some drivers reporting between 6 to 10 days due to the high number of sugarcane suppliers. According to young people, the delays at sugar factories are common but the bigger delays were precipitated by low prices offered by sugar factories. the youth's narratives confirm that sugarcane farming in the Busoga sub-region is not immune to the global problems of price volatility associated with primary production.

By and large, the issue of sugarcane price volatility is typically a burden of sugarcane farm owners. However, both sugarcane farm owners and the majority of the labour class shared the painful sentiments of the consequences of sugarcane price declines, which was rather intriguing. In this case, my interest was in exploring how a typical farmer burden affects the working-class youth. According to the youth interviews, the burden of falling sugarcane prices is borne by both farmers and workers, with the latter arguably bearing the highest proportion of the consequences of the downward spiral of sugarcane prices. The burden is higher for workers in the sense that sugarcane price declines have a direct impact on the trickle-down effect on youth wages. To the youth, a decline in sugarcane price affects returns on their labour. As one of the male sugarcane cutters argues:

> When our bosses get good prices, they pay us well. But, when the prices drop, we are paid less. A sugarcane bundle pays 1000/= but sometimes, bosses pay 800/=when sugarcane prices drop. In 2017, hahaa (laughs) things (prices) were good. Some farmers would even pay 1200/= per bundle but nowadays, things have changed for the worst. This sugarcane price issue is a big burden, no one knows how things will be, I pray for better prices *(23-year-old male sugarcane cutter – Jinja district).*

Emphasizing the negative impact of low sugarcane prices on youth wellbeing, a sugarcane farmer from the Luuka district said:

> Back in 2017, sugarcane hit a record price of 170,000/= per ton but suddenly in 2018 the trend is continuing to reduce and likely to fall below 100,000/=. This leaves concerns about profit. How much do you end up with? How much do you pay the workers? Now this is a warning on farm wages because as things become hard, you have to minimise labour and input costs. You cannot pay high wages when the income is low *(29-year-old male sugarcane farmer).*

The two statements underscore the inextricable relationship between low sugarcane prices and youth wages. The relationship is direct because a low sugarcane price implies low youth wages while high or stable sugarcane prices come with stable or marginally higher wages. In this matrix, the youth bear the highest burden of sugarcane price cuts because of their labour class status. During the time of this study, some youth were privy to anecdotal information regarding looming fears of further price declines and the majority were concerned about hard times in the near future. The looming price fluctuations and impending signs of continuous instabilities imply that young people are trapped in a complex situation which reinforces their vulnerability because they do not have control over processes that affect their livelihoods.

Basing on the evidence gathered, the youth are the most precarious groups in periods of low sugarcane prices because they depend on wages for survival and thus, young people's concerns about sugarcane prices are valid even when the majority do not have sugarcane farms. Valid in the sense that youth livelihoods depend on the farmers' or employers' earnings from sugarcane sales, thus any fluctuations constitute insecurity for youth livelihoods. Evidence from Africa, Asia and South America shows that low sugarcane prices imply low earnings by rural farmers usually inadequate to meet operational costs, which breeds exploitation of the young people involved as labourers (International Labour Organisation 2017). In Busoga's case, the direct impact of sugarcane prices on youth earnings is a clear manifestation of youth entrapment in neo-liberal dynamics associated with capitalist ventures where the proletariat class carry the largest burden for business interruptions.

From the neo-liberal point of view, the young people's circumstances in Busoga embody challenges associated with capitalism which thrives by paying less for labour, products of labour or both, in order to keep the value of commodities higher, relative to the costs of production (Araghi 2003). In this case, sugarcane price instability is a clear manifestation of the global economic politics embedded in the problems of North-South agro-industrial regimes.

For instance, the international sugar price downward trend is as a result of increased production and the effect of Preferential Trade Agreements regarding access of European Union and United States market (Nyberg 2006). This is exacerbated by increasing sugar production in Europe and policies of dumping sugar in poor countries especially in Africa.

The direct and indirect dumping policies and subsidies tremendously affect sugar production by destroying the market for efficient producers in developing countries who end up as losers (Watkins 2004). The process trickles down to sugar factories which end up paying low prices for sugarcane, and the burden is transferred to the workers through low wages. In the process, the sugar factories thrive at the expense of farmers and workers, namely the youth whose livelihoods depend on unpredictable and unstainable sugarcane prices. As such, the majority of young people assumed that improving sugarcane prices could mitigate sugarcane constraints.

8.4.1.1 Sugarcane price regulation

In view of the negative implication of low sugarcane prices on proceeds from sugarcane jobs, the majority of young people from Jinja (76 per cent), Mayuge (74 per cent) and Luuka (84 per cent) affirmed price regulation as a mechanism strategy for addressing their low earnings. To young people, the regulation of sugarcane prices is seen as a strategy to overcome instabilities arising from unstable sugarcane prices. According to them, sugarcane price regulation is important in two ways. Firstly, price regulation ensures the stability of farmers' incomes, which also insulates young people from problems arising from intermittent income instabilities. Secondly, price regulation increases sugarcane profitability and attracts more investors which has implications for youth earnings.

Busoga's case conforms to studies of the implications of prices on income outcomes for young people in farming. Evidence shows that good prices for agricultural produce and appropriate polices, income and cash proceeds from the farming sector motivate and retain young people's attention on the farming sector (Leavy and Hossain 2014, Oladeebo and Ambe-Lamidi 2007, Oladoja, Adisa and Adeokun 2008). Similarly, young people in Busoga view stable sugarcane prices as a good sign because sugarcane prices have a direct influence on wage earnings. Being the largest employer, a fall in sugarcane prices not only threatens youth livelihoods but affects the local economy of Busoga. As such, the majority of young people had a feeling that ensuring price stability or at best, increases in sugarcane prices lead to better outcomes from sugarcane

farming. This notwithstanding there are two important analytical questions (1) does an increase in sugarcane prices translate into an increase in youth income benefits? and (2) is sugarcane price regulation within the realm of what young people want?

In the first question, there is mixed evidence of the implications of price changes on the farming sector but what is quite clear is that low and high commodity prices have negative and positive implications for farming and general economic performance. The case of Uganda is useful in elaborating the negative and positive aspects of commodity prices. A sharp decline in commodity prices during Amin's regime (1971-1979) devastated Uganda's economy as crop prices declined relative to consumer prices (Bunker 1987). Furthermore, Uganda's impressive picture of agriculture and economic growth in the 1990s was partly attributed to the good prices received by the farmers from produce sales (de Haas 2016). Farmers reportedly earned relatively good prices for their produce and as a result, many farmers preferred the farming sector to low paying jobs in the urban industrial sector. As such, young people opinions of sugarcane price regulation are valid because stable and good produce prices imply better earnings.

However, the youth's pleas for sugarcane price control is idealised but explicitly ambitious. Furthermore, these appeals are contrary to available evidence regarding the impact of increases in commodity prices on casual labour wages. Often, increases in agricultural commodity prices do not necessarily lead to increases in workers' earnings. For instance, studies of commodity prices and well-being in Uganda show that, despite increases in commodity prices in the late colonial and early post-colonial period, the labour wages for workers in Uganda's commercial sector remained low despite the thriving cash crop sector, due to the overwhelming number of migrant workers providing unskilled labour (de Haas 2014). In Busoga's case, for as long as the high youth population maintains an unlimited sugarcane labour supply, the increase in sugarcane prices will have a marginal impact on youth earnings instead benefiting the farmers or employers.

The marginal impact of price rises on youth earnings can be explained by the fact that sugarcane farming is an exemplar of capitalism. As a system, capitalism thrives on the availability of a huge number of workers who are exploited through different ways including settling for the least value for their labour (Adams and Sydie 2002, Araghi 2003). Furthermore, the bourgeoisie's control over surpluses has significant implications in terms of increasing

financial returns for workers. In spite of increases in financial returns, workers in a capitalistic establishment usually get less value than what they produce as the surplus value goes to the investors, thus the status quo seldom changes as workers remain poorer despite the increase in the power, value and size of their production (Adams and Sydie 2002, Marx 1844b).

For sugarcane farming, there is limited substantial evidence correlating increased economic returns from sugarcane booms to workers' earnings and wellbeing. In South Africa for example, despite the sugarcane boom, evidence shows that field workers remain entangled in problem of low pay (Castel-Branco 2012, Richardson 2010). The workers are paid lower wages despite a thriving sugarcane sector because it is a capitalist project whose aim is to make profits at minimal cost. This partly explains why, despite the flourishing commercial farming sector, plantation work remains the poorest occupation in Africa (Hurst, Termine and Karl 2005). Such evidence casts doubt on young people assumptions about sugarcane price increases and increased earnings from sugarcane farming in Busoga. This brings the discussion to the second question, namely the applicability of price regulation.

The applicability of sugarcane price control and stabilization is a subjective issue. Without necessarily being speculative, sugarcane price control may have positive aspects as envisaged by young people but it is a difficult task to accomplish. The problem with sugarcane pricing stems from it being part of the global market structure and the complexity is that poor countries tend to bear the highest burden of price volatility for three reasons. The first is their weak and poor financial infrastructure and the second reason is a combination of factors such as policies of trade barriers, and the direct and indirect effects of dumping sugarcane by European countries (Nyberg 2006, Watkins 2004). The third reason is embedded in economics and the nature of sugarcane as a crop. Sugarcane supply is naturally inelastic, and this makes it difficult for producers to quickly react to sugarcane price changes (International Labour Organisation 2017). According to the information obtained from farmers, sugarcane takes between 18 to 20 months to mature, which inadvertently makes it hard for farmers to react to price changes as they have to follow natural courses thus undermining the possibility of quick fixes. In addition, to the long gestation period of sugarcane, the question of price control appears to be complex because of the dynamics embedded in policy and economic politics.

Regarding policy, there was no evidence of an existing policy framework concerning sugarcane prices. The existing policy and institutional frameworks such as the National Sugar Policy

provide a sugarcane pricing formula which governs the sector in Uganda (Ministry of Tourism Trade and Industry 2010) but in fact, the interviews suggest that sugarcane prices in Busoga are determined by a conglomerate of sugar producers led by KSW. Being subject to the sugarcane companies is a symbol of the underlying power structure embedded in the sugarcane farming being skewed against the youth's interests. The challenge is that the power structure is skewed towards multinational corporations, which symbolize capitalism where resource ownership confers power of control over other sub-structures of the society.

However, this issue is not unique to the Busoga sub-region and Uganda, as it cuts across East African countries such as Rwanda, where large companies such as Madhvani determine prices and sometimes reserve the rights to weigh sugarcane in the absence of famers (Veldman and Lankhorst 2011). In such circumstances, while the youth's opinions about sugarcane prices may be idealised, it is quite clear that controlling the prices of commodities such as sugarcane is hard because of its international embodiment and control by multinational corporations. The limits regarding sugarcane price controls symbolize that young people are trapped and vulnerable and operate in a vulnerable context with limited agency to control affairs that affect their livelihood.

