



UNIVERSITY of  
RWANDA

**CENTER FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT (CCM)**

**LAND SCARCITY AND FAMILY CONFLICT IN RWANDA: A Case of Kinigi Sector,  
MUSANZE, RWANDA**

**By**

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A dissertation submitted to the University of Rwanda, in partial fulfillment of the requirement  
for the award of Master's of Arts degree in Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation

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Musanze, May, 2020

**Declaration**

I, RUBONEZA NKORERIMANA, hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and to the best of my knowledge has not been presented to any other academic institution for any academic award except where due acknowledgement is made in this project.

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AUTHORISATION TO SUBMIT THE DISSERTATION FOR EVALUATION

I, undersigned Dr FURAHA UMUTONI Alida, Hereby testify that under my supervision,  
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Therefore, she/he stands with my authorization to submit required copies to the Administration  
of CCM for evaluation.

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Date: 07/05/2020

Names and signature of the Supervisor: Dr Furaha Umutoni Alida



## **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to my late wife MUZIRANENGE Henriette who passed away just one week after the starting of this programme. To my children namely Frank, Freddy, Fidèle, Emminente and Belinda who have been patient during my one year of study.

I further dedicate it to my parents namely KAJE Enias and NYIRAKABONEYE Venantie who sponsored my Education from elementary level to University.

## **Acknowledgements**

I wish to thank the almighty God for the power of guidance given to me from the beginning of this work up to its end. I would like to thank Rwanda National Police for selecting and sponsoring me for the Senior Command and Staff Course that was done concurrently with this Masters' Degree in Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation. I wholeheartedly thank you because it has advanced my professional career and I feel am going to do better than before and contribute to the further professionalization of RNP.

Special thanks also go to the University of Rwanda especially the Center for Conflict Management for their immense support during the conduct of my studies.

I extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to my Supervisor Dr FURAHA UMUTONI Alida for the sound advice and support despite your busy schedules that led to the completion of this research project. I have surely benefited much in terms of research.

I am sincerely and extremely grateful to all the respondents who gave me the valuable opportunity to ask them questions concerning this study and useful information in writing this wonderful thesis.

Throughout this study, I would like to thank all my lecturers who steered me through the Master's Degree Studies. Indeed your professional support impacted on my academic career to greater heights.

Lastly but not least, my classmates for their experience and knowledge we shared during our studies. The one-year duration of our study was indeed eventful and I will keep you in my heart.

May God bless you All.

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## **List of acronyms/abbreviations**

FAO:	Food and Agriculture Organization
FGD:	Focus Group Discussion
GoR:	Government of Rwanda
GDP:	Gross Domestic Program
MINIRENA:	Rwanda Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources
NGOs:	None Government Organization
NISR:	National Institute of Statistics Rwanda
REMA:	Rwanda Environment Management Authority
RIB:	Rwanda Investigation Bureau
RNP:	Rwanda National Police
RPF:	Rwanda Patriotic Front
SDGs:	Sustainable Development Goals
UNEP:	United Nations Environment Programme

## **Abstract**

Through qualitative research, this study examines how land scarcity impacts on family conflicts with the case of Kinigi sectors. In doing so, 45 interviews were conducted with the view of exploring existing attitudes, behaviors, practices and perspectives formed or held by people due to scarcity of land thereby leading to family conflicts. The findings of the study show that despite effort made by the Government to put in place measures that protect the institution of family, there is still an increasing rate of land related family conflicts. Further, the rise of land conflicts was observed despite various land reforms. Findings suggest that the scarcity of land has worsened the situation with a growing number of gender -based violence. Culturally, men are considered as the exclusive owner of the land. The equal right on land as recognized to women by Rwandan laws are not fully translated into practices due to behaviors which in turns have been exacerbated by the scarcity of land. In addition, the study demonstrates that parents are living in situation of fear given that their children are aware that they may not have land as inheritance and thus, some children become violent. Also the study revealed that the population of the area has developed the cultural behavior of resisting to shifting to area with sufficient land which could be one of the solutions of addressing land scarcity. Population increase was seen to be a major cause influencing land fragmentation and leading to small plots of land in an endeavor to satisfy the interest of the family members therefore the study recommend that there must be legislation in place to check population density in the area of study and other neighboring areas. The study recommended also that the perspectives, behaviors, practices and attitudes on looking at land as the only source of production should be changed and this can be achieved by changing education from knowledge based to skills based. In addition, this study recommended among other things that Governments should ensure that land ownership is streamlined to minimize land fragmentation and other conflicts related to land that by extension affect the harmony of family. In collaboration with justice, security officers should be vigilant and proactive in addressing these land related conflicts before it is too late.

## CHAPTER ONE

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the background to the study followed by the statement of the problem and the objectives of the study. It further discusses the research questions and the significance of the study, the limitation and delimitations of the study and the organization of the study. These sections make it unique to be at the opening of all other chapters and give them the leeway to flow in an organized manner.

#### 1.1. Background of the study

The way we need to gain from land in terms of food and several other productions determine how land continuously becomes scarce. Therefore, it is this above situation that makes land a source of conflict and a challenge globally due to its limited availability in comparison to population increase. The entire world population was 7.3 billion people in 2015 and it has surpassed to 7.8 billion and expected to reach 8.5 billion by 2030 (FAO, 2020).

More still, insufficient land is attributed to the increasing family wrangles in Africa where a sizeable population dwell in rural areas looking at land as a source of livelihood. The survival of these people is dependent on land and is earned out of extraction of this land thus leading to land to be scarce and a determinant of conflict which makes governments to grapple with issue of increasing people's rights on land thereby curtailing conflicts emanating from land (Wehrman, 2008, p.24). Demographically, need for land escalate since most of the farming is subsistence in nature especially for those rural dwellers who contribute to 80% and in such a situation land related conflict becomes inevitable in Africa. (Fischer, 2009, p.43).

The problem of land in Rwanda is undoubtedly serious. As per Africa Development Indicator (2011), the arable land in Rwanda is 52.7 per cent which translates to 0.13 ha per person. Such background is caused by the unprecedented increased population right from 1950s and from 1960s scholars began predicting the problem of inadequate land for cultivation that was going to be experienced looking at the increasing population. And in 1980s, some families in Rwanda commenced migrating to neighboring countries looking for land since they had exhausted the small one they had (Clay and Ngenzi, 1990; Waller, 1999).

The land tenure system in Rwanda has been morphing insecurities emanating from chances of access to land thereby making many landless due to scarcity of this resource thus leading to wrangles over land. Hence this land tenure of customary system didn't solve much of the problems created despite the sound measures that were being instituted. Therefore, land fragmentation as means of land ownership continued along with increased demand for land thus leading to disputes creating social tensions in Rwanda Leegwater (2015. P, 5).

As of now most people have a small size of land from 0.23ha and is earmarked for their survival in agriculture and those with 10ha of farmland are determined as having vast chunk of land (NISR, 2015, p.5).

