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Listening to the Voiceless: A Qualitative Inquiry into Rural Development Strategies and Indigenous Empowerment for Uganda's Batwa amidst Eviction and Globalisation

BACHELOR'S THESIS

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Declaration

I hereby declare that I have independently completed this thesis entitled "*Listening to the Voiceless: A Qualitative Inquiry into Rural Development Strategies and Indigenous Empowerment for Uganda's Batwa amidst Eviction and Globalisation*". All texts in this thesis are original, and all sources have been quoted and acknowledged by means of complete references formatted according to FTA's citation rules.

In Prague, April 18th, 2024

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Filippo De Faccio

Acknowledgements

Abstract

The Batwa in Uganda are an indigenous minority group facing a silent humanitarian crisis ever since the 1991 gazettement of Ugandan forests into national parks, which triggered their never-compensated eviction. The eviction disrupted their former hunger-gathering lifestyle and trapped the Batwa in the vicious cycle of poverty perpetuated by their landlessness and social marginalisation. The aim of this study is to assess rural development and indigenous empowerment strategies in the post-eviction and globalisation landscape to determine guidelines for future interventions addressing Batwa's plight and recommend policy improvements. This research is based on semi-structured interviews with Batwa community members, non-governmental organisations (Batwa- and non-Batwa-run), and governmental institutions. The interviews examine from different perspectives how Batwa's culture, livelihoods and welfare have evolved as a result of the political scene, education, humanitarian and development actions, and globalisation, highlighting the faults and gaps of existing stakeholders' strategies while echoing unheard appeals from Batwa communities. The study concludes that being landless and stuck in feudal arrangements, the Batwa are currently exploited as cheap labourers and have become an asset in the aid business. They are heavily discriminated against and lack access to public services and governmental programmes. The study unveils globalisation's duality, which is evident in both the expanded networking opportunities it offers and the risk of cultural assimilation. Batwa's authentic indigenous heritage is, in fact, highly endangered, while their culture is commodified by non-Batwa tourist businesses. Education's role also showed to be ambivalent, featuring an empowering potential despite its colonial influences. Embezzlement intrinsic to neo-colonial aid chains, project unsustainability, and competition among NGOs emerged in the analysis of humanitarian and development activities. This paper recommends the involvement of Batwa communities in forest management, the arrangement of extracurricular cultural activities and inter-tribal exchanges in schools, the affirmation of Batwa-run non-governmental organisations in the relationships with international donors in aid chains, and rigorous Monitoring and Evaluation systems.

Keywords: ethnocultural resilience, humanitarian crisis, indigenous knowledge valorisation, livelihood evolution, marginalisation, neo-colonisation, quality of life.

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List of abbreviations used in the thesis

ABEG	Action for Batwa Empowerment Group
ADRA	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
AICM	African International Christian Ministry
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AIKS	African Indigenous Knowledge Systems
AIMPO	African Initiative for Mankind Progress Organisation
BBCDA	Bwindi Batwa Community Development Association
BDO	Batwa Development Organisation
BDP	Batwa Development Programme
BIDO	Batwa Indigenous Development Organisation
BIEO	Batwa Indigenous Empowerment Organisation
BINF	Bwindi Impenetrable National Forest
BMCT	Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Trust
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resource Management
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CDO	Community Development Office
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
CRMZ	Collaborative Resource Management Zone
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DIG	Development in Garden
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EVI	Environmental Vulnerability Index
FAL	Functional Adult Literacy
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GO	Governmental Organisation
GNI	Gross National Income
HAI	Human Asset Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICCN	Institute Congolais pour la Conservation de la Nature
ICD	Integrated Conservation and Development
ICT	Information Communication Technology
KADOLHA	Kigezi Orphans & Vulnerable Children Living with HIV/AIDS
LCD	Least Developed Country
MGNP	Mgahinga Gorilla National Park
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
ND-GAIN	Notre Dame Global Adaptation Index
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PDM	Parish Development Model
PM	Prime Minister
P-SEC	Post-Secondary Education
RSF	Redemption Song Foundation
TRS	Tourism Revenue Sharing
UGX	Ugandan Shilling

UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UOBDU	United Organisation for Batwa Development in Uganda
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
UWA	Uganda Wildlife Authority
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

1. Introduction

Post-colonial natural conservation policies and modern world's globalisation tendencies have posed indigenous communities around the world at great risk of extinction. Globalisation – the worldwide economic, political, and cultural transnationalism – has materialised into a double-edged sword for indigenous peoples. Whilst offering developmental opportunities to enhance marginalised groups' quality of life, globalisation has increased socio-economic disparities. Whilst promoting cultural differentiation and sensitisation about indigenous minorities' struggles and rights, globalisation has intensified cultural homogenisation, dependency, and exploitation, effectively paralleling aspects of colonisation. One of the indigenous groups that have been experiencing globalisation's duality is the Batwa people of southwestern Uganda.

The Batwa traditionally thrived as hunter-gatherers. Deeply connected to forests and natural elements, their management of natural resources was communal and sustainable. The colonial period disrupted this equilibrium, as European influence introduced new concepts of land ownership, leading to the exploitation and transformation of forests for cash crop plantations and reserves. Post-colonial legislation failed to overturn these destructive policies, resulting in the eviction of the Batwa people from the Bwindi Impenetrable Forest, the Mgahinga Gorilla National Park, and other ancestral forests in 1991, severing their ties to their primary livelihood source without compensation. The aftermath revealed the challenges of adapting to new livelihoods, such as agriculture, while attempting to preserve their traditional way of life. The eviction brought about a vicious cycle of poverty, alcoholism, sexual abuse, and marginalisation. Landlessness and inadequate shelter, alarming hygienic and sanitary conditions, and limited access to healthcare and education currently contribute to the humanitarian crisis concerning Uganda's Batwa. Various local and international actors have been involved in tackling the Batwa's plight – non-governmental organisations (NGOs), churches, universities, private businesses, and governmental agencies – with both humanitarian relief and developmental initiatives. Rural development and indigenous empowerment strategies have been designed and implemented to uplift the Batwa's living conditions. Nonetheless, major challenges remain.

This research seeks to examine current rural development and indigenous empowerment strategies from the viewpoints and aspirations of post-eviction Batwa communities, considering the dual impact of globalisation. Its goal is to establish guidelines for future interventions addressing the needs of Uganda's Batwa while proposing underlying policy refinements to safeguard their wellbeing. Ultimately, this study aims to amplify the unheard voices of Batwa communities to determine rural development and empowerment strategies that align with community desires and uphold their culture, while navigating the complexities of globalisation. This research was initiated to fill a notable gap in the existing literature, whereby the existence and the role of Batwa-run NGOs was neglected and only non-Batwa stakeholders involved in addressing Batwa's problems were contemplated. The intricate relationship between globalisation, ethnocultural resilience and key development actors in Uganda's Batwa's plight has also never been thoroughly explored, never exposing corrupt games of fund misappropriation, discrimination, competition, and exploitation.

This paper starts with a literature review. It begins by shedding light on the complex role of globalisation in relation to colonialism, education, cultural preservation, and socio-economic growth. Hereafter, it acquaints the reader with Uganga's policy framework for indigenous people and the Batwa's history and culture. The paper proceeds to examine the relationship between the Batwa and the various modes of natural resource management during the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods. This analysis culminates with the eviction of the Batwa people from Ugandan forests in 1991. The paper then delves into the current humanitarian crisis the Batwa are facing, exploring its multifaceted implications on their everyday life. The final part of the literature review presents a preliminary investigation of existing governmental development strategies and equitable international instances concerning various indigenous groups. The study's methodology is illustrated next. Semi-structured interviews with Batwa community members, non-Batwa-run NGOs, Batwa-run NGOs, and governmental agencies were conducted. The interviews examine from different perspectives how the Batwa's culture, livelihoods and welfare have evolved as a result of the political scene, education, humanitarian and development actions, and globalisation, highlighting the faults and gaps of existing stakeholders' strategies and activities. After the presentation and discussion of the results, this paper is closed with a conclusion and recommendations.

2. Literature review

2.1. Globalisation: future threats and opportunities

2.1.1. About globalisation

Globalisation is a multidimensional global phenomenon that comprises economic, political, and cultural aspects. From an economic perspective, globalisation translates into transnational supply chains characterised by centralised control and decentralised production; in other words, globalisation is a synonym for economic universalism that is brought about by the organic integration of national economies as a result of worldwide neoliberal tendencies (Robinson 2001). Politically, globalisation can be explained as the transformative process that challenges the supremacy of traditional national states which are in fact absorbed by larger structures – "transnational states". Transnational states emerge as a reaction to the formation of a global economy and shape a new relationship between labour and capital. By creating economic interdependence, they interconnect power and governance dynamics. A mighty global capitalist class has arisen above political entities to manage global value chains and transnational circuits of capital accumulation leading to an "economicisation" of global politics (Robinson 2001). Globalisation has perpetuated the partition of the world into core and periphery regions, where the former increase their wealth by exploiting the latter in the name of free trade. Core nations enhance their prosperity through innovation and knowledge-intensive production, whereas periphery nations are stratified into industrial and raw material-based economies; new international divisions of labour have arisen as a result (Hryniewicz 2014). From a cultural perspective, in the developing world and traditional societies, globalisation has led to the integration and mixture of local cultures with Western values and activities, especially among youngsters and young adults, creating a huge cultural gap between generations (Jensen et al. 2011). Because the transnational movement of people and goods has been facilitated thanks to technological advancements and the opening of national boundaries, cultural identities have become more fluid and complex. Besides the diffusion of fast modes of transportation, this tendency has been fostered by the Internet, information communication technologies (ICTs), and social media (Jensen

et al. 2011; Ezedike 2019). In addition, globalisation has spread Western political values such as democracy, rule of law, secularism, individualism, gender equality, and human rights protection. Both youth's civic involvement, and mutual resentment and racism between Western and non-Western values and people have been fostered worldwide, which highlights globalisation's intrinsic duality (Xaphakdy 2000; Jensen et al. 2011).

2.1.2. The intricate relationship between globalisation, colonisation and indigenous cultures

The literature is very divergent on whether globalisation is resulting in cultural homogenisation or differentiation (Tomlinson 1996). Some authors agree with the thesis that globalisation coincides with Westernisation and Eurocentrism, and leads to the endangerment of minority cultures, allowing more economically influential cultures to expand and become hegemonic (Pieterse 1993; Wani 2011). Gigoux & Samson (2010) argue that although globalisation manifests unprecedented features, it cannot be untangled from colonialism with whom globalisation shares the same Western roots of exploitation. Both globalisation and colonialism serve as an economic mechanism driven by influential political and commercial entities that perpetuate global social hierarchies, depriving large population segments of social justice and basic human needs such as food, water, and shelter. For indigenous communities, globalisation is just the continuation of a historical pattern of interference and displacement (Gigoux & Samson 2010). Groh (2006) argues that the reason why indigenous cultures adopt numerous elements from the industrial culture is the sense of incompleteness that arises from their distance from the emerging globalised world. Assimilated cultural elements include language, nutritional patterns, clothing, and the possession of certain material objects. Groh (2006) explains that cultures can be classified along a spectrum ranging from "cold" to "hot". "Cold" cultures are indigenous cultures characterised by rigid and traditional standards; "hot" cultures are modern and fast-changing cultures. When different cultures merge, resulting in synthesis, the new culture tends to shift towards the "hot" end of the spectrum, further from tradition and closer to modernity. "Hotter" cultures tend to be dominating. When "colder" cultures interact with "hotter" cultures, the former tend to retain elements of the latter that are perceived as more advantageous while simultaneously discarding some of their own. Nowadays, cultural syntheses occur between the globalised industrial culture

and indigenous cultures, resulting in alarming losses of indigenous knowledge (Groh 2006).

On the other hand, Pieterse (1993) points out that globalisation is compatible with localism and allows indigenous groups to satisfy their local needs thanks to transnational networks which may be neglected by national actors. Bhawuk (2008) argues that the homogenisation of cultures is a "fantasy remnant of the colonial mindset", as factors like national cultures, institutions, industries, and population size ultimately lead to the "non-convergence of societies". Countries like China, India, Brazil, and Nigeria hold an "infinite supply of cultures" besides a growing economic and political weight and influence in the globalised world. Because of the boom in international travel and the availability of information, people from various backgrounds are being sensitised about cultural heterogeneity. The rise of indigenous psychology is also contributing to worldwide decolonisation and differentiation (Bhawuk 2008). This perspective reflects Huntington's theory (1996) that entails the decline of Western civilisation. Huntington (1996) endorses the argument that after the end of the Cold War, conflicts have echoed clashes among civilisations; according to such a theory, indigenous cultures are rising while Western civilisation is becoming less and less hegemonic.

Many critiques have been articulated against Huntington's thesis (Fox 2002). Certain schools of thought argue that conflicts endorse the political and economic interests of states and corporate companies rather than minorities' struggles for recognition and empowerment; others claim that conflicts can occur both within cultures themselves, at a more micro level, and within economic alliances, at a more macro level, rather than being limited to conflicts between civilisations (Fox 2002). Other factors such as the spread of ICT and the desire of non-Western cultures to imitate the West are also widely mentioned as critiques of Huntington's point of view (Fox 2002).

2.1.3. Education's role in reshaping cultures in the globalised and post-colonial landscape

In all civilisations and cultures, education has always represented the means of social continuity of life (Dewey 1938). In the evolving landscape of today's world, education plays a crucial role in empowering individuals and communities to progress

both personally and collectively and to satisfy the growing demand for skills in work environments (Rwantabagu 2009). Acknowledging the contrasting perspectives about the impacts of globalisation on indigenous populations, Dewey's definition of education can be expanded: in fact, education involves the transmission of both traditional values and innovative and transformative ideas, making it a continuous clash between societal conservatism and progressivism (Ezedike 2019).

Colonialism acknowledged other cultures while asserting the dominance of the colonising powers, introducing foreign cultural values into African societies and implying the superiority of the European culture over indigenous ones. In this way, colonial education sought to indoctrinate Africans and achieve social control; in this regard, Christianisation played a fundamental role (Mart 2011). The forceful introduction of alien European languages was another effective method to achieve social control; in the post-colonial era, it hindered access to education for the population masses (Abraham 2020). Ambivalence towards African culture began being common among colonised Africans, who – despite not being completely ignorant of matters regarding their history, geography, religion, and heritage – were induced to embrace and relate to European matters more (Ezedike 2019). Colonial powers shaped their educational system targeting Africans with the purpose of training qualified and subjugated personnel in order to facilitate the exploitation of the African territories. Colonial educational systems were designed with the belief that the superior white race held the responsibility to selectively educate and civilise inferior and primitive black tribes. In the colonisers' mindset, this was the legitimising thought justifying exploitation and power abuses towards local people (Mart 2011). The subordination of African culture and the emphasis on the colonisers' one led people to experience alienation from their values and way of life: the most alienating educational systems were enforced in Belgian and French colonies, as they also used to address issues such as the dress culture and diet to ensure Europeanisation in all existing physical and mental aspects (Ezedike 2019). As a result of the oppressive and disempowering colonial educational system, Ezedike (2019) concludes that many Africans currently have an insatiable obsession with Western values, capitalist greed, and consumption patterns, but not Western skills, capitalist discipline, or production techniques. On the one hand, during the colonial era, education had several

positive outcomes such as the promotion of technology and science, and the eradication of illiteracy, diseases, and some barbaric or inhuman customs and laws (Ezedike 2019).

In today's globalised era, education constitutes both a threat and an opportunity for the preservation of the cultural heritage of African indigenous communities. Just like colonial education, globalisation tends to impose a Western perspective and fails to integrate indigenous cultural values. While promoting multicultural education, it often prioritises the propagation of a global culture over indigenous ones, risking the erosion of indigenous values in Africa if curriculum planners and teachers indiscriminately incorporate potentially predominant aspects of foreign cultures into education (Ezedike 2019). It is indeed true that whilst education has become more latitudinal, not all world cultures hold the same weight. Spoiled morality and homogenisation can result from uncontrolled globalisation in the educational sector (Groh 2006; Ezedike 2019).

Globalisation, however, brings about some advantages, too. Globalisation has generally expanded access to education in remote areas and isolated communities thanks to economies of scale and ICTs (Power 2000). On the other hand, marginalised communities are increasingly excluded from education and other social services because of globalisation's tendency to make the rich wealthier and the poor more miserable, though indeed it is true that it allowed unrepresented groups to accommodate their needs for cultural recognition through ICTs (Nyamnjoh 2004). Under international pressure, in post-colonial Africa, education has contributed to forging national identities that could interrupt ethnicity-driven hatred and conflicts fomented during the colonial period, like in Rwanda and Burundi. This has laid the foundations for a post-colonial "African Renaissance" (Tikly 2001). However, as Watson (2007) points out, as education becomes universal thanks to globalisation's inputs, only languages that are numerically, politically, and economically relevant are bound to survive as they are going to be the only ones used for educational purposes, too. The cultures that are not attached to these languages are likely to be erased (Watson 2007). Inevitably, the "hybridisation" of indigenous cultures is occurring both because of dominant education languages and tribal conflict- or political instability-driven migration fluxes (Tikly 2001). Such phenomena are linked to the creation of European-conceived nation-states and are nothing but repercussions of colonial policies (Tikly 2001; Watson 2007). Nonetheless, globalisation offers the means to spread interest, knowledge and appreciation of African indigenous cultures in the world

(Power 2000). Evidence from Mexico demonstrates that the incorporation of indigenous languages into the educational system parallelly to colonial languages can grant indigenous groups access to global opportunities while recognising their ethnocultural heritage. Globalisation can help achieve this thanks to financial and on-field support from international parties (Reinke 2004). Flora & Fauna International (2013) emphasises the importance of supporting the elderly in indigenous communities to teach their native languages as that is an underlying prerequisite for the reintegration of indigenous knowledge in African educational systems. Amalgamating African Indigenous Knowledge Systems (AIKS) into educational curricula can underpin appreciation and respect for indigenous cultures as well as forge environmental awareness (Kaya 2013). The main advantage linked to AIKS includes the potential for cultural preservation: AIKS can foster a sense of identity and pride among learners by promoting a more holistic and inclusive community-based approach to education (Kaya 2013). Indigenous wisdom contained in songs, folk stories, myths, legends, and proverbs emphasises interconnectedness, sustainability, and a multidimensional understanding of the world. Incorporating such perspectives can enrich the educational experience, promote critical thinking, and offer alternative solutions to contemporary challenges (Kaya 2013). Evidence from Australia shows that the integration of Aboriginal perspectives in the educational system had a positive relationship with Aboriginal students' school performance reducing the community's socio-economic marginalisation. The main critique against this initiative revolved around the fact that such achievements did not require any substantial transformation of the colonialist curriculum, perpetuating in fact the colonial status quo (Kanu 2005). A number of challenges are indeed associated with the effective absorption of AIKS, such as the validation and accreditation of indigenous knowledge within formal Western scientific paradigms that are hegemonic in educational institutions, and the need for curriculum adaptation and teacher training (Kaya 2013).

2.2.   About Uganda

Uganda is a least-developed country (LDC) situated in east-central Sub-Saharan Africa (UNDESA 2021). Bordering South Sudan to the north, Kenya to the east, Tanzania and Rwanda to the south, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to the west,

Uganda is a landlocked country with a population of 49 million (World Population Review 2023). With a gross national income (GNI) per capita as low as USD 670 and a human asset index (HAI)[1] of 57.8, Uganda is far from reaching the graduation thresholds established by the United Nations (UN) to be classified a "developing country", which are set respectively to a GNI higher than USD 1,222 and a HAI above 66 (UNDESA 2021). The only indicator Uganda fulfils to graduate from the LDC category is the environmental vulnerability index (EVI), with a value of 29.1 which satisfies the graduation requirement of being lower than 32 (UNDESA 2021). Nevertheless, Uganda's ND-GAIN index score[2] highlights the existence of major challenges related to the impact of natural hazards. Uganda is in fact characterised by very high environmental vulnerability (14th country in the world) and very low readiness (163rd country in the world) (University of Notre Dame 2021). Uganda is prone to a variety of natural hazards such as droughts, flooding, landslides, and heat waves (World Bank 2021). The most destructive events are floods – responsible for economic losses estimated at 62 million USD every year –, and droughts – that in 2010-2011 caused economic damage of 1.2 billion USD, namely 7.5 percent of the country's 2010 gross domestic product (GDP) (World Bank 2021).

2.2.1. Uganda's ethnic groups

According to the World Bank (2022), 74 percent of Uganda's population resides in rural areas. Of these people, many belong to one of the 65 recognised indigenous ethnic groups (Parliament of Uganda 2005). The African Commission on Human and People's Rights (2006) defines indigenous populations as groups of people "whose culture and way of life differ from that of the dominant society"; the preservation of their unique heritage depends on "access and rights to their traditional lands and the natural resources thereon". According to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2016), the largest indigenous ethnic groups are the Baganda (16.5 percent of Uganda's population), the Banyankore

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[1] Human Asset Index: weighted measure of human capital that considers six indicators: three health-related ones (under-five mortality rate, maternal mortality ratio, prevalence of stunting) and three education-related ones (lower secondary completion rate, adult literacy rate, gender parity in secondary school completion) (UNDESA 2023).

[2] ND-GAIN index: Notre Dame Global Adaptation Index. Measure of a country's resilience to climate change that consists of two dimensions: vulnerability and readiness (University of Notre Dame 2021).

(9.6 percent), the Basoga (8.8 percent), the Bakiga (7.1 percent), the Iteso (7.0 percent), the Langi (6.3 percent), the Bagisu (4.9 percent), the Acholi (4.4 percent), the Lugbara (3.3 percent), and the Bafumbira (2.1 percent). The Batwa constitute one of the smallest ethnic groups comprising only 6,200 people (0.02 percent of the total population) (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2016).

According to Cultural Survival (2021), Uganda fails to protect indigenous peoples' civil rights such as access to education, healthcare, and stable food resources. Non-compensated evictions from indigenous peoples' ancestral lands violated Article 11 of the UN Declaration On The Rights Of Indigenous Peoples causing landlessness and emphasised statelessness as concerns certain groups like the Benet and the Batwa who may not be wealthy enough to apply for an identity card which is necessary to access a number of fundamental services (United Nations 2007; Cultural Survival 2021). Other ethnic groups may not be regarded as Ugandan citizens due to not being included in one of the 65 officially recognised indigenous groups. While Article 21 of the Ugandan Constitution broadly prohibits discrimination based on ethnicity or tribe, its impact in safeguarding the civil rights of Indigenous People within the nation, particularly the Batwa, has been limited, leading to a lack of representation and impact in decision-making institutions operating on all administrational levels – villages, parishes, sub-counties and town councils, districts, and national government (Parliament of Uganda 2005; Cultural Survival 2021). Article 32 can be also cited as an example of lack of enforcement, as affirmative action in favour of marginalised groups to redress societal imbalances has been widely insufficient. For instance, the evictions of both hunter-gatherer communities – the Batwa and the Benet – have not been decided upon consulting nor getting consent from the said affected groups (African International Christian Ministry 2014).