8.4.1.2 Regulating labour relations and pay

Regulation is used in reference to local and central government policy interventions in sugarcane employer and labour relations in terms of working conditions and pay. Be it local, central or both, young people expressed a dire need for a protocol regulating employer-worker relationships in sugarcane farming in Busoga. Young people's quest for regulation was predicated on the lack of any existing regulatory mechanism for sugarcane employment in Busoga sub-region. According to the youth, the lack of a regulatory framework benefits farmers at the workers' expense. One of the district Community Development Officers confirmed the inverted relationship between sugarcane farmers and workers, arguing that:

> The sugarcane environment is very elusive, there are no rules and policies. governing the relationship between young people and their employers. Because of this gap, there are endless complaints about heavy workloads, low or non-payment and poor working conditions. We keep forwarding such cases to the police but the lack of formal agreements and policies make the whole issue complex. This sector has grown and young people are the main workforce. I think it is vital to have some policies to help these young people. *(KII with a sub-county technical leader – in Jinja)*

In addition, one of the male sugarcane transporters from Jinja reiterated the lack of a legal framework and how the absence of policies endangers workers:

> When you are underpaid, there is no written agreement to refer to. When you are mistreated, there is not any written rule broken by your boss. We operate at God's mercy because in such settings, you just see that all the conditions support farm owners and sugarcane investors to cheat the youth. Given the rate of sugarcane expansion, if there is no policy framework, you can be sure that youth conditions will worsen *(25-year-old male truck driver – Kisasi – Jinja district*).

The above statements emphasize the need for regulatory frameworks because of the power structure embedded in the lack of labour regulation in the current settings. Furthermore, the narratives underscore the fact that lack of labour regulations inherently disadvantage the poor youth. In view of the circumstances, the assumption is that instituting a regulatory policy levels the playing field for young people to benefit from sugarcane farming. However, the two narratives invoke questions about the existing sugarcane policy environment in Busoga as well as Uganda. According to the youth, there are no documented by-laws or central government policy agenda for casual labourers' relationships with their employers.

At the national level, the existing regulatory mechanism is the 2010 National Sugar Policy under the Ministry of Tourism Trade and Industry which spells out the policy measures for the sugar sector. However, close examination of the policy reveals an inclination towards sugarcane and sugar production and there is no designated section concerning labour. The second was the contested 2016 Sugar Bill which is now an Act of Parliament. The Bill was initially contested because of provisions limiting new sugar factories establishment within a radius of 25 kilometres of each other, which was viewed as perpetuating monopoly under the auspices of protecting old and big sugar producers (Kyeyune 2019). Despite the inherent contradictions, it was passed into law governing the development, regulation and promotion of Uganda's sugar industry. However, similar to the National Sugar Policy, the Sugar Act's orientation is inclined towards sugarcane and sugar production rather than the workers who support processes of production. Such limitations raise questions regarding the applicability of the youth ideas about regulating labour in the sugarcane farming in Busoga.

While regulation appears to be a useful measure, its applicability is quite difficult for two main reasons. One is that being mainly employees, the youth are bound to suffer from exploitation because they are incorporated in circuits of capitalism through imperatives of labour. The process is exacerbated by the fact that exploitation has been part of the sugarcane industry and it remains an uphill challenge to change this. Further evidence shows that the exploitation in sugarcane farming is a well-entrenched process aimed at creating a simultaneously docile but

useful workforce, obedient and domesticated to work under conditions that benefit employers (de Menezes, da Silva and Cover 2012). Furthermore, being an extractivist industry, sugarcane farming is characterized by devaluation and cheapening of labour in order to exploit the workers through minimal pay to maintain the workers on a 'hand-to-mouth' cycle (Martiniello 2017). The low payment and 'hand-to-mouth' syndrome arises from a workforce availability in large numbers, which is the second factor for the limited chances of success for regulatory mechanisms.

The large youth population implies youth vulnerability because it creates an unlimited labour supply, which inherently implies a tendency to lose a sense of agency and capability to demand better conditions of work and better pay. In this case, one of the Parish Chiefs in Jinja argued that *"the incredibly high and huge numerical picture of the population is disadvantageous because the existing unemployment gives sugarcane farmers the advantage for youth exploitation".* The large number of the youth in sugarcane farming was mainly due to a lack of alternative income activities. Notwithstanding the implications of a large youth population, controlling a capitalist venture such as sugarcane is challenging because of the capitalist imperatives of free market conditions. The freedom means that the labour market is unrestricted from institutional and regulatory restraints such as government interference, which limits space for both state influence and institutionalized workers' unions. As a result, capitalist elites and investors end up as winners while the public fares badly, something which facilitates what is referred to as class power for the richest groups (Harvey 2006). This brings the discussion to the point that as a sector, sugarcane is not only part of the global chain of production but also managed by capitalized companies.

Such resource capacity is a source of asymmetrical power relationships in areas of operation which in most cases serve the interests of their states from the Global North (Coote 1987, Mintz 1986). Such companies create a dependency syndrome on the part of locals including states. This constrains the implementation of dialectical regulatory mechanisms because some of the host governments' relationships with large-scale agro-industrial corporations which are inadvertently circumscribed by expectations of win-win outcomes such as pro-poor growth, for tax revenue and rent seeking opportunities (Araghi 2003, McMichael 2012). In capitalism, the salient feature of the world economy is the tendency to dominate and exploit the periphery, and the system is erected on continuous control of the periphery (Sanderson 2005). This underscores the need for regulation because unregulated capitalism endangers resources such

as labour and land, which are the two major sources of its own wealth (Harvey 2006:114). In this case, the young people's call for a regulation policy mechanism is justified by capitalism's embeddedness in issues of commodification which have varying effects on human life.

8.5 Conclusion and emerging issues

This chapter aimed to explore the youth opinions of the individual and structural limitations on livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming and intervention measures. The chapter has shown the agency and structural issues with critical reflections on the youth own opinions in relation to what works and what might not work. I have argued that understanding and dealing with the youth and sugarcane-specific limitations requires invoking a structure-agency lens of analysis. The key issue is that constraints on sugarcane farming opportunities are embedded in traditional and old constraints on farming production which limit the trickle-down effect of sugarcane farming. Taken together, the youth are constrained by a combination of issues arising from sugarcane as a sector and youth characteristics or agency issues which need attention.

In order to enhance the benefits of sugarcane farming, there is a need to fix both the agency and the structure such as access to land, financial resources, regulation of the sugarcane sector and livelihood diversification. This implies that young people have a clear opinion of sugarcane farming and how they want it to be but most of the opinions are impractical and unachievable. Most of the youth's opinions regarding land, finance, education and regulating the sugarcane sector that could have significant outcomes are embedded in the ambit of government and private sugar corporations. This symbolizes youth vulnerability because young people do not have control over issues that affect their livelihoods.

There is evidence of government attempts to fix both the structure and agency. Government interventions such as providing free education aim at building youth agency, but this is not enough to guarantee maximum outcomes because sugarcane farming is not necessarily about what one is but what one has. Government appears to fix the structure by instituting polices but the priorities of public actors such as government and private sugar companies are not aligned with what the youth want. The government is concerned with overall sugarcane and sugar production rather than individual youth issues while the private companies are concerned with profit. The challenge is that the youth are not a uniform group and there is no one-size-fits all. The interests of the working class, sugarcane farm owners, male and female youth are barely similar and such differences have to be factored into agency interventions.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

This study examined the contribution of commercial sugarcane farming on rural livelihoods in Eastern Uganda. Anchored in capitalist development and its implications for the local economy, I specifically sought to: (i) explore the nature of youth involvement in sugarcane; (ii) assess the implications of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods; and (iii) identify mechanisms for enhancing the benefits and outcomes from sugarcane farming. As shown in the preceding chapters, sugarcane farming is a massive sector in the Busoga sub-region and being the main activity, sugarcane is a gateway through which the youth derive livelihoods. This chapter provides conclusions drawn from major study findings. The first section of this chapter presents the of conclusions of the findings under different themes which correspond to the study objectives. In the second section, I present the study recommendations and I present the areas for further research and the implications for policy and theory in the last section.

9.2 Nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming in Busoga

Grasping the nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming in Busoga requires invoking the major questions regarding which youth are in sugarcane farming, how they are involved and why they are involved in the way they are. The youth involved in sugarcane farming symbolize a diverse population and this heterogeneity emblemises sugarcane as a gateway for all youth categories namely, male and female, educated and uneducated, the landless, poor and the relatively well-off. The general observation is that the majority of the youth involved in sugarcane farming in Busoga are characteristically vulnerable and the vulnerability is manifested by low incomes, lack of livelihood assets, low educational achievement among other socio-economic characteristics which limit youth competitiveness. The different youth socio-economic characteristics have a bearing on the nature or how one is involved in sugarcane farming that is, as a worker or sugarcane farm owner or both.

The nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming is mainly through labour. While some youth have sugarcane farms, the majority of the youth constitute the proletariat class, dominating the bulk of casual labour in the different activities of the sugarcane value chain. The proletariat form of youth involvement in sugarcane farming is embedded not so much in

one's education level and marital status, but unequivocally in resource capacity, especially land and finance, which are major factors of production. Due to a lack of requisite factors of production for commercial farming, the youth are compelled into a proletariat or semi-proletariat status which involves selling their labour, straddling between their small farm and working for others. As shown in Chapter Six, the majority of the youth are involved in activities such as sugarcane cutting, transportation and other lowest level activities analogous with a weak economic status. As such, the youth's involvement in sugarcane farming in Busoga is exploitative in nature, manifested by the proletariat class and nature of activities in which they are controlled by the wealthy groups. In this establishment, the proletariat class is associated with heavy and undesirably physical field-sugarcane activities analogous with the underclass while the core and centre of sugarcane farming is dominated by wealthy elites, namely out-grower farmers and corporate sugar companies.

The youth underclass and proletariat involvement in sugarcane farming in Busoga is a manifestation of vulnerability. Apart from sugarcane farm ownership, the majority of the youth are involved in the different field activities not by choice but by compulsion and this involuntary engagement arises from their weak economic status. Espousing Marxist theory, the case of youth involvement in sugarcane farming in Busoga sheds light on materialism in shaping and reshaping one's status in a capitalist setting. In this case, young people's proletariat status is a manifestation of how a lack of resources forces one into the lowest modes of engagement in the value chain of sugarcane farming. Therefore, the low youth status in sugarcane farming emblemizes capitalism by creating dichotomies of the '*haves'* and '*have-nots'*.

In this case, the '*have-nots'* constitute the proletariat class controlled by the '*haves'* who in Busoga's case constitute local tycoons such as out-grower farmers, sugarcane transporters and the sugar factory factories where the youth dominate the bulk of labour because of a lack of land. This vindicates Karl Marx's view of private resource ownership as a barrier to large-scale and estate agriculture by directly limiting poor peasants' productive engagement. Thus, Marxist theory is instructive in making sense of the peripheral status of the youth in sugarcane farming in Busoga as a representative case of activities analogous to hardships to which the capitalists chain the underclass in the alienated processes of production.

Furthermore, the Marxist theory is useful in making sense of the nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming as a case of neo-liberal systems characterized by unequal power

relationships between resource owners and the have-nots. In the Capability Approach, the lack of requisite resources implies low agency and agency freedom, which predispose young people to sugarcane farming activities which are synonymous with limited capabilities. This explains the existing differences between the sugarcane activities in which the youth are involved and those they desire. As shown in the findings, the youth are not content with the majority of the field activities but have stuck to sugarcane farming because of a lack of alternatives and yet, the most preferred activities such as sugarcane farms ownership are expensive. However, because of the weak economic status the youth, the unequivocally undesirable sugarcane activities are entry points for the youth in a highly competitive sugarcane farming setting.