In reality, agriculture is being affected by inadequacy of land (Mizero, et al, 2018, p.88) indicating that due to that the sector has reached a point where it is difficult to surpass and chance of acquiring land are becoming slim because the very land to expand is not there. The plots of land are getting further fragmented and yet for some to have large plots is a recipe for increasing the number of land less people in an agricultural country. The demographic pressure in Rwanda emanates from the country's small size with a surface area of 26 388 km<sup>2</sup> of which 52 percent, or 1.38 million ha, is arable. Forests cover 3 000 km<sup>2</sup> or 12.4 percent of the total land area (Waller, 1999). On the other hand, the land which could also be inhabited by humans is reserved for the Akagera National Park, Nyungwe Forest and Virunga (Volcano) National Park constitute 3 600 km<sup>2</sup> or 14.6 percent of total land area (GoR, 2001,p.16).

The land size for the country being minute with escalating population levels and subsistence farming has led to loss of soil fertility due to over cultivation that is associated with many problems like soil erosion, degradation of watersheds and depletion of forests thereby affecting the final output of agriculture (Homer, 1995, p.42).

More so value of land in Rwanda is more of a cultural affair and a requirement for one to be considered a national of Rwanda (Dick, 2009, p.6) who indicated that owning land identifies who a Rwandan is, what could be the possible status and nationality and hence (Cochman, 2005, p.8) observes that customary land is so special as it hosts the burial site of the ancestors.

In the same vein, (Marara and Takeuchi, 2011, p.8) observed that land is the most treasured property among the people of Rwanda and this situation is likely to continue for the several years

to come. It is therefore interesting to note that most of the conflicts that have been taking in place have an aspect of land wreaking havoc in families and in the entire country. In a nutshell, families have been experiencing land scarcity problems and this research study is intended to have a thorough analysis of land related family conflicts in terms of forms of those conflicts and attitudes, behaviors and perspectives under which land is viewed in respect to the institution of family and hence some issues that have not direct answers can be unmasked by the study.

## **1.2. Statement of the problem**

Insufficient land and which is associated with unfair sharing within a particular family is the major basic of conflicts emanating from land in Rwanda and this has been discussed extensively whenever the subject of development comes into picture. As stated by (Huggins and Musahara, 2005, p.274) majority of Rwandans view land wrangles as the cornerstone of family conflicts and this trend is a major threat to the big population in villages as they depend on land for their subsistence agriculture.”

In spite of a combination of several measures introduced in Rwanda to ensure harmony on land such as land consolidation, issues of land have persisted to surface. The output on land is still commensurate to the small sizes of land and the fertility of land is declining yet agriculture is the backbone of the economy and hence land issues should be given the attention they deserve if this development is to be averted. On the other hand, vision2030, which was recently adopted recognizes that for the country to develop agriculture should be given attention as the comparative advantage (Musabanganji et al, 2016, p.35).

More still, instances have polygamy exacerbated land related family conflicts and hence (Leegwater, 2015,p.221) observed that the more the number of times land is divided into more pieces, the more the bitterness among family members is increased and majorly land conflicts are embedded in the families and the status of unofficial wives and children is continuously threatened. This is because inheritance of land from parents commonly called *Umunani* is valued within the culture and the survival of children is dependent on parenting gifting them with land to set up their own households (Michael, 2017, p.14)

Most parts of Rwanda are grappling with land related family conflicts and Kinigi sector is not an exception due to the prevalent practice of polygamy that has worsened land fragmentation in an

endeavor to share land and increase rights on land by family members. Initially before Kinigi was transformed into a sector it was reported that almost 90% of the local courts sat to basically decide on land cases. More still, during the creation of Virunga National park many people lost land through expropriation that was intended to harness more from the sector of tourism and in that respect the sharing of remaining land among family members exacerbated more land problems (Huggins and Musahara 2005, p.23).

Therefore, in that study area there is high population, small pieces of land, polygamous marriages, and this is expected to guide their attitudes, behaviors, perspectives as far as behavioral change is concerned. Consequently, family wrangles have been escalating causing death, migration of some people to other places and insecurity in the area. The recent population density is on a gross surface area of 530.4 km<sup>2</sup>. In 2012 Musanze district had a total population of 307,078; in 2015 the total population was 368,594 and a gross density of 695 habitants per km<sup>2</sup>. It has an average annual growth rate of 1.8% where Males stand at 174,760 and Females at 193,834 (NISR, 2012). However, little is understood about the perspectives, attitudes and practices about family conflicts where land is scarce and hence the research study is intended to divulge these practices and perspectives from the research study thereby answering the question "do family conflicts emerge due to behaviors, practices, attitudes and perspectives on land scarcity?"

### **1.3. Objectives of the study**

#### **1.3.1. General objective**

The main objective of this study is to investigate the attitudes, practices, behaviors and perspectives of land scarcity related family conflicts and thereafter recommend how they can be mitigated. However, three specific objectives are presented below.

#### **1.3.2. Specific objectives**

The specific research objectives for this study are:

- To examine the practices, attitudes and behaviors of individuals that lead to family conflicts.
- To assess the individual perspectives on land wrangles in families of Kinigi sector

- To investigate land related security problems that are reported in Kinigi Sector.

### **1.3.3. Research questions**

To achieve the above objectives, the following specific questions guided the research study:

- What are the individual practices, attitudes and behaviors that are associated with land related family conflicts in Kinigi sector?
- What are the individual perspectives attributing land scarcity to family conflicts in Kinigi sector?
- Are there land related security problems being reported in Kinigi Sector?

### **1.4. Rationale**

The reasons for this study are that some people especially in most academic institutions of Rwanda and the region have written about land conflicts and most are interested in knowing the causes of conflicts based on land and others family conflicts emanating from land and their consequences basically for policy purposes not for basically academic knowledge. However, the attitudes and behaviours these conflicts create is mostly neglected. On the other hand, the perspectives of how this land related family conflicts emerge have also been left without sufficient research. It is observed that the study area selected has experienced marvellous development both created by the government and the people themselves despite the existence of land scarcity and its associated family conflicts hence the rationale of conducting the policy makes of the perspectives and the practices that have emerged along with this background of the area, thereafter the policy interventions after this study will be owned by the people of the area and the level of success is expected to multiply.

### **1.5. Significance of the study**

This study is significant in the following ways:

This study interested the researcher as it is a way of providing to in-depth understanding of the land related family conflicts and alternative solutions thereby helping the researcher in the future endeavors as a security officer with mandate to promote security of different areas in the territory of Rwanda.



To the community, this study will create awareness on land scarcity related family conflicts on general security of the area. It will contribute to mindset change in regard to problems caused by land scarcity in families of the area. This will enable the community to have ownership of their problems and embrace workable solutions for the family conflicts originating from the land as identified during this study.