2.3.   About the Batwa

The Batwa people are a non-Bantu group residing in south-west Uganda in the districts of Bundibugyo, Kabale, Kanungu, Kisoro, and Rubanda (Minority Rights Group International 2021). Originally, the Batwa were hunter-gatherers and forest dwellers living at high elevations around Lake Kivu and Lake Edward in the territories of today's

DRC, Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda (Mukasa 2012). This transnational area is referred to as the Virunga region (Figure 1).
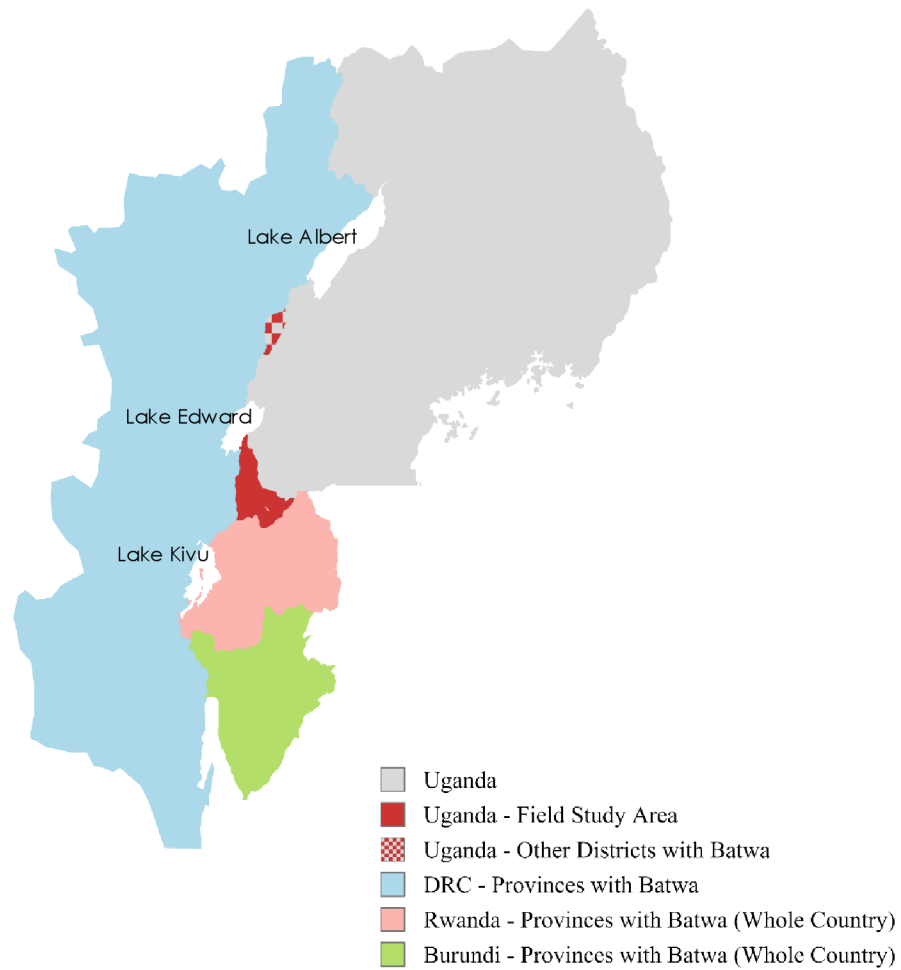
Figure 1: Regions with Batwa people in East Africa

2.3.1.   The Batwa history

Mateke (1970) conducted comprehensive historical research on the history of the interactions between the Batwa, the Bahutu and the Batutsi in the Bufumbira region in south-western Uganda. The main notions about the Batwa are going to be summarised in the next few paragraphs.

Until the mid-16th century, the Batwa were the first and only inhabitants of the Virunga region.

After 1550, the warrior-pastoralist Batutsi kings ruling over Rwanda began conquering Batwa territories in today's north Rwanda and southwestern Uganda.

Nevertheless, coherently with the land rights set by the Batutsi, the Batwa people were granted control over high-altitude forests in exchange for tributes such as ivory and animal skins. In this way, the Batwa were entitled to request tolls to caravans crossing their lands in the form of food or banana beer.

After 1750, some agriculture-based Kiga Bahutu clans moved from Rwanda to Batwa forests to escape the rule of the Tutsi. They established relatively egalitarian relationships with Batwa communities practising small-scale farming, and engaging in trade; intermarriage and cultural assimilation became also common. Throughout history, the military support of Batwa archers was crucial for both Batutsi kings to expand their power to new territories in southwestern Uganda and Bahutu chiefs to protect their land from foreign interference.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, rapprochement between Batwa and Batutsi people occurred as a result of a successful joint military campaign that led to the conquest of today's Bafumbira land; some Batwa achieved prominence in royal courts, gaining favours and even acquiring farmland, while some Batutsi would hunt alongside the Batwa. In the eastern Bufumbira region, the Batwa asserted their authority by claiming tribute from the surrounding Bahutu community, while also offering tribute to the Batutsi royals in Kigali.

Until 1991, Batwa communities used to live in the Bwindi Impenetrable National Forest (BINF), Mgahinga Gorilla National Park (MGNP), Echuya Forest Reserve, Semliki National Park, and others, where they could carry out their centuries-old livelihoods (Zaninka 2001). However, in the 1990s, Batwa people were forcibly evicted from their ancestral lands in the name of environmental conservation. With this move, the Ugandan Government aimed to preserve natural resources and highly endangered species, including certain medical herbs and mountain gorillas (*gorilla beringei beringei*) (Baker et al. 2013; Minority Rights Group International 2021). Although gorillas were rightly saved from extinction, Batwa people are nowadays at risk of eradication because of poverty arising as a consequence of their eviction. The Batwa's displacement is actually rooted in Uganda's post-colonial political heritage that led to the advancement of farming communities and logging companies depleting forest resources (Minority Rights Group 2018).

2.3.2.   The Batwa costumes

Traditionally, Batwa's native languages were Rumbuti, Ruyanda, and Rutwa (Ssenyonga 2012). According to Flora & Fauna International (2013), the Batwa's core values are all to be associated with their forests. The Batwa regard forests as their primary source of physical, emotional, and spiritual wellbeing. Throughout all Batwa history until 1991, the traditional customs of the Batwa included engaging in hunting and gathering activities to obtain resources from the forest, consuming raw food, weaving winnowing trays and baskets, making clay pots, mining gold, performing religious rituals and offering sacrifices in the woodland (especially after hunting), seeking shelter in caves, and adorning themselves with attire made from leaves and animal skins (Flora & Fauna International 2013). As Batwa societies were patriarchal, men's and women's roles were clearly distinguished: Batwa men were to defend their clan, hunt, collect honey and trade with other ethnic groups to obtain agricultural produce and village goods, whereas women were appointed to pick vegetables, herbs, mushrooms, and fruits, cook, prepare traditional medicine, and engage in pottery (Mukasa 2012; Uganda Wildlife Authority [UWA] & Ministry of Water and Environment 2023). Batwa's rich heritage in the art of gathering healing herbs was their main resource to commerce with non-Batwa communities to secure supplies of grains such as sorghum and wheat, and pulses such as peas and beans (Flora & Fauna International 2013). Buffaloes were the primary target during Batwa people's hunting activities: younger generations were shown and taught how to hunt with spears, bows, and arrows, and with the aid of trained dogs (Zaninka 2001; Flora & Fauna International 2013). All knowledge and cultural heritage would be transmitted orally through tales, legends, riddles, songs, and dances. Flutes, drums, and thumb pianos were used during ceremonies, usually in designated sacred caves in the forest for the worship of forest spirits, gods, and Batwa ancestors (Flora & Fauna International 2013; Kokunda et al. 2023). Symbolisms, superstitions, and healing properties related to natural elements such as hot springs, plants, and animals were very common and were reflected in the veneration of certain totems. Different clans were associated with different totems and lived in separate areas in caves or huts, but were connected through marriages (Flora & Fauna International 2013).

In Batwa's oral heritage, the main legend explaining the origin and relations between the Batwa and non-Batwa is as follows (Mukasa 2012; Flora & Fauna International 2013). The forefather of the Batwa people, Kihanga, had three sons: Katutsi, Kahutu, and Katwa. Kihanga gave each son a gourd filled with milk and asked them to return it the next day. Katutsi returned his gourd still full, Kahutu's gourd was half-full, and Katwa returned an empty gourd as he had consumed all the milk during the night. Kihanga blessed his sons based on their responsibility with the milk. Katutsi received his father's cows, ensuring prosperity for him and his descendants. Kahutu received a hoe and seeds, enabling him to cultivate food for himself and future generations. Katwa was given the forest and its resources, relying on hunting and gathering for survival. As time passed, the Katutsi's and Kahutu's descendants – the Batutsi and the Bahutu respectively – multiplied and became dissatisfied with the resources they were assigned. They encroached upon Katwa's forest, eventually driving out his descendants – the Batwa – and forcing them into a life of poverty as beggars without land.

2.4. Natural resource management in Batwa communities throughout Uganda's history

It is possible to identify three main historical periods characterised by substantial differences in terms of natural resource management and Batwa accessibility to the BINF and MGNP (Baker et al. 2013). In the next few paragraphs, the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods will be analysed thoroughly.

2.4.1. Pre-colonial period

During the pre-colonial period, land was managed communally at the clan level. Although at first no regulations existed to administrate access to natural resources, over time rules started being promulgated by being incorporated into the culture and social conventions (Baker et al. 2013). Restrictions and sanctions for the misuse of resources were disseminated and learnt by the people through folklore. Given that forests were considered to be sacred, people had the custom of sharing the purpose of all their forest excursions with the local spiritual leader or clan head in search of official approval or authorisation (Mukasa 2012; Baker et al. 2013). Penalties for not respecting this

convention would range from being forced to return the taken resource to its original place to being banished from the local community (Mukasa 2012; Baker et al. 2013). If forests were mostly regarded as communal resources, wildlife was not much regulated and its exploitation was free. Open access to wildlife – however – did not mean irresponsible use of the resource, as tales, taboos, riddles, songs, and sayings were taught to new generations to educate them about the value of other living beings, many of which were considered sacred and therefore protected not to incur supernatural punishments. Such rules existed also to contain fishing activities (Baker et al. 2013). Animals that were considered inedible such as dogs, frogs, snakes, foxes, lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, baboons, monkeys, elephants, and gorillas were not killed, as it was believed that seeing their corpses was a bad omen and could lead to curses (Flora & Fauna International 2013).

2.4.2. Colonial period

During the colonial period, the existing equilibrium originating from indigenous people's worship and respect for nature was overturned. After the first Europeans reached Uganda in 1862 and declared it a British Protectorate in 1894, the colonial authorities established large areas of crown property in which local people were prohibited from entering and collecting resources (Odhiambo 2006; Baker et al. 2013). Forests were torn down to make room for cash crop plantations of coffee, tea, and sugar cane meant for export. To manage timber production and forest exploitation, in 1917 the Forest Department was established (Turyahabwe & Banana 2010; Baker et al. 2013). Through this entity, the British made agreements with local kingdoms to direct the use of natural resources in forests. Such agreements resulted in the utter alienation of local clans and communities from their main source of livelihood, as they were denied access to forests and oftentimes displaced without any compensation (Turyahabwe & Banana 2010; Baker et al. 2013). From the colonisers' point of view, land grabbing was legitimate given that Ugandan territories were in theory "unoccupied" provided that they were inhabited by nomadic peoples besides not being cultivated (Hendlin 2014; Domínguez & Luoma 2020). British colonisers introduced in Uganda the European concept of land ownership which entailed the monetisation of natural resources. Indigenous communities were perceived as cheap labour to exploit (Domínguez & Luoma 2020). Therefore, teaching indigenous peoples the practice of agriculture became a priority, along with their

Christianisation (Domínguez & Luoma 2020). This process aimed at the "civilisation" of indigenous peoples, but in reality, it worsened the management of natural resources in Uganda by replacing sustainable communal management with capitalisation (Baker et al. 2013; Domínguez & Luoma 2020). Because conflicts between colonial authorities and local communities arose, the Forest Department began decentralising forest management tasks with the establishment of a two-tier system, entailing the distinction between Central Forest Reserves for commercial timber production controlled by the central colonial government, and Local Forest Reserves administrated by local kingdoms granting indigenous communities access to resources (Turyahabwe & Banana 2010). To have higher control over resources and protect farmers (both those who were engaged in cash crop plantations and subsistence farming), wildlife management started including the culling of elephants that were responsible for the depredation of agricultural crops in the country (Baker et al. 2013). In 1925, the Elephant Control Department (later called Game Department) was established: indigenous communities practising agriculture would be employed to control the elephant population and limit the subsequent damage to human activities (Baker et al. 2013). Elephant meat would be granted to such communities, while ivory would be traded to generate revenue. If on the one hand, this seemingly win-win agreement enhanced relationships between the colonial administration and local communities, on the other hand, it created a sort of dependency of local communities on the Elephant Control Department's assistance with the suppression of elephants for their subsistence (Baker et al. 2013). Besides wildlife population control, the Department's duties also included game control: trophy hunting would be limitlessly allowed to colonialists while subsistence hunting would be uncompromisingly restricted to local people with harsh penalties (Baker et al. 2013). In addition, after the foundation of the Uganda National Parks in 1952, several game reserves were upgraded to the status of national parks for natural conservation purposes leading to further eviction of indigenous populations, which also entailed their ban on grazing their livestock and collecting natural resources in those areas (Turyahabwe & Banana 2010; Baker et al. 2013).

2.4.3. Post-colonial period

Post-colonialist legislation did not transform colonialist policies for conservation after Uganda's independence from the British Empire in 1962 (Turyahabwe & Banana 2010). Central Forest Reserves became the property of the newly-found central government of Uganda; Local Forest Reserves kept being administrated locally by Uganda's five kingdoms – Buganda, Bunyoro, Busoga, Rwenzururu, and Tooro – solely until 1967 when the latter got abrogated by PM Obote as the state was officially turned into a republic (Turyahabwe & Banana 2010). By increasing the top-down nature of Uganda's land and resource management, this resolution worsened indigenous people's access to flora and fauna even more (Mukasa 2012). In 1964, with the Forest and Game Act, the use of hunting dogs, the possession of hunting weapons, residing, hunting, and farming were made illegal (Mukasa 2012). Furthermore, due to an increase in the demand for wildlife products, population growth, and agricultural land expansion, as well as weak rule of law caused by political instability, in the post-colonial period poaching and illegal trophy hunting grew increasingly popular, endangering numerous animal species and leading the government of Uganda to the establishment of more conservation areas, one of these being the BINF in 1991 (Turyahabwe & Banana 2010). In 1991, Batwa people were ultimately evicted from both the BINF and MGNP: from this moment on, they would no longer be able to access any natural resources, not even through gathering (Mukasa 2012).

In 2013, the United Organisation for Batwa Development in Uganda (UOBDU) filed a petition in the Ugandan Constitutional Court, challenging the government's unlawful eviction from their ancestral lands. After a lengthy legal battle, the court ruled in their favour in 2021 (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs 2022). Despite the court's recognition that the Batwa had rightful ownership and long-standing habitation of the forested area in accordance with their customs and practices, they were not granted permission to return to their land. The court also acknowledged that the government had failed to adequately compensate the Batwa for the loss of their land, rendering them a landless and marginalised community. However, instead of ordering the return of their land, the court directed the Batwa to seek remedies through affirmative action in the High Court (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs 2022). Paterson (2022) remarks

that while the Constitutional Court's judgment did provide guidance on utilising Article 32 for equitable redress, it fell short in addressing indigenous title claims, and the safeguarding of cultural rights based on regional and international human rights policy instruments. As Paterson (2022) further clarifies, difficulties exist in implementing the legal procedures corresponding to the legal provisions expressed in Article 32 as the Constitutional Court is not responsible for the enforcement of the law by means of mobilisation of the liable authorities. The Batwa now hope that the High Court will promote a more participatory approach to natural conservation. It has been recently revealed that proposals about further displacements of indigenous tribes including the Batwa and the Benet are being discussed by the Government led by PM Robinah Nabbanja who sent convocational letters to various ministers for a meeting. The Batwa have not been consulted nor informed about these proposals that would provide for their resettlement into refugee camps. Seemingly, this resolution aims at solving the issue of indigenous peoples' massacres and abuse by Uganda Wildlife Authority's (UWA) rangers (The Daily Express 2023).

2.5. Challenges following the eviction: socio-economic conditions, cultural preservation, and marginalisation

Nowadays, the Batwa are at risk of extinction (Turyatunga 2010). Landlessness, livelihood loss, starvation, insufficient access to shelter and clean water, poor sanitation, lack of social cohesion, marginalisation, and political discrimination came as a consequence of Batwa's displacement (Unrepresented Nations & Peoples Organisation 2016; Minority Rights Group International 2021). According to UWA & Ministry of Water and Environment (2023), nowadays most Batwa live in mud houses with no proper sanitary facilities situated on communal land provided by NGOs like Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Trust (BMCT). However, despite their occupancy, the Batwa do not possess any land rights as the land remains under the ownership of the donating NGO. There have been reports of some Batwa individuals sleeping in shop verandas or trading centres. In addition, Balenger et al. (2005) highlight the prevalence of sexual abuse towards Batwa girls and women, and high maternal and infant mortality rates. Promiscuity and cheap sexual services in exchange for little money or alcohol are common and have led to the

spread of AIDS/HIV. The myth that sleeping with a Mutwa[3] woman cures certain diseases and is not a risk for HIV infection greatly contributed to stigmatising Batwa communities as huge "sexual networks" (Turyatunga 2010). Gender-based violence (GBV) within Batwa households has also shown to be worryingly frequent. The study conducted by UWA and the Ministry of Water and Environment (2023) revealed that 25 percent of Batwa women experience GBV monthly, perpetuated in the form of physical or emotional violence. The overconsumption of alcohol, tobacco, and marijuana is striking. Consequently, sanitary conditions are worryingly poor. The Batwa do not have the culture of consulting health facilities when potentially necessary. Many of them do not believe that illnesses as such are deadly unless they are matched with witchcraft or curses hurled by their ancestors. That is why they prefer seeking traditional healers which often translates into risking their life (Turyatunga 2010). Fatalities connected to health issues occur also due to the Batwa not having access to their traditional forest medicinal herbs. The disconnection from their indigenous forest spirituality, the impossibility of having a nutritious diet that includes bushmeat, and the forced assimilation to people of different ethnicities have given rise to profound life dissatisfaction and unhappiness among the Batwa (Kokunda et al. 2023). The alienation from their identity and way of life as well as the undergone hardships have also greatly affected their mental wellbeing. Kokunda et al. (2023) define this state of mind as "solastalgia", the "distress produced by environmental change".

On the national level, the Batwa are affected by general discrimination that is triggered by their distinctive physical features, in particular their lower height, which hampers their equal access to opportunities compared to other Ugandan ethnic groups (Mukasa 2012). "Batwa" has become a denigratory term used by many (Turyatunga 2010). As mentioned above, Batwa's native languages were Rumbuti, Ruyanda, and Rutwa, which are nowadays lost. According to Ssenyonga (2012) and Mukasa (2012), Batwa's cultural practices have become targets of negative propaganda due to their lifestyle being regarded as dirty, inferior and primitive. As a result, more dominant neighbouring cultures have been adopted by most Batwa communities; Rukiga and Rufumbira languages have been assimilated respectively in the districts of Kisoro and

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[3] Mutwa: singular form of "Batwa".

Kanungu (Ssenyonga 2012). Moreover, an inferiority complex has developed which is seemingly among the main causes leading to very high school dropout rates among Batwa pupils. Unsustainable schooling-related expenses and discriminatory acts against Batwa children have fostered negative attitudes toward education (Turyatunga 2010). Only about 3 percent of Batwa people around the BINF have achieved secondary-level education, and just 0.4 percent attained higher education (UWA & Ministry of Water and Environment 2023). Education plays a significant role in systematically erasing the Batwa identity. Following governmental indications, the educational system employs only regional languages and not the native tongues of the Batwa (Cultural Survival 2021). Nevertheless, costumes related to marriage and spirituality have been maintained and keep being taught to new generations (Mukasa 2012). Due to poaching and farmers' attempts to safeguard their crops and livestock, native buffaloes are now extinct, and elephants survive in very low numbers, hindering the continuation of Batwa's traditional livelihoods even if they had access to the BINF (DeGeorges & Reilly 2009). Nonetheless, most Batwa have no official job at present, relying mainly on begging, casual labour, and entertaining people by dancing and playing music (Turyatunga 2010). As argued by Satyal et al. (2021) whose results were obtained through focus groups and interviews, the Batwa are particularly vulnerable to climate change effects lacking resources and capacity for adaptation and resilience. Such weaknesses are the result of systematic injustices and inequalities of which the Batwa are the victims. It is worth underlining that most local-level projects aimed at assisting the Batwa prioritise the distribution of material benefits while neglecting the multi-dimensional injustices which include the more complex issues of compensation, political discrimination, and unequal participation in decision-making (Satyal et al. 2021). Although the Batwa do not provide any inputs in developing the projects targeting them, they accept them as not having any viable alternative.

In the next section, existing governmental development attempts that could be regarded as "single-dimensional" will be explored.

2.6. A preliminary analysis of governmental development efforts

2.6.1. Community-Based Natural Resource Management

To tackle the above-mentioned matters in indigenous populations, Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) approaches started being implemented in various Sub-Saharan countries after being conceptualised in South Africa in the late 1970s (DeGeorges & Reilly 2009). Such approaches are aimed at the rightful involvement of indigenous communities in wildlife and forest conservation processes by sharing the revenue generated by safari tourism or regulated trophy hunting. In alternative terms, CBNRM refers to those initiatives linking environmental conservation to rural development (Gargallo 2015). Several shortcomings related to CBNRM approaches have emerged, indicating the general failure of the strategy. The major constraints included the insurgence of the tragedy of the commons, limited delegation of power by NGOs or governmental organisations (GOs) to indigenous communities, imbalanced and insignificant economic returns to indigenous households in comparison with the profits made by external agencies, unclear land tenure and resource rights, and dependence on external aid prioritising political agendas and corporate interests over the socio-economic wellbeing of local people (DeGeorges & Reilly 2009). CBNRM failures have occurred especially when attempting to manage highly valuable natural resources, as the interests and influence of donor organisations and local communities proved to be outweighed by prevailing economic and political agendas (Nelson & Agrawal 2008).