Their labour status is a livelihood strategy for young people to fit in to the sugarcane industry because one only needs a healthy and energetic body and no special kills are required. In the SLA lens, the youth labour status constitutes a rational choice and coping mechanism to survive in complex environments, because in Busoga's case, the youth's labour replaces land and financial constraints. Despite being a livelihood strategy, the nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming shows that labour is necessary but not sufficient in commercial farm settings like sugarcane farming because their low status is not by choice, but compulsion precipitated by economic and structural vulnerabilities in the form of unemployment, low incomes and, above all, a lack of alternative livelihood activities. Thus, the nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming in Busoga is a mirror-image of the world's capitalist systems in which the resource accumulation agenda is erected on creating the periphery to facilitate control and economic exploitation of the underclass.

Without overshadowing elements of capitalism, the youth's involvement in sugarcane farming is a reflection of both youth economic vulnerability and the vulnerability context arising from the Busoga community. Notwithstanding the materialism imperative of capitalism, the nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming in Busoga sub-region is gendered, mainly occasioned by non-economic factors such as social norms governing access to and control of resources and relations between men and women. As shown in the findings, sugarcane farming is a massive but male-dominated activity. Compared to their male counterparts, female youth suffer a dual burden of financial constraints and landlessness and entrapment by social vulnerabilities of discriminatory social and cultural norms favouring the male gender in a commercial farming dispensation.

Consequently, there is a relatively lower female youth involvement in sugarcane farming, including the activities in which they are involved. In this case, my assumption of the relational influence of socio-economic characteristics and youth involvement in sugarcane farming is substantial. This is evident in the skewed power relationships and inequalities emerging from gender, class, property/land and labour rights undermining and narrowing the female youth space in sugarcane farming. The narrow female gender space manifests itself through low female presence in sugarcane in terms of low or no control over sugarcane farms and financial outcomes, sugarcane jobs and bargaining power.

Espousing the Capability Approach, female youth involvement in sugarcane farming is limited not only by their physical but also social factors or what the SLA refers to as the social environment. Thus, apart from the individual vulnerabilities which limit the youth and conversion factors in general, female youth involvement in sugarcane is shaped by social and relational perspectives which constitute disadvantages concerning land rights and sugarcane farm ownership, employer preferences and discrimination in jobs and pay.

9.3 Sugarcane Farming: Implications for Youth Livelihoods

Sugarcane farming unequivocally manifests not negative or positive but a case of both positive and negative livelihood outcomes for the youth in Busoga. Measured using major livelihood outcomes and conventional roles of farming, sugarcane farming mainly impacts on youth livelihoods through income and job linkages which constitute streams through which the youth derive their livelihood needs. The different on-farm and off-farm activities in the sugarcane value chain are opportunities for the youth to exchange their labour entitlements for wages. However, the contribution of sugarcane farming in generating job opportunities, and the general impact of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods is suboptimal.

The impact of sugarcane farming is suboptimal in the sense that the majority of the youth constitute the labour status, thus, their livelihood outcomes are limited to wage earnings. The majority of sugarcane farming jobs are vulnerable in nature, characterized by irregularity, insecurity, poor working conditions and low earnings. Rather than enjoying the process and proceeds of the labour, the youth merely endure hardships and the exploitative circumstances such as long hours of physical labour. This conclusion does not obscure or contravene the orthodox view of sugarcane farming as job opportunities for the population residing in and around sugarcane estates.

While the sugarcane contribution to jobs remains unravelled, what emerges from this case is that the sugarcane jobs are marred by challenges which, according to the youth, means that the only thing worse than sugarcane jobs is not working in sugarcane farming due to the lack of alternative opportunities. This partly explains why, despite the evidently vulnerable working conditions, the majority of the youth have an affinity with sugarcane farming. As shown in the findings, the high youth affinity with sugarcane farming is mainly precipitated by push factors such as a lack of jobs, low incomes and lack of secure livelihood activities. In this case, I argue that the youth's affinity for sugarcane farming in Busoga is not necessarily out of satisfaction but arises from the limited livelihood choices and circumstances which make a bad job better than no job. As such, there is a prevalent feeling of joblessness and discontent not least because of inadequate sugarcane jobs because of the vulnerable nature of sugarcane farming jobs and earnings.

The incomes earned from sugarcane jobs are inadequate for the youth to have decent livelihoods. Despite earning from sugarcane farming, the youth are trapped in problems of limited purchasing power because the incomes are meagre, less versatile and inconvertible into adequate and decent food, physical assets and education. My conclusion about a suboptimal impact of sugarcane farming on incomes neither obscures the sugarcane-farming-income nexus nor does my conclusion imply that sugarcane farming is not a booming activity in Busoga. As shown in the findings, sugarcane farming is a massive activity and major source of income for the youth. However, what my argument seeks to show is that, in spite of the fact that sugarcane farming is a booming sector in Busoga, incomes earned from sugarcane jobs do not give young people enough agency and freedom to realise their desires because they are meagre. This partly explains why the majority (70 per cent) of the youth have persistent income challenges despite earning wages from sugarcane farming. In the SLA lens, the centrality of incomes revolves around versatility and convertibility into livelihood needs and reducing vulnerability but the meagre earnings from sugarcane farming seldom guarantee livelihood security for the youth, thus leading to low achievement.

The low income, livelihood achievements and poor sugarcane job conditions vindicate the Marxist view of capitalism as engendering profit maximization from which the largest proportion is taken by investors. Busoga's case is a typical example of the profit motives erected on market imperatives and circuits of labour relations and practices analogous with economic slavery. Therefore, what are regarded as meagre incomes and harsh working

conditions is a well-entrenched process of capitalism where labour is paid a wage less than the value produced to enable them to subsist and reproduce their race. I argue that the circumstances of sugarcane farming in Busoga embody a global capitalist system where the resource accumulation agenda is erected on the control and exploitation of the labour class. In the SLA lens, the case of Busoga can be seen as a manifestation of the vicious cycle of youth vulnerability and the vulnerability context where poor jobs mean low incomes, low productivity, and limited agency and purchasing power.

Access to sugarcane jobs and incomes seldom guarantees decent youth livelihoods, which has two implications. Firstly, the minimal impact of sugarcane farming on youth incomes confirms other study findings about the limited impact of large-scale commercial farming on wage employment in Africa (Hall, Scoones and Tsikata 2017, Hurst, Termine and Karl 2005). Secondly, sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods in Busoga is a typical case of underdevelopment or dependent development where capitalist or market enclaves create a dependency syndrome through minimal local economic linkages. Consequently, the rich get richer while the poor, namely the producers of wealth, remain disproportionally poor. As seen from the findings, commercial sugarcane farming can be a livelihood opportunity for the youth but the process favours the relatively well-off and constitutes a deprivation trap for the poorest groups. In this case, the poor and most vulnerable youth enjoy minimal benefits while their well-off counterparts are the ultimate winners. Marxism is useful in making sense of the circumstances in Busoga as a manifestation of large-scale farming projects by-passing and constituting a bitter deal for the poor while benefiting the powerful groups.

Generally, the question of sugarcane farming as a solution to rural youth livelihood vulnerabilities in Busoga sub-region is not clear-cut. As a livelihood activity, sugarcane farming in Busoga sub-region is neither good nor bad but what is clear is that the most vulnerable youth are also the least beneficiaries. Rather than reducing youth vulnerabilities of low income and unemployment, sugarcane farming benefits the relatively well-off categories, leaving out the largest proportion of the poor youth who constitute the bulk of the sugarcane labour force. Marxism helps us to understand sugarcane farming as a case of capitalism which is erected on materialism while the SLA confirms the relationship between a low asset base with insecurity and vulnerability. The minimal impact of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods in Busoga suggests that commercial farming regimes seldom deliver expected livelihood outcomes because the largest proportion of the outcomes are saved by employers,

which explains why plantation workers remain the poorest occupations despite being a thriving activity. The suboptimal outcomes from sugarcane farming imply that commercial farming should be coupled with mechanisms that minimize youth constraints on the one hand but enhance livelihood outcomes on the other hand.

9.4 Enhancing outcomes from sugarcane farming

The third objective of this study was to identify means of enhancing livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming. Results from the preceding chapters show two clear-cut issues: (i) sugarcane as the largest commercial activity accommodating the youth; and (ii) outcomes from sugarcane farming constrained by both individual and institutional issues. The individual limitations emblemise the old and traditional constraints of farm production while the structural issues embody imperatives of capitalism embedded in large-scale farming. This validates my case for the agency and structural approaches to address individual issues such as a lack of land and financial resources and structural issues of price fluctuations, labour and pay which substantially limit the trickle-down effect of sugarcane farming on the youth. Whereas the individual issues have a bearing on youth benefits from sugarcane farming to the largest extent, the livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming in Busoga are embedded not in the youth as agents but rooted in the overall structure of sugarcane farming.

The structure-agency lens is handy in identifying and dealing with the youth and sugarcane-specific constraints but an inclination towards fixing structural issues offers a more meaningful and broad-based recipe to enhancing youth livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming in Busoga. Based on the evidence gathered, the youth suffer substantial individual challenges, but the major constraints are rooted in the structure. Thus, attending to the individual issues is relevant but paying attention is the structural issues is more necessary because the youth are weak relative to the overall setting. The emerging issue is their weak agency relative to the structure, in the sense that while the youth know what they want and have a clear idea of the solutions to their challenges in sugarcane farming, they lack control over the processes that affect their affairs. The issue is complex mainly because sugarcane is embedded in a structure that is not only part of the global value chain but also dominated by highly capitalised MNCs. The massive capitalization gives MNCs leverage to influence rather than being controlled, which consequently overrides the youth who are mere workers for the powerful companies.

The youth's opinions of access to land and cash resources are reassuring but apparently impossible to realise in both the short-, mid- and longer-term periods. As shown in the findings, the youth assume that access to land and financial resources enhance outcomes from sugarcane farming. Whether feasible or unrealistic, there is substantial evidence to suggest that access to land and finance is pertinent for young farmers not only in the farming sector in general but also in sugarcane farming (Bajwa 2012, James and Woodhouse 2017, Leavy and Smith 2010, Ntshangase 2016, Yami et al. 2019). Being major factors of production, youth's access to land and financial resources guarantees maximum benefits from sugarcane farming, assuming other factors remain constant. Nonetheless, fixing the land question requires altering the existing land tenure system, since it is in practice impossible for everyone to own land amidst a rising youth population.

Scientific and objective research precludes speculative conclusions but without being overly speculative, the youth in Busoga are trapped in vulnerabilities emerging from a lack of requisite resource ownership and this continues to substantially trap and limit youth benefits from sugarcane farming. Marxism imperatives help us to understand the status quo of the 'haves' and 'have-nots' as explanatory variables for the situation in Busoga. The SLA views the circumstances as the hardware through public and private company trade-offs in terms of choices and decisions that mediate the realization of livelihood goals through influence on access to resources.

The youth opinions of price control and labour regulations are reassuring but less achievable because price volatility and labour exploitation are part and parcel of primary production and agro-industrial production. Like other primary products, sugarcane is prone to price fluctuations but compared to other products sugarcane farming is more complex because it is part of the global production chain led by multinational corporations which govern the sector, including prices. That said, price fluctuation is part of the distress associated with farming, which make it an insecure business for interventions for youth vulnerability because it cannot be easily controlled. Similarly, labour regulation addresses a fundamental challenge embedded in capitalistic ventures, but the imperatives of the free market imply limited intervention by government. The difficulties of effecting price and labour regulations imply the continuity of circuits of capitalism and their negative effects for the labour class in commercial farming projects.