The study will further add on the body of knowledge that can be utilized by the researcher on land and family issues and the findings will be helpful to researchers on findings to have a great insight on land related family conflicts in the area identified by the researcher in the case study.

The study will further help policy makers to make policy interventions in the identified area to safeguard the residents of Kinigi Sector and the surrounding areas so that security of the area can be safeguarded.

#### **1.6. Scope and delimitation of the study**

This study encompasses the sector of Kinigi basically on the aspect of land related family conflicts and how scarce land correlated with the conflicts in the families of this sector. In regard to time, this study comprised data of the period extending from 2015 to 2020 to ensure that it is not outdated and hence leading to inaccurate information. Geographically, this study covered Kinigi Sector that is one of the sectors comprising Musanze District in Northern Rwanda portraying significant practices on land and the perspectives held by different families on how land scarcity has exacerbated family wrangles in the sector.

#### **1.7. Structure of the study**

This study is composed of five chapters. The first chapter is the general introduction which focused on the background to the study, the real problem that motivated the researcher to conduct research, objectives of the study, and the research questions that guided the research. It also includes the scope and delimitation of the study. The second chapter consists of a review of the existing literature related to the study by the different scholars who did studies on land related family conflicts and which makes the researcher understands the problem under study. Chapter three details the research methodology involving methods and tools used in the process of data collection and ethical issues involved while collecting and analyzing data. The fourth chapter is a presentation of findings of the study, their interpretation and analysis while chapter

five handles the discussions of finding relating them to the research objectives and later followed by general conclusion and recommendations.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0. Introduction

This chapter is tackling different theories and concepts regarding both dependent and independent variables of the research study. In this chapter the researcher reviewed and made a comparative study of the work done by other researchers in the related area of research. Again, for well understanding this study, the researcher provided a brief description about some terms that are used during conception of this study. The theoretical framework of the study was handled to provide thorough explanation of the research study and other related factors affecting family conflicts but associated to the ever-reducing land portions in the area of study.

#### 2.1. Definition of key terms

This section aims at presenting the definitions of key terms of the study such as land, conflict and family conflict.

##### 2.1.1. Land

Land is a measure of wealth both in town and rural settings of Africa and a vital indicator for Gross Domestic Product (GDP) determining the success or failure of agriculture, wild field, tourism and mining are their economic activities. The United Nations consider land as the delineable area of the Earth's terrestrial surface, surrounding all features of the environment directly above or below this surface, including those of the near-surface climate, the soil and terrain forms, the surface hydrology (including shallow lakes, rivers, marshes and swamps), the near-surface sedimentary layers and associated groundwater reserve, the plant and animal populations, the human settlement pattern and the physical results of past and present human activity, such as terracing, water storage and drainage structures, infrastructure and buildings (Mbote, 2013,p.7)

Batson (2007) defines land as a place of all shelter, in the city, town, village, manufacture, houses and factories, forest and farms, river, road and railway, mines, quarries and reservoir are all fashioning from the land. It offers endless opportunities for development and discovery. The scholar goes on saying that the need to improve access to land remains a pressing issue in many parts of the world.

### **2.1.2. Conflict**

This is termed as a situation characterized by opposing interests amongst individuals or groups who indicate that both sides are against each other and each believes that the interests of the other conspicuously undermine its interest and each undertakes measures to curtail interference in those interests (Baron and Byrne, 2004, p.109)

Conflicts taking place on land takes a lions' share on the total number of conflicts because land is the commonest resource that determines survival of people and economic advancement is determined by land (Dale, 1988). The struggle for ownership of land culminates into divergences due to the fact that parties involved originate from different areas and has different interest over land and it's against such background that conflict breaks up. The duration taken by these conflicts adversely impacts on: economic, social, spatial as well as ecological development, (Hoffman, 2008,p. 13).

Conflict has been part of society since time immemorial and economic differences, social change, cultural formation, psychological development and political organization have determined the outbreak of conflict whereby parties come up with incompatible goals (Ramsbotham *et al.*, 2011,p.7-8).

For purposes of this research study, the interest conflict greatly follows within its domain and is categorized as resource conflict that emerges due to over real or perceived scarcity resources involving family members indulging in conflict because of scarcity of land resources that can benefit all members of the family. Secondly is the psychological conflict that emerges due to psychological needs of human. The family conflicts over land fall into this type of conflict as these conflicts occur when family members perceive divergence of interest over land occupation or land use (Jeong, 2000, p.27)

### **2.1.3. Family conflict**

Family conflict is defined as any overt behavior, including verbal statements, by a person towards one or more family members which expresses a negative reaction to the distribution of any scarce and valued resources within the family is considered an instance of family conflict (Chafetz 1981,p.158). For Mukashema (2013), family conflict often means conflict occurring

within a family at large i.e between husband and wife, parents and children, between siblings, or within extended families including grandparents, aunt, uncles etc.

Other scholars who defined family conflicts include Kramer (2006). For him, family conflict refers to interpersonal tension or struggle among two or more persons whose opinions, values, needs or expectations are opposing or incompatible (Kramer et al., 2006, p. 794). Conflict within families is a fact of life that can bring either constructive or destructive effects on family relationship. However, the two effects are dependent of the way conflicts are managed or transformed (Stewart, 2001, p.582).

## **2.2. Understanding land conflict**

Land conflict can mean a misunderstanding between two or more parties arising from a contest over land either from land distribution or the perceived resources in this land. Parties involved in land conflict may perceive their underlying cultural or material values and beliefs to be different. Land conflict is fueled by how a society is formed both politically and socially (Loode, et al., 2006, p.14).

Land conflict follows among the social facts whereby two parties are involved with differing interests over rights of land as a property in terms of use of land, ownership and in manipulation of land for benefits in exclusivity of others leave alone rights of transfer and compensation arising out of activities on land. A land conflict, therefore, can be understood as a misuse, restriction or dispute over rights to land. Land conflicts above exacerbate when the social positions of the parties involved differ greatly (Wehrmann, 2008, p.9).

For proper management of land conflicts, one is expected to understand the nature of land conflicts existing, the parties involve and actors in all the issues of land so that a suitable context can be developed. And in verification of actors, one is expected to identify those legitimate and illegitimate. These divergent views on land don't consider the nature of land tenure system even on state, private or commonly owned land. More so, differing interests on land are complicated and the way they intensify one another determine the way they influence the outbreak of land conflict. Consequently, the element of a land conflict fluctuates expressively hence leading to differences and altering the type of resolution. The correct analysis of conflicts on land determines the best and appropriate resolving of the deadlock on land (Wehrmann, 2008, p.25).