2.6.2. Integrated Conservation and Development

Similarly to CBNRM, Integrated Conservation and Development (ICD) constitutes a holistic approach to promoting the sustainable management and conservation of natural resources while enhancing the wellbeing of local communities. First-generation ICD aimed at integrating grassroots economic development with natural resource management by providing social infrastructure like schools, clinics and roads to enhance locals' attitudes towards environmental conservation. The main critique to this approach is the excessive focus on rural development to prevent threats to natural parks. Requiring substantial long-term funding, expertise, and a multi-institutional exertion, this

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approach failed to link local communities to natural resource management and conservation through its interventions (Baker et al. 2013).

Second-generation ICD was designed in reaction to the failure of first-generation ICD initiatives. Second-generation ICD is based on the delimitation of buffer zones (to separate wildlife from livestock) and harvest zones (for the collection of minor forest products) in national parks, as well as on the creation of revenue-sharing schemes. This approach has also proven to be riddled with deficiencies, as it resulted in the uneven distribution of costs and benefits of conservation, and in the overexploitation of forest resources, attributable to the tragedy of the commons and bad governance (Baker et al. 2013).

In the next section, profit-sharing strategies implemented in the BINF, Uganda will be thoroughly illustrated with particular emphasis on the effects on Batwa communities.

2.6.3. Revenue Sharing in Uganda

In 1995, the UWA designed a 20-percent tourism revenue sharing (TRS) scheme for the communities adjacent to the BINF, which targeted the Batwa among others (Franks & Twinamatsiko 2017). This programme later also introduced a 10 USD levy benefiting communities for each gorilla-tracking permit sold, which amounts to just above 1 percent of the permit fee, which costs 700 USD (UWA 2023). Distributed in the form of cash payments, scholarships, or grants for small-scale projects such as micro-enterprises and infrastructure development, the TRS scheme was meant to support the livelihoods and wellbeing of those people who used to depend on forest resources before the establishment of the protected areas (Franks & Twinamatsiko 2017). TRS is overseen by Community Protected Area Institutions (CPIs), comprised of UWA delegates, local government officials, and representatives from community interest groups. The executive committee of the CPIs is democratically elected. However, as noted by Ahebwa et al. (2012) in focus groups conducted in Kisoro, Kabale, and Kisoro districts, the pronounced political embeddedness of CPIs has led to low trust among local communities in their ability to positively manage funds in alignment with community preferences. All projects funded by TRS must comply with district and sub-county development plans. Focus

group discussions revealed that writing proposals, opening bank accounts, forming organisations, and complying with all set SOPs is challenging for many local communities due to low education levels. Consequently, a few knowledgeable local elites take advantage of the majority, especially of the least represented and marginalised groups like the Batwa who hardly benefit from the TRS (Ahebwa et al. 2012; Franks & Twinamatsiko 2017). Sandbrook and Adams (2012) highlight how the maintenance work of a health centre in Buhoma financed thanks to the TRS did not benefit many Batwa due to ethnicity-driven discrimination.

Another profit-sharing initiative implemented by UWA entails the active inclusion of the Batwa in tourist activities within national parks. In the frame of this programme that was commenced in 2011, the Batwa can demonstrate their way of life and cultural practices to tourists. Although each Batwa Trail permit is sold for 80 USD and 50 percent of the revenues are to be shared with Batwa communities, community leaders claim they hardly ever receive any revenue share besides occasional tips directly from tourists (UWA 2019; Cultural Survival 2021). Evidence from the tourism project at the Garama Cave that was agreed between UOBDU and UWA to involve the Batwa in guiding tourists shows that advocacy for Batwa compensation hinders the cooperation opportunities between governmental agencies and the Batwa. Following UOBDU's submission of the Batwa Constitutional Court Petition, the Garama Cave project was terminated by UWA (African International Christian Ministry 2014). According to Kagumba & Castor (2013), cultural tourism is the ideal recipe for indigenous empowerment from an economic, social, and cultural perspective and derives from a propitious blend of the modern and indigenous worlds. For instance, it is argued that the Batwa Trail promotes cultural revival through indigenous informal education and employment opportunities helping the Batwa get rid of their social stigmatisation. On the other hand, Laudati (2010) affirms that instead of enhancing the general wellbeing of rural communities, tourism frequently results in heightened state control and external pressures transforming native people into attractions and assets subjugated to postcolonial constructs and globalised capitalistic interests. Laudati (2010) argues that tourism in BINF has not only increased indigenous people's vulnerability to external control, poverty and dependency, but it has also caused several ecological impacts resulting from the construction of tourist trails and excessively frequent interactions between humans

and wildlife. This perspective implies that the eviction of the Batwa is part of the globalisation process that is influencing the whole world.

2.6.4. Collaborative Resource Management in Uganda

Additionally to TRS, in 2005, UWA introduced buffer and harvest zones denominated collaborative resource management zones (CRMZs) on the edges of the BINF. The resources that communities can access in CRMZs are craft materials, seeds, seedlings, and medicinal plants. Beekeeping is another widespread activity (UWA & Ministry of Water and Environment 2023). Originally, collaborative resource management zones were set to cover up to 20 percent of the inner forest area and could be up to 2 km wide from the external boundary of the national park. However, they were later reduced by 50 percent to increase the gorilla-tracking sites, damaging the livelihoods of the Batwa community in Nteko which had begun relying on minor bush food resources (Baker et al. 2013). As a result, nowadays CRMZs no longer constitute a significant income opportunity for local communities in Uganda as only 9 parishes still enjoy this programme and most of them have no Batwa population (UWA & Ministry of Water and Environment 2023). Nevertheless, UWA expresses interest in expanding the programme to involve more communities, including the Batwa. UWA acknowledges the marginalised status of the post-eviction Batwa as well as their ability to sustainably manage forest resources. This capability stems from their deep attachment to the BINF as their home, their spiritual connection to it, and their indigenous knowledge (UWA & Ministry of Water and Environment 2023).

2.6.5. Parish Development Model in Uganda

The Parish Development Model (PDM) is a governmental developmental strategy in Uganda to generate wealth and employment at the parish level, the lowest economic planning unit both in rural and urban settings (Musinguzi et al. 2023). The scheme aims to support farmers, cooperatives, and other local value-chain stakeholders to design, implement, monitor, and evaluate effective business plans and coordination for the trade of local commodities in a sustainable manner. For this purpose, the PDM entails the establishment of agricultural extension services, agricultural mechanisation, quality certifications and regulations, digitalisation, climate change mitigation practices, and

infrastructure development (Musinguzi et al. 2023). The main feature of the PDM is its revolving loan system that allows people to invest credit in starting or expanding their own enterprises to support livelihoods and increase household income. The credit of up to 1 million UGX[4] has to be returned with a 6 percent interest rate and within three years from reception, which are much more advantageous conditions compared to those of other microfinance banks (Musinguzi et al. 2023). Through a cross-sectional survey employing both qualitative and quantitative tools, Turyasingura and Agaba (2023) point out that the PDM lacks underlying feasibility and sustainability preconditions. Either way, when it comes to accessing and benefiting from such development opportunities, the Batwa are disadvantaged due to not being identity card holders. Their low educational level makes it harder for them to understand application procedures, which constitutes another insurmountable obstacle. Furthermore, lacking the basic assets that are necessary for starting an enterprise, the Batwa would not be able to make a profit out of a 1-million loan that comes with a 6 percent interest rate (Cultural Survival 2021; Musinguzi et al. 2023).

2.6.6. Success and failure stories from non-Ugandan contexts

In general, evidence from various countries showcases that the preference to employ urban labour instead of training native communities, unfair income distribution with indigenous people, forced displacement of local groups for the establishment of conservation areas, lack of education among both tourists and natives, conflicts between wildlife and farmers and breeders, poor and unethical management, and the use of armed personnel as the sole method for the protection and conservation of natural resources are the main factors leading to the failure of CBNRM or ICD approaches. Homelessness, joblessness, food insecurity, begging, crime, prostitution, alcoholism, and loss of lives end up being the costs of natural conservation and ecotourism in case of poor governance (Das & Chatterjee 2015).

Nevertheless, environmental conservation policies and respect for indigenous peoples' rights have shown to be compatible in multiple cases around the world. A few

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[4] UGX: Ugandan shillings. In 2023, 1 USD ≈ 3,726 UGX (as reported on Exchange-Rates.org). Therefore, 1 million UGX ≈ 268.4 USD.

success stories will be presented. In Tanzania, through the Village Land Act, the Wildlife Policy, and the National Forest Policy, authority and control over land matters and natural resources have been devolved to village councils. Although issues pertaining to decentralisation enforcement, local people's low awareness of their rights, and the ambiguity caused by the country's contrasting policies, Tanzania's progressive approach sets an underlying basis for indigenous communities' livelihood diversification. The pastoralist Maasai are therefore virtually protected as concerns the preservation of their culture and nomadic lifestyle, and are likely to experience income growth from CBNRM in the future with the assistance of NGOs (Snyder & Sulle 2011).

In Uttarakhand, India, the pastoralist forest dwellers Van Gujjars were evicted from Rajaji National Park to protect the Asian elephant. Despite being granted agricultural lands by the government, the Van Gujjars suffered low education levels, low income and marginalisation (Sharma et al. 2012). In 2008, the Indian government acknowledged their importance in the conservation of biodiversity and sustainable use of natural resources. Through the Forest Right Act, the Van Gujjars are allowed to carry out once again their ancient transhumance practices and nomadic lifestyle. The major constraint relates to the still applied colonial policy that transfers the rights and responsibilities of natural resource management from communities to individuals (Gooch 2009).

In Nepal, conflict erupted over the management of the Sagarmatha National Park established in 1976 between Nepal's government and military and the semi-nomadic Sherpa people. The devolution of managerial power to the Sherpa people coupled with the exclusion of Sherpa settlement from formal park boundaries allowed them to satisfy their need for fuelwood, timber, and grazing land while protecting the environment of the region. The creation of buffer zones, the introduction of a 60-percent revenue sharing system, the annual appointment of different Sherpa wardens in accordance with the community's indigenous "Shiingi Nawa" institution, and the establishment of Sherpa-run NGOs for pollution control and tourism management have both strengthened Sherpa's livelihoods and enhanced environmental conditions. Nowadays, Sherpa settlements have become tourist villages during mountaineering seasons and Sherpa's monasteries have been increasingly devolved authority over forests despite the 1957 Forest Nationalisation Act which initially entailed state-driven exploitation of forest resources (Nepal 2002).

In Namibia, CBNRM has been implemented thanks to the introduction of Communal Conservancies (CCs) on Communal Lands (CLs). CCs are given authority to oversee wildlife management within their designated areas, although not being granted land rights. Additionally, they are allocated an annual quota for trophy and subsistence hunting, determined by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism. CCs also have the opportunity to establish communal tourism ventures or collaborate with private entities. To attain official recognition, CCs must establish a board of members, develop a constitution that meets the standards set by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, and formulate a fair plan for income distribution, which may consist of annual cash dividends or rural development projects. The main constraint linked to Namibian CBNRM is the excessive ethnic and socio-economic interest diversity among CCs' members which leads to intertribal hostilities, farmers-wildlife conflicts, and illegal fencing on CLs by wealthy landowners for commercial ranching. These are the main issues in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy, home to tribes like the hunter-gatherer San and the pastoralist Herero (Gargallo 2015).

In Australia, the government involved the Aboriginals in natural park co-management schemes allowing them to participate in environmental decision-making. Co-management and equality have become minimum standards in the governance of Australia's Indigenous Protected Areas (IPAs) owned by native communities. Although IPAs have demonstrated to greatly contribute to biodiversity conservation and livelihood strengthening, the Aboriginals' co-ownership and co-management of the sea and its resources face tremendous opposition from the government and other stakeholders on all administrative levels. Although the Aboriginals have achieved comparatively more than other indigenous groups around the world, there is still plenty of room for further enhancements in communication and augmented engagement and partnerships of indigenous institutions in Australia's governance dynamics (Ross et al. 2009).

Decolonisation and indigenous protection frameworks have failed in a myriad of cases as well. Two case studies are presented. In the Amazon rainforest, Brazil, the indigenous Yanomami tribe has been suffering from illegal mining activities occurring on their ancestral lands. Although their land is legally recognised by the government as indigenous territory which permits the sustainable use of its natural resources, the legal framework for mining does not prohibit the extraction of mineral resources from it. In

other words, although the Indian Status did set administrative borders to define indigenous land, it did not enforce any protective measure, allowing the exploitation of mineral resources. Rudimental mining practices have had a detrimental impact on the health of the Yanomami people. Notably, the release of mercury into the environment during the gold amalgamation process has polluted water sources, poisoned local fisheries, and affected the Yanomami. The formation of ponds with still and shadowed water by the cause of mining has led to the proliferation of mosquitoes and increased the incidence of malaria. Conflicts between farming communities, miners and the Yanomami resulted in land encroachment; virtually no protection was offered by the government despite the implementation of the Indian Status (Plummer 2014).

In the Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve, Mexico, *ejidos* (formalised collective land tenure structures) have been implemented and imposed on the indigenous Maya people, providing for individual property shares. Ejidos are subjected to land use policies issued by the Mexican government which promote approaches linking conservation to development and capitalisation. In this framework, the Maya have been discouraged from practising their traditional livelihoods – namely farming and hunting – and forced to rely on alternative ones, like breeding pet parrots, picking deceased butterflies to make silhouettes, and growing orchids. The operations within projects designed to assist the Maya with planting orchids and raising parrots and butterflies revealed NGOs' colonial approaches to the indigenous Maya. The lack of true participatory frameworks, polarised power relations allowing NGOs to dominate the Maya, and the unsustainability deriving from excessive emphasis on conservation efforts outweighing the ones for community development led the Maya to expel external NGOs from the village of Tres Reyes. Future efforts should keep into account the Maya's traditional environmental knowledge as well as give more importance to socio-economic nuances and devolve decision-making responsibility to the community (Martinez-Reyes 2014).

On balance, despite the existence of colonial schemes, conflicts of interest in management practises, and unclear land tenure, the institutionalisation of indigenous protected conservation areas is empowering indigenous groups and making them stand on their on feet in the post-colonial landscape. Ecological goals can be accomplished through the progressive incorporation of traditional indigenous knowledge in conservation projects. Indigenous empowerment can be achieved by shifting power

towards indigenous people and forging more partnerships with indigenous institutions and organisations (Tran et al. 2020). This is how CBNRM and ICD approaches can be expanded to become more sustainable and successful. From the above analysis, it can be argued that the regulated return of the Batwa people to Ugandan forests in co-partnership and possibly co-ownership with UWA is desirable for several reasons: to foster Batwa's traditional livelihoods and socio-economic conditions, enhance biodiversity conservation through indigenous knowledge, and expand tourism programmes to integrally feature the authentic Batwa culture. The Batwa should be appointed UWA's wardens and be protagonists in decision-making processes.

2.7.   The Batwa outside of Uganda

The Batwa inhabiting other East African countries have been facing similar challenges to Uganda's Batwa.

In post-genocide Rwanda, any reference to ethnicity has been strictly criminalised and condemned as "divisionism". This situation has greatly damaged the Batwa, Rwanda's smallest and most marginalised ethnic group whose forest tenure has not been contemplated since their eviction in 1988. Notably, the vulnerability of Rwanda's Batwa can be explained by the impossibility of addressing or campaigning for their specific needs that differ from the ones of the Bahutu and the Batutsi. By this provision, the Rwandan government wants to honour the desperately sought-after "Rwandanness". Batwa-run NGOs like the African Initiative for Mankind Progress Organisation (AIMPO) are not allowed to carry any references to the Batwa ethnic group in their vision, mission, and values statements in order to be legally allowed to operate. Additionally, ethnicity-based ethnocultural tourism is prohibited, denying Batwa communities the opportunity to benefit from such potential livelihoods. During the Rwandan genocide, 30 percent of the Batwa were murdered by other groups, highlighting the innate unjustified hatred towards them originating from their fame of being dirty and inferior (Beswick 2011).

In Burundi, the Batwa are also marginalised and landless. Their traditional livelihoods have been abandoned due to not having official access to forests since 1933 and experiencing high competition in the production of clay pots and handcrafts by producers with a higher degree of mechanisation and advanced equipment. The

Burundian Batwa are despised by other societal groups, like the Bahutu and the Bututsi. They are discriminated against to the extent of being excluded from the "Bashingantahe", the traditional grassroots social institution that consists of a council of the elderly. Nevertheless, Burundi entitled the Batwa to have six parliament leaders thanks to a constitutional reform introducing a proportional representation system of all ethnicities in the country. This resolution coupled with access to schooling and the labour market could ensure Burundi's Batwa's take off (Rwantabagu 2009).

In the DRC, the Batwa were evicted from their ancestral lands in 1971; they were never compensated. Just like in other countries, their livelihoods were destroyed leading them to suffer extreme poverty, marginalisation, and alienation from their identity and spirituality. Numerous armed conflicts have characterised the recent history of the DRC, notably the ones that were started shortly after the Rwandan genocide by the Bahutu rebels. During these struggles, the Batwa could elude the guards employed by the *Institute Congolais pour la Conservation de la Nature* (ICCN) and gather forest resources, hunt bush meat and worship forest spirits. Whenever caught red-handed, the Batwa would be shot. Inherently, orally-propagated sentiments of resistance started emerging. Legal actions have been attempted but failed. In 2018, several hundred Batwa families returned illegally to the forest. Violent confrontations between ICCN eco-guards and the Batwa occurred. The return to the forest, although legitimate, had disastrous environmental implications, as the accumulation of economic prosperity through the extraction of resources such as timber and minerals became one of the Batwa's priorities (Simpson & Geenen 2023). Although in 2022 a law on the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights over their land and its resources was passed, it does not apply to the ancestral forests that are now either public or private conservation areas, and it does not provide for any compensation. However, it can be considered a step ahead gained thanks to the struggle of the Batwa (Bombwe 2023).

From other countries' experiences, one can learn that eliminating the concept of ethnicity may be the cause of increased inequality and does not solve the problem of marginalisation; returning illegally to the forest may have environmental consequences but is to be expected when the government stays deaf to the rightful requests of indigenous peoples; having indigenous representatives and more accessible schooling are empowering solutions (Rwantabagu 2009; Beswick 2011; Simpson & Geenen 2023).

3.   Aims of the thesis

The primary objective of this paper is to analyse and describe how the Batwa's quality of life can be uplifted through rural development and indigenous empowerment strategies considering globalisation's duality, post-eviction conditions, and existing stakeholders and interventions. The possibility of the Batwa returning to their ancestral forests and being involved in forest management by UWA will also discussed based on the presented international analogous cases.

To achieve the principal objective, the following six research points are going to be explored from the distinct perspectives of Batwa communities, non-Batwa-led NGOs, Batwa-led NGOs, and governmental agencies:

- Eviction process and discrimination;
- Current Batwa culture, livelihoods, and tribe identity;
- Globalisation and modern technology's function in development and cultural preservation;
- Education's utility and culture-eroding capacity;
- Batwa-destined humanitarian and development action in the post-eviction era;
- Perceived compatibility between quality of life enhancement and cultural preservation, recommendations on the way forward.

The implications of marginalisation with reference to political, social and economic dimensions will be reserved special consideration throughout the entire analysis to identify solutions aligned with this paper's main objective.

The significance of this research is to fill a gap in the literature as regards the contribution of Batwa-run NGOs in the tribe's post-eviction affairs as well as the intricate relationship between globalisation, ethnocultural resilience and key development actors in Uganda's Batwa's plight. By listening to the "voiceless" Batwa, this study aims to set forth recommendations for policy refinements and future interventions aimed at meeting the needs of Uganda's Batwa in harmony with their aspirations, while respecting and safeguarding their cultural heritage.

4.   Methods

After gaining solid knowledge on Uganda's Batwa from a historical, political, economic and social point of view through secondary information available in governmental and non-governmental reports and a comprehensive literature review, a qualitative data collection on the field was arranged. This ethnographic research used a non-experimental design since no independent variable was manipulated and consequently no comparison group was identified. The research took place in a real-life natural setting, notably in the districts of Kisoro, Rubanda, Kabale, and Kanungu in southwestern Uganda.

12 Batwa settlements were visited: Byabitukuru, Rushaga, Nyabaremura, Karengyere, Mukungu, Nteko, Nyakarembe, Michingo, Kashija, Buhoma, Kanyamahene, Ryamihanda. 26 Batwa representatives were interviewed in total (13 men and 13 women), generally 1 to 3 per settlement. 26 was the number of interviews after which saturation was reached, meaning that new themes and codes would emerge infrequently as most of them had already been identified (Morse 2000; Guest et al. 2006). To gather inclusive and comprehensive insights into the topic of this thesis, the interviewees were selected to meet diversity requirements such as age and sex. Among the interviewees, many performed as community leaders or representatives: people in this position were chosen because of their ability to speak on behalf of their group and better understand the technicalities of the research. 6 community leaders, 2 women representatives, and 3 chairman secretaries or assistant community chairmen were interviewed, while others had different roles (3 security guards, 2 community treasurers) or no specific role in their community (10). The sample had various levels of education and engaged in different livelihood activities. The interviews were semi-structured and composed of 4 main sections (17 questions): livelihoods, culture & discrimination, education, humanitarian & development aid following the eviction, and globalisation. The founder of the Batwa Indigenous Development Organisation assisted the researcher with the translations from English to Batwa's native languages (Rukiga, Rutwa, Rufumbira), and vice versa. Table 1 features the demographic information of interviewed Batwa community members.

Table 1: Overview of interviewed Batwa community members

N	Sex	Age	Education	Community role	Settlement
1	M	71	.	Leader	Byabitukuru
2	F	45	.	Woman representative	Byabitukuru
3	M	40	.	Leader	Rushaga
4	F	85	P1 + FAL[5]	Leader	Nyabaremura
5	F	32	P4	NGO committee	Nyabaremura
6	M	35	.	Security guard	Karengyere
7	F	60	.	.	Karengyere
8	M	61	.	.	Mukungu
9	F	45	P2	Leader	Mukungu
10	M	55	.	Leader, pastor	Nteko
11	M	47	P1	Security guard	Nteko
12	F	39	.	Woman representative	Nyakarembe
13	M	63	FAL	Leader, pastor	Nyakarembe
14	F	20	P6	Assistant chairperson	Michingo
15	M	35	P3	Vice leader & secretary	Michingo
16	M	41	P3	NGO committee	Buhoma
17	M	46	.	Security guard	Buhoma
18	M	28	S4 + P-SEC[6]	.	Buhoma
19	M	49	P2	.	Kashija
20	F	70	.	Treasurer	Kashija
21	F	55	.	.	Kanyamahene
22	F	60	.	Treasurer	Rushaga
23	F	21	P6	Chairperson secretary	Ryamihanda
24	F	53	.	.	Kanyamahene
25	M	27	P4	.	Byabitukuru
26	F	22	S2	NGO committee	Nteko

Directors or delegates from 8 NGOs involved in Batwa issues were also interviewed on the same themes for a wider view of the matter. The interviewed NGOs can be divided into two groups (Table 2). The first group comprises non-Batwa NGOs, specifically those with a Batwa consultation assembly and a non-Batwa executive committee. In this group, the following NGOs can be listed: UOBDU, Batwa

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[5] FAL: Functional Adult Literacy.
[6] P-SEC: Post-Secondary Certificate.