Diversification is a good step towards increasing youth competitiveness and outcomes from sugarcane farming. Be it farm or non-farm, a diversified livelihood structure insulates the youth from the imperatives of capitalism embedded in sugarcane farming and directly addresses the problems of labour exploitation and poor remuneration arising from an unlimited labour supply in settings of a sugarcane monopoly. One the one hand, on-farm livelihood activities come with opportunities not only beyond sugarcane but in farming at large. The vitality of non-farm diversification is predicated on the fact that it debunks farming as the only and most resilient option for addressing the vulnerabilities of rising youth numbers and further insulates the youth from the undesirable farming sector. On the other hand, farm diversification presents opportunities beyond sugarcane farming which further mitigates youth exploitation due to the sugarcane monopoly. Based on the study findings, the youth's preference for diversification demonstrates a greater understanding of what they want and how they want the sugarcane sector and their overall livelihood structure to look.

The youth understanding of how things should be is in itself agency but their inability to control the processes that affect their desired position is a manifestation of vulnerability. Marxist theory helps us to understand this stalemate as a form of disenfranchisement arising from the poor youths' status and weakness relative to the structure while the SLA helps us understand the strength of the hard/institutional issues in shaping outcomes for poor people. This raises fundamental questions regarding a business model of farming as a solution to rural youth vulnerabilities because the youth's inability to control processes directly leaves farmers and sugar corporations as winners, making the whole system a bitter deal for vulnerable youth. Thus, the need for a regulatory mechanism cannot be overemphasized, because unregulated capitalism can yield damaging consequences. While regulation is good in the Marxist opinion, the challenge is that corporate organizations heed the regulations only to the extent that the policy changes support rather than inhibit their capital accumulation agenda.

9.5 Recommendations

The recommendations from this study revolve around commercial farming as a strategic intervention for poor the youth, socio-economic differences among the youth empowering and mobilizing the youth and general regulation of the commercial farming sector.

Commercial farming should be promoted as a strategic intervention for the rural poor. The case of sugarcane farming in Busoga sub-region reveals a thin line between the positive and

negative livelihood outcomes, skewed towards the rich. As shown in the findings, the key question is whether commercial farming constitutes a bitter or sweet deal for the poor. Based on the youth's opinions, sugarcane farming is an enclave for the well-off groups as the poor are merely incorporated into the capitalist imperatives as proletariats. As such, commercial farming is a necessary but not sufficient intervention for most vulnerable groups such as the youth. Notwithstanding the case of sugarcane farming in Busoga, this shows that commercial farming is a necessary policy agenda for rural youth for two main reasons. One is that the majority of the youth live in the countryside where subsistence farming is the mainstay and secondly, the majority of the youth are unemployed and lack requisite resources, thus commercial farming is ideal because one can be engaged through labour. Thus, a transition to commercial production largely works for the wealthy groups but it is ideal for the poor groups because the process offers more income and job linkages than subsistence farming.

The agenda for commercial farming should be meshed with mechanisms that incorporate the poorest categories. The case of Busoga shows that commercial farming by-passes the poor groups who are mainly exploited by the bourgeoisie. Given the fact that the majority of the youth constitute the bulk of the sugarcane labour force, the regulation of sugarcane farming is critical to minimize constraints emerging from exploitative labour relations. The need for regulation emerges from two issues: (i) lack of regulatory policy; and (ii) the existing regulatory frameworks such as the National Sugar Policy (Ministry of Tourism Trade and Industry 2010) and the Sugar Act 2020 (Republic of Uganda 2020) which are concerned with sugarcane and sugar production and seldom focus on labour relations. The Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry and line ministries such as Gender, Labour and Social Development need to focus on governing labour relations by advocating for protective gear, working conditions and pay. From the Marxist point of view, unregulated capitalism is destructive to humans and physical assets, which is typical of the youth's experiences in Busoga where the producers of wealth are also the least paid and yet most exploited groups. In this case, a regulatory mechanism is one way of ensuring that commercial farming ventures such as sugarcane farming do not bypass young people through structural traps such as poor remuneration and exploitative labour.

There is a need for youth mobilization and empowerment through labour unions and cooperative movements. As shown in the study findings, the lack of institutionalized youth support mechanisms and social policy is a loophole exploited by sugarcane employers to

exploit young people, resulting in inadequate livelihood outcomes. In this case, a labour union for the youth in sugarcane farming would empower them to advocate for more or less radical change in the sugarcane sector. In many countries and industrial settings, being part of institutionalized labour movements and frameworks reduces worker exploitation because it enhances individual and group agency. For the youth in Busoga, labour unions constitute avenues for demanding better working conditions and insulating members from poor pay, and physically harsh working conditions. This may be met with contextual constraints such as the large youth population and high levels of casualization of sugarcane labour in Busoga, but a well-motivated and painstaking government social policy can change the status quo of the youth in sugarcane farming not only in Busoga but also in other regions in Uganda.

Furthermore, a diversified livelihood structure offers more productive opportunities for the youth in Busoga sub-region. This is because sugarcane is a monoculture crop, and this has implications for its monopoly over land use and job opportunities. Mitigating challenges of this monopoly arising from monoculture could take two forms: (i) introducing new commercial crops; and (ii) non-farming activities. As shown in the findings, there is evidence of small-scale vegetable and fruit farming such as watermelons in Jinja and Luuka and palm oil tree farming in the Mayuge district. Promoting such projects would be viable because it is one way of enabling youth with small landholdings to profitably participate in commercial farming as compared to sugarcane farming, which requires substantial land.

In addition to farming, there is a need for non-farming activities. While farming has a higher multiplier effect for pro-poor growth in rural areas, industrialization offers enormous economic linkages of income and employment. Thus, industrialization and non-farming interventions are particularly important because they insulate the youth from the traditional problems and traps associated with farming such as land, farming input costs; and intergeneration labour mobility which makes it rather challenging to push the youth into the farming sector. While this requires substantial resources on the part of government, industrialization has long-term implications for job creation and in the long run expands the tax revenue base.

Addressing the prevailing gender norms and patriarchy in Busoga is vital in creating a fair environment for both male and female youth involvement in sugarcane farming. As indicated in the findings, Busoga is a predominantly patriarchal society, and this fundamentally influences not only access to and control over productive assets such as land but reserves

commercial farming for the male gender. To circumvent the socio-economic vulnerabilities of the gendered traps, female youth adopt strategies such as settling for low wages, doing the least jobs and being relegated to a helper position in family farms. Addressing such skewed gender norms is important because girls' and women's equal access to education, property ownership, economic decision-making and equal access to decent work is a fundamental human right and prerequisite for sustainable development (United Nations Development Program 2021).

The 1995 Constitution of Uganda advocates for affirmative action for groups marginalized on the basis of gender and the constitution stipulates that women shall be accorded full and equal dignity with men in political, economic and social activities[17]. The glaring inequalities between the male and female youth in Busoga sub-region imply that commercial farming bypasses female youth, thus there is a need for shift in the social dynamics to ensure that female youth get a significant foothold in commercial farming. This can be achieved through socialized processes that empower the female gender by overturning the existing social biases against women not only in Busoga but in other similar contexts in Uganda and beyond.

9.6 Theoretical Application

Based on the study's findings, there are fundamental elements regarding its theoretical relevance and application. Regarding relevance, Marxism is a classical theory based on modernization and Western industrialization but the overarching impact of capitalism on global dynamics makes Marxism a limitless theory. *The assumptions of Marxism are* still applicable in circumstances such as commercial sugarcane farming because it symbolizes capitalism embedded in agro-industrial production. Particularly, this study underscores the Marxist views of dialectical relationships between the '*haves'* and '*have-nots'* manifested in Busoga's society where material power shapes one's mode of youth involvement in sugarcane farming as corporate and out-growers while the poorer youth labour is alienated and exploited in the different activities of the sugar production value chain. Nevertheless, the Marxist theory of capital accumulation was inadequate in explaining the significance of social issues such as age, sex, and gender in shaping livelihood outcomes and this partly explains why other frameworks were adopted to provide the utility of synergy.

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17 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (1995 as amended) Chapter 4 – Human Rights and Freedoms

The SLA and the CA were handy because social issues or individual characteristics such as age, sex and gender norms which are regarded as the social environment namely, the hard trade-offs that influence and cause variations in one's capacity to meet livelihood needs or what is referred to as the conversion factors. Furthermore, the CA and the SLA provided relevant humanistic assumptions and people-centred analytical variables for examining the impact of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods. This study gives credence to variables such as resources, agency, freedom and livelihood strategies as analytical tools for commercial farming as a livelihood intervention for poor groups. However, CA and SLA are mainly relevant in studies that require humanistic approaches, and are thus less recommended for studies that require a structural lens. As shown in the findings, individual interventions are necessary but not sufficient because the limitations on the trickle-down effects of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods are largely within the ambit of structural issues such as labour, price and the overall regulation of sugarcane farming. As analytical frameworks, the CA and SLA are limited by overshadowing structural issues and the impact of external and powerful groups and agents on individual conversion factors.

However, the resource assumptions are relevant in thinking about livelihood as a question of what people can do and be. Without unravelling the CA assumption, the CA resonates with SLA assumptions of resources because what emerges from Busoga is that outcomes from sugarcane farming are more to do with what one has than what one can do and be. Different from Marxist theory, the CA and SLA appreciate the limits of assets Notwithstanding this, the two frameworks appreciate the relevance of livelihood assets but strongly acknowledge the fact that resources are not a panacea because livelihoods can be shaped by socio-economic factors at the individual, household and community levels. This was significant in making sense of the implications of gender norms, sex, and marital status and their influence on youth conversion factors in sugarcane farming and the explanations for variations between the youth.

9.7 Contribution to knowledge

This study aimed to examine the implications of commercial farming for youth livelihoods in Eastern Uganda. Focusing on rural youth and sugarcane farming in Busoga sub-region, this thesis sheds light on the potential of large-scale farm projects and the spaces for youth involvement, and the implications for livelihoods and outcomes therefrom. Existing research about commercial farming, specifically sugarcane farming, offers different dimensions. Despite evidence of increasing youth shunning of the sector, commercial farming is presented

as a potential intervention for youth livelihood support (Leavy and Smith 2010, Leavy and Hossain 2014, Wallace 2017). Specific scholarship about sugarcane farming presents young people as the dominant workforce for the field activities (Beinart 1991, Fair Labour Association 2012, International Labour Organisation 2017) while more general studies present sugarcane farming as a source of incomes and jobs (Cockburn et al. 2014, Hess et al. 2016, Maloa 2001, Richardson 2010, Waswa, Gweyi-Onyango and Mcharo 2012).

This thesis extends dominant debates on the role of commercial farming to economic development and poverty reduction in developing countries. This study is different from the existing studies both contextually and methodologically because the existing body of knowledge uses a more generic approach, different from the current study which focuses on the youth in the context of sugarcane farming. Quite dissimilar from the conventional and generic role of commercial farming, this study focused on the implications of commercial farming on rural poor youth. This study presents a more specific reading and understanding of commercial sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods in Eastern Uganda.