### **2.2.1. Types of land related conflict**

Land wrangles are categorized into four types and it is possible to subdivide them further. For proper categorization, it is significant to identify the nature of land holding in question namely (state, private or common property), because each land conflict is determined by the tenure system, the legitimacy of the parties in question and the nature of violence employed by the parties. It should be noted that land conflicts are viewed in terms of Boundary conflicts, Inheritance conflicts, Ownership conflicts due to lack of land registration, Limited access to land due to discrimination by law, custom or practice, Illegal evictions by state officials acting without mandate, Market evictions and distortion of local land market/values, Disputes over the value of land, Conflicts between human/cultural and natural use (flora and fauna) (Mahaphonh, 2007, p.32-33).

### **2.2.2. Types of land conflicts in Rwanda**

Land conflicts in Rwanda follows in many ways and the commonest ones are inheritance conflicts, boundaries conflicts, conflict related to political changes, expropriation by state without compensation, unauthorized sale of common land, and sales of orphans' land.

***Inheritance conflicts:*** inheritance is an official occasion to declare a person's right to land, which establishes the most significant asset for the household in Rwanda. That is why it is not a surprise that within families, land conflicts are inevitable during inheritance more commonly in families that practiced polygamy (Marara, 2011, p.6).

***Conflict related to political changes:*** political upheavals in Rwanda have long featured in this country and the consequences have determined the entry of the state in an endeavor to create harmony. Therefore, land ownership has been shaped in Rwanda from these political. For example at the end of genocide, many former refugees didn't have where to settle and they couldn't be returned to the places they were coming from hence the government settled them among the original owners that consequently culminated into land conflicts. (Marara, 2011, p.9).

***Boundaries conflicts:*** This is caused by the continuous land fragmentation of land into small pieces of land that makes land scarce and people yearning for more land which tempts them to shift the boundaries of their land and take the soil of their neighbors. In such circumstances

where provocation comes up due to changed boundaries and hence land conflict is the inevitable consequence (MINERENA, 2008, p.72).

*Conflicts related to expropriation by the State organs:* Pursuant to the law No18/2007 of 19/04/2007 concerning the expropriation, a government organ is empowered by it to expropriate in cases of public interest private that a fair compensation is granted that is agreed upon and the value of land is not understated leave alone the prevailing developments on the land must be factored in the evaluation of land before expropriation and must conform to market prices. However, conflicts have been emerging in situations where the government instructs the people to vacate their land before their money for expropriation is finally paid and the more the time they delay to pay, the land and properties appreciate yet the state organs will not factor such increase in market process that came up due to delay to settle expropriation procedures once and for all.

*Unauthorized sale of common land conflicts:* These conflicts come up as a result of disagreement within the family whereby one member sales land or part of the land against the position held by all members and sometimes enjoys the income in exclusivity of others in the family (MINERENA, 2008, p.70).

### **2.3. Unequal distribution of land**

Land ownership and rights to land continues to frustrate economies in developing countries as most of the activities by the rural dwellers are undertaken on land. Disparities in how land is owned have resulted into what arrangement for agricultural production in an endeavor to utilize land fairly and associated income from that land especially in rural areas. In such situation, the African governments are exposed in terms of inadequacy of agrarian policies that can support sustainable development.

More still, completion for land is associated with the diminishing chances to access it hence tantamount to food insecurity, financial scarcity, underdevelopment and protracted land- related conflict on the continent. Unfair sharing of land is a factor in less per capita income, stagnant growth as well as associated economic hardships. This impedes the cohesion and correct societal organization and cooperation among members. It is noted that inequalities in production in village areas results into poverty when land is owned unequally yet it forms the source of

production. Therefore the relationship between these two variables results into inequality. (Akinola, 2019, p.2).

#### **2.4. Literature review on family conflict**

Family conflict arises when people's behaviors and their actions are not responded to because of how they look like and the surroundings. Accordingly scholars posit that behaviors are greatly connected to the social environment hence giving rise to further interest in research in the field of social environment as a way to understand behaviors of people. The realization that mental health practices is a discipline was associated with the emergency of the concept of family conflict. Therefore it is termed as that one which is entirely occurring in the within the family. Some of the notable examples are spousal conflicts, sibling's rivalries and by extension grandparents versus extended families. These conflicts contrast hugely and can embrace conflicts such as death of a family member, illness of family member like cancer or other life, threatening disease, financial hardship, and conversions such as career transition or relocating to a new area (Rasheed& Marley, 2011, p.22)

Family conflicts resulting from land scarcity in Rwanda generally involves women living in consensual union and polygamous wives, illegitimate girls, women being denied the right to inherit land by their brothers and widows being evicted from matrimonial property by their in – laws (Abbott and Mugisha, 2015).

#### **2.5. Overview of demographic status and land scarcity**

Increase in population is a major determinant of conflicts emanating from land scarcity in Rwanda and Rwanda itself is known for its high population which makes divisions and sub divisions of land inevitable to respond to this population density. Therefore, such explained situation is a danger to agricultural development as it has started to reduce on the land that was formerly reserved for flora and fauna. An estimated 38% of all holdings will be smaller than 0.275 hectares (Bigagaza, 2001, p.19)

#### **2.6. Influence of land scarcity on family conflicts**

The legendary grievances emanating from land that have bedeviled the social and economic transformation can be termed incomplete as far as reforms on land and this has been portrayed in different governments. It is on record that whenever parties failed to articulate their incompatible



goals and interests, there is a tendency to invoke historical grievances. This gives a leeway to land conflicts exacerbating into worst case scenarios in terms of peace and development because there was no amicable resolution of these historical problems, hence the land conflict greatly affects social economic super structures in an increasing trajectory.(Nicolas, et al., 2004, p.25).

If conflicts on land persist then chances of agricultural improvement become an impossible goal to realize and by extension the environment will be adversely affected. The policies in agriculture to conform to sustainability when it can accommodate the interests of the farmers and the future generations to come because without them, possibilities of soil erosion due to careless land use multiply in unprecedented manner leading to land degradation. Such a situation is debilitating as it affects job creation in the sector of agriculture and societal development. Then the chances of developing the sector are mean and leading to increasing poverty levels and standard of living (UNEP, 2006,p.6).

Adversely, intergeneration land conflicts are a menace to social-economic growth hence accelerating rural-urban migration by the youth, soaring unemployment levels, increasing statistics of poverty. All these are fertilizers to youth riots, grievances, activism in an endeavor to change the situation and all the political articulations to change the situation fall on ready ears of the youth who are frustrated as land scarcity is making their life difficult which eventually impacts on the political landscape (Nicolas, et al., 2004,p.25).

## **2.7. Land conflicts and economic activities**

The bad governance that has been witnessed in the recent years in Rwanda where political leaders agued their people to exterminate some of their fellow Rwandese in a bid to usurp powers on their land. Initially still bad government had not engineered agrarian reforms that are agreeable to all beneficiaries. This situation helped to incite the population against the other as land was grabbed, animals like cows and goats were looted to adhere to the politicians and hence facilitating this violence meant that it's inbuilt in the social relations of people.