Development Programme (BDP), BMCT, Bwindi Batwa Community Development Association (BBCDA). The second group includes Batwa-founded and Batwa-run NGOs which are often neglected by researchers and do not appear in the literature. In this group, the following NGOs can be enumerated: Batwa Indigenous Development Organisation (BIDO), Batwa Indigenous Empowerment Programme (BIEP), Batwa Development Organisation (BDO), Action for Batwa Empowerment Group (ABEG). The interviews were semi-structured and composed of 4 main sections (16 questions): political weight & discrimination, education, humanitarian & development aid, and globalisation.

Table 2: Overview of interviewed NGOs

N	Name	Acronym	Type	Management	Active since
27	Action for Batwa Empowerment Group	ABEG	CBO	Batwa-run	2017
28	Bwindi Batwa Community Development Association	BBCDA	NGO	Batwa-run	2018
29	Batwa Development Organisation	BDO	CBO	non-Batwa-run	2013
30	Batwa Development Programme	BDP	NGO	non-Batwa-run	2008
31 32	Batwa Indigenous Development Organisation	BIDO	NGO	Batwa-run	2015
33	Batwa Indigenous Empowerment Organisation	BIEO	NGO	Batwa-run	2019
34	Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Trust	BMCT	NGO, trustee	non-Batwa-run	1994
35	United Organisation for Batwa Development	UOBDU	NGO	non-Batwa-run	2000

3 governmental offices were also visited and interviewed: the Kisoro District Community Development Office (CDO), the Kisoro District Assistant Chief Administrative Officer (CAO), and the Rubuguli Local Council I (LC1) (Table 3). The original plan also included an interview with a representative of UWA; however, after setting an appointment with the deputy warden, the interview was rejected due to the alleged sensitivity of the questions. The deputy warden recommended submitting a research application following UWA's procedures for prolonged biological studies in Uganda's national parks, which could be assessed by the BINF warden and possibly regarded as eligible. Excluding the fact that UWA demands research applicants to submit their requests two months prior to commencing their fieldwork, the application alone would cost 100 USD. Due to feasibility reasons, the intention of interviewing UWA was

discarded. The interviews were semi-structured and composed of 4 main sections (16 questions): political weight & discrimination, education, humanitarian & development interventions, and globalisation.

Table 3: Overview of interviewed GOs

N	Name	Acronym
36	Kisoro District Community Development Office	CDO
37	Kisoro District Assistant Chief Administrative Officer	CAO
38	Rubuguli Local Council I	LC1

The final 4 questions were the same for all 38 interviewees. They were formulated to investigate the relationship between modern development, cultural preservation, and quality of life from the perspective of the interviewees. The purpose was to provide guidance for policymakers and NGOs in shaping future rural development strategies and actions, taking into account the dual effects of globalisation: growth opportunities and cultural assimilation. Particular focus was placed on the relationship between formal education and cultural empowerment.

Ahimbisibwe helped with arranging all community visits and setting appointments for interviews with GOs and NGOs. Small rewards in the form of cash amounting to 10,000 UGX (2.7 USD – 3.3 kg of staple food) were given to each interviewed Mutwa as recognition of their availability to join interviews. As can be deducted, the approach was indeed community-based, which means that the core values and beliefs of the indigenous people were taken into account and prioritised at all stages of the research: in other words, all data was collected in ethical ways for the purpose of assessing grassroots development strategies aiming at Batwa's quality of life enhancement in community-desired ways (Lavallée 2009). Throughout the field research process, all community members, most stakeholders, and even governmental institutions received the researcher's inquiries positively, likely facilitated by Ahimbisibwe's mediation and esteemed reputation within the community. The only exception was UOBDU, which exhibited uncooperative behaviour throughout the interview, despite demanding the opportunity to review and approve the questions beforehand. Their

persistent hostility suggests possible concerns about discussing sensitive topics or revealing certain information.

All interviews were recorded and later transcribed word by word. The average interview duration was 67, 104, and 60 minutes for Batwa community members, NGOs, and GOs, respectively. ATLAS.ti – a software for qualitative data processing – was employed to code and analyse the transcribed interviews. To provide readers with a glimpse into theme magnitude throughout interviews with Batwa community members, code frequency was attributed to the emerged themes. To prevent any personal bias, all mentioned themes were reported regardless of the number of respondents who referred to them (Elliott 2018). No frequency code was provided in the presentation of results from interviews with NGOs and GOs to avoid undue simplification of the perspectives of the interviewed entities, which were presented through the partial sentiment of their spokesperson. To avoid fuelling controversies and exacerbating conflicts, NGOs' names were only mentioned in the result section referring to Batwa community members' interviews, and not in the ones presenting NGOs' and GOs' responses.

5. Results

5.1. Eviction process and discrimination

Before the eviction, as supported by the literature, Batwa's livelihoods comprised hunting and gathering activities (24[7]). Hunting was practised by setting animal traps or with the aid of trained dogs. Gathered resources included medical herbs, forest vegetables, fruits, wild yams, honey, and fibres for weaved handcrafts. Animal skins were worn as clothes. It was common for the Batwa to barter goods they could obtain from the forest in exchange for grains with non-Batwa people (5).

The 1991 eviction was implemented employing exertion and brutal force, including weapons, by Uganda's military (3). As a result of it, the Batwa scattered (5). Despite their initial instinct to stay concealed in uncultivated and partially wooded areas while stealing food from fields and the forest to survive, the Batwa were eventually forced to confront the Bakiga, a local tribe belonging to the Bahutu ethnic group. Seeking refuge and sustenance on their lands, the Batwa were offered a feudal arrangement. Under this agreement, they would receive food and housing in exchange for their labour in the fields (16):

"Food was no longer a gift from nature, it became the result of working hard for others."

Batwa's discrimination and marginalisation began in this period as a consequence of their primitive and "uncivilised" appearance: after the deterioration of their animal skins, the Batwa had, in fact, no clothes to wear (4). This was also the time when Batwa's begging culture started (4), along with the practice of casual work and scavenging (4). The eviction entailed the adoption of money for trade, which was antithetical to the Batwa's habit of consuming forest resources free of charge (9). Due to no longer enjoying access to medical herbs and not having the financial resources to afford healthcare and Western medicines, Batwa's mortality increased tremendously (11). Batwa's weak health can also be explained by the disruption of their traditional diet – which used to be rich in proteins thanks to bushmeat – and the limited access to nutritious food (10) and non-

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[7] The numbers in brackets denote the magnitude of each theme, determined by the frequency of mentions among respondents (n=26).

contaminated water (1). Leaving the forest translated into the progressive abandonment of several nuances of the Batwa culture, like the Rutwa language, marriage and burial traditions, and traditional spiritual beliefs (3). The contact with the Bakiga tribe led to the adoption of polygamy (1), Batwa's exploitation for cheap sex (2), and the tendency to practice unsafe and early sex, increasing the incidence of AIDS (1).

When inquiring about discrimination patterns, several respondents mentioned that the Bakiga refuse to share eating utensils and food with the Batwa, preferring to isolate them during mealtime in the fields (13). Right after the eviction, the humiliating practice of feeding the Batwa by pouring food onto their hands or banana leaves laid on the ground became normalised (5). The avoidance of any sort of association, including intermarrying, also stood out (6). Unjust rulings by judiciary courts due to Bakiga's favoured treatment and bribes seemed to considerably affect the Batwa in the context of village-level conflicts (6). A few respondents mentioned abuse by NGOs and churches, as well as their hindrance toward Batwa empowerment (4). The experience of an interviewed Mutwa is reported here:

"I used to work for an NGO supporting Batwa children in education. I was hired because they thought I could not understand English. Whenever there was a meeting, and I wanted to contribute by saying my opinion or commenting on a point, they wouldn't allow me to speak. One day, on behalf of my community, I had a meeting with another organisation that had the intention of constructing wooden structures for us to replace the improvised shelters we have now. After this, I was fired by my employer. According to him, I was not allowed to meet and cooperate with other organisations. I was not paid for my last month of work. At the end, no houses were built for us due to the local church's veto on the initiative."

The uneven distribution of UWA's revenue sharing or other governmental aid among the Batwa and the Bakiga was also brought up (3):

"When the government provides some aid or support to Ugandan citizens, it requests the creation of groups of 50-70 people depending on the grant. That is more than the people in our Batwa settlement. When the educated Batwa want to join a Bakiga group, we are not accepted. They don't want to split the government money with us or cooperate with us."

Discrimination in the form of abuse by Bakiga employers also occurs (7): being paid less money than Bakiga workers (3), being forced to work overtime (3) and not being paid timely (3) were the most mentioned aspects.

Finally, authorisation to access healthcare and education facilities was reported to be constrained due to Batwa's poor hygiene and sanitation and the incidence of jiggers (4). Regardless of the urgency level, Bakiga patients were reported to be always prioritised over Batwa ones.

Although the Batwa are looked down on because of their culture and are victims of mockery and pejorative language (4), a solid number of respondents specified that discrimination has decreased in recent years (12).

5.2.   Current Batwa identity, culture, and livelihoods

When asked to define their tribe identity, Batwa community members mentioned aspects pertaining to both their traditional forest dwelling and their post-eviction socio-economic status. The most recurrent features were the previously practised traditional forest livelihoods and culture (13), the Batwa's roots and attachment to their forest environment (12), the strong sense of tribal belonging (10), the forced displacement from their ancestral territory (8), their status of being landless (7), the perception of being dirty and wearing poor and ripped off clothes (8), and their lack of basic material assets due to extreme poverty (7). Other identified characteristics were the discrimination by non-Batwa tribes like the Bakiga (5), the Rutwa accent mixed with other local languages (5), the physical appearance (4), being marginalised, inferior or miserable (5), begging (3), being stuck in feudal relationships with the Bakiga (2), and lacking food leading to starvation (2).

When asked about the Batwa culture, the respondents agreed it has declined. The main identified reasons were the eviction and the consequent forced detachment from the forest environment (16), the elderly passing away with their indigenous knowledge (5), the prioritisation of survival over cultural life (4), and the post-eviction scattering of the Batwa (2). Currently, the most practised costumes include picking medical herbs that can be found outside of the forest biome (12), singing and dancing in the traditional way (12), storytelling and perpetuating indigenous knowledge and values orally (8), handcrafting, carving or weaving (8), and playing musical instruments (6). Other minor activities that emerged encompassed starting a fire with wooden sticks (5), maintaining bee hives (4), archery and spearing (3), placing animal traps (3), collecting wild yams (2), using

grinding stones to produce flour (2), winnowing (1), collecting fibres (1), and wearing animal skins (1). Numerous Batwa (11) claimed to be displaying their culture to foreign tourists hoping to be tipped. Although some Batwa said that a few NGOs work towards cultural revival (4), others claimed that the Batwa culture has lost its authenticity due to the fact that it is only performed for the sake of tourism (4). Some Batwa stated that they do nothing related to the Batwa culture (2) or that it is no longer purposeful in current days (2). Forceful Christianisation showed to be an issue for the preservation of the culture (3) and has led to the almost complete eradication of traditional spirituality. Informal observations revealed that the abandonment of ancestral worship in favour of Christianity is a subject of repentance and fear for some elders who still believe in the vengeful abilities of the spirits of their ancestors tied to the forest elements.

Current Batwa livelihoods primarily consist of casual labour. The predominant livelihoods include doing agricultural work in the Bakiga's fields (15), practising small-scale farming on the land provided by NGOs or hired from the Bakiga (13), displaying the Batwa culture for tourists in exchange for small tips (7) or at Bakiga ceremonies as private performants (2), producing handcrafts like winnowing trays, baskets and wood carvings to trade (5), illegal gold mining (3), goat rearing (3), lumbering, collecting firewood, or charcoal making (3), and working as porters (2) and cleaners (2) for the Bakiga. Educated Batwa's livelihoods include working in NGOs (3) or as a nurse (1). A consistent number of respondents (8) mentioned that they save money as all their earnings are spent on their immediate survival and the wellbeing of their children. Some respondents pointed out that their livelihoods do not guarantee food security for their family (5) or that there is insufficient work to earn a daily living (5). In this regard, one respondent said:

"We do not do family planning, we have too many children and the food we have is not actually enough to feed the whole family".

A different respondent said:

"I may work twice or three times per month. The Bakiga may not have any work to get done, so no one will come to call on me more often than that. When they do not call me, I just sit at home, and hunger will make me suffer".

Another interviewee claimed that since her plot of land is small, steep and adjacent to the forest, it yields very little, which leads her to skip meals. When working in the Bakiga's fields, the Batwa are paid in cash, in food, or by being granted land to cultivate for their benefit. A Mutwa's daily salary is between 2,000 UGX and 7,000 UGX when paid in cash. Differences between men and women were observed, as the former are likely to be paid more for similar tasks. Considering that not every day's work has to be paid in cash, on average, interviewed Batwa reported receiving 110,000 UGX[8] in cash monthly.

5.3. Globalisation and modern technology's influence on development and cultural preservation

5.3.1. Batwa communities

Batwa's perceptions about globalisation and technology were polarised. The availability of ICT (16) and modern means of transportation (cars, motorcycles) (15) enhancing communication and connectivity were the most mentioned positive aspects. Globalisation rendered the use of horns, drums, and whistles for long-distance communication obsolete. Some Batwa stated that such technology has made Batwa communities more united and cohesive (2), while another perspective interprets these advancements as harmful to social life (1). Many respondents claimed that globalisation benefits Batwa communities as it constitutes an opportunity to trigger socio-economic growth through international development aid (13) and political representation (3). Globalisation in the form of access to education (scholarships) (10) and healthcare (clinics, pills, stretchers) (6) was also viewed positively. Empowerment through good job opportunities and networking (3) and access to quality clothing (3) emerged as additional desirable outcomes of globalisation. These appeared essential for breaking the stigmatisation of the Batwa and acquiring a higher social status.

On the other hand, numerous Batwa pointed out that globalisation is inaccessible (14) and had no significant positive impact on the Batwa's lives (2): economic factors

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[8] 110,000 UGX ≈ 29.5 USD.

(9), the lack of education (8), and marginalisation and discrimination (2) were labelled as the main reasons. A respondent said:

"Even within this generation, those who are not educated might fail to understand how to use technology or globalisation-related things: I do not speak English, I do not know how to drive, and I cannot understand how a technological device works."

Tourism was the main critical point that polarised opinions in the globalisation spectrum. While tourism was viewed by many as a way to have foreigners connect to the problems of the Batwa and commit to supporting them financially (3), others regarded it as the main reason for the implementation of the conservation policies by the government (4). Different Batwa expressed these opinions:

"When we see tourists come and buy our handcrafts and give scholarships to our children, we view it as a good thing, and we believe it is going to help us."

"Evicting us was the government's plan to start taking tourists to the forest and show them animals and plants. The reasons were economic."

"When they see tourists go into the forest with UWA, some people get jealous of the money UWA is earning through these foreigners and may attempt to burn the forest and kill wild animals for revenge."

Tourism and development aid were also seen as a tool for exploiting the Batwa by Bakiga-run NGOs, businesses, and local churches (5). While this aspect is going to be further analysed in the next section, two relevant quotes are reported below:

"Some non-Batwa use the Internet to employ our history as a tool for them to make money. They sell the Batwa culture for their own profit through the Internet. They have more experience and resources than us and feel legitimised to take over us and exploit us."

"When tourists come and wish to donate me the resources for me to have a house built, educated non-Batwa make sure to talk to such people and convey the resources somewhere else to build that house in their own area. Eventually, I stay poor, while they get richer."

Some respondents specified that globalisation augments existing socio-economic differences (3), benefiting those who are already wealthy and making the poor even more backward. Socio-economic differences may increase jealousy and competition within Batwa communities (2). A Mutwa described his experience in this way:

"Having a small business, like my bar, means being ready to see someone else open another bar after assessing my activity, just to have competition; some people hate me for this sort of initiative, as they get jealous of those who achieve something".

As emerged from some negative perspectives on tourism, many Batwa understand their eviction in relation to globalisation (6): *"The eviction of the Batwa from the Bwindi Forest is itself a consequence of globalisation".* According to numerous Batwa, the eviction has, in fact, launched the modern era characterised by technological innovations and Westernisation (4). The use of money as legal tender (3) and the possibility of saving capital in banks (2) were mentioned as some innovations brought about by modernisation. On the introduction of money, a Mutwa said:

"If we compare our current life with our ancient way of living, the main difference is that in the forest, we could always get free meat. Because of globalisation, nowadays we have to buy meat if we want to eat it. Sometimes, we have no money, so we can't afford meat. In general, everything was for free before and isn't now."

Another respondent highlighted the brighter side of the matter:

"A man in this village worked hard, saved his money in banks, and eventually bought himself a phone: this is a step we can make to build up our capacity and resilience and develop."

Nevertheless, following the eviction, issues such as alcoholism (5), Batwa killings in bars resulting from inter-tribal hatred (4), women defilement, impregnation and abandonment (3) and the propagation of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) like AIDS and gonorrhoea (6) began occurring. On alcohol abuse, a Mutwa man said:

"What is bad is the Batwa killings occurring in bars. I am aware of three cases that have happened in the past. Some Batwa have been murdered in bars after taking alcohol, or on their way home from bars while drunk, during the night."

On women abuse, a Mutwa girl explained:

"The Bakiga invade our community at night. Diseases have spread a lot because this has become a well-known place where to 'get your backache or AIDS cured'. Obviously, these are euphemisms for cheap sex. Bahutu men try to break into my house every night. So I have to chase them away. People get raped at night. I remember that from when I was in school. You see, at night, I cannot just sleep. I have to watch out and be vigilant the whole night every night."

Many Batwa raised concerns about the loss of indigenous heritage with respect to globalisation (12). Besides tourism commodifying cultural practices that would otherwise

be no longer purposeful, intermarriages (6) between the Batwa and other tribes like the Bakiga were identified among the root causes. An interviewed Mutwa described the problem using these words:

"When it comes to intermarriages and sexual intercourses between Batwa and Bakiga, the Batwa identity grows weaker because people are mixed. There is a decline of the Batwa in number. The Bakiga values are stronger, and finally, assimilation happens."

Opinions on intermarriages were not homogeneous, as some Batwa highlighted their ability to decrease discrimination patterns and marginalisation (2). In general, some respondents saw globalisation as an opportunity to reduce the Batwa's exploitation as slaves, inter-tribal hatred and conflicts (5):

"Because of education and globalisation, it is now very difficult for the Bakiga to claim a Mutwa as their own slave to exploit in their plantations".

Some Batwa highlighted that globalisation disrupts traditional social structures and decreases discipline in Batwa communities (3). Respondents also explained that as Batwa children attend schools, they start being ashamed of their "primitive" and "dirty" Batwa parents. A Mutwa man illustrated the issue as per below:

"Our children are no longer behaving following our Batwa values: they are not following the instructions or guidelines of their parents. On the family level, men are no longer the head of their family, as nowadays women take over the responsibilities of the family: they manage properties and are decision-makers. This results from the influence of foreign countries: we are just copying them".

Finally, climate change and pollution were also mentioned in relation to globalisation (1). A Mutwa man clarified:

"Globalisation is changing the weather. Many modern machines release smoke and pollute the environment. Some people are affected by it."

5.3.2. Non-governmental organisations

NGOs' responses reaffirmed globalisation's duality. On the one hand, globalisation was viewed positively by Batwa-run NGOs due to the networking opportunities it entails and the possibility of establishing direct relations with international donors. In general, interviewed NGOs mentioned that the broader international funding spectrum is possibly the main advantage of globalisation, especially

for the provision of scholarships to a growing number of Batwa students. Capacity building through training and expertise acquisition was also highlighted as one of the benefits of networking. Additionally, globalisation was also praised for providing the opportunity to meet indigenous groups from Uganda and around the world in international conferences to discuss development and empowerment matters, as well as for its role in disseminating information and news about Batwa's plight and culture through tourism and social media. Technology for communication and transport was regarded as a powerful asset to easily extend the outreach of development aid and humanitarian assistance also to the most remote Batwa settlements. Mastering globalisation's positive outputs was reported as essential for developing community-based tourism, avoiding non-Batwa brokers by Batwa-run NGOs. Two non-Batwa-run NGOs affirmed that globalisation enhanced socio-economic conditions in Batwa communities. At the same time, another one appreciated fruitful inter-tribal exchanges that allowed the Batwa to assimilate Bakiga's sustainable agricultural livelihoods.

On the other hand, globalisation was reported to have augmented the differences between the rich and the poor among the Batwa and between the Batwa and other tribes. As Batwa community members highlighted, Batwa's access to globalisation has been limited; hence, it has had negligible positive impact on the Batwa due to their extreme poverty. In other words, NGOs pointed out that globalisation targets majorities and not minorities. One Batwa-led NGO specified that the dependence on foreign aid is nothing but an evolution of Batwa's begging practices, while another NGO indicated that the short-term funding that non-profit organisations typically receive hinders the ability to generate tangible outcomes. Interviewed NGOs expressed concern over the challenge of shifting the Batwa's mindset from a perspective where everything is perceived as freely available to embracing a capitalist-driven view of reality, where resources are commodified. This was identified as a limiting factor in the Batwa's access to the benefits of globalisation, leading them to become victims of the system and increasing their marginalisation. Batwa-led NGOs, in fact, supported the view according to which globalisation had been the triggering factor leading to the tribe's eviction. Several NGOs agreed on globalisation's ability to erode the Batwa culture. Tourism was identified as a critical factor, as it has transformed Batwa communities into assets unofficially owned and exploited by non-Batwa businesses for their cultural uniqueness. While one NGO

openly expressed its doubts about the unequivocal correlation between globalisation and cultural endangerment, it also claimed that taking Batwa children to foreign countries at an early age is a heinous practice as it eradicates their tribal identity. Another NGO indicated that globalisation and Westernisation led to the homogenisation of clothing, housing, spirituality, and language distinctiveness of different African tribes; it also highlighted how, in the post-eviction landscape, Batwa's unique patterns were regarded as anomalous and humiliating, leading to consequent socio-cultural adjustments resulting in loss in indigenous heritage and diversity. This NGO's spokesperson noted that the preservation of indigenous culture, identity and knowledge would be more essential and empowering than embracing globalisation:

"I don't see the purpose of learning modern things and copying the Western lifestyle. We do not have to 'catch up' with anybody. If other tribes feel like adapting their culture to the modern world, they are free to do so, but I wouldn't do the same if I could speak on behalf of the Batwa."

Another mentioned downside of globalisation was the incidence of alcoholism originating especially from tourists' handouts after attending Batwa's cultural performances. One NGO, however, excluded any direct relationship between globalisation and alcoholism, rather linking the latter to the availability of affordable alcoholic beverages outside of the forest environment and the lack of education among post-eviction Batwa.