Some studies portray sugarcane farming as problematic in terms of child labour (International Labour Organisation 2017, Schwarzbach and Richardson 2015) while others present a relationship between sugarcane farming, land grabs (Borras Jr, Fig and Suárez 2011, Thaler 2013) and food insecurity (Kennedy 1989, Kyalya 2013, Mwavu et al. 2018, Terry and Ryder 2007). The negative dimensions are similar to existing knowledge vis-à-vis sugarcane jobs, presented as arduous and analogous to slavery and exploitation (de Menezes, da Silva and Cover 2012, Hess et al. 2016, Richardson 2010). Different from the generic studies, this thesis offers an alternative reading and further dimensions of sugarcane farming vis-à-vis young people. The main thesis of this study is that sugarcane farming is neither good nor bad for rural poor young people, but the livelihood outcomes are not only positive and negative but skewed to the well-off youth categories.

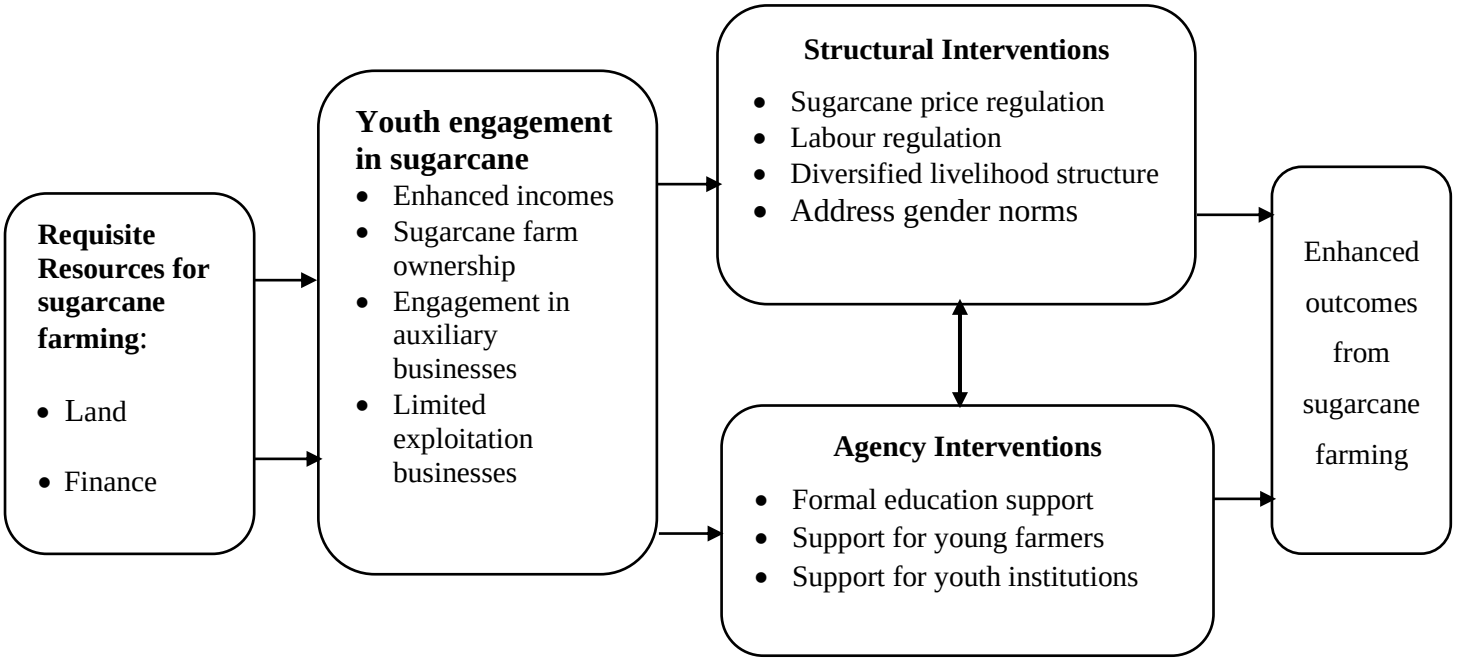
This thesis contributes to debates on dependent development or what is referred to as the development of underdevelopment (Frank 1966b). It addresses a fundamental question regarding the efficacy of policy interventions for the youth bulge. Particularly, the study's findings provide insights regarding a business-led model of farming as a strategy for addressing youth livelihood challenges of low income, unemployment and vulnerability.

9.8 Implications for the Youth in Sugarcane Farming

Regarding implications for vulnerable young people in sugarcane farming, the issue is how can the youth gainfully engage in sugarcane farming? Owing to the circumstances in Busoga and the study's findings, I propose a framework for enhancing the livelihood benefits from commercial sugarcane farming. This framework is dubbed the Sweet Sugarcane Model (SSM) which is predicated on the fact that the circumstances of sugarcane farming mainly constitute a sweet deal for the well-off categories but a bitter deal for the poor youth. The bitter deal is manifested by the suboptimal impact on youth livelihood aspects such as income and selected livelihood capitals. This is mainly because the youth lack the requisite factors of production (land and finance) and due to structural constraints which significantly undermine the trickle-down effect of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods.

In view of the constraints on the trickle-down effect of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods, the SSM provides an illustrative summary for ensuring that sugarcane farming feeds into youth livelihoods in a more meaningful way through individual and structural interventions such as price and labour regulation and the diversification of livelihoods on the one hand. Central to changing and improving the existing status quo is matching sugarcane farming with a combination of interventions that enhance individual youth agency such as education and training, and youth institutional establishments such as groups. Taken together, the structural and agency interventions address the traps and barriers to competitive and profitable youth engagement in the sugarcane farming industry. In this SSM, it is assumed that the structure-agency interventions create an enabling environment which yields better incomes, food security, asset accumulation, agency and freedom of agency to manoeuvre and enhance livelihood outcomes as illustrated in the Figure below.

Figure 9.1: The Sweet sugarcane model



9.9 Recommendations for further studies

This study focused on sugarcane farming and rural youth livelihoods in Busoga sub-region. It specificity on sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods was meant to achieve depth and breadth, which precluded exhaustive investigation of emerging issues. One of the aspects that emerged was the lower presence of female youth in Busoga's sugarcane farming. Based on the findings, the low proportion of female youth participation in sugarcane farming was attributed to social norms that engender discrimination of girls or women in the commercial farming space. However, it was not conclusive whether commercial sugarcane farming engenders discrimination based on gender or the low proportion of the youth in sugarcane farming is a manifestation of their disadvantaged economic status. A further investigation of the gender dynamics in sugarcane farming could be vital in revealing the degree of the validity of gender, social norms, or economic capacity in explaining this low position of female youth in sugarcane farming in Busoga, which the current study could not rigorously explain because of scope limitations.

The second issue is the element of social capital and connectivity in generating sugarcane opportunities for young people. This study revealed that youth networks were important opportunities for work, but the scope of the study precluded a detailed investigation of how such groups are formed, their mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion and the extent to which such groups help vulnerable youth or work as circuits for youth exploitation.

Furthermore, this study revealed mixed youth opinions about sugarcane farming and youth education. Sugarcane farming is regarded as a livelihood support mechanism, providing resources which also contribute to youth education. However, the alluring sugarcane incentives were considered problematic to young people's education, which offers an intriguing question for academic inquiry. Given the socio-economic hardships, it is not clear whether the youth are attracted by sugarcane farming incentives or the drift from school to sugarcane farming is precipitated by the dire need to meet survival needs. In this case, a specific study would be handy in determining the extent to which sugarcane contributes to and constrains youth education and the main motivations for the youth drift away from school to sugarcane work.

9.10 Intersection between Sociology and Social Work

This thesis addresses pertinent sociological and social work issues that uniquely combine the two disciplines. On the one hand, this thesis offers a sociological lens and reading of interactions and youth behaviour in a complex and competitive sugarcane farming environment. As shown in the findings, the thesis shows how youth behaviour is manifested in strategies that enable them to survive in sugarcane farming. Furthermore, the thesis shows how youth interactions in terms of group and network formation and suggestions for enhancing outcomes from sugarcane farming aim to create a good, working community relationship. On the other hand, this thesis offers a social work reading because it focuses on issues of social equity and addresses survival challenges.

From the introduction to the findings chapter, the youth are portrayed as a vulnerable group. What is known is that the youth are not a blanket category but in view of the general characteristics especially in Uganda's context, the youth are regarded as a sympathetic proportion of the population. Thus, addressing the question of how and whether commercial farming can be a strategy for youth livelihoods gives this thesis a social work lens. This is mainly because social work is premised on providing solutions to human problems by promoting social justice and wellbeing through human rights, poverty alleviation and improving quality of life (International Federation of Social Work 2012, Kjellberg and Jansson 2020). SW contributes to social justice through tripartite functions, namely, preventive, restorative and remedial roles. In this study, the main question has been the extent to which the commercial farming agenda addresses the livelihood challenges for the rising youth population.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: List of Publications

Mwanika, Kassim, Andrew Ellias State, Peter Atekyereza and Torun Österberg. 2020. "Colonial Legacies and Contemporary Commercial Farming Outcomes: Sugarcane in Eastern Uganda." *Third World Quarterly*:1-19.

Mwanika, Kassim, Andrew Ellias State, Peter Atekyereza and Torun Österberg. 2021. "Commercial Sugarcane Farming in Eastern Uganda: The Answer to Vulnerable Youth?". *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review* 37(1):1-25.

Mwanika, Kassim, *Poverty or sugarcane incentives? Explaining the negative dynamics of sugarcane farming on youth education in eastern Uganda.* Chapter Two, In "Youth in Struggles: Unemployment, Politics, and cultures in contemporary Africa", Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILACAA), Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUIS), 2021.

Appendix II: Key informant list summary

District	Sub-county	Respondent	Category	Sex	Number
Jinja	Busedde	Parish chief	Technical leader	M	1
		Local council III	Political Leader	M	1
		Community Development Officer	Technical leader	F	1
		Youth Councillor	Political leader	F	1
		Youth Chairperson	Political leader	M	1
		Sugarcane farm owner	Youth farmer	M	1
		Youth sugarcane farmer and leader	Sugarcane farmer and political leader	M	1
		Parish Chief	Technical leader	M	1
Mayuge	Imanyiro	District youth leader	Political leader	M	1
		District Population Officer	Technical	M	1
		District head of community services	Technical	M	1
		Head, Probation and welfare	Technical	F	1
Luuka	Bukanga	District youth leader	Political	M	1
		Retired teacher/sugarcane farmer	Opinion leader/farmer	F	1
		Youth farmer	Farmer	M	1
		Religious leader	Opinion leader	M	1
		Parish Chief	Technical	M	1
		CAO	Technical	M	1

Appendix III: FGD participants' summary

District	Sub-county	Parish	Sex	Number of participants
Jinja	Busedde	Itaka Ibolu	Female	11
		Kisaasi	Male	9
		Kisasi	Male	10
Mayuge	Imanyiro	Bufulubi	Mixed	11
		Imanyiro	male	11
		Mbaale	female	10
Luuka	Bukanga	Nawantale	Mixed	12
		Bukanga	Male	10
		Bukanga	female	12

Appendix IV: Structured questionnaire for the Youth

Dear Respondent,

I am Kassim Mwanika, a double degree student of PhD Sociology and Anthropology from Makerere University from School of Social Sciences, Department of Sociology and Anthropology and PhD in Social Work from Gothenburg University, Department of Social Work. As part of the requirement for the completion of the course(s), I am conducting a study about sugarcane farming and rural youth livelihoods in Busoga region. This study is for academic purposes, being done as a fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a Philosophy of Doctorate Degree programs. For this reason, you have been randomly selected to share your experiences of sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods. The interview will take about 1 and a half hours and we shall be talking about nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming, impact of sugarcane farming on youth wellbeing and means of enhancing youth livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming. I assure you that all the information provided shall be used for strictly academic purposes. As such, you are free to provide all the relevant information will be treated with utmost confidentiality and anonymity. Please feel free to ask any questions when need arises during the interview. You are also free to ask any questions before we start the interview.