This is a bad scenario as economic activities are halted by the worsening conflicts emanating from land and the produce on land and the cows were slaughtered and this made the economic activities experience recession as no subsidies were being given only spreading risks to many

people who would have needed protection and such a situation later had more impact on the economic activities which are still being felt despite happening several years ago because the increasing population demands changed living standards which availability of land could settle and with scarce land then the chances of recovery are shrinking because the more the number of landless increase the lesser the activities and the lesser the number of labor that is engaged in the production(Marara,2011,p.17).

It should be noted that, the reduction in productivity of land grossly affect the per capita incomes and bedevil the living standards. Thus, since the economy depends on agriculture to employ many citizens, then land scarcity and absence of transformative agrarian reforms greatly reduce the number of people who participate in production. This means that labor redundancy is increasing with no ways of arresting the situation that was initiated by the government. One can argue that for a country to develop it must facilitate its people to engage in productive ventures to ensure that the number of active people in production is increased. However, when agrarian reforms are not made, then productivity due to land scarcity is a danger to economic activities that could otherwise be made on land (Uwayezu, *et al.*, 2011, p.7).

The Kinigi sector is not an exception and agriculture remains their backbone and source of livelihoods and the family incomes are all expected from that. The more the people participating in agriculture, means that the government would be facilitating the sector for the benefit of the entire country as agriculture provides raw materials to the manufacturing industries (Kairaba, 2011, p.32).

## **2.8. Theoretical framework on land**

Theories concerning land are embedded in the conflict theories and their explanations are based on sociological dimensions that were built in structural violence in societies. Thus, it is this thesis that is supported by Stanly Goff. Such theories were part of Karl Marx works where he talked of struggles between the land owners and the landless and they were predicting a revolution of the landless against the capitalists to eliminate classes and create a classless society where land scarcity will be done away with after the end of exploitative capitalists. Such ideas were later developed by the functionalist and positivists in their addition to the body of knowledge in social science. Therefore, it is awkward to talk about conflict theories separate from land disputes.

Land conflict theory considered four dimensions of conflict: scarcity competition, structural inequality of access, war for land, and revolution precipitated by land conflicts. Scarcity competition happens when there is not enough land for everyone. Structural inequality is exemplified by the rich being able to buy land that the poor cannot afford (Stanley, 1995, p.104). This is the most important theory that has stood the test of time while looking for theories to explain land conflicts because it indicates that land scarcity or access to land is caused by some people with advantaged position in the society who use that chance to grab land or take land through exploitation of the poor who end up as landless (Anseum 2010, p.7). The landless now are left to fragment the land to suit their land interests. It is important to note that governments fail to reduce land pressure through agrarian reforms helped to increase land scarcity. In spite of good will by the government to address land scarcity, landless cases are still prevailing in many parts of the country (Musahara, 2005).

Following the literature review, it was discovered that land is a scarce resource in most of the places in the world and when it comes to Rwanda, it is exacerbated by the increasing population density that has characterized the country following the end of the genocide against the Tutsis. It is also evident that in the literature, that conflicts emanating from land have caused untold suffering to the people. This has invited the government to legislate in an endeavor to protect its citizens from conflicts emanating from Land. However, it is also seen that the government in redistribution of land has caused some new problems that didn't exist in the past. All in all land related family conflicts still linger in the society of the study area and hence need for further research to ensure that policy interventions find a lasting solution to them. The theories also explain that ownership of land determines the means of production and hence the wealth hence making the policy of settling the land problem very paramount.

## **2.9. Summary**

In summary, this chapter defined the key concepts for both variables. Also the researcher made a review of existing literature related to the field of study to cement the understanding of land scarcity and related family conflicts. Finally, the theoretical framework that guided the study was also explained in this chapter.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0. Introduction**

This chapter discusses the approaches, techniques and methods to be used in data collection and processing. It points out sources of data, nature and size of the population under study, the sample size and sampling techniques, methods of data collection, analysis of data that collected for proper research study. During this research study, this chapter dealt with the methods used to come up with the research design, sampling and population size as well as data collection. However, data collection methods focused on to ensure that quality data is collected for this study.

#### **3.1. Study area**

The study investigated the land scarcity and family conflicts in Rwanda. The case of Kinigi Sector by examining how the how increasing family conflicts have been impacted on by the scarcity of land in the study area.

The researcher is a resident of Kinigi sector in Musanze district and has been in the area working as a law enforcement officer. Therefore, a lot of observations have been made about the study area by the researcher and in capacity as a resident; the researcher was not well positioned to influence policy interventions in a bid to mitigate land related family conflicts in Kinigi sector. Therefore, this is how the study area was selected to ensure that the researcher contributes to the area of residence in view of ensuring mindset change in future.

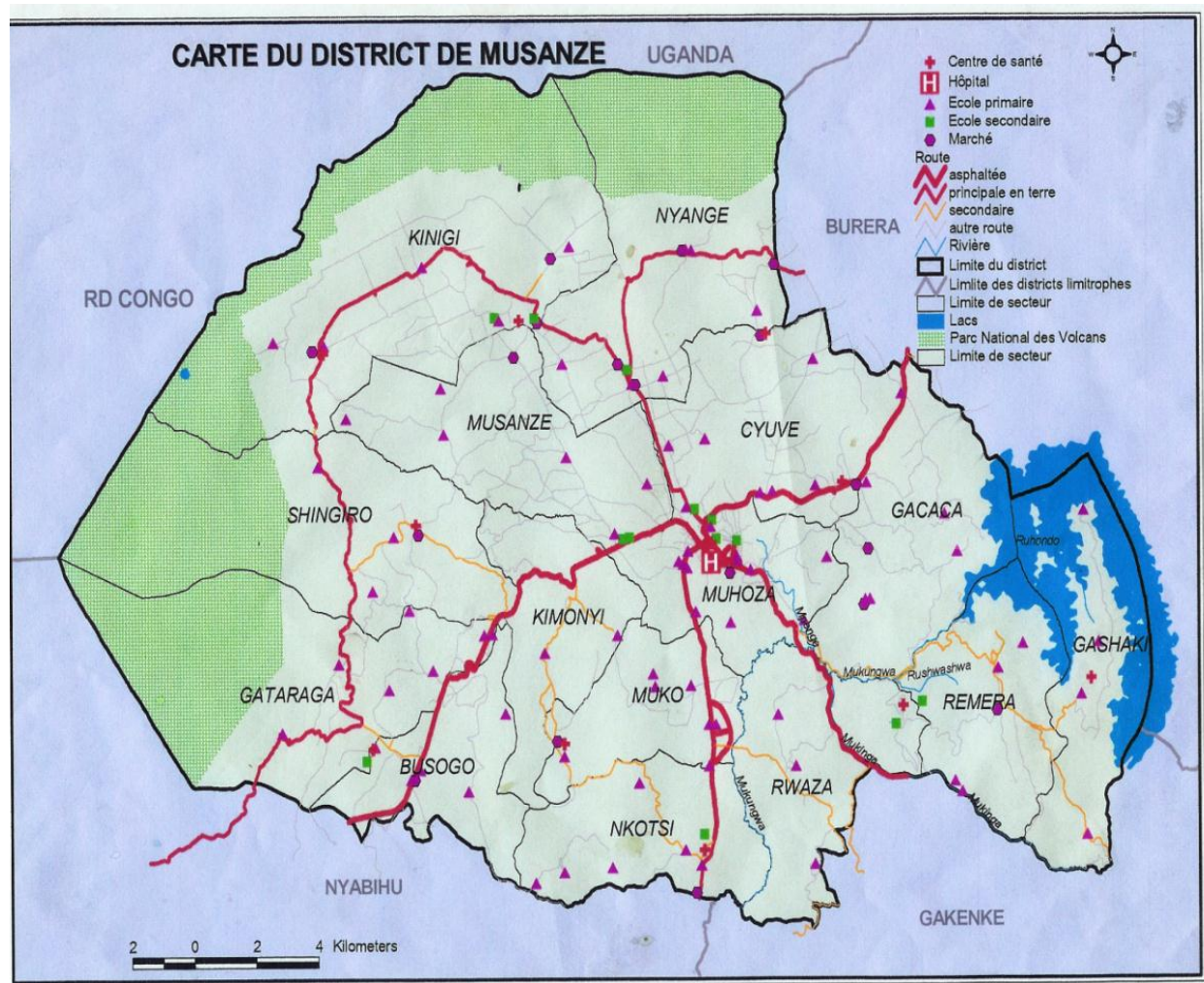
This study area was chosen as a result of the fact that Musanze District in general comes on top among the districts where land related family conflicts have been reported despite the government interventions that have been escalating to abate the trend. This has affected the general security of the area and hence the study area findings can be correlated to all sectors to ensure that the trend is mitigated.