5.3.3. Governmental institutions

Government officials praised globalisation for promoting the positive blending of cultures thanks to intermarriages. Intermarriages between individuals from various Ugandan tribes have effectively curbed pre-colonial inter-tribal conflicts and animosity, fostering national unity and mutual intercultural understanding. This has led to increased open-mindedness, equality, and the emergence of individuals with multiple cultural backgrounds encompassing diverse tribal heritages. Global interconnectedness has also arisen in response to globalisation. Foreign visitors can learn about the Batwa culture, get involved in development goals, and support local children distantly, allowing them to complete their educational path smoothly. Educated Batwa are able to employ technology to compete for funds and submit project proposals on their own, do research, do business

online, travel, and communicate. In addition, it was claimed that tourism constitutes an opportunity for earning a living for both educated youth and elderly individuals without formal education.

On the other hand, it was pointed out that globalisation destroys intra-community unity and family ties due to people migrating abroad or to different districts in Uganda. It was noted that urbanisation does not necessarily entail poverty elimination, leading to the increased incidence of prostitution and the spread of STDs. The undermining of respect for the elders, discipline, and social roles based on gender, and the "excessive" equality promoted by Western countries were cited among the negative aspects perpetuated by globalisation. Social media and movies with explicit sexual scenes were reported to normalising promiscuous behaviours, inappropriate revealing clothes, and homosexuality, which are values conflicting with traditional African values. It was specified that the exposure to such material is not exclusive to television or phone owners, as films happen to be broadcasted in bars and wealthier youngsters easily influence youth's collective behaviour. Globalisation, understood as industrialisation, has been reported to alienate wealthier individuals from food production. This exposure to excessive amounts of processed and low-nutrient food worsens their eating patterns, resulting in poorer health and an increased susceptibility to diseases that typically do not affect the poor. Furthermore, it was explicitly confirmed that globalisation was the cause of the Batwa's eviction, driven by the high demand to allow tourists to safely access and admire the beauty of Ugandan forests, which held significant revenue potential.

5.4. Education's utility and culture eroding capacity

5.4.1. Batwa communities

Most Batwa agreed that education constitutes an opportunity to foster socio-economic development in Batwa communities as well as individuals' wealth (21). Numerous Batwa asserted that education acts as a gateway to accessing more lucrative employment opportunities (teachers, nurses, etc.) (7). Several respondents also pointed out that education serves as an empowering tool (11) which entails mastering the English language for communicating with foreigners (6) and dodging non-Batwa's potentially

deceptive and manipulative mediation. Beyond a certain degree, Batwa's education and empowerment appeared to be in fact conflicting with Bakiga-run organisations' interests (2). A respondent explained the Bakiga's obstructionism towards Batwa's education and related embezzlement activities with the following words:

"From what I can see, foreign donors offer scholarships to support our children's studies, but the Bakiga retain and "eat" the funds. If there is money for developing a project for us Batwa, the Bakiga use it to support themselves and their family instead. In relation to education, that is the case especially when school expenses increase with the beginning of the secondary level. They tell us that funds for scholarships are unavailable."

Despite recognising the potential positive impact of education on Batwa communities, the interviews emphasised the contrasting opinions on educated Batwa's attitude. Some respondents affirmed that education enhances community solidarity and leads educated community members to share their knowledge, skills, and financial assets with their clans and kin (6):

"If my child gets educated, he or she can possibly get a good job and bring something home, which could allow me to stay in a better and more beautiful house."

Other respondents asserted the opposite, highlighting educated Batwa's tendency to develop a superiority complex which limits their desire to associate with other fellow Batwa who still conduct a more "backward" life (7). This attitude – fostered by educated Batwa's improved sanitation practices (1) – translates into the pursuit of more individualistic and "selfish" ambitions that may still lead to the personal accumulation of wealth. Intermarriages were also linked to the occurrence of this mindset (2). Selected interviewed Batwa said:

"When the Batwa get educated and they feel they are smart, they often get married to a Mukiga, so they choose the path of intermarriage. At that point, they no longer care about following the way of life of their fellow Batwa and hardly ever come back to their community of origin."

"Batwa children become blind and too proud when they get educated, they neglect their own parents because they are not in the same status. By neglecting the parents, they are at the same time neglecting and rejecting the culture of their tribe. […] They refuse to listen to the tales from the forest that the elderly can tell."

"Some educated Batwa see our culture as business and money, not as an identity. They see the culture as a tool, not as the destination. […] Globalisation is not the destination, it is the tool. It is not a way of life meant to replace our culture."

From the cited quotes, another alarming issue emerges: the eradication of the Batwa culture as a result of the perpetuation of education (17). Most interviewees motivated the decline of the Batwa culture by saying that the educational syllabus spreads predominant Western values and knowledge, neglecting the indigenous expertise (14) and overthrowing the respect for traditional social structures and roles (2). Nevertheless, not all respondents considered that a negative point:

"Schools teach new skills that are outside of our cultural heritage; they teach the Western culture, and that is actually good for our development."

"We left the forest long ago, it is no longer ours. So I don't really see the point for this generation's children to assimilate much of our Batwa culture. I think we should be looking for modern development."

Other interviewees stated that the Batwa cultural heritage is endangered mostly because of Batwa parents' lack of dedication to transmitting the Batwa culture and values to new generations (3). Because children who attend a school are time-constrained, they are likely to miss out on cultural occurrences at the community level, which may further hinder their attachment to and knowledge about the Batwa culture (4). Children in private boarding schools are likely to experience this cultural detachment more than children attending public schools. The fact that education is often extended by Christian institutions constitutes another root cause for cultural eradication (1).

On the other hand, with respect to the previous finding concerning community solidarity, some Batwa think that educated community members are trying to fulfil communities' cultural revival aspirations (8) while advocating for the rights over ancestral forests (4). Emphasising the importance of incorporating indigenous knowledge into education, a Mutwa man said:

"When a person goes to school, knowing the culture, he or she cannot forget it. If I am a doctor who understands our culture, I can recommend to patients which medicinal plants to use for pain relief, drawing from our indigenous knowledge. If I am a teacher, I can impart knowledge about medicinal plants and their use in treating malaria."

A Mutwa lady asserted:

"*Education will bring back the culture because when our children get educated, they will fight for our right to access the forest.*"

Another perspective on cultural revival specifies that this tendency is exclusively business-driven (1):

"*Many Batwa are going back to their culture because the educated ones understood the business potential that lies in tourism, and are hence focusing on that sector.*"

School attainment does not come without constraints. The main challenges associated with it include economic barriers (5), discrimination (2), food insecurity (1), poor instructional quality (1), and post-education unemployment (2). Coherently with what many authors have concluded, although primary education has been made tuition-free by the government of Uganda, the costs related to uniforms, scholastic materials, potable water and food as well as exam and report fees make school attainment unaffordable for many Batwa families. Batwa students coming from food-insecure households are likely to perform poorly as a result of malnutrition and undernourishment. Discrimination towards Batwa children by both fellow students and teachers is fuelled by Batwa's lack of basic assets and is also perpetuated in the form of corporal punishments. Two respondents talked about the issue in this way:

"*When Batwa children are at school, they are not treated like human beings; instead, they face discrimination for being part of the Batwa tribe. Teachers and other students do not respect them as they do with non-Batwa children.*"

"*It is difficult for the Batwa to attend a school with consistency. They all drop out and if you encourage them to re-enrol, they will refuse. This happens because they are physically punished. They get to hate schools because of how they are treated.*"

The combination of the aforementioned constraints, along with the virtual absence of rewarding job opportunities capable of economically uplifting Batwa communities' living standards after graduation, contributes to high school dropout rates among Batwa students and fosters a negative bias towards education. Nevertheless, other respondents emphasised the positive role of international sponsors (5). When the raised funds are not misused by intermediaries and are effectively invested in supporting Batwa children's

studies, they can enhance children's nutrition while simultaneously relieving their families from the financial pressure deriving from their upbringing (2):

"When children are sponsored in education, the amount of food that parents need to buy drastically reduces, because children are fed at school. If they do not go to school, they will be induced to steal produce from the fields of the Bakiga due to feeling hungry. If they are caught, they can also be killed. And if someone sees them steal and follows them until they get home, I as a parent will be exposed to the same danger – being abused, beaten or killed."

The interviews highlighted the fact that education has not yet had any tangible impact on Batwa communities' welfare, as only a few individuals from the first Batwa generation to receive education have recently graduated from post-secondary programmes (2).

5.4.2. Non-governmental organisations

Similarly to globalisation, perspectives on education were very much polarised.

On the one hand, some NGOs asserted that the higher the number of educated Batwa, the greater the capacity to improve socio-economic indicators in Batwa communities. Education was reported to hold the potential of breaking the poverty cycle within which the Batwa are seemingly trapped. Education was regarded by various NGOs as an empowering tool that bestows the Batwa with a voice in advocacy actions and allows the Batwa to bypass non-Batwa brokers' partial mediation. A non-Batwa-run NGO claimed that education empowers the Batwa to eventually replace non-Batwa individuals in NGOs currently led by a board and an executive director who are non-Batwa. In contrast to this assumption, however, a few Batwa-run NGOs argued that education has had no impact due to non-Batwa-led NGOs' obstructionism in letting educated Batwa access NGO jobs, which further fosters the conviction that education is in fact purposeless. A Batwa-run NGO's spokesperson said:

"If BDP finds out that a Mutwa who was supported in education by them applied for a job in UOBDU, BDP will write a letter to UOBDU to complicate things and sully this Mutwa's reputation with some fake controversial facts. Alternatively, they will offer this Mutwa a lot of money in the form of a scholarship for him or her to accept to go back to school. Eventually, they may not even give him or her the promised money, accomplishing what they wanted since the beginning: having this Mutwa sit at home jobless. BDP will not offer this Mutwa any job. Still, they will make sure not to allow any

Batwa to work for 'rival' NGOs. NGOs are not even supposed to be competing, they are supposed to cooperate."

Other NGOs specified that, in general, due to the substantial unemployment rate, it is hard for any educated person to access the job market in Uganda; the situation is exacerbated for the Batwa due to their marginalisation. A Batwa-run NGO's spokesperson stated:

"After finishing S6, I applied for a job in UWA. As I went to their office to drop my application, there was an immense crowd of Bakiga applicants, as if the whole of Uganda gathered in one place. Yet, UWA was looking for one person only. I was not selected, as could be expected, frankly speaking. When so many people apply for a position, only who bribes the most wins. How could a broke Mutwa like me who comes from a marginalised community win? No chance!"

It was also mentioned that to avoid their integral empowerment, the Batwa are sponsored in education only under the condition of undertaking a specific academic path at a particular institution. A Mutwa spokesperson said:

"I tried my luck and got admitted to the African College of Commerce and Technology in Kabale to study tourism. Just for me to go to Kabale and pick up my admission letter, my mum had to sell four goats. With that money, I could pay for my transportation, accommodation, and food. I showed my admission letter to the responsible person in BDP. As he saw it, he simply tore it up in front of my eyes. He abused me and told me that I was stupid to think that I could study in Kabale. He said I should have looked for schools in Kanungu district. In Kanungu there was only one institution, Great Lakes Regional University, which was not that good... […] After selling more goats and achieving admission to the Makerere College of Business and Computer Studies in Rukungiri, the head of BDP called the principal of that institution and abused him verbally: 'How foolish are you? How can you admit a child who's having bad grades in scientific subjects?'. The principal replied that the course I would take did not require sciences. All that mattered were my grades in English and Arts. 'I am not going to allow this nonsense', BDP's director said. Then he proceeded to tear up my new admission letter as well as my S4 diploma. He drove away after throwing the pieces of my S4 diploma into his car."

Another argument against education was the assertion that it fails to break the Batwa's dependency on aid and the consequent exploitation, instead teaching only more advanced ways of begging. A Batwa-run NGO indicated that, since education entails empowerment allowing the expansion of horizons and the unleashing of critical thinking, it simultaneously strengthens the government's narrative that the Batwa need no

compensation for their eviction. The misappropriation of funding destined for scholarships was identified as an additional serious issue that does not ensure sufficient upkeep for Batwa children and leads to intensified discrimination in educational facilities by other students, teachers, and even school principals, triggered by poor sanitation and grooming.

Interviewed Batwa-run NGOs also explained that education exacerbates the decline of the Batwa culture. They highlighted the colonial nature of the educational curriculum that intrinsically damages indigenous cultures as well as the consequently arising intra- and inter-generational gap:

"On one side you find all uneducated Batwa, and on the other side those who got educated. This gap prevents socialisation. Socialisation is the main condition to practise and preserve a culture. When meeting the Batwa, I've learnt to have the most down-to-earth attitude to be still seen and accepted as one of them. I do not refuse to share food with them or engage in whatever activity they do, no matter how 'backward' or 'primitive' it may be considered. If they are sitting on the dusty ground, I'll also do that. I have no prejudice towards my culture; in fact, I completely embrace it. 'My children no longer want to be my children' is a statement that perfectly summarises our parents' perspective: they see their educated children's 'Batwaness' fade away to the point of not being able to recognise them as Batwa and as their own children."

Additionally, most interviewed NGOs expressed concerns about the conservation of Rutwa and the Batwa heritage in general due to the limited exposure that new generations attending schools may possibly have. The importance of exposing Batwa children to the Batwa culture was reinforced although it was noted that some non-Batwa-led NGOs encourage children to join extracurricular summer classes to prevent any early approach to alcohol within Batwa communities. A non-Batwa-run NGO, however, specified that education cannot harm the Batwa culture if Batwa communities take cultural preservation seriously and ensure their children attend schools while being self-aware and proud of their tribal identity.

Finally, it was asserted that as a result of improved hygiene, sanitation, and grooming, educated Batwa girls still living in poverty are more vulnerable to being sexually harassed, impregnated, and abandoned by ill-intentioned non-Batwa people.

5.4.3. Governmental institutions

The government remarked on the importance of education for the pursuit of development and the diversification of livelihoods. In the government's view, education sensibly shifted the Batwa's focus from their consistent desire to reclaim forest dwelling to the pursuit of economic security, welfare, comfort, and personal fulfilment, in the name of civilisation. Unlike Batwa community members and NGOs, governmental institutions highlighted the dynamicity of cultures and their ability to positively evolve in reaction to innovations and new stimuli. Not being static, traditional tribal African cultures can be enriched by education, which stimulates the abandonment of primitive and cruel aspects and simultaneously encourages positive Westernisation. It was argued that education may enhance people's behaviour, but it will not eradicate their cultural background, leaving tribal identities intact along with the positive aspects of tribal cultures. In the specific case of the Batwa, it is affirmed that their storytelling culture, beliefs, commitment to preventing intermarriages, and traditional dances and songs may endure, preserving the integrity of their tribe. An example of abandoned negative features is the execution of women accused of adultery. Unhygienic food-sharing habits were also reported to be generally dropped by educated individuals to avoid the spread of contagious diseases. It was clarified that education does not promote individualism over collectivism, but rather sensibility. In addition, it was argued that education enhances acceptance of coexisting with different ethnic groups with distinct cultures. As mentioned above, the Batwa are averse to intermarriages and generally discriminate against the Bahutu, similarly to how the Bahutu discriminate against the Batwa because of their backwardness. Education constitutes an effective tool to alleviate inter-tribal discrimination and promote mutual self-esteem.

On the other hand, it was acknowledged that Uganda's educational curriculum is colonial and Western in essence and may result in the blind idolisation and imitation of Western values. People's admiration for Western educational schemes has gone so far that proposals for implementing alternative programmes, where children would study in their regional language from primary 1 to primary 3, have been rejected in order to maintain English as the main language of education. Despite emphasising the positive relationship between education and cultures, the government also admitted that traditional

backward practices related to rural dwelling may eventually disappear, as has happened in the case of other local tribes like the Bakiga and Bafumbira. The shift from animist beliefs to monotheist religions was also regarded as inevitable.

5.5. Batwa-destined humanitarian and development action in the post-eviction era

5.5.1. Batwa communities

5.5.1.1. Humanitarian action

When interviewed, almost all Batwa community members mentioned that following the eviction, they received a small plot of land and a house on it (24). The most recurrent NGOs providing Batwa people with land were BMCT (13), BDP (3), African International Christian Ministry (AICM) (2), Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) (2), the Diocese of Muhabura (2), and Redemption Song Foundation (RSF) (1). Houses were provided by the following NGOs: BMCT (11), the dioceses of Kabale and Muhabura (4), BDP (3), UOBDU (2), AICM (2), BIDO (1), and RSF (1). Other Batwa families specified that they had not received any land and still squatted on Bakiga's private properties in exchange for their labour in the fields (2). The primary constraint associated with the provision of land was the absence of land rights, leading to the Batwa's unofficial ownership of the land on which they reside. This arrangement seemed to resemble a concession rather than a formal transition of ownership (4). A Mutwa man raised the issue in this way:

"After staying on this land for 15-17 years, we found out that the agreements on land ownership between us and the organisation were fake, as in fact, we do not have any authority over our land. We cannot sell a piece of it for our survival, for example."

Other issues linked to the provided land involved its limited extension (6), the low fertility (2), its steepness (2), and its position next to forest boundaries, making it prone to wildlife attacks (2):

"Our land is useless. It just lays there, but it is not productive, it does not give us any yields. It lost fertility. Another problem is the wild animals destroying the crops. If you go to UWA to ask for compensation, you will be told to wait, but you will never be compensated."

The main constraint related to housing referred to the poor conditions of the buildings (11). A Mutwa lady summed up the problem by saying:

"*The NGOs constructing semi-permanent mud houses never come back to assess their conditions. Any house may lack maintenance due to the people living in it being old, poor, or unskilled to take care of it. For example, if some iron sheets are old and have a water leakage, we will not have enough money to buy new ones to replace them. Not being repaired, houses eventually collapse.*"

Besides land and houses, humanitarian action also included the provision of food aid (13). The mentioned NGOs distributing food aid were UOBDU (6), BDP (3), the dioceses of Kabale and Muhabura (3) BIDO (2), BBCDA (1), Kigezi Orphans & Vulnerable Children Living with HIV/AIDS (KADOLHA) (1), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (1), and the Red Cross (1). The most recurrent issues linked to food aid included the supply inconsistency and the lack of remarkable impact (8):

"*When these NGOs have funding, they come, maybe once in the middle of the year. They may bring one sack of posho of 25 kg and 5 kg of beans. There are about 23-24 families in Nteko, so eventually each family receives slightly more than 1 kg of posho. In one day, the posho is gone.*"

A few respondents also pointed out that some NGOs used to distribute food aid only shortly after the eviction (3):

"*Food aid was provided by UOBDU during the five years following the eviction when we were in a deep humanitarian crisis. As our conditions stabilised, we ceased receiving that aid.*"

Further mentioned humanitarian actions included the supply of basic assets such as clothes, blankets, mattresses, and pans by UOBDU (1), clothes, buckets, soap and toilet paper by UNHCR and the Red Cross (1), and medicines for HIV-positive Batwa by KADOLHA (1). UOBDU was also concerned with Batwa children's sanitation and hygiene (1). Uncertainty about the ownership of UOBDU-supplied items raised a Mutwa's voice:

"*UOBDU adds their logo to each and every item they donate. 'PROPERTY OF UOBDU': that is what you will find on blankets, mattresses… So all these items remain theirs: you can use them as if they were yours, but you can't trade them. It is the same case as regards the land the Batwa received.*"

Regarding the provision of medicines arranged by KADOLHA, a Mutwa man pointed out:

"*When KADOLHA comes to prescribe us medicines, they write for us the doses we are supposed to consume. Unfortunately, since we are illiterate, we happen to mess up with the quantities and take excessive amounts. Some people incur into problems.*"

Referring to both food aid and medicine provision, he also commented on KADOLHA's unannounced community visits:

"*When medicines and food are brought to us, we are not aware nor informed that someone is coming so we are not there to wait. This means that some people might not receive the medicines even though they need them... they might be somewhere else, working. By not receiving these medicines, they die.*"

5.5.1.2. Development action

According to the interviews, development action entailed projects concerning agriculture, tourism and handcrafting, schooling, and healthcare.

Projects focused on farming were arranged mostly by Development in Garden (DIG) (8), BMCT (3), UOBDU (3), BDP (1), and RSF (1). They primarily involved the provision of seeds, seedlings, and agricultural tools, as well as the establishment of farming groups, training sessions, seed banks, and rewards for the most productive groups, all aimed at encouraging commitment. The main critique of such projects included the absence of long-term impact and sustainability (8), caused by the interruption of seed and seedlings supply at the end of the defined terms (3), lack of manure (2), no supervision or ill-management of the newly established seed banks (2), and inadequate training (2). The inexistence of measures to build up climate change resilience was another complaint (2) that added to the previously enumerated shortcomings of land characteristics. Additionally, the sudden and unannounced start of such projects posed an issue once again, as it hindered the participation of potential absentees who had not been present on the day of seed supply or farming group formation (1). The insurgence of conflicts within farming groups also contributed to jeopardising projects' success and sustainability (1). With respect to a UOBDU-run project, a Mutwa man said:

"UOBDU used to give us seeds to grow potatoes, but it is over now. It was helpful, but when the donors interrupted the funding after one year, the whole thing ended. A seed bank was created, but there was no supervision, hence no good management to guarantee sustainability. As UOBDU left, the Batwa sold all the seeds or ate them."

Projects centred around livestock raising were overseen predominantly by UWA through BBCDA within the TRS framework (4), BDP (2), UOBDU (1), AICM (1), RSF (1), and private individual donors (1). Such initiatives entailed the assignment of two sheep, goats, cows, pigs, or hens to a few community households with the aim of further redistributing the offspring to new Batwa beneficiaries. Asked to identify the major shortcoming linked to this form of aid, several respondents pointed out the lack of sustainability (7), notably resulting from aid inconsistency (4), misuse of allocated resources (3) and incidents of resource theft (1). On the aid focused on domestic animals, a Mutwa said:

"When UWA gives a Mutwa a goat or a sheep, the problem is that he is likely to sell out the animal to have some liquidity instead of understanding the purpose of the aid. He may buy alcohol. If his wife opposes, wrangles within the household may arise, leading to cases of domestic violence. So, the problem is not about the aid, but the attitude towards it originating from the mindset of the Batwa."

The limited reach of such projects was also underlined since some respondents mentioned having only heard of this aid without ever becoming direct beneficiaries (3):

"The government [UWA] claimed to have donated cows or goats, but we have actually not received that kind of aid. They gave the aid to the Bakiga, not to us Batwa."

Other agricultural initiatives arranged the distribution of bee hives to revive the traditional practice of honey collection among the Batwa (2). The main actor in such initiatives was the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) (2).