Thank you.

1. Consent Granted ☐
2. Consent NOT Granted ☐

Section A: Respondents' Bio-Data.

Instructions for the RA. *Please tick the appropriate box for the responses.*

1	Respondent's sex	Male	1	
		Female	2	
2	Respondent' education level	None	1	
		Primary	2	
		O level	3	
		A level	4	
		Tertiary (Certificate/diploma)	5	
		University (degree)	6	
3	Marital Status	Married	1	
		Unmarried	2	
		Divorced	3	
		Widow/widower	4	
		Other (specify)……	5	
4	Religion	Muslim	1	
		Catholic	2	
		Protestant	3	
		Born again	4	
		Other (specify)……..	5	
5	District	Jinja	1	
		Luuka	2	
		Mayuge	3	
6	Sub-county?	Bukanga		
		Busedde		

		Imanyiro		
7	Parish/village		Please indicate	
8	Do you have children (*If not, please skip to Qn.10*)	Yes	1	
		No	2	
9	How many children do you have?			

Section B: Youth Livelihood Activities

10	What is your primary source of survival**?**	Farming	1	
		Civil servant	2	
		Retail Business/shop owner	3	
		Truck driver	4	
		Motorcycle taxi (Boda-boda)	5	
		Fishing	6	
		Brewing	7	
		Livestock rearing	8	
		Street selling	9	
		Casual labourer	10	
		Other (specify)……	11	
11	How often are you engaged in your source of survival (mentioned in Qn. 10 above)?	Daily	1	
		Weekly	2	
		Monthly	3	
		Annual	4	
		Other (specify)……..	5	
12	What is the nature of your income (frequency)?	Hourly	1	
		Daily	2	
		Weekly	3	
		Monthly	4	
		Others (specify)……..	5	
13	On what basis are you engaged in t?	Written contract	1	
		Oral/mutual Agreement	2	
		None	3	
14	Are you contented with your current occupation? (*if YES – please skip to question Qn.16*)	Yes (Contented)	1	
		Not contented	2	
		Others (specify)……	3	
15	If NOT, why?	Poor pay	1	
		Low income returns	2	
		Problems of Seasonality	3	
		Harsh conditions of work	4	
		Others (specify)……	5	
16	Which activities would you wish to switch to?		Please indicate in the space provided	

Section C: Youth and Farming

17	Which crops do you deal in?	Beans	1	
		Maize	2	
		Sugarcane	3	
		Sweet potatoes	4	
		Cassava	5	
		Rice	6	
		Coffee	7	
		Others (specify)	8	
18	How long have you been in farming?	Less than 2 years	1	
		2 to 5 years	2	
		6 to 10 years	3	
		More than 10 years	4	
		Don't Know	5	
19	Do you have access to land? (if Not, skip to Qn.24)	Yes	1	
		No	2	
20	If yes, how much land do you have?	Less than 1 acre	1	
		1 to 2 to acres	2	
		3 to 5 acres	3	
		5 to 10 acres	4	
		10 to 15 acres	5	
		Over 15 acres	6	
21	What is the mode of ownership?	Individual own land	1	
		Communal land	2	
		Family land	3	
		Swamp (State owned) land	4	
		Rented (hired) land	5	
		Don't Know	6	
22	How long have you been owning this land (in years)?	1 to 2 years	1	
		2 to 3 years	2	
		3 to 4 years	3	
		Over 5 years	4	
		Others (specify)……	6	
23	If hired, what is the average cost of hiring an acre of land per year?	500,000/= per acre	1	
		700,000/= per acre	2	
		1,000,000/= per acre	3	
24	What is the average size of leased land?	Less than 1 acre	1	
		1 to 2 to acres	2	
		3 to 5 acres	3	
		5 to 10 acres	4	
25	How long have you been hiring the land?	1 to 2 years	1	
		2 to 4 years	2	
		Over 5 years	3	

Section D: Youth involvement in sugarcane farming

26	How are you connected to sugarcane farming? *(if the response is, please probe carefully for questions 28 and 29)*	I have a sugarcane farm	1	
		Mixed sugarcane and food crop farming	2	
		Work in off-farm sugarcane business	3	
		Others (specify)……	5	
27	If you have What is the average size of your sugarcane farm?	½ Acre	1	
		1 Acre	2	
		1 – 2 Acres	3	
		2 – 3 Acres	4	
		3 – 4 Acres	5	
		Over 5 Acres	6	
		Others (specify)……	7	
28	If you don't have own sugarcane farm, how are you involved in sugarcane farming?	I work on other people's farms	1	
		I work at sugarcane collection centres	2	
		I work in the sugar factory	3	
		I work as transporters	4	
		I work as buyers/brokers	5	
		I work in family farms	6	
		Not involved at all	7	
29	What is your motivation for participation in sugarcane farming?	Quick cash	1	
		Sugarcane is non-seasonal activity	2	
		There is ready market	3	
		Sugarcane is a family business	4	
		Lak of alternative jobs	5	
		Lack of lack of skills	6	
		Sugarcane is a traditional activity	7	
		Others (specify)……	8	
30	What are the major sugarcane farming activities that you are involved in?	Ploughing/tilling land	1	
		Planting	2	
		Weeding	3	
		Cutting	4	
		Brokering	5	
		Buying	6	
		Transportation	7	
		Marketing	8	
		Others (specify)……	9	
31	Are you contented with the above forms of involvement in sugarcane farming? *(If yes, please skip to Qn. 35).*	Yes	1	
		No	2	
32	If Not, why?		Please indicate reason(s) provided	

33	How would you wish to be involved in sugarcane farming?	Buying from farmers and selling to sugar companies –Middleman work	1	
		Sugarcane transportation – owning trucks	2	
		Owning personal sugarcane farm	3	
		Sugarcane marketing	4	
		Others (specify) …….		
34	What is your opinion of sugarcane farming as an activity?	Sugarcane is a lucrative activity	1	
		Sugarcane is a short-time activity	2	
		Sugarcane is a promising activity	3	
		Sugarcane is a sustainable opportunity	4	
		Sugarcane is a constraining activity	5	
		Sugarcane is an inclusive activity	6	
		Sugarcane is a discriminatory activity	7	
		Others (specify)……	9	
		Female Youths	2	

Section E: Sugarcane farming and Youth Livelihoods: Benefits and challenges

35	What are your livelihood priorities?	Job/employment	1	
		Stable livelihood opportunities	2	
		Higher education achievement	3	
		Good education	4	
		Secured livelihood and stable income	5	
		Good health	6	
36	What opportunities do you find in sugarcane farming?	Employment opportunities	1	
		Food security opportunities	2	
		Education and training opportunities	3	
		Asset acquisition opportunities	4	
		Social connection and network opportunities	5	
		Financial security	6	
		Institutional/group building opportunities	7	
		Others (specify)……..	8	
37	Do the sugarcane farming opportunities (mentioned in Qn. 40) meet your current needs?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
38	If NOT, why?	Sugarcane farming is expensive	1	
		Sugarcane farming takes a long period of time	2	
		Low farm returns because of low prices	3	
		Low labour returns	4	
		Harsh conditions of work	5	
		Low food production and rising prices of food	6	
		Others (specify)……	7	

39	Tell me some of the assets that you own.	Land	1	
		Finance	2	
		Physical assets (buildings, motor vehicles)	3	
		Labour	4	
		Social capital	5	
		Social Capital	6	
40	How did you acquire the various assets (mentioned in Qn.43) above?		Please indicate	

Asset	**Mode of Acquisition**	**Response**	
Land	Bought	1	
	Communal	2	
	Hired	3	
	Inherited/given by parent/guardian	4	
Finance	Borrowing	1	
	Remittances/transfers from relatives	2	
	Salary/wages	3	
Social Capital	Family bond	1	
	Work/occupation associations	2	
	Friends/peer relationships	3	
Physical assets (House, motorcycle, bicycle)	Bought	1	
	Borrowed/leased	2	
	Given/inherited from parents	3	

41. How has sugarcane farming affected your access and ownership of the following assets?

S/N	**Asset**	**Effect of sugarcane on assets**	**Tick Response**	
01	Land	I have lost land under sugarcane farming	1	
		I have acquired more land under sugarcane farming	2	
		My land size has remained the same under sugarcane farming	3	
		Do not know	4	
02	Finance	Sugarcane has increased my access to income (salary, wage, loans)	1	
		Sugarcane farming has reduced my access to income	2	
		My finances have remained the same	3	
		Others (specify)……	4	
03	Human capital	Increased access to jobs	1	
		Enhanced education for children and self	2	
		Increased training opportunities	2	
		Reduced access to education for children and self	3	
		Enhanced access to medical services	4	
		Increased costs of access to medical services	5	
		Increased risk for physical injury – accidents	6	
		Others (specify)……..……	7	
04		Enabled acquisition of commercial plots of land	1	

	Physical Resources	Enabled construction of commercial and residential houses	2	
		Enabled acquisition of transport assets (motorcycles)	3	
		Acquisition of livestock	4	
		Acquisition of household items	5	
		Expansion of my sugarcane and food crop farms	6	
05	Social capital	Access to work associations	1	
		Boosted (farmer) group establishment and functioning	2	
		Connected with friends at the sugar factory	3	
		Joining SACCOs and ROSCAs	4	
		Reduced family bond due to migrations	5	

42. How has sugarcane farming affected your capacity to:

A	Trade	Sugarcane farming has created market for local items	1	
		Source of capital for small-scale retail trade	2	
		Sugarcane has created access to bank-loans for business	3	
		Sugarcane farming has created business opportunities	4	
		Sugarcane farming has increased costs of trading	5	
		Others (specify)……..	6	
B	Produce goods and services	Increased my capacity to production wealth	1	
		Affected my capacity to make wealth	2	
		Production levels have remained the same	3	
C	Work/Employment	Sugarcane has increased employment opportunities	1	
		Sugarcane farming has reduced employment	2	
		Youth employment has remained unchanged	3	
E	Social Networks and Connection	My networks and connectivity have increased	1	
		My networking has reduced	2	
		Sugarcane has weakened my social bond	3	
		My network and social bonds have remained the same	4	
		Others (specify)……	5	

43. Please comment on the impact of sugarcane farming regarding:

A	**Food security**	I am food secure youths are food secure (can afford food)	1
		I am food insecure (cannot afford food)	2
		My food crop production has increased	3
		My food crop production has reduced	4
		My food security status remains the same	5
		Others (specify)…….	8
B	**Your social status**	Sugarcane has enhanced my social status	1
		Sugarcane farming has reduced my status and esteem	2
		Sugarcane has worsened my social status	3
		My social status has remained unchanged	4
		Others (specify)……	5
		I can afford basic household needs	1