##### **3.1.1. Description of the area of study**

The study was conducted in Kinigi Sector, Musanze District of the Northern Province, Rwanda. The sector is bordered to the North – West by the Volcanoes National Park, to the

East and South by Nyange and Musanze sectors respectively. The area has a moderate and humid climate resulting from its high altitude. The annual temperature and rainfall average is 16°C and 1,400mm respectively while the maximum rainfall is 2,000mm. April and May bring about the heaviest rains, whereas October and November have a much more moderate rainy period. The altitude of the area is between 2,000 and 3,000m. The sector has 27,222 of population with a gross density of 337 people per square km (NISR 2012). Kinigi sector has 20% of volcanic soil which is good for agricultural activities. The good quality of the soil justifies the major economic activity of the sector which is agriculture. However other activities include animal husbandry, commercial trade, and handcrafts.

**Figure 3.1: Administrative map of Musanze district showing Kinigi Sector**



Source: NISR 2012

### **3.2. Research Design**

The design of this study was a qualitative research design which helped in describing situations using small number of subjects that are very knowledgeable about issues under investigation. According to (Kothari, 2004, p.44) research design is defined as the organization of circumstances for collection and analysis of data in a way that makes research follow logical sequence in accordance to the purpose of the research and procedures that must be considered. Therefore, it is a concrete layout that demonstrates how research is undertaken. It further gives skills and arrangement patterns for measuring, collection and analysis of raw data. It also aims at understanding deeply the quality of ideas generated about issues under investigation. The respondents were drawn from the local government authorities, land officials, security officers, tourism staff, opinion leaders and some community members.

The bottom line was being familiar with the activities in the area and this is to ensure that empirical evidence is given through their responses. Therefore, since the study was interested in gathering opinions and perceptions, therefore, qualitative design was the best for this study to gather perspectives about the project under study from the implementing partners and the beneficiaries.

#### **3.2.1. Population**

This included individuals and items with features of interest to the researcher. A population is the entirety of all items with distinct characteristics that motivated the researcher to study them. This particular study according to the researcher considered community leaders, school teachers, security officers, local government authorities among others that were pointed out to be included in the population. According to (Kothari 2004, p.69), it is indicated that population size must be given due consideration in cases of larger variance, selection of a reasonable sample should be chosen. The population size determines the size of the sample to be considered for the study.

For this study on how I zeroed on the population I visited the district of Musanze Headquarters with the college letter authorizing me to conduct research and I talked to the director in charge of land affairs who helped me to come up with the list of respondents that can be in the population. Hence from the district, I got the officer responsible for land affairs; environment, the Land

Ministry Staff, sector Staff, Managers and other senior workers of selected various institutions like schools, hotels and Universities. Security officers and investigation staff, family promotion and social affairs staff, local leaders among others. A population of about 100 respondents was selected and the sample size was later extracted. This proposed population consists of respondents whom the researcher felt have practical knowledge about the study being undertaken. These selected respondents to form the population are the movers and shakers of the District and by extension the sector of the study area and hence the data collected from them measured to the expectation of empirical evidence.

**Table 3.1: The expected population from which a sample size was drafted from**

Type of respondents	Number of respondents	Number of expected respondents
Land office Staff at District and sector	6	13
Hotel and tourist companies' managers	5	17
Safety and security and RIB staff	10	18
Sector local government and land officers	5	7
Members of the community	17	35
NGOs staff dealing in environment	2	10
Grand total	45	100

**Source: Researcher 2020**

### **3.2.2. Sample size**

According to (Kothari 2004, p.69), sample size refers to the selected items from the universe and that comprise the sample. A sample size should be designed in a moderate nature to get desired data and hence shouldn't be extremely wide and not so narrow so that it may not miss valuable information for the study. However, a sample should ensure efficiency, representativeness, reliability and flexibility so that the objectives of the study are well embedded in it.

The researcher used Purposive Sampling that conforms to high degree of accuracy desired for any particular study. Respondents were identified according to the exceptionality and their

special knowledge about the study, their desire and availability to take a part in the project of the study where all people should be considered as sample.

For this study to be successful the researcher 45 respondents that were reached through purposive sampling. The researcher eliminated many respondents who were selected through the population and settle down to those who showed much knowledge on the research study of land related family conflicts.

### **3.3. Methods for data collection and procedures**

In this study the researcher collected data from both primary and secondary sources of data using different methods.

#### **3.3.1. Primary data**

This is defined as the information obtained from the field and included in the sample as fresh and in it is original in nature. In this research, data collection will be collected using questionnaire which will be addressed to respondents. Interview were also used with some Directors and professional staff considered to have important and special information related to the topic. Also focus group discussion was employed in primary data collection. This helped the researcher to eliminate the subjective biases by the respondents because through focus groups it looked as if they are being confronted and whenever spoke what is inaccurate could be corrected there and then.