Efforts directed towards tourism development can be categorised into two main areas: the first involves arranging Batwa cultural performances (12), while the second focuses on training for tourism and selling handcrafted goods made by the Batwa (9). The main actors gathering international tourists in Batwa communities are tourist guides from local lodges and campsites (4), BIEO (4), UOBDU (2), BBCDA (2), BDO (2), BDP (1), and RSF (1). For taking them to Batwa communities, these NGOs and businesses charge each tourist a fee of about 20 USD. This income is not shared with Batwa community members who may benefit from tourism only by receiving tips from generous visitors (5).

Selected interviewees highlighted the repercussions of this uneven system of benefit-sharing coupled with the language barrier:

"One of the problems we meet on cultural trails is that guides escorting tourists discourage them from giving us huge amounts of money by telling them that we will surely misuse it. Guides tell tourists to give them the money so that they can later redistribute it with us. In reality, that never happens."

"Tourists already pay a 20 USD fee to the BIEO office for visiting our community. They expect that we receive a share of that, so they often do not tip us, and we receive nothing."

"If we complain, these organisations will just bring the tourists to different dance groups, which will preclude us from getting tips."

According to the interviews, the lack of commitment from the side of the above-mentioned stakeholders was also revealed by the absence of dancing training (2).

On the other hand, several NGOs were reported working towards the development of handcrafting skills within Batwa communities. The most mentioned organisations included BBCDA and Nkuringo Cultural Centre (4), followed by UOBDU (1), BIDO (1), BIEO (1), BDO (1), and BDP (1). Activities mostly concentrated on teaching weaving, tailoring, and carving. Constraints centred on the lack of capital for launching a business after completing the course to monetise the acquired skills (2), the ineffectiveness of the course due to its short duration (2), and the inflexibility of NGOs on offered courses (2). Other shortcomings included the exclusive focus on women participants (1) and the extended duration of the courses, which often resulted in participants not being able to earn income during that time (1). On this last point, a Mutwa lady explained:

"At the beginning of the training, they promised to be giving us little allowances for our survival. This weaving project takes place from Monday to Friday from morning to evening. For us to attend, we have to give up on the work we would otherwise do. In the first few days, we would receive the money we had been promised. But now it's been three weeks without receiving any."

Financial support for school attainment emerged as another important development intervention. According to the interviews, scholarships were primarily provided by UOBDU (4) and BDP (2), followed by BIDO (1), BIEO (1), BMCT (1), RSF (1), churches (1), and private individual donors (2). RFS was the only NGO allowing a Mutwa to study outside Uganda – in the USA. UOBDU was also involved in the arrangement of functional adult literacy and numeracy courses for forest-born Batwa

adults who never had the chance to attend a primary school (2). With respect to scholarship provision, the main constraints appeared to be linked to the delay or interruption of funding (2), and the discriminatory and unjustified expulsion of Batwa children from schools despite the submission of funding (1), which added to the previously mentioned education-related hindrances. The lack of awareness on the importance of education seemed to have an impact on school dropout rates despite the availability of scholarships:

"I attended school until primary 3. Back then, however, we did not know the purpose of studying, so we dropped our studies early."

In addition to scholarships, "Seed of Love" primary school in Kikobero village constituted a relevant developmental initiative (1). Established by a Mukiga to overcome Batwa's marginalisation, this school provides Batwa children with free education while setting a 150,000 UGX tuition fee per school year for Bakiga children. Such school fees are invested to purchase school uniforms, scholastic materials, and food for Batwa children reducing their exposure to the risk of dropping out. The peculiarity of this initiative lies in the incorporation of Batwa traditional knowledge into the school curriculum, including songs, dances, stories, legends, taboos, and medicinal herbs. This is made possible through children's involvement in the nearby Batwa cultural trail. This initiative works thanks to local volunteers and promotes the harmony between the Batwa and Bakiga tribes through sensitisation. Its impact showed to be still very limited, given that it involved only about 60 pupils (one fourth of which were Batwa).

Healthcare support was referred to by only a few respondents. Mentioned NGOs providing it were BIEO (1) and Sustain for Life which is no longer operating in the area (1). Specifically, BIEO is working towards the establishment of a Batwa clinic and pharmacy. Informal observations noted that although no structured development plan concerning healthcare was implemented apart from the mentioned initiative, NGOs generally intervene with paying Batwa's medical fees in case of emergencies, subject to funding availability. Denial to assistance was however reported by respondents:

"If a kid is sick, UOBDU does not come to help them. Instead, as an excuse, they say that they have no fuel to reach the hospital. I think that they prefer helping financially when someone has already passed away with the arrangement of the funeral!"

Generally speaking, respondents pointed out that the aid they received was widely insufficient (7). Additional critiques included the lack of transparency in its delivery (7), and non-Batwa's corrupt behaviours and embezzlement activities throughout the delivery process leading to project collapse (8). The theme that Batwa communities are deliberately kept impoverished and disempowered to enrich the various stakeholders who are theoretically committed to their development emerged once again. Large evidence highlights the use of photos depicting the Batwa's poverty as a fundraising tool for Ugandan non-Batwa-run NGOs in their relations with international donor organisations. This funding appeared to be misappropriated oftentimes:

"There are always NGOs or people sent by the government claiming to have the intention of implementing a project for us, but they visit us with the sole aim of making money for themselves. They collect information in our communities, talk to us, take pictures of our poor living conditions, but eventually never come back to implement anything. I believe they send photos to international donors to get funding. They just enjoy the money they receive and do not invest it here as promised."

"NGOs appoint some Bakiga to deliver the seeds to our community. At the end, we may receive only 50 percent of the seeds that were originally sent to us by UOBDU or BMCT because the other half of the stock was kept by the Bakiga who were merely appointed to deliver them to us. They keep them because they also have fields and grow crops."

"These projects won't even last one week. […] NGOs may delay the payment of salaries […]. Consequently, the Bakiga who are hired may decide to steal the materials that are provided for the implementation of the project, starting it at their home community instead. […] The Bakiga will meet the Batwa and justify their inactivity by saying that they have run out of resources: 'The materials are over'. […] When it comes to expense accounting, the project has been implemented in the eyes of NGOs. […] Their only concern is the retention of a certain percentage of money from the funding received by the donor. […] In case of audits, the project is quickly staged by summoning a few Batwa; pictures of Batwa working are taken on the first and only week of operations and recycled in the future in case donors request them. Pictures of Bakiga beneficiaries may also be passed off as Batwa to foreign donors, […] while the Batwa remain clueless of the existence of any development effort whatsoever […]."

The described situation results in negligible positive impact and contributes to the perpetuation of a negative bias towards new initiatives (3). A respondent specified:

"The time the Batwa are involved in these projects is not enough for them to actually absorb any knowledge. […] In addition, they lack the resources to continue practising what they've learnt, so

there is no sustainability. Nowadays, many are biased towards new initiatives as they see them as scams or a waste of their time which they could use working."

The 'divide et impera' strategy was also mentioned by one respondent who claimed that her phone was destroyed and her shelter burnt by other community members because of her independent contact with a donor. According to her explanation, the local church, which provided the community with land and houses, fomented hatred against her, convincing other Batwa of her selfishness. In reality, her empowerment and ability to connect with foreign donors conflicted with the diocese's interests in the Batwa.

The above-mentioned hindrances coupled with the lack of coordination among active NGOs (2), the lack of involvement of the Batwa in decision-making (3) and simultaneously the insufficient technical expertise among Batwa people (3) keep Batwa communities dependent and vulnerable to development aid at the same time (6). On this, selected respondents said:

"BMCT and UOBDU are not coordinated, I think. If BMCT comes today, UOBDU may come pointlessly tomorrow, taking the aid back to their headquarters and not showing up for the next year."

"To ensure development projects are sustainable and successful, the Batwa should organise them themselves. They should take on these projects as their own because at the end of the day, they are the ones supposed to benefit from them."

5.5.2. Non-governmental organisations

5.5.2.1. Humanitarian assistance

Interviewed NGOs providing food aid indicated that it is distributed exclusively in emergency times – during COVID-19 when people were not allowed to work, or in dry seasons when the harvest is insufficient and people are food insecure. Interviewed NGOs further stated that food aid is not supplied regularly or consistently, but rather only when some spare funding is available. They admitted that it does not have the ability to eliminate hunger. Some NGOs also mentioned that they distribute food whenever they conduct community sensitisation, as well as during weddings or funerals.

NGOs providing land and housing also acknowledged their limited capacity and had to establish criteria to determine priority groups. For a non-Batwa-led NGO, such criteria included being elderly, being a young couple with children, or demonstrating

responsibility in the use of previous development and humanitarian assistance. With this measure, the NGO aimed to encourage healthy competition to reward the virtuous ones. Due to limited funding, most NGOs indicated that they had been providing semi-permanent houses rather than permanent ones. While some Batwa-run NGOs mentioned undertaking maintenance work to prolong the endurance of houses provided by non-Batwa-run NGOs, it was noted that maintenance remains an issue and largely depends on the owner's care and usage. Houses where cooking is done inside were reported to deteriorate much faster compared to those where families cook outside or in a separate kitchen located in a detached building. A non-Batwa-run NGO also dove into the controversial topic of land rights and specified that any land that is bought for the Batwa is purchased by the Batwa chairperson of the NGO's general assembly and is legally Batwa's communal property, not the NGO's. This particular organisation also admitted that many other NGOs keep the land rights and have different procedures and values.

Other mentioned fields of humanitarian assistance included the distribution of clothes and other basic assets, sanitation kits during COVID-19, and the coverage of healthcare fees in hospitals and clinics. In general, NGOs indicated being available for any action that goes beyond project planning and that provides the Batwa with any sort of assistance, subject to financial predisposition.

5.5.2.2. Development aid

NGOs explained that they provide Batwa communities with agricultural aid in the form of agricultural inputs, training, land rental, and the creation of nursery beds, with the hope of increasing food security and school attainment. Two NGOs stated that they were conducting projects centred on planting indigenous forest herbs and crops to diversify Batwa's diet and provide them with accessible alternatives to Western medicines. They mentioned signing a memorandum of understanding with UWA, which would allow them to legally access natural parks and transplant seedlings onto plots of land outside forest boundaries. One NGO clarified that the acquired piece of land, located in Kobusiina village, contains nursery beds and emulates the forest environment, becoming a sort of "pocket forest". This plot of land was divided into four sections: one for medicinal plants, one for timber, one for wild yams, and one for forest vegetables.

Interviewed NGOs providing Batwa communities with agricultural inputs such as seeds, tools, and fertilisers acknowledged that sustainability is compromised in the attempt to serve and assist all settlements without any preferential treatment. Some NGOs pointed out that agricultural aid fails to ensure food security also due to Batwa's misuse of supplied seeds: non-Batwa-run NGOs reported that they are stolen and either sold or eaten by the poorest and most desperate families. Batwa-run NGOs, on the other hand, explained that the lack of expertise and soil fertility are the biggest obstacles to overcome.

Most NGOs referred to being involved in tourism. One interviewed non-Batwa-run NGO partners with UWA's Batwa Forest Experience programme in the BINF and is dedicated to mobilising Batwa communities while also managing their profit shares from the programme. It manages two bank accounts, one of which is meant to accumulate 50 percent of Batwa Forest Experience's tourism revenues and has signatories from the NGO, the NGO's donor institution, and UWA, while the other one collects tourists' tips and has signatories exclusively from the Batwa community representatives and the NGO. For withdrawing any amount from either account, all signatories need to be physically present, which can make actions rather obstructed. The earned money can be invested after discussion and the collective agreement of Batwa community members on land and housing, scholarships, livestock, clothes, mattresses, food, or simply cash distributions.

A Batwa-run NGO expressed its utter disapproval of this strategy, arguing that the Batwa allowing others to exploit them in the BINF undermine advocacy efforts for the return to ancestral forests. Instead, they prove the government's point that compensation and involvement in forest management have already been extended to Batwa communities. Another raised concern was UWA's ability to deceive both tourists and the Batwa and retain visitors' tips instead of letting the Batwa receive them directly. UWA and other non-Batwa businesses' advantage was reported to be their knowledge of both English and local languages.

One NGO revealed its failure in tourism activities. Its spokesperson claimed that they were the first to implement a cultural centre and Batwa trail in the area. Common activities included weaving, storytelling, dancing, singing, and playing music. The failure of this scheme derived from the unhealthy competition of non-Batwa enterprises that copied the business concept, outdoing the Batwa-run NGO in public relations and

marketing thanks to their larger budget and capacity. It was also emphasised that non-Batwa businesses appropriate the Batwa culture while simultaneously arranging tourism-related training, during which they teach Batwa community members non-Batwa dances, disguising them as Batwa dances. Multiple spokespersons from Batwa-run NGOs affirmed that the Batwa are unaware of being asked to assimilate cultural features that are not actually theirs. It was stated that such practices reflect veiled attempts at cultural cleansing, rendering displayed cultural activities more marketable while simultaneously appropriating the authentic Batwa culture to sell it as the original, thereby excluding the Batwa from the market completely:

"Some Batwa have no memory of what the Batwa culture used to be in the forest, so they are deceived to learn songs and dances from the Bafumbira people who convince them that is Batwa culture. They do so because many people see the actual Batwa songs as too primitive and cacophonic. The aim is to please ignorant tourists and to do the marketing online. The Batwa are unaware of the fact that it is not their culture, so they do not oppose it. I saw it with my own eyes: while the Batwa are dancing Bafumbira dances, the Bakiga are dancing Batwa dances, maybe to be able to tell tourists that the Batwa no longer dance their traditional dances. It is all about stealing our authentic culture and turning it into a profitable business."

Another Batwa-run NGO's investment scheme allocates 70 percent of the tourism revenue to the construction of a Batwa clinic, where treatments will rely on indigenous knowledge of medicinal herbs. 20 percent is designated for scholarships, and the remaining 10 percent covers the NGO staff's salaries, allowing Batwa community members to earn immediate income solely through tips. While this approach operates without the involvement of non-Batwa brokers, another non-Batwa NGO criticised it for not adequately rewarding Batwa participants. Instead, this NGO established a fixed pay of 7,000 UGX, exclusive of additional tips, for all participants every time a group of tourists visits. In this framework, less priority is given to community development, while greater emphasis is placed on equitable remuneration and cultural revival and conservation. A non-Batwa NGO revealed arranging training uplifting Batwa's dancing and musical skills, preparing them to perform in prestigious cultural events such as those held at Kampala's Ndere Cultural Centre. The aim is to revive the Batwa culture, sensitise the audience about Batwa's challenges, and formalise dancing as a professional career path able to end marginalisation and exploitation. Additionally, most interviewed NGOs mentioned organising handcraft-making training. One non-Batwa-led NGO also reported

establishing craft shops where tourists can easily purchase Batwa-made souvenirs, thereby supporting rural development initiatives in Batwa communities.

Community development efforts were also concretised by microfinance schemes in certain areas. A Batwa-run NGO has established a programme that distributes loans with a 2 percent interest rate, aiming to encourage Batwa interest groups to found their own small enterprises. The NGO provides consultancy sessions, microfinance, and money-saving lectures to the Batwa. This framework was designed to extend the benefits of the inaccessible PDM to Batwa communities by offering beneficiaries flexibility in loan repayment time while ensuring sustainability and circularity of resources. In fact, the scheme involves multiple stages or rounds in which the lent money progressively increases due to interest returns. The first stage consists of loans amounting to 200,000 UGX, while the second stage offers loans of up to 600,000 UGX. The Batwa are given the freedom to choose the enterprise specialisation of their preference; some have started brickmaking businesses, others livestock rearing or bar running. After allowing all eligible community members to participate, the long-term mission is to organise beneficiaries into cooperatives based on enterprise specialisation. Within these cooperatives, microfinance operations such as monthly contributions and investments will no longer be managed by the NGO but rather by the Batwa themselves, with only supervision and monitoring from the NGO. The NGO has praised the programme, highlighting its success. Fearing misuse of money, a non-Batwa-run NGO developed a group-based scheme that, after consultation, involves the allocation of grants in the form of livestock. The offspring of these animals is subsequently redistributed among the group members.

Several NGOs reported providing scholarships and supporting Batwa's school attainment. Non-Batwa-run NGOs identified the main challenge as Batwa's poor understanding of education's importance, which leads to very high dropout rates. One non-Batwa-run NGO, after facing difficulties in ensuring funding continuation from their donors, had to limit sponsorships to students who had already completed school up to the primary 5 level. Another non-Batwa-run NGO determined that only students performing well and demonstrating proactiveness and seriousness in education would be eligible for sponsorships. Early marriages were also widely considered a major cause of school

dropouts, especially among Batwa women, fostered by sponsoring organisations' inability to cover accommodation for couples outside of school dorms.

On the other hand, spokespersons from Batwa-run NGOs highlighted food insecurity and discrimination linked to inconsistent and insufficient funding for students as the main reasons that dramatically increase school dropout rates among Batwa youth. The spokesperson of a Batwa-run NGO clarified the issue as follows:

"The resources we were given at the beginning of secondary 3 were not enough to complete the three terms there are in a school year: at some point, we did not even have pencils or pens to write down notes, we had no paper or textbooks, we had run out of soap and only had one torn-off uniform, meaning that we would be feeling dirty and smelly among other people while at school. Being dirty would reinforce the stereotypes about the Batwa and fuel discrimination against us by other students. We were isolated by our peers. We would reach out to our sponsoring organisation several times to ask for the things we were lacking, yet their feedback would be non-existent. Going to school became very frustrating as we had no materials to be able to study. It became a waste of time. […] Out of 50 students who started secondary school with me, only 6 graduated from university or a post-secondary specialisation programme, mostly because they were lacking basic things to continue."

"In secondary 5, after once skipping one class due to running out of scholastic materials again, my Mutwa friend and I got severely beaten in front of the whole school; we got abused both physically and verbally. The school director shouted that we were monkeys who came from the forest, referring to the fact that we were Batwa. He spoke such words in front of all the students while beating us with a big log. My arm got injured very badly."

As can be extrapolated from these quotes, discrimination in schools is mostly fuelled by the lack of sanitation derived from insufficient soap provided by sponsoring organisations. Spokespersons from non-Batwa-run NGOs also highlighted Batwa students' fear in requesting resupplies to their non-Batwa-run sponsoring organisations due to the distance the latter would create with the use of highly formal and administrative language as well as their authoritative approach to the Batwa, occasionally abusive. Batwa-run NGOs noted that the insufficiency of funding destined for education could be explained by embezzlement and other corrupt behaviours, which results in Batwa students' tendency to boycott school attainment. Discrimination patterns in early primary school years by other children were reported to be intense both in the form of mockery and physical fights. The hazard of being poisoned through food was also mentioned:

"On my first school day, kids threw rocks at me. A kid followed me during lunchtime and told me he heard about the fight I was involved in the day before. He provoked me. We fought. Some Bakiga saw the scene and started holding me still so that the other child could have his revenge on me."

"There was news about Batwa children being poisoned by the Bakiga through their food at school when they were in P6. Since those children died, I could not trust the food I would be offered by Bakiga children – maybe food that they would bring from home – as it could be poisoned on purpose. I would accept it and throw it away when no one would be looking."

Besides scholarships, a Batwa-led NGO claimed to run a kindergarten for Batwa children. Meanwhile, a non-Batwa-run NGO led the construction of eleven primary schools, one per Batwa settlement in their area of operation. These schools provide Batwa children with the guarantee of being able to attend from the nursery level up to primary 7 free of charge, thanks to a policy that requires non-Batwa children to pay tuition. A Batwa-run NGO arranged a skill development centre where non-Batwa specialists teach vocational professions to Batwa trainees. These courses conclude with the awarding of a certification at the completion of the one-year instructional cycle.

Community sensitisation activities were regarded as crucial by all interviewed NGOs. Mentioned sensitisation topics included alcoholism, drug abuse, early and unprotected sex, contraceptive methods, STDs, GBV, health issues and healthcare access, disputes and justice, available educational opportunities, financial literacy and mutual aid groups, parents' responsibilities towards their children, correct care of domestic animals, and appropriate usage and management of provided aid to ensure effectiveness. NGOs reported sensitisation activities to be successful. To widen their outreach, some non-Batwa-run NGOs claimed to use radios for sensitisation.

A Batwa-run NGO faced significant conflicts with the Church in their area of operation. As the local diocese offered Batwa people the opportunity to connect to international donors, a few Batwa leaders decided to give up on their traditional spirituality and embrace evangelisation in pursuit of development opportunities. Their Batwa community was granted a piece of land on which a Batwa church was constructed thanks to huge investments conducted by a foreign Christian association, which came with the intention to purchase land and build permanent houses for the Batwa, as well as a hospital, an orphanage, schools, and tourist lodges. Conflicts arose as the foreign association decided to remove references to the Batwa from the church's name and

instigated a power struggle to marginalise Batwa voices within the church's leadership. When faced with resistance from the Batwa community, the foreign association resorted to violence, intimidation, and coercion to maintain control. They hired mercenaries to invade Batwa-owned spaces, destroyed property, and threatened individuals who challenged their authority. Additionally, they forged alliances with other local tribes, such as the Bakiga, to stabilise their authority in the area. The target beneficiaries of their development projects became the Bakiga themselves, while the Batwa kept being exploited as a workforce, subjected to inhumane workloads, forced overtime labour, physical abuse whenever productivity expectations were unmet and discriminatory payments. As the Batwa-run NGO inquired with the diocese on the contracts that permitted the Christian association to operate in this way, their neo-colonial plan was unveiled. The association got the bishop to sign a document providing for the joint foundation of a new organisation which bore the same name as the newly renamed Batwa church. The goal was to bypass Uganda's law that impedes foreign organisations from legally purchasing land in Uganda and fully acquire land rights by means of bribery. The location where the lands were purchased was strategically close to the BINF where there is a lot of potential for the development of tourism infrastructure. In conclusion, the development projects were a mere channel for a few heads of mission to pursue their personal interests materialising in neo-colonisation activities, human rights abuse, and death orchestrations to eliminate opponents. As their plans got exposed and the media involved, they got sued by the said Batwa-run NGO in the local court, which ordered the confiscation of the disputed land and church. Nevertheless, their operations were reported to be continuing, albeit at a lower-profile pace.