C	Sugarcane and household wellbeing	I cannot afford basic household needs	2
		My status of household needs has not been affected by sugarcane farming	3
		Others (specify)…….	4
D	**Sugarcane and Poverty status**	Sugarcane has increased my poverty status	1
		Sugarcane has reduced poverty status	2
		Sugarcane has not changed the status of my poverty	3
		Others (specify)…….	4

44	In terms of profitability, how you compare sugarcane to food crop farming? (*if food crop farming is more profitable (1), please skip to Qn. 46)*	Sugarcane is more profitable	1	
		Food crops are more profitable	2	
		There is no difference between sugarcane and food crops	3	
45	In what ways is sugarcane better than food crop farming?	Sugarcane yields per acre are higher than for food crops	1	
		Sugarcane market is more readily available	2	
		Sugarcane prices are relatively higher than for food crops	3	
		Sugarcane farming is less affected by weather and seasonal challenges	4	
		Sugarcane farming is not affected by problems of pests	5	
		Others (specify)……..	6	
46	In what ways is food crop farming more profitable than sugarcane farming?	Food crop farming guarantees food security	1	
		Food crop farming is more affordable	2	
		Food crop farming can be done on a small piece of land	3	
		Other (specify)…….	4	
47	Do you feel sugarcane farming a promising future activity? *(if not, please skip to Qn.49)*	Yes	1	
		No	2	
48	If YES, in what ways does sugarcane farming hold your future?	Growing market for market for sugarcanes	1	
		Reducing productivity for food crop production	2	
		Increasing number of sugar factories	3	
		Increasing unemployment from the formal sector	4	
		Seasonality challenges of food crop farming	5	
		Ability to employ skilled and unskilled labour	6	
		Other(s) (Specify)……	7	
49	Do you feel contented with sugarcane farming?	Yes	1	
		No	2	

50	If not contented, why? (*please probe for one or two reasons)*	Please indicate reason(s) provided	

Sugarcane farming and youth livelihood challenges

51. Tell me about your major socio-economic challenges

S/N	Youth socio-economic challenges	Response	
1	Unemployment	1	
2	Challenges of income	2	
3	Illiteracy	3	
4	Food insecurity	4	
5	Information access	5	
6	Lack of land	6	
7	Isolation and exclusion	7	
8	Other(s) (specify)……..	8	

52. What are the causes of the socio-economic challenges (in Qn.51) above?

S/N	Causes of Youth socio-economic challenges	Response	
1	Inadequate jobs	1	
2	Inability to afford education	2	
3	Remoteness	3	
4	High cost of living	4	
5	Breakdown in social bonds	5	
6	Lack of youth social protection programs	6	
7	Rigid culture and traditions	7	
8	Others (specify)……..	8	

53	Has sugarcane farming been able to solve your livelihood problems *(If Not, please skip to Qn. 64).*	Yes	1
		No	2
54	If yes, what problems has sugarcane helped you to solve?	Food	1
		Shelter and housing problems	2
		Self and children's education problems	3
		Remittances and support of extended family problems	4
		Unemployment and income problems	5
		Others (specify)……..	6
55	If not, why hasn't sugarcane been able to solve your livelihood problems?	Low income earnings from sugarcane jobs	1
		Low incomes from sugarcane sales	2
		Lack of own sugarcane farm	3
		Sugarcane farming is very expensive	4
		Others (specify)……..	4

561	How do you compare yourself to your counterparts involved in food crop farming?	I am much better off than them	1
		They are food a bit secure	2
		I do not know	3
57	What is your general opinion of sugarcane farming vis-à-vis your wellbeing?	Sugarcane is a blessing to my wellbeing	1
		Sugarcane is a problem to my wellbeing	2
58	In view of the impact of sugarcane, would you change to shift from sugarcane farming to other livelihood activities? *(If not, please skip to Qn. 69)*	Yes	1
		No	2
59	If yes, which activities would you shift to?	Shift to food crop production	
		Shift to mixed cropping (food and sugarcane)	
		Shift to retail business	
		Shift to motorcycle taxi (Boda-boda)	
		Shift to a professional job	
		Others (specify)……	
60	Why would you shift away from sugarcane farming?	Sugarcane is less paying	1
		Sugarcane farming is labour intensive	2
		Other activities are better paying	3
		Sugarcane farming is very expensive	4
		Others (specify)……..	5

Section F: Maximizing youth benefits from sugarcane farming

61	What are the youth opinions of sugarcane farming on your wellbeing? *(if Not, please skip to Qn. 63)*	Positive	1	
		Negative	2	
		I do not know	3	
62	If negative why hasn't sugarcane benefited you?	Please indicate reason(s)		
		Sugarcane farming is for the rich people		1
		Sugarcane jobs are not stable		2
		Exploitation by employers		3
		Unstable sugarcane prices		4
		Lack of regulations		5
63	Do you feel sugarcane farming holds for your future? *(If not, please skip to Qn. 66)*	Yes	1	
		No	2	
64	If yes, why do you think sugarcane holds your future	Sugarcane is not a seasonal crop	1	
		Sugarcane market is growing every year	2	

		The market price for sugarcane has increased	3	
		Sugarcane is a source of business opportunities.	4	
		Others (specify)……	5	
65	If Not, why do you think sugarcane does not hold your future?	Sugarcane farming is expensive me	1	
		Sugarcane business has become very competitive because most people are getting involved	2	
		The sector is full of exploitation of the grassroots farmers	3	
		Sugarcane farming is characterized by unregulated prices	4	
		Others (specify)……	5	
66	Do you have any specific issues that affect your ability to benefit from sugarcane farming? (if not, please skip to Qn. 79)	Yes	1	
		No	2	
67	If Yes, what individual factors affect your ability to benefit from sugarcane farming?	I do not have money to invest in sugarcane	1	
		Lack of land for sugarcane farming	2	
		I am discriminated from jobs	3	
		I lack professional skills	4	
		Others (specify)…….	5	
683	How can you be helped to overcome the issues (mentioned in Qn.67) be overcome?	Provide access to finances	1	
		I need access to land	2	
		Diversify livelihood activities	3	
		Need education and further training	4	
		Enhance connections and networks	5	
		Others (specify)……..	5	
694	Apart from individual challenges, tell are there any sugarcane sector challenges affecting you negatively? (If not, please skip to Qn.71)	Yes	1	
		No	2	
70	If yes, what are the different sugarcane sector challenges to your wellbeing?	High level of exploitation buy the employers	1	
		Unstable sugarcane prices	2	
		Sugarcane business is very expensive	3	
		Lack of labour regulation in sugarcane farming	4	
		The sugarcane sector is very competitive	5	
		Increasing food security	6	

		Others (specify)…….	7	
71	How can the sugarcane sector challenges be overcome to help you maximally benefit from sugarcane farming?	Regulate sugarcane prices	1	
		Create minimum wage legislations	2	
		Intervene in local gender norms		
		Attract more investors in the sector to increase competitiveness		
		Others (specify)…….		
72	Do you know of any existing policy interventions to make sugarcane specifically benefit the youth? (if not, please skip to Qn. 74)	Yes	1	
		NO	2	
73	If Yes, what are the existing policies (by-laws and interventions)?	Please indicate response(s)		
74	If not, If Not, what do you think should be put in place to make sugarcane farming more beneficial to you?	Please indicate response(s)		

75. Do you have any questions regarding what we have been talking about? If yes, please feel free to ask.

Thank you so much for sparing your time to answer my questions. I affirm to you that all the responses shall be used for only academic purposes and treated with anonymity and utmost confidentiality.

Appendix V: Interview Guide

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Kassim Mwanika, a student of Makerere University from the School of Social Sciences, Department of Sociology and Anthropology. I am PhD student conducting research about sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods in Busoga region. This is a purely academic study, being done as a requirement for the award of the degree of doctor of Doctor of Philology (Sociology – Makerere University and Doctor of Philosophy (Social Work – University of Gothenburg). Findings from this study are envisaged to be useful in crafting best practices for youth engagement in sugarcane farming and recommendations for maximizing youth benefits from sugarcane farming. It is in this vein that you have been selected as a resourceful person to share your experiences of sugarcane and youth livelihoods. The interview will take at between 45 minutes to 1 hour. We shall mainly talk on nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming, implications of sugarcane activities on youth livelihoods and means of maximizing sugarcane outcomes to the youth. All the data generated from this interview shall be used for only academic purposes and your responses shall be treated anonymously and confidentially protected. Please feel free to ask any questions when need arises during the interview.

Thank you.

a	**Respondent's name (Optional)**		
b	**Respondent's sex**	Male	1
		Female	2
c	Respondents occupation		
d	Respondent's affiliation		
e	**Respondent's level of education**	None	1
		Primary	2
		O level	3
		A level	4
		Tertiary (Certificate/diploma)	5
		University (degree)	6
f	**District**	Jinja	1
		Luuka	2
		Mayuge	3
g	**Sub-county?**		
h	**Parish/village**		

Youth Involvement in sugarcane farming

1. What is your opinion of sugarcane growing in this region? Tell me about the trend of the activity.
2. Which category of youth are involved in sugarcane farming and what are the major motivations for participating in sugarcane farming?
3. How are the youth involved in sugarcane farming?
4. What are the determinant factors for the modality of youth engagement in sugarcane farming? What is your comment on the status of the youth involvement in sugarcane farming?

Implications for youth livelihoods

5. What are the livelihood opportunities presented by sugarcane farming?
6. In what ways do the youth benefit from the sugarcane farming?
7. In your opinion, does sugarcane farming benefit all the youth? If not, tell me about the categories that benefit most and why?
8. Do you think sugarcane farming is meets the youth livelihood needs?
9. In what ways does sugarcane farming negatively affect the youth in this area?
10. How does sugarcane farm compare to traditional food crops in relationship to youth livelihoods?
11. In your opinion, which of the two sectors (in Qn. 10) above is most appropriate for youth livelihoods and why?

Maximizing youth benefits from sugarcane farming

12. What are the major individual youth limitations to sugarcane farming opportunities?
13. Please tell me about the sugarcane sector (structural) limitations to youth livelihoods
14. Are there any existing interventions to make sugarcane a more productive activity for young people in the region? If yes, what are these interventions?
15. In your opinion, what is needed to booster sugarcane contribution to youth livelihoods from sugarcane farming?

*I t**hank you so much for sparing your precious time to answer my questions. All your responses shall be treated with utmost confidentiality.***

Appendix VI: FGD Guide

My name is Kassim Mwanika, a PhD student from Makerere University and the University of Gothenburg. I am conducting research about sugarcane farming and youth livelihoods in Busoga region. This is a purely academic study, done as a requirement for the award of the degree of doctor of Doctor of Philology (Sociology – Makerere University and Doctor of Philosophy in Social Work from the University of Gothenburg). Findings from this study are envisaged to provide benchmarks for crafting best practices for youth engagement in sugarcane farming and recommendations for maximizing benefits from sugarcane farming. You have been selected as a resourceful person to share your experiences of sugarcane and youth livelihoods, benefits and limitations to the contribution of sugarcane farming towards youth livelihoods means of enhancing outcomes from the activity. I encourage everyone to be free to speak because everyone's views and ideas are vital. All opinions and answers to the different questions are acceptable. Please note that the proceedings of this discussion shall be electronically recorded to enable me retrieve very detail of the answers provided, which I may not be able to record by hand. All your responses shall be used for only academic purposes and shall be anonymised and treated with utmost confidentiality. Please feel free to share the necessary information. Let us respect each other's' views and allow one individual to speak at a time.