#### **3.3.2. Observation**

According to (Kothari, R, 2004, p.109), it is referred to a tool of scientific research employed by researchers to collect data. It is determined by the researcher to enable the achievement of the purpose and must be planned in a logical way to ensure reliability and variability while recording the data being collected. It was selected because the area of the study needed the researcher to have a clear view since it is accessible and later verify and compare some data given by the respondents. For proper management, there is need for the researcher to recommend policy interventions and this observation was helpful to ensure that empirical data is observed and analyzed. The researcher visited all sampled respondents or households but observation even at different villages gave a picture of environmental security issues paused by land portioning.



### **3.3.3. Focus group**

According to Nyumba, et al., (2018, p.10) it is observed that in qualitative research method is more suitable for this tool of collecting information and it is economical as many respondents targeted are interviewed at the same time and in the same vicinity. The timeline allocated for this study is short and hence, this method was expected to be convenient. The researcher conducted two focus group discussions comprising 10 respondents each for the selected workers from different institutions in the case study. It is selected since some respondents have a tendency of not being available and can't answer the questionnaires. It helped the research to collect data in a short time and can verify easily those who are demonstrating the truth as some members in a group are expected to correct some respondents if the information given is not true.

### **3.3.4. Secondary data**

This information from library research through retrieving the internet, records of institutions, journals and other data from archives. It is necessary to undertake research using it to enable comparison of statistics from different years and performance of some sectors within an institution or government entity and it gives basis for measuring the level of change on the subject being researched about after reviewing what previous researchers have written about or published concerning the study being undertaken and the researcher must give preference to various sources to ensure credibility (Kothari, 2004, p.124). This data helped the researcher to remain in the theme of the study by visiting the library, textbooks and internet source articles and journals to widen and deepen the understanding of the researcher of the research topic from the reputable scholars.

## **3.4. Data Analysis**

This phase of research entails scrutiny and processing of collected data to ensure conformity to the laid-out research plan as set at the commencement of the study. It is crucial in scientific study to facilitate comparison of all available data as relevant to the study after making desired analysis and comparing of all collected data. It is an umbrella term to ensure that data is edited, coded, classified and tabulated where necessary and hence subjected to thorough analysis (Kothari, 2004, 135).

Responses obtained from the field were analyzed and grouped according to the responses from the respondents in relation to the set objectives through a thematic approach. Collected data were analyzed using qualitative techniques forming some themes namely thematic analysis. This thematic analysis is seen as the best for the research to come up with a good research study as the researcher will be much interested in the perspectives therefore, they must be arranged in particular themes to have a logical sequence.

#### **3.4.1. Editing**

This is identification of errors and omissions from the collected raw data and involves careful subsection of raw data to scrutiny in all necessary areas to ensure data collected is empirical and reliable. The process involves scrutiny of the collected data to achieve the purpose of research study and determine accurateness and how data conforms to foundations of consistency (Kothari, 2004, 135). Editing will also try to ensure that the research is credible for the readers and cases of similarities are avoided.

#### **3.4.2. Classification**

This is the process of reducing data into homogeneous groups from varieties of collected data purposely for identification of various related meanings. Hence it is arrangement of collected data in several classes basing on common features (Kothari, C,R, 2004,p.136). Because Purposive Sampling will be used to select respondents with special knowledge about the subject, the researcher will have to classify data during analysis to ensure that groups are set in thematic approach which is defined “ as a method for detecting, investigating, and recording patterns within data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006,p.79). This classification procedure is widely used in analysis of data in qualitative research. This classification will be derived majorly from the interview guide and focus group discussion questions.

#### **3.4.3. Data quality control**

According to Roberta, and Alison,(2015), Validity is the extent to which a concept is accurately measured in a quantitative study while the reliability measured in qualitative study is the extent to which a research instrument consistently has the same results if it is used in the same situation on repeated occasions. In this study the interview guides a pre-tested through a pilot

study before actual data collection is started was conducted. It was done in the sector of Kinigi found in Musanze District and on the selected individuals. However, although validity matters for this study, the researcher is interested in undertaking the research using only qualitative research design.

The interview guide that served the same purpose with focus groups where they were administered to selected Managers and senior workers especially those in charge land leave alone safety and security officers for the different industries. In order to ensure validity, the researcher constructed instruments/ interview basing on rules for constructing them, ensure that question or items inside conform to logical flow of the study and they were given to the supervisor for necessary validation. In this study, to ensure reliability of instruments, the researcher compared the findings from the pre-test and retest. The findings were highly co-related; hence the instrument was reliable or consistent.

### **3.5. Research Ethics**

Before conducting the study, the permission was given by the University of Rwanda through the National Police College introducing the researcher and the purpose of data collection. In order to get consistent information to the study, the researcher wrote a letter to the respondents requesting to them to answer questions through an interview guide and focus group when they are finally conducted to them. The research conducted an interview and Focus group with some selected people considered to have more and additional information regarding the study. The answering of the questions was not by force and the importance of the study was clearly explained to the respondents. Before the study, the researcher contacted the local authorities and the security agencies to ensure that accessibility to the respondents is granted instead of taking advantage of respondents.

The researcher affirmed to respondents concerned that the information given will be kept with confidentiality and used for academic purpose only. To ensure the confidentiality, the names of participants were not asked and the names of people who accepted an interview with the researcher were not indicated in the study.

In a nutshell, this chapter basically handled four main things namely the study area, the population, the data collection tools and data analysis tools. These items were discussed adequately giving reasons why they were chosen and the advantages or justification of their choice. Some of the tools considered for data collection are suitable for the time that is allocated for this research leave alone the constraints associated with them. The qualitative research tool is preferred for this social science nature of study as it brings out the best out of the selected respondents.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

#### 4.0. Introduction

The study set out to investigate about land scarcity and family conflicts in Rwanda specifically the case of Kinigi Sector in the northern part of the country. Therefore, this chapter discusses the presentation of data, their interpretation, and later their analysis. The presentation of data will take a thematic approach that is working with themes that emerged from interviewees' narratives. Respondents' statements are summarized in statements below:

#### 4.1. Respondents views on family conflicts

During the data collection, the researcher found out that the people of this area of study had a clue on how family conflicts and how they manifest in their societies. As the question was posed to them in the interview and the focus groups one could identify that they have sufficient knowledge on how family conflicts emerge in the area and what the family conflicts actually look like. As one respondent indicated:

*“Family conflicts is whereby there is no peace in the family and both spouses are planning for the other bad things including death and there is no peace to the extent that even the children in the family are divided on both parents on whom they believe is more right than the other and all activities and planning of the family development is put on either halt or on tension”* (Code 7, January, 2020).

This indicates that they surely know what the family conflicts are and although some couldn't associate them to causes but it indicated that they know them and the impact they can have on the society.

Furthermore, the researcher was also interested in knowing how these family conflicts actually manifest in the area of study and most of the respondents could easily mention some of the types of family conflicts that have affected the area. During the FGD one respondent observed that

*“Families in Kinigi sector have not been immune to family conflicts and some have been left disintegrated through divorce, separation, assault between partners, children killing parents to have ownership of land, indulging in adultery, family abandonment”* (Code 31 , January, 2020).