In addition to humanitarian and development aid, many NGOs mentioned engaging in advocacy activities. Some NGOs reported acting on the national level, submitting petitions to national governmental institutions, similarly to UOBDU's case against the Ugandan government in search of compensation or involvement in forest management. Other NGOs indicated preferring a more bottom-up approach, criticising bold and impetuous requests that are unlikely to be accommodated and lack transparency in follow-ups perhaps due to bribery. UOBDU's court case against Uganda's government was reported to be counterproductive: instead of encouraging the government to compensate the Batwa for their forceful eviction, it fuelled the government's hostility

towards Batwa's requests and attempts to achieve representation and visibility. In bottom-up schemes, advocacy is done through community sensitisation, the search of diplomatic solutions with the actors who violated the Batwa and competent judiciary authorities, and peaceful demonstrations and information dissemination to raise awareness on Batwa's plights. Besides requesting compensation, advocacy activities aim to ensure fair treatment in healthcare facilities, avoid injustices in courts, propose changes in the Constitution and legislation, and promote law enforcement to protect the Batwa minority from abuses by UWA's rangers, for instance. Interviewed NGOs stressed that the lack of political representation is one of the main challenges hindering the fulfilment of the advocacy agenda in the post-eviction landscape. Enjoying no political representation appeared to be the result of stigmatising the Batwa as incapable beggars, the low number of educated Batwa and Batwa voters in general, the lack of financial assets for boosting candidates' popularity during election campaigns, the violent repression of peaceful demonstrations, and the defamation of Batwa candidates.

Major mentioned constraints concerned Batwa's engagement and role in non-Batwa-run NGOs. It was broached that all Batwa people who are part of the general assembly of an NGO are illiterate or uneducated and can be therefore easily manipulated or set against the educated Batwa youth. It was remarked that no Mutwa is involved in decision-making although there are unemployed educated Batwa who are qualified for NGO jobs. This situation seemed to distort the list of assumptions and priorities in NGOs' agendas. Another spokesperson highlighted the fact that Batwa workers are comprehensively excluded from non-Batwa-run NGO's operations. For instance, qualified Batwa construction workers are excluded from construction projects while non-Batwa managers' kin are favoured. Batwa people who accomplish a job position in a non-Batwa-run NGO cannot afford to be professionally ambitious unless they want to face severe orchestrations against them – namely traps aimed at spoiling their reputation or inducing them to break the organisation's code of conduct, or lethal poisoning through offered food. Similar repercussions may be faced by the Batwa bringing up non-Batwa colleagues' corrupt behaviours. Batwa's dismissal justified by alleged wrongful conduct or bribery is generally not accompanied by official rulings by competent courts proving someone liable. Embezzlement was identified as a critical point tarnishing Batwa workers' reputation among Batwa community members, as it impedes the successful

implementation of promised projects. Although donor organisations are mostly powerless in ensuring correct resource allocation on the field, incognito audits and investigations meant to unveil corrupt behaviours were revealed to have occurred:

"We pushed for having a Mutwa run the NGO, XX. Accountants would go to banks and bring bank checks to XX to get his approval for the withdrawals to invest money for ongoing projects. In reality, they would steal money for their own businesses. […] XX got HIV at some point, so some donors started sending money to his personal bank account. […] These donations helped him with the construction of a new house. The Bakiga working in the NGO got very jealous of his privileged relationship with the donors, […] so they decided to create a trap and accuse him of embezzlement. In this way, they wouldn't be suspected of misappropriating funds during auditors' field visits when it could emerge that a lot of money would not appear in any reports. XX was the perfect scapegoat. That is how he was fired. […] XX had been an executive director only in his title, as a formality. He was a puppet. He could be very easily circumvented by everyone, and the donors knew about it, but did not intervene."

Interviewed spokespersons from Batwa-run NGOs explained that their grassroots initiatives were founded in antithesis to the corrupt conduct of non-Batwa-run NGOs and UWA. Nevertheless, they expressed the struggle to establish relevant partnerships with national or international donor organisations due to the challenge of breaking the already-established donor-implementer chain. Batwa-run NGOs claimed to be invisible to international donor organisations due to being regarded as incapable and unaccountable. Batwa's perceived marginalisation was reported to hinder their self-empowerment opportunities. Batwa-run NGOs revealed that their main source of funding are individual private donors and not donor organisations. Batwa-run NGOs self-reported being perceived as threats by both the Ugandan government, which has an interest in avoiding advances claiming the constitutional illegitimacy of the eviction and requesting access to Batwa's ancestral forests, and non-Batwa-run NGOs, who are concerned with ensuring their donors' loyalty to avoid losing funding to Batwa-run NGOs. Two Batwa-run NGOs reported receiving anonymous threats, possibly by actors whose interests have been damaged by their operations. Another Batwa-run NGO claimed getting scammed through a deceptive memorandum of understanding by an individual foreign donor who was aiming at NGO appropriation similarly to the previously illustrated case involving a local diocese.

Competition between non-Batwa-run and Batwa-run NGOs and among NGOs, in general, was reported hampering cooperation and coordination and turning development and humanitarian actions into a race for funding driven by personal utilitarian interests. Duplicated aid due to poor mutual knowledge of NGOs' activities was also mentioned.

Aid inefficacy was mainly attributed to limited funding, which restricted NGOs' outreach, as well as insufficient field assessments and customisation of aid to address the Batwa's actual needs and prevent the misuse of allocated resources.

5.5.3. Governmental institutions

5.5.3.1. Humanitarian assistance

Interviewed government officials explained that the government-provided humanitarian aid consists of the occasional distribution of food, blankets, iron sheets, and other relief materials. The distribution is fair and equitable to all inhabitants and does not make any tribe distinction. The distribution is usually managed by village councils, selected local NGOs, or district community development officers. Essential goods may be also supplied to nearby Batwa settlements without prior planning whenever spare funding is available from the Disaster Management Committee after providing relief to the citizens affected by natural hazards. In the event of natural disasters affecting Ugandan citizens, the government donates 5 million UGX for each fatality a family is affected by, and 1 million UGX per injured individual who may need hospitalisation. The Batwa may also be beneficiaries of this programme.

Regarding the eviction, the government pointed out that after the displacement, it distributed some liquidity to the Batwa and other groups damaged by the gazettement as compensation, which was however never acknowledged as such by the recipients, and promptly misused. In addition, it delegated Batwa's resettlement to one of its trustees – BMCT – which nowadays mostly operates as an independent NGO. Besides being an economic move, the eviction was described as a necessary step to reduce socio-economic imbalances between the Batwa and other tribes, allowing them to catch up in terms of civilisation.

5.5.3.2.   Development aid

Governmental development programmes do not target specific ethnicities or tribes, as they are universal. These programmes include free primary education, free healthcare, UWA's TRS, the PDM, National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) which entailed the provision of domestic animals and seeds, the Uganda Women Entrepreneurship Programme distributing loans up to 4 million UGX, and Governance and Security which has the goal to boost the adherence to the rule of law in the country, increase citizens' safety, improve legislative processes, and enhance democracy and access to justice (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2017). The creation of the infrastructure for the supply of clean drinking water to Batwa settlements is another governmental initiative. In addition to free primary education, best-performing students may be granted free secondary education and university if they win a governmental scholarship. Since public exams are highly competitive and Batwa students are food insecure, they are very unlikely to be selected; students from wealthier backgrounds usually succeed thanks to attending high-quality private institutions. High school dropout rates during primary school remain a significant issue, despite primary education being tuition-free. This is often due to students being unable to afford extra expenses such as school uniforms and scholastic materials. Free healthcare seemed to be ineffective with regard to Batwa's development due to the high costs of transportation to reach the nearest facilities as well as Batwa's preference for traditional herbal medicines and scepticism towards hospitals. NAADS had limited success due to not forging a sustainable system, insufficient soil fertility, and lack of climate change resilience measures.

The government acknowledged not taking any affirmative action through policies targeting the Batwa specifically after their forceful eviction. However, it highlighted the creation of a friendly policy framework which permits and encourages NGOs to operate to address those issues that the government cannot tackle due to its limited funds and outreach. The registration of NGOs is a process that involves multiple administrative levels: from village and town councils which submit recommendation letters to district offices or the Uganda National NGO Board which finalise the registration. Annual reports are then submitted to the administrative unit at which the NGO has been registered. The registration of NGOs is completed only upon ensuring that their goals do not interfere

with governmental agendas and are not illegal; the registration represents the joint commitment to NGOs' goals. This commitment is evidenced by mutual invitations to conferences focused on the Batwa and development partnerships between civil society and the public sector, as seen in the collaboration between UWA and BBCDA.

Community sensitisation is conducted by the Department of Community Development for marginalised people in cooperation with Batwa community leaders. The main discussed topics are alcoholism, best agricultural practices, development and equality within the Mindset Change Programme, family welfare, and livelihood diversification. Additionally, community development officers raise awareness on the above-mentioned governmental programmes and mobilise the Batwa to benefit from them.

Similarly to NGOs' responses, Batwa's lack of political representation was explained by the insufficient funds for self-promotion in election campaigns, their smaller population size, and the inability to benefit from the positive reputation of a kin politician due to their historical marginalisation. It was noted that while having Batwa politicians may be impactful, the main issue actually lies in the low participation rates of the Batwa in governmental programmes. In addition, it was claimed that implementing tribe-based representation may be unfeasible in Uganda due to the high tribal diversity nationwide.

Nevertheless, governmental institutions recognised that all governmental levels have been exposed to the motion supporting the implementation of tribe-based representation in Uganda thanks to the advocacy of educated Batwa and NGOs. The mediatic impact of the UOBDU-led case against the central government (which was, however, not followed by any affirmative action) also contributed to giving visibility to Batwa's requests. Not all interviewed governmental officials were in favour of reserving a few seats to represent the Batwa as a minority group in political institutions. Those who did, however, cited the governmental resolution appointing a certain number of seats to women in Uganda's public institutions to alleviate gender imbalances as an example to follow. It was suggested to reserve at least one seat in the 9-member village councils for a democratically elected Mutwa representative, and to appoint at least one Mutwa executive officer at the district level in all districts where the Batwa reside as a minority group.

Besides Batwa's low participation in governmental development programmes, interviewed government officials highlighted that the main constraint related to delivering aid to Batwa communities consists of their mentality, which is based on surviving on free things. This mentality has led to the development of begging habits, reluctance to work for a living, poor work ethics, and wasteful resource management. Any material aid that is delivered to Batwa settlements is likely to be sold out to purchase futile things or alcohol, which seems to be valued more than food items. The government affirmed that this mindset is very rigid and hard to break:

"They think that they can consume everything they have today because tomorrow they can beg and receive something again. Even many young boys and girls who are very capable consciously decide not to work and to beg instead. Batwa's mentality is based on the assumption that they should keep on surviving on free things. You'll see the Batwa roaming around and asking people to give them 1,000 UGX. And they do not offer anything in exchange: they demand money for free."

Marginalisation is not only created by the said helplessness to benefit from the aid, but also due to the Batwa's backwardness in terms of civilisation compared to other tribes:

"The Batwa took time to achieve civilisation. Everybody here was originally a hunter-gatherer, we all depended on the forest, just like the Batwa. However, both the Bafumbira and the Bakiga left these livelihoods behind long ago and became civilised. The Batutsi specialised in cattle keeping, whereas the Bahutu started practising agriculture. The Batwa kept hunting and gathering as their main livelihood until 30 years ago. They became marginalised because they could not produce anything for the market or to trade. The Batwa's 'production' consisted of game meat, which was however mostly consumed right after being hunted."

The Batwa perceive imbalances in Ugandan policies due to their civilisation retrogression, poverty, and marginalisation.

5.6. Perceived compatibility between quality-of-life enhancement and cultural preservation, and recommendations

5.6.1. Batwa communities

The majority of respondents expressed a preference for pursuing modern development to achieve wellbeing embracing globalisation and the livelihoods of the

Bakiga tribe rather than prioritising cultural preservation efforts (17). Among the interviewees with this vision, some highlighted the possibility of maintaining the cultural heritage only partially with those activities that can be practised outside of the forest and that are pivotal for the preservation of the identity of the Batwa people (10). Storytelling and oral heritage were listed among these. Several respondents who indicated that wellbeing can be achieved by prioritising modern development also expressed their wish for expanding the advocacy activity to be granted access to Batwa's ancestral forests by the government (6); nevertheless, most of these respondents perceived this option as very unlikely to be effective or remote despite admitting that life in the forest was better (4). On the other hand, advocacy for forest rights was discerned as pivotal to achieving wellbeing by other interviewees, placing it in a prioritised position compared to the pursuit of modern development (3). Some respondents affirmed their understanding of quality of life enhancement and cultural preservation outside of the forest as compatible dimensions (6).

The most frequently named recommendations for Batwa's development were the provision of larger lands to practise agriculture and achieve food security (19), good housing (10), scholarships and enhanced school attainment (10), domestic animals for rearing (10), seeds and seedlings (7), and farming training (7). Other recommended activities included advocacy for political representation (6), the development of community-based tourism free of any ties to or dependency on the Bakiga tribe (6), the acquisition of a large piece of bushland where to gather the Batwa and practise and transmit the culture (5), the extensive planting of forest indigenous herbs outside of the forest biome (4), the specialisation in beekeeping (2), the construction of healthcare facilities in proximity of Batwa settlements (2), and improved accessibility to clean water (1). Some Batwa emphasised the importance of restoring traditional Batwa social roles and hierarchies whereby elders and parents are respected by children and considered mentors, and men and women have separate tasks (3). The need for diversification in professions and an increase in the employment rate among the Batwa to reduce exploitation and dependence on aid were also highlighted. Respondents suggested several initiatives as viable ways forward in this regard, including the construction of a Batwa-run skill development centre for those dropping out of school, the establishment of Batwa-run enterprises, and the expansion of Batwa-run NGOs (7).

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With reference to education, most respondents agreed that it is not the responsibility of schools to propagate the Batwa culture, but rather that of Batwa parents through informal education (19). Nevertheless, some interviewees supported the idea of incorporating the Batwa culture and history into educational syllabi (8), while others claimed that schools should only provide a harmonious environment where children from different tribes share their cultural backgrounds and learn from each other (3). Some respondents expressed a desire for the utilisation of Rutwa as a language for teaching, similarly to Rukiga, with reference to the policy framework providing for the promotion of regional languages (6). Other recommendations included the employment of Batwa teachers in both public and private schools (6), the establishment of schools targeting the Batwa only where their culture can be taught avoiding cultural appropriation or assimilation (4), the arrangement of culture-focused holidays for Batwa students (4), and the creation of Batwa cultural centres and workshops where the elderly can transmit their indigenous knowledge to new generations (4).

5.6.2. Non-governmental organisations

All interviewed NGOs unanimously agreed on the possibility of achieving wellbeing through cultural preservation. One NGO, dedicated to advocating for Batwa's rights over ancestral forests, specified that emulating the Batwa culture outside of the forest environment cannot be considered authentic Batwa culture. They argued that such replication, tied to tourism activities, fosters dependence and exploitation, and does not lead to an enhanced quality of life. This NGO underpinned the importance of retrieving Batwa's way of life and forest dwelling to ensure the endurance of the tribe's identity and the enhancement of living conditions. This NGO further specified that the Batwa culture is a way of life and not a fake display of long-lost practices. Contrarily to other interviewed NGOs, this organisation stood against projecting tourism as an underlying tool for development. Imitating the Baganda's[9] virtuous example of harmoniously amalgamating cultural pride, as reflected by the continuation of indigenous institutions and costumes, with globalisation and technological advancements, was proposed as one of the best viable solutions. The secret behind Baganda's success story, according to this

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[9] Baganda: Kampala's main ethnic group.

NGO's spokesperson, was their unalienated tie to their ancestral lands. Most NGOs emphasised the need for advocating for at least partial access to ancestral lands. This would permit the Batwa to have seedlings of forest plants to cultivate on their fields and, ideally, to be involved in forest management. Strict punishments for poachers, illegal miners, and loggers, as well as regulations on hunting activities based on rules derived from Batwa's indigenous taboos would be essential for the Batwa's involvement in forest management and their return to forest dwelling. Similarly to what Batwa community members recommended, another mentioned compensation alternative included the donation of a large piece of non-protected bushland in which to reproduce the forest environment and have the Batwa elderly propagate the Batwa heritage to new generations.

Coherently with NGOs' perception of compatibility between cultural preservation and quality of life enhancement, most recommendations centred on the strengthening of traditional livelihoods. Proposed ways forward for Batwa's development included beekeeping, the cultivation of forest crops like wild yams and medicinal herbs, handcrafting of traditional musical instruments and weaved products, and pottery. Introducing development projects that are considerate of the Batwa culture can enhance Batwa's acceptance and approval of them, as well as improve their attitude and interest in benefiting from them. While most interviewed NGOs underlined the importance of sensitisation activities to educate the Batwa on preserving their heritage and reviving their culture, one non-Batwa-led NGO stated that such initiatives should be conducted by the Batwa independently without NGOs' interventions. Nevertheless, cultural revival was generally described as the best way to enhance food security and give the Batwa dignity to stop discrimination and stigmatisation. Some NGOs claimed to see great potential for upgrades in Batwa music and dances through targeted training programmes aimed at preparing them to join the entertainment industry. Other recommendations for Batwa's development included the donation of more lands for agriculture, nurturing domestic animals to reintegrate meat in Batwa's diet, the creation of a demonstration farm where the Batwa can receive agricultural inputs and trainings to manage farming systems combining animal rearing and farming, permanent housing, the creation of hospitals for the Batwa in proximity of their settlements, the development of tourism without middlemen, and the teaching of alternative livelihoods through vocational courses.

Batwa-run NGOs stressed the need to break Batwa's dependence on activities directed by non-Batwa-led NGOs by enhancing their own capacity and accountability in the eyes of international donors. They emphasised the importance of establishing direct relationships with national and foreign donor organisations, bypassing non-Batwa-led NGOs. This approach was highlighted because it was argued that the Batwa are the only ones who fully understand their own challenges and are best equipped to tackle them. The need for Batwa's political representation was backed by interviewed NGOs as well; one NGO indicated that if no affirmative action is undertaken by the Ugandan government possibly under the pressure of international stakeholders, tribal struggle and conflicts may arise as a result of the already very tensed climate.

Regarding education, most NGOs agreed on the importance of advocating for the incorporation of Rutwa as an educational language alongside Rukiga, in line with the framework promoting the valorisation of Uganda's regional languages. Even so, NGOs had polarised opinions on the inclusion of the Batwa culture in educational syllabi. In line with the opinion of many Batwa community members, some NGOs were convinced that it is the elderly's role to perpetuate indigenous knowledge in informal settings, and not schools' in formal ones. On the other hand, some NGOs underpinned the necessity to have Batwa instructors in schools to transmit the Batwa culture. One NGO, however, specified that educated Batwa may not have the interest in teaching something as backward as Batwa traditional practices due to the superiority complex that they may have developed. Alternative options for teaching the Batwa culture emerged: extra-curricular afternoon or weekend cultural classes, culture-focused school holidays spent visiting shrines, sacred places, as well as Batwa clans and settlements, even outside Uganda, or cultural camps held in bushlands with the elderly. These activities could enhance children's sense of belonging, respect and discipline, as well as their indigenous knowledge and skills related to forest dwelling. Spreading knowledge about medical herbs was highlighted by most interviewed NGOs, since it was argued that it could be employed in Batwa-run healthcare facilities to cure diseases, or commodified and transmitted to international researchers visiting Batwa settlements. NGOs indeed placed remarkable emphasis on research activities: compiling textbooks illustrating the Rutwa language, the Batwa history and heritage in both Rutwa and English was repeatedly suggested in order to save Batwa's indigenous identity and knowledge from extinction.

Thoroughly teaching such notions in schools was unanimously seen more appropriate than arranging curricular cultural classes. One NGO specified that facilitating Batwa's access to education opportunities and the job market in non-Batwa districts may foster growth by cancelling the risk of getting discriminated against.

5.6.3. Governmental institutions

Interviewed government officials remarked on the importance of preserving the Batwa culture and identity since they discipline people and may serve as a compass in development, confirming the compatibility between the two dimensions. Although it was argued that backward ways of living and bad cultural features should be abandoned, the creation of museums to showcase Batwa's history and traditional way of life was supported alongside the preservation of positive empirical knowledge about rural dwelling. To strengthen the Batwa's attachment to their identity, it was suggested upgrading their dancing and musical skills to allow the Batwa to compete in the entertainment industry dodging uncertainty deriving from tourism seasonality, as well as gazetting a specific area for the Batwa to practise and perpetuate their culture while living in good shelter. Baganda's cultural preservation example was cited multiple times.

The importance of adopting modern livelihoods to terminate the begging culture and boost food security was highlighted. Development efforts should be directed into supporting agricultural development through the provision of lands, domestic animals, farming inputs, training, and climate change resilience capacity-building. Another suggestion consisted of the establishment of Batwa-run cultural trails similar to the Batwa Forest Experience managed by UWA, while also allowing the Batwa to perform as wardens and tour guides. This initiative could potentially transform the Batwa into specialists in conservation tourism. The need for effective supervision and monitoring in project management was emphasised with reference to the previously enumerated constraints.

To foster Batwa's empowerment and political emergence, the focus on education was said to be fundamental. Empowerment is achieved by creating conditions that enable the Batwa to compete, including accessing governmental scholarships, connecting with international donor organisations, and embracing digitalisation. One interviewee

suggested lending bonus points to Batwa students participating in public examinations to favour their enrolment in good institutions, parallelly to the equivalent resolution aiming to support female students.

Education's main purpose was reinforced to induce children to develop individual ambitions, teach them skills, and provide them with the tools to pursue entrepreneurial or high-skilled professional careers. It was clarified that schools should not incorporate cultural classes in their syllabus, although they may consider arranging extracurricular cultural activities and contests to promote cultural exchanges among kids from different tribes while ensuring cultural preservation. The usage of Rutwa may also be integrated into the teaching of such extracurricular activities, but not as a teaching language due to merely being a dialect of the Rukiga language. The Batwa culture should be predominantly taught by Batwa elders in cultural trails, and Batwa students should be encouraged to develop their own professional ambitions unrelated from forest dwelling.

6.   Discussion

This paper has examined the different perspectives of Batwa community members, NGOs, and GOs on globalisation, education, humanitarian and development aid, and respondents' recommendations on the way forward. In this section, the most recurrent and controversial themes will be interconnected and discussed with the findings of other authors that are available in the literature to broaden the scope of the analysis. Themes featuring contrasting perspectives between and among interviewed stakeholders will be addressed, aiming to drive the readers towards a conclusion.

The ethnographic results of this paper focusing on the Batwa's current livelihoods, culture, identity, and transformations triggered by the 1991 eviction harmoniously enrich the knowledge contained in the existing literature without challenging it. The issues related to the ongoing humanitarian crisis the Batwa are facing also coincide with Zaninka (2001), Balenger et al. (2005), Turyatunga (2010), Mukasa (2012), Ssenyonga (2012), and Kokunda et al. (2023).

Based on the results, globalisation was generally viewed positively because of the networking opportunities it entails, as well as thanks to facilitating economic growth, and access to social services and technology. The main raised issue was the hampered access to globalisation's benefits due to marginalisation and limited outreach of scholarships which were mentioned as one of the most empowering tools. This situation is effectively reflected in the statement "globalisation has intensified marginalisation while creating a new privileged minority within the disadvantaged section of society", which is borrowed from Mishra's (2015) description of Indian society. This statement implies that globalisation does not only augment socio-economic differences between the rich and the poor, but also among the poor because of the differential and inequitable access to social services such as education, healthcare, public transportation, and access to information. This nuance of globalisation was highlighted by Batwa community members and NGOs, but it was neglected by GOs which rather drew attention to the positive cultural blending, enhanced national unity, and economic development that globalisation entails. As Mishra (2015) underlines, globalisation "divides as much as it unites".