Thank you

Participants' List

NO.	Name		Sex
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			
11			
12			

1. Please tell me about sugarcane farming as a livelihood activity in this area.
2. Comment about youth involvement in sugarcane farming.
3. Tell me about the nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming. Which youths are involved in sugarcane farming and why? How are youths involved in sugarcane farming?
4. What processes determine the nature of youth involvement in sugarcane farming?
5. What are the youthmotivations for sugarcane farming? Please comment
6. what is the impact of sugarcane farming on youth livelihoods?
7. How has sugarcane farming affected youth:

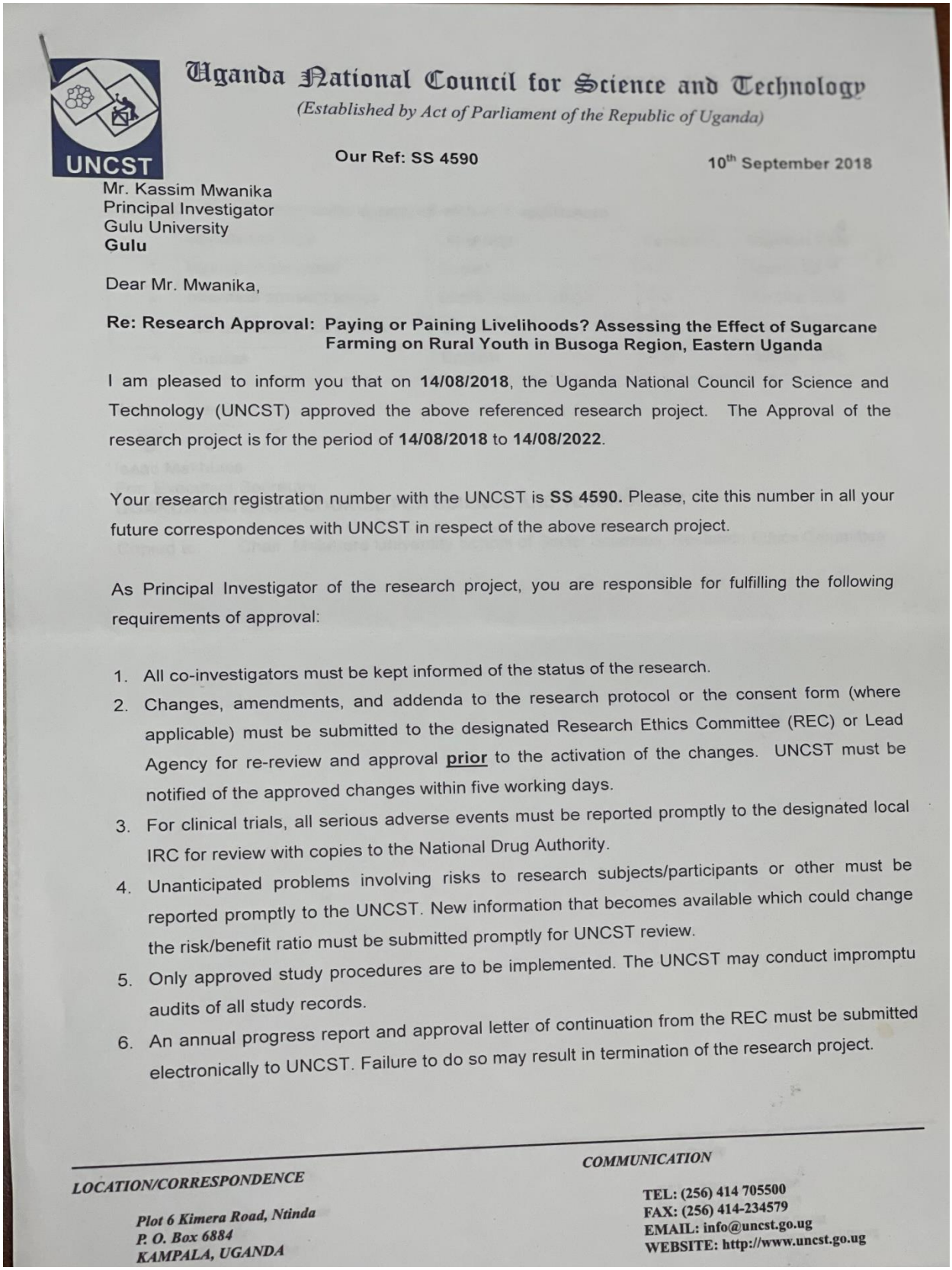
Capital accumulation?

- Cash flow?
- Productive capacities?
- Work and employment?

6. What do you think are the major challenges faced by youth in sugarcane farming?
7. How can the youth be helped to get the best out of sugarcane farming? Comment about the youth specific and sugarcane specific interventions.
8. What do you think could be the appropriate sugarcane sector interventions to ensure maximum youth livelihood outcomes from sugarcane farming?
9. Do you have any questions regarding our discussion?

Thank you so much for sparing your precious time to participate in this discussion

Appendix VII: UNCST Clearance



Uganda National Council for Science and Technology

(Established by Act of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda)

UNCST

Our Ref: SS 4590

10th September 2018

Mr. Kassim Mwanika
Principal Investigator
Gulu University
Gulu

Dear Mr. Mwanika,

Re: Research Approval: Paying or Paining Livelihoods? Assessing the Effect of Sugarcane Farming on Rural Youth in Busoga Region, Eastern Uganda

I am pleased to inform you that on **14/08/2018**, the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) approved the above referenced research project. The Approval of the research project is for the period of **14/08/2018** to **14/08/2022**.

Your research registration number with the UNCST is **SS 4590.** Please, cite this number in all your future correspondences with UNCST in respect of the above research project.

As Principal Investigator of the research project, you are responsible for fulfilling the following requirements of approval:

1. All co-investigators must be kept informed of the status of the research.
2. Changes, amendments, and addenda to the research protocol or the consent form (where applicable) must be submitted to the designated Research Ethics Committee (REC) or Lead Agency for re-review and approval **prior** to the activation of the changes. UNCST must be notified of the approved changes within five working days.
3. For clinical trials, all serious adverse events must be reported promptly to the designated local IRC for review with copies to the National Drug Authority.
4. Unanticipated problems involving risks to research subjects/participants or other must be reported promptly to the UNCST. New information that becomes available which could change the risk/benefit ratio must be submitted promptly for UNCST review.
5. Only approved study procedures are to be implemented. The UNCST may conduct impromptu audits of all study records.
6. An annual progress report and approval letter of continuation from the REC must be submitted electronically to UNCST. Failure to do so may result in termination of the research project.

LOCATION/CORRESPONDENCE

Plot 6 Kimera Road, Ntinda
P. O. Box 6884
KAMPALA, UGANDA

COMMUNICATION

TEL: (256) 414 705500
FAX: (256) 414-234579
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WEBSITE: http://www.uncst.go.ug

Uganda National Council for Science and Technology

(Established by Act of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda)

Below is a list of documents approved with this application:

	Document Title	Language	Version	Version Date
1.	Research proposal	English	1.0	March 2018
2.	Informed consent forms	English and Lusoga	4.0	August 2018
3.	Questionnaire for youths	English	1.0	March 2018
4.	Guides	English	1.0	March 2018

Yours sincerely,

Isaac Makhuwa
For: Executive Secretary
UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Copied to: Chair, Makerere University School of Social Sciences, Research Ethics Committee

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Appendix VIII: MAKSSREC Clearance

MAKERERE UNIVERSITY

P .O. Box 7062,
Kampala, Uganda
Cables: MAKUNIKA

Tel: 256-41-545040/0712 207926
Fax: 256-41-530185
E-mail: makssrec@gmail.com

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Your Ref:
Our Ref: MAKSS REC 12.17.113

22nd March 2018

Kassim Mwanika
Principal Investigator (MAKSS REC 12.17.113)
Makerere University, Dep't of Sociology and Anthropology
Tel: +256 782 918435/ +256 0702 244974
Email: shakassims@yahoo.com

Initial Review – Expedited Review
Re: Approval of Protocol titled: "Paying or Paining Livelihoods? Assessing the Effects of Sugarcane Farming on Rural Youth in Busoga Region, Eastern Uganda"

This is to inform you that, the Makerere University School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (MAKSS REC) granted approval to the above referenced study. The MAKSS REC reviewed the proposal using the full board review on **14th December 2017**. This has been done in line with the investigator's subsequent letter addressing comments and suggestions.

Your study protocol number with MAKSS REC is **MAKSS REC 12.17.113.** Please be sure to reference this number in any correspondence with MAKSS REC. Note that, the initial approval date for your proposal by **MAKSS REC was 14th December 2017**. This is an annual approval and therefore; approval expires on **13th December 2018**. **You should use stamped consent forms and study tools/instruments while executing your field activities at all times.** However, continued approval is conditional upon your compliance with the following requirements.

Continued Review

In order to continue on this study (including data analysis) beyond the expiration date, Makerere University School of Social Sciences (MAKSS REC) must re-approve the protocol after conducting a substantive meaningful, continuing review. This means that you must submit a continuing report Form as a request for continuing review. To avoid a lapse, you should submit the request six (6) to eight (8) weeks before the lapse date. Please use the forms supplied by our office.

Makerere University School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Valid Thru.
13 DEC 2018
APPROVED

1

Please also note the following:

- No other consent form(s), questionnaires and or advertisement documents should be used. The Consent form(s) must be signed by each subject prior to initiation of my protocol procedures. In addition, each research participant should be given a copy of the signed consent form.

Amendments

During the approval period, if you propose any changes to the protocol such as its funding source, recruiting materials or consent documents, you must seek Makerere University School of Social Sciences Research and Ethics Committee (MAKSS REC) for approval before implementing it.

Please summarise the proposed change and the rationale for it in a letter to the Makerere University School of Social Sciences Research and Ethics Committee. In addition, submit three (3) copies of an updated version of your original protocol application- one showing all proposed changes in bold or "track changes" and the other without bold or track changes.

Reporting

Among other events which must be reported in writing to the Makerere University School of Social Sciences Research and Ethics Committee include:

i. Suspension or termination of the protocol by you or the grantor.
ii. Unexpected problems involving risk to participants or others.
iii. Adverse events, including unanticipated or anticipated but severe physical harm to participants.

Do not hesitate to contact us if you have any questions. Thank you for your cooperation and commitment to the protection of human subjects in research.

The legal requirement in Uganda is that, all research activities must be registered with the National Council for Science and Technology. The forms for this registration can be obtained from their website www.unsct.go.ug

Please contact the Administrator of Makerere University School of Social Sciences Research and Ethics Committee at makssrec@gmail.com OR bijulied@yahoo.co.uk or telephone number +256 712 207926 if you counter any problem.

Yours sincerely,

Makerere University School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Valid Thru:
13 DEC 2018

Dr. Stella Neema
Chairperson
Makerere University School of Social Sciences Research and Ethics Committee

c.c.: The Executive Secretary, Uganda National Council for Science and Technology

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