A highly controversial theme that emerged in the results was formal education's disruption of indigenous values and the consequent perception of shame of educated Batwa students with regard to their culture and kin. This instance is not unknown to the literature, as this repercussion of colonial institutions was also highlighted by Elliott-Groves and Fryberg (2018) who affirmed that the colonial educational and judiciary systems, alongside negative indigenous stereotypes and lack of indigenous representation, forge indigenous people who are prevented from developing "positive concepts of self" and "healthy identities". This situation hampers their ability to "connect the narrative thread of their past and present with their possible futures". In the case of Uganda's Batwa, this condition is reflected in the lack of discipline and respect of the youth towards the traditional role of the elders, the transformation of globalisation into a lifestyle in antithesis to the "backward" way of life of the Batwa people, and the development of a superiority complex distancing young generations from the old ones who were born in the forest. Discrimination driven by stereotypes and stigmatisation also derives from this. Once again, globalisation reveals the separatory nature that Mishra (2015) mentioned. Groh's (2006) temperature of cultures holds true for the Batwa, as they are induced to assimilate elements from hotter industrial cultures to compensate for certain gaps in their indigenous heritage, while simultaneously discarding backward practices that are no longer purposeful in the modern world. Groh's (2006) theory perfectly encapsulates the perspective expressed by the interviewed governmental officials, who emphasised the importance of transitioning from semi-nomadic hunter-gathering to agriculture, integrating modern development, and embracing globalisation to improve lifestyle and livelihoods. Discarding negative or barbarian cultural features was also explained to be part of this "evolution" process. According to this perspective, efforts should target the preservation of exclusively positive cultural features, such as indigenous knowledge systems and the unique Batwa dance, for instance. Recommendations on the assimilation of non-Batwa livelihoods such as farming and animal rearing may also be associated with this scheme. Intermarriages were also mentioned in relation to cultural and identity endangerment. The stance on intermarriages was not homogeneous, as it was argued that while they discretely lead to ethnocultural cleansing, they reduce marginalisation and discrimination. Dulani et al. (2018) conducted a study in Malawi which confirms that mixed individuals have weaker ties to either parental identities and

are influenced to a lower degree by ethnicity in their political decisions in comparison with their mono-ethnic counterparts. After investigating the different effects of intermarriages and intramarriages on intragroup and intergroup relationships among Kurdish tribes, Akdoğan & Kuşdil (2024) conclude that intermarriages reduce social distance while increasing the frequency of quality contacts and perceived equality. Such findings validate the results of this paper, proving that mixed societies are less likely to discriminate based on ethnicity, compromising on the exclusivity of robust intra-ethnic attachments.

Possibly due to the extreme poverty the Batwa are undergoing, Batwa respondents mostly expressed their deep understanding of the importance of education, which contrasts with the conclusions drawn by other authors and institutions including UWA and the Ministry of Water and Environment (2023). The disruption of school attainment was predominantly explained by the financial burden and discriminatory treatment in schools rather than by the distrust in education's empowering capacity and utility. Although the incorporation of the Batwa culture into educational syllabi was recommended only by some Batwa and NGOs, the revitalisation of Rutwa through its integration into teaching curricula was supported by most interviewees except governmental officials. Reinke (2004) and Watson (2007) explain that the endurance of a language is correlated to the ability of the related cultures to also survive and be valued in the globalisation era. The role of elders as perpetrators of the Batwa culture was emphasised by all stakeholders, promoting the idea that the preservation of the indigenous heritage should be untangled from schools, unlike Kaya (2013) concludes. However, the importance of formally recording indigenous knowledge systems by researchers, and their presentation in museums and textbooks was highly supported. Ngulube (2002) affirms that research to capture endangered indigenous knowledge is essential to avoid its ultimate disappearance as indigenous groups' lifestyles have been shifting in recent times. However, he highlights the question of who is entitled to claim intellectual property rights, particularly when research is conducted by non-indigenous or Western experts.Based on the interviews, the Batwa are targeted by multiple rural development projects implemented especially by NGOs. Several of these projects focus on agricultural development, such as subsidising farming, distributing domestic animals and beehives, and arranging training and sensitisation sessions. Larson et al. (2016) claim that

development efforts into small-scale farming to increase yields and land productivity constitute the best way to alleviate poverty among the rural poor while soothing rising food insecurity in Sub-Saharan Africa. Forkuor and Korah (2023) evaluated rural development strategies in Ghana where rural dwellers lack fundamental social services, infrastructure, and livelihood skills, similarly to Uganda's Batwa. NGOs' interventions spanned from advocacy and sensitisation to microfinance, agricultural development, and Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH). Despite socio-economic, political, and health improvements in beneficiary communities, the study concludes that the impact of NGOs' interventions was constrained by the lack of sustainability caused by limited opportunities for community participation and the absence of Monitoring and Evaluation systems. On the other hand, Nikkhah and Redzuan (2010) underline the utility of microfinance programmes in rural settings, as they promote community participation and capacity building, creating empowering and sustainable income-generating systems. The results of this paper are in line with such findings, although development assistance appeared to have rather minimal impacts in Batwa settlements. The International Institute for Environment and Development (2006) states that unclear and unjust land tenure affecting the rural poor in the Global South is one of the main reasons for the lack of access to shelter, food, credit, political participation, and secure livelihoods. It reinforces extortion and exploitation and may legitimise land grabbing by mightier actors. In the case of Uganda's Batwa, land redistribution by NGOs and religious associations coupled with insecure land tenure perpetuates the root causes of the challenges the Batwa are facing, rather than helping to overcome them. The neocolonial strategy of the religious association that acted through a local diocese, which was mentioned by an interviewed NGO, indeed succeeded because of unclear land rights.

In light of the results obtained in this paper, it can be argued that indigenous tourism entails a critical point, as it may both contribute to preserving what is left of the Batwa culture and commodify it facilitating the exploitation of the Batwa people by the non-Batwa. The tourism system that has arisen as a result of the 1991 eviction and globalisation can be categorised in stage four of Weaver's (2010) indigenous tourism model. In this model, the stages represent the evolution of indigenous tourism development, from initial contact with outsiders to full integration into the global tourism market. Stage four of Weaver's model typically involves the commercialisation and

commodification of indigenous culture and heritage for tourism purposes. Although this stage often sees indigenous communities becoming active participants in the tourism industry – offering cultural performances, craft sales, and guided tours –, it still implies the control of the system by non-indigenous facilitators. This brings about challenges such as cultural exploitation, loss of authenticity, and unequal distribution of benefits. All stakeholders recommended that the Batwa should be facilitated in becoming wardens, tour guides and national forest managers as the most equitable and ideal way forward. This can be translated into accomplishing stage six in Weaver's indigenous tourism model, in which indigenous people take the lead in tourism and natural resource management, maximising economic and social benefits also thanks to well-developed infrastructure. In the case of the Batwa in Uganda, that could mean returning to the forest and resuming the practice of traditional livelihoods within the limits of sustainability, or being assigned a large piece of bushland where to transmit and display the Batwa culture.

One of the most recurrent results of this paper is the detrimental effect of corruption in the final segments of the aid chain, perpetuated especially by non-Batwa-run NGOs which regard the Batwa's plight as a fundraising pretext and a money-making machine. Rademacher (2023) underlines that globalisation has not only increased the total volume of aid sent to the Global South, but also the opportunities of fraud and corruption. More specifically, it is argued that the complexity of aid chains and the large spectrum of delivery methods and mechanisms is inversely proportional to transparency and fosters reluctance to share funding information. This perspective holds true also in the context of this research: as mentioned in the methodology section, it may be assumed that UOBDU's adverse attitudes towards being interviewed originate from the unwillingness to expose insights into questionable funding management. Rademacher (2023) further states that in the African context, globalisation entailed the delegation of certain social programmes to civil society organisations (CSOs), which would, however, normally be under the responsibility of public institutions. This results from African countries' weak institutions and bad governance. This arguably illegitimate delegation serves as a gateway for increased opportunities for fraud and embezzlement. NGOs, in attempting to mirror the agendas and structures of states, for-profit businesses, and intergovernmental organisations, have become more competitive, bureaucratic, and stratified, thus abandoning their civil society nature. Report falsification is mentioned as one of the ways

to surmount competition and struggle for funding in the aid business, which then further hinders the potential for cooperation with different NGOs. Corruption in NGOs is embedded in social inequality. De Wit and Berner (2009) investigated this phenomenon in Indian slums and concluded that broker CSOs gain wealth from the poverty and marginalisation of slum dwellers both because they supposedly serve as channels to deliver aid and because of the well-consolidated vertical relationship of patronage between CSOs and slum inhabitants. De Wit and Berner (2009) also highlight government officials' complicity and negligence towards fund misappropriation, being bribe recipients. A similar situation affects Uganda's Batwa. Discourses on corruption were often linked to the evidence that non-Batwa entities (NGOs, religious associations, governmental agencies, businesses) fear Batwa's empowerment and are committed to constraining it by hampering Batwa's access to emancipatory job opportunities as well as obstructing their educational career and engagement with "competitors" in the aid business by means of extortion, brutality, and murder.

Although Batwa-run NGOs expressed their invisibility to donors, it should be noted that their multifaceted advocacy activities began having an impact on governmental institutions, as the names of several Batwa-run organisations have been featured in a governmental report issued by UWA and the Ministry of Water and Environment (2023), possibly for the first time. Nevertheless, Batwa's wish to fulfil political participation was a dominant theme. Magallanes (2005) argues that modern liberal democracies entail the rule of majorities over minorities. To limit abuses of power, constitutionalism has arisen in various forms to protect the human rights of minorities, notably indigenous people: autonomy models at the sub-national level, guaranteed parliamentary representation, veto powers, and proportional voting systems also at the national level. Indigenous peoples' self-determination needs to be enshrined into the legislative framework of a country, Magallanes (2005) argues. In the case of Uganda's Batwa, this resolution could be made following the examples of Rwanda and Burundi in which Batwa political representatives are guaranteed by the Constitutions (Rwantabagu 2009). It could be argued that the political representation of a minority group constituting 0.02 percent of the national population may be irrelevant and a mere formality. However, it could expose the challenges faced by the Batwa and give the group a chance to end their stigmatisation as primitive folks that foments their marginalisation.

7. Conclusion and recommendations

This study undertook the task of listening to and echoing the voices of Uganda's Batwa. It delved into the intricate dynamics of rural development and indigenous empowerment in the post-eviction and globalisation landscape through the perspectives of Batwa community members, NGOs, and governmental institutions.

This study found that the 1991 eviction disrupted Batwa's traditional livelihoods and identity, and exposed the Batwa to alcoholism, women defilement, STDs, and assassinations by non-Batwa. Discrimination was at its peak in the aftermath of the eviction when the Batwa had no modern clothes and appeared "primitive". Discrimination persists up to this day and materialises mostly in the reluctance of other tribes to share food and eating utensils, abuses in judiciary courts, unfair treatment by employers, and hindered access to healthcare facilities and education. Batwa communities are tied to agricultural work within feudal arrangements, serving the Bakiga and Bafumbira while surviving on casual labour. They earn meagre wages that are insufficient to ensure food security, sanitation, and access to public services and programmes. Globalisation brings both progress and challenges for the Batwa. While it enhances communication, transport, networking opportunities, education, and healthcare access, economic constraints and marginalisation hamper these advantages. Cultural exploitation in tourism exacerbates social disruption and dilutes cultural authenticity. Intermarriages lead to ethnocultural assimilation but also strengthen national unity and inter-tribal bounds. Education in Batwa communities fosters socio-economic progress by improving job prospects and empowering individuals. However, education is colonial, neglects indigenous expertise, and is constrained by multilateral discrimination and economic barriers, which lead to high dropout rates. Humanitarian aid delivered to Batwa communities mostly consists of land, houses, medical fee coverage, food, clothes, blankets, and soap. Development actions mainly consist of community sensitisation, distributing seeds and domestic animals, and the construction of schools, clinics, and tourist trails. Advocacy activities are directed towards compensation requests, access to ancestral forests, calls for political representation, and ensuring justice in courts. The main constraints concerning delivered aid include its immediate squandering, unclear land tenure, inconsistency, unsustainability, dependence, lack of transparency, lack of coordination, competition

among NGOs, embezzlement, and neocolonial interests. Non-Batwa-run CSOs often impede Batwa's empowerment, using their poverty as a pretext for continued funding.

Based on respondents' recommendations, this paper advocates for the inclusion of the Batwa in the management of forest resources based on the virtuous experiences of the Aboriginals in Australia, the Sherpa in Nepal, the Van Gujjars in India, and the San and Herero in Namibia (Nepal 2002; Ross et al. 2009; Gooch 2009; Gargallo 2015). The valorisation of Batwa's indigenous culture is essential to break their marginalisation. Schools should perpetuate the Batwa heritage in extracurricular activities, support inter-tribal cultural exchanges, and validate the Batwa identity by incorporating Rutwa and the Batwa history into formal education. Further ethnographic, linguistic, and indigenous knowledge research is needed to vouch for the importance of Batwa's heritage, which should be regarded by institutions like UWA with the same prominence as forest resources due to their mutual embeddedness. Overcoming Batwa's humanitarian crisis and helping the Batwa build a good quality of life based on decent housing, food security, indigenous healthcare infrastructure employing herbal medicines, strong livelihoods on large plots of land, and clear land tenure explicitly recognising Batwa's land rights are underlying conditions for empowerment. Initial efforts should be directed into agricultural development and the extension of scholarship distribution to secure school attainment. Humanitarian, development, and advocacy efforts can be bolstered by facilitating educated Batwa to become the protagonists of the growth of their communities by receiving the chance to prove their NGOs' accountability to international donors and perform in higher positions in non-Batwa-run institutions without fearing extortion. Universal governmental programmes should be adjusted to the differential socio-economic status of marginalised ethnic minorities such as the Batwa, to ensure their participation. Political representation should be also sensitive to ethnic diversity. Aid use transparency and project sustainability should be rigorously demanded by international donors to prevent embezzlement and guarantee that interventions have an impact on the intended beneficiaries. Monitoring and Evaluation systems should be implemented. Rural development schemes, such as microfinancing, inclusive indigenous tourism, and skill development centres, should be further replicated or designed to generate circular aid flows managed by Batwa-owned enterprises, excluding non-indigenous brokers, and boost Batwa's household disposable income and purchasing power.

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Appendices

List of appendices:

Appendix 1: Interviews with Batwa community members

DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS

0. Name, age, gender, level of education, and position/role of the interviewed Mutwa in the community.

ICE BREAKER

1. What does being a Mutwa mean to you? Please, share what are the main Batwa values in your personal opinion or experience.

BATWA LIVELIHOODS & CULTURE, DISCRIMINATION

2. What livelihood activities do you do to sustain yourself in your community? How much money can those activities allow you to earn per month?

3. What cultural practices do you do in your Batwa community?

4. What kind of discrimination have you faced for being a Mutwa?

EDUCATION IN BATWA COMMUNITIES

5. Is education in Batwa communities improving the socio-economic situation?

6. Does education in Batwa communities contribute to the promotion or decline of the Batwa culture?

POST-EVICTION ERA: HUMANITARIAN & DEVELOPMENT AID

7. How did your livelihood activities change following the eviction from the BINF in your community?

8. What humanitarian aid did you receive from governmental and non-governmental organisations?

9. What development actions have been attempted within your community to either preserve the Batwa culture or enhance livelihoods?

10. What were the main constraints in your personal experience of such initiatives?

GLOBALISATION IN BATWA COMMUNITIES

11. How did globalisation and the introduction of technology affect traditional practices and livelihoods in your community?

12. What opportunities for quality of life enhancement does globalisation entail in the experience of your community?

13. What threats to cultural preservation does globalisation entail in the experience of your community?

FINAL ANALYSIS

14. Do you think that quality of life enhancement is compatible with cultural preservation in your community?

15. If your answer to question 14 was negative, would you prefer development aid giving priority to quality of life enhancement or cultural preservation?

16. If your answer to question 14 was positive, which livelihood activities do you think should be developed to maintain cultural integrity and improve wellbeing?

17. How should education change in Batwa communities to empower new generations through the preservation of the Batwa cultural identity?

Appendix 2: Interviews with NGOs

DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS

0. Name, age, gender, level of education, name of the organisation, year of establishment, role/position in the organisation.

ICE BREAKER

1. What is the motivation that led you to start this organisation? Please, share the vision and mission of your NGO.

2. [*Only if the spokesperson of the organisation is a Mutwa*] What challenges and/or discrimination have you faced as a Mutwa in your path to starting your NGO?

POLITICAL WEIGHT OF BATWA ORGANISATIONS IN UGANDA

3. What discrimination is there on the local and national level for Batwa people to achieve positions of power?

4. Considering their neglectable economic significance, what political weight do Batwa's voices, grassroots initiatives and local NGOs have on the national level?

POST-EVICTION ERA: HUMANITARIAN & DEVELOPMENT AID

5. What humanitarian aid have you provided to Batwa communities?

6. What development projects have you commenced within Batwa communities to enhance their livelihoods following their eviction from the BINF?

7. What development projects have you commenced within Batwa communities to preserve their culture following their eviction from the BINF?

8. What are the main constraints? Please, provide valuable insights relating both to entities hierarchically superior (i.e., the government, donor institutions) and aid recipients (i.e., Batwa communities).

EDUCATION IN BATWA COMMUNITIES

9. Is education in Batwa communities improving the socio-economic situation?

10. Does education in Batwa communities contribute to the promotion or decline of the Batwa culture?

GLOBALISATION IN BATWA COMMUNITIES

11. What opportunities for quality of life enhancement does globalisation entail in the experience and vision of your organisation?

12. What threats to cultural preservation does globalisation entail in the experience and vision of your organisation?

FINAL ANALYSIS

13. Do you think that quality of life enhancement is compatible with cultural preservation in Batwa communities?

14. If your answer to question 13 was negative, would you prefer giving priority to quality of life enhancement or cultural preservation?

15. If your answer to question 13 was positive, which livelihood activities or grassroots initiatives do you think should be developed to maintain cultural integrity and improve wellbeing?

16. How should education change in Batwa communities to empower new generations through the preservation of the Batwa cultural identity?

Appendix 3: Interviews with GOs

DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS

0. Name, age, gender, name of the institution, position in the institution.

ICE BREAKER

1. Could you please provide me with a brief background and the main duties of this institution?

POLITICAL WEIGHT OF BATWA ORGANISATIONS IN UGANDA

2. Is the preservation and/or development of the Batwa people among your policy objectives?

3. Considering their neglectable economic significance, what political weight do Batwa's voices, grassroots initiatives and local NGOs backing Batwa people have on the local and national level?

4. Is there any discrimination for the Batwa people to achieve positions of power on the local or national level?

POST- DISPLACEMENT ERA: INSTITUTION'S INTERVENTIONS

5. Has this institution ever provided humanitarian aid to Batwa communities?

6. Have you commenced any development projects within Batwa communities to enhance their livelihoods following the denial of access to forest resources?

7. Have you commenced any development projects within Batwa communities to enhance their culture following the denial of access to forest resources?

8. What are the major constraints? Please, provide valuable insights relating both to entities hierarchically superior (i.e., the government, donor institutions) and aid receivers (i.e., Batwa communities).

EDUCATION IN BATWA COMMUNITIES

9. Is education in Batwa communities improving the socio-economic situation?

10. Does education in Batwa communities contribute to the promotion or decline of the Batwa culture?

GLOBALISATION IN BATWA COMMUNITIES

11. What opportunities for quality of life enhancement does globalisation entail in the experience and vision of this institution?

12. What threats to cultural preservation does globalisation entail in the experience and vision of this institution?

FINAL ANALYSIS

13. Do you think that quality of life enhancement is compatible with cultural preservation in Batwa communities?

14. If your answer to question 13 was negative, would this institution prioritise policies to foster quality of life or cultural preservation?

15. If your answer to question 13 was positive, which livelihood activities or grassroots initiatives would this institution support in order to maintain cultural integrity and improve wellbeing?

16. Should education change in Batwa communities to empower new generations through the preservation of the Batwa cultural identity? If so, how?

Appendix 4: Fieldwork pictures

Appendix Figure 1: Glimpse on Mount Muhabura, Kisoro district
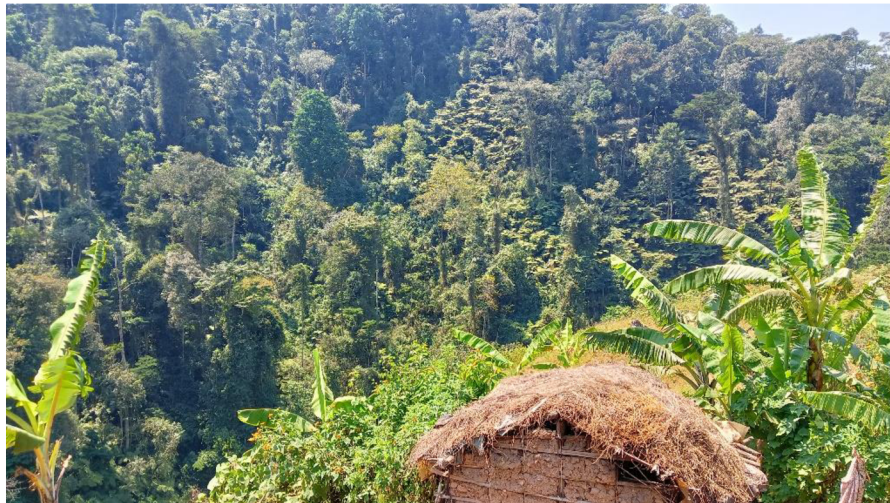
Appendix Figure 2: Mud house in Byabitukuru, on the edges of the Bwindi Impenetrable National Forest

Appendix Figure 3: Improvised hut in Byabitukuru, on the edges of the Bwindi Impenetrable National Forest

Appendix Figure 4: Batwa in Karengyere

Appendix Figure 5: Batwa in Mukungu

Appendix Figure 6: Batwa elderly and researcher in Nyabaremura

Appendix Figure 7: Daily life in Mukungu

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Appendix Figure 8: Batwa welcoming a governmental delegation in Michingo

Appendix Figure 9: Community sensitisation by BIDO in Nteko

Appendix Figure 10: Mud house construction in Nyabaremura

Appendix Figure 11: BIDO staff and researcher

Appendix Figure 12: Batwa handcrafting in Nkuringo Cultural Centre, Rubuguli

Appendix Figure 13: BIDO office

Appendix Figure 14: Batwa after dancing in a Batwa cultural trail in Nteko, in proximity of the DRC border