This points to a grey picture on how the institution of family is under attack in the area and before divulging in the causes for that, it's significant to note that all is not well and each family seems to have its own share of these family conflicts and the difference remains the magnitude of these conflicts and the nature of which conflict is prevalent in each family. It should be noted that many respondents were in agreement with all these perspectives and this therefore means that it is crucial to get down to the root of the matter if this ugly trend is supposed to be reversed. This therefore means that family conflicts are part and parcel of the security spectrum that need further attention from all stakeholders as unstable families' area recipe for unstable states and hence can be a spillover to other sectors to cause unnecessary scenarios.

#### **4.2. Respondents' views on attitudes people hold on land and reasons for such attitudes**

The researcher proceeded to investigate the attitudes of people of Kinigi sector on land to ensure that data is collected on the attitudes which people hold on land. It should be noted that attitudes are both positive and negative although they are more than negative in the whole sense of the word. Therefore, the research wanted to gather information and opinions regarding these attitudes. It was discovered from the focus group discussions that land ownership is not gender sensitive at all as many consider that women or female children are not entitled to ownership of land and hence have a few rights if any to query on issues regarding land. Indeed, one of the respondents said:

*“Women are married from other clans and hence trusting them on sources of livelihood and wealth which is land is counterproductive and those female children are destined for marriage and if they get married, they can sell or donate the land bequeathed to them to their spouses”.*  
(Code 4, January, 2020)

Therefore, the attitude sounds negative basing on the fact that the world over has been on campaign to empower women through gender empowerment campaigns and fighting against their segregation on all means of production. This means that the level of mindset in the area of study hasn't changed to suit the campaigns being advocated for by the government and other institutions. It further indicates that alienating women on land ownership means that their capacity to produce for development is curtailed and their empowerment is affected. Thus, the chances of women remaining backward in the armpits of women due to the fact that they are not entitled to land ownership are enormous.

Another attitude that was discovered was the issue of all male children are entitled to the share on the land which is commonly known as “Umunani” in Kinyarwanda language and its incumbent upon the parents to distribute their pieces of land to all male children so that the family can enlarge into extended family and generations have been ensuring that this procedure is respected. This was observed by one respondent during interview who noted that:

*“In our sector since time immemorial the norm has been that the male parent is obliged to share his land with sons and the shared part becomes the personal property of the son and the elders have powers to force this action take place. It has been also taken by the local authorities because without it then the sons may find reason to hack their father in case of failure to give them land”* (Code 16, January, 2020).

This implies that customary land tenure system is the commonest way people acquire land and the attitude is land should not in most case be bought unless one acquires sufficient funds to buy more land but starting on that one given to him by the father. Therefore, this means that there is constant land fragmentation in an endeavor to satisfy challenges of ownership of land and the more land is fragmented the lesser the land which is owned by each family and hence the lesser the capacity of production and family development in general.

Furthermore, it was discovered that for any man to fit in the society, ownership of a piece of land is paramount and those without land or denied land by their parents are undermined and ridiculed in the society. They are further considered children who are under custody of their parents because their level of independence in the society is determined by the land owners who are the parents. This was agreed upon in the focus group by most of the respondents and one respondent further observed that:

*“Surely a man without land is not worth to be called a man because what else can he show in the village that he is the man in this current society where economic development goes with what is individually yours and all farming that is the best and predominant economic activity entirely depends on the land one owns and the more the land the more the production of Irish potatoes that is our crop”* (Code 3, January, 2020).

This attitude implies that all men in the society and probably competent women strive to own land so that they can earn respect in the public and also use the land productively for their own

developmental needs. Therefore as population increases in Kinigi sector, people escalate struggles for ownership of land and the pressure increases on parents on how to fulfill the norm of transfer of land to the growing male children. On the other hand in case of the parent having very small plots of land that cannot be subdivided further to the children, then chances are so high that the parents will have to help ensure that children have land probably through participating in manual labor to multiply incomes and lead to purchasing of land to be given to children or else one risks to have his children mocked the rest of their lives.

Other respondents indicated that selling of land can invoke spirits of ancestors who were buried there because the person who bought the land can destroy the burial grounds. This can hence cause bad omen and hence most of the respondents argued that it is sacrilege to sell land in the area especially to the strangers who don't originate in the same clan like the ancestors. This was illustrated in the below quote:

*“Most people in the area haven't been sensitized on using the public cemeteries and hence still bury their loved ones on the small pieces of land and hence they have a duty to manage those burial sites as failure to handle well the ancestors, it can be a cause of bad omen and chances of life and wealth totally diminish”* (Code 19, January, 2020).

This implies that land is held through generations so that they can have powers to continue paying respects to the ancestors through cleaning their graves and to some people continue making rituals that is in their beliefs. This therefore implies that land can only be sold when the whole clan meets and evaluate the reason for selling so that the consequences are collectively shared. On the other hand, land in Kinigi is mostly occupied by the natives who were born in the area and probably those resettled there by the government through its plans of ensuring that returning Rwandans are given land to settle since they have left refugee status in the countries that hosted them.

#### **4.3. Respondents' views on behaviors that are developed on land**

Furthermore, the researcher wanted to understand the behaviors that have been formed from the attitudes of people on land that are basically positive and negative. As earlier noted, attitudes are in most cases negative and they are basically inseparable from behaviors because a particular attitude breeds particular behaviors. Therefore, the researcher discovered that the behaviors



being developed are continuously affecting the societal cohesion as the demand for land ownership increases and its associated land fragmentation. There is a behavior of fragmenting land into more pieces to ensure family harmony as it was observed that *“many parents are fearing the wrath of their children who have grown in areas that make them entitled to owning land only from parents and where if a parent plays games he can be harmed or eliminated by the son before the father uses land for his further personal interests”* (Code 21, January, 2020)

This indicates land is continuously becoming scarce since the population is ever on the increase due to the peace in the area and the cool climate in the area boosts immunity of the people. Therefore, it is credible for the stakeholders to ensure that the succession law is implemented and it doesn't become compulsory for the parents to share land with children except on mutual grounds and such grounds are in the interest of the development of the family where both spouses have extensively discussed and agreed on the steps to be undertaken.

More still. The research discovered that land being held in a gender insensitive way has widened the gap between the men and women in the area. This has reached the extent of undermining the campaigns of the government and the United Nations sustainable development goals (SDGs) that include gender empowerment as a pillar. The people have developed further the behavior that women are not part of land ownership if married by the man and the man has a right to use his land in the best way possible that pleases them. Indeed one respondent in an interview remarked that:

*“After paying dowry for my wife, she becomes my property and part of all other properties like land which I have and there is no shared rights on land and actually what the government says that women are being empowered shouldn't be extended to empowering them on land because it shall be a recipe for disintegration of families in our area”* (Code 1, January, 2020).

This implies that the campaigns of having equality or equity in gender is not welcome in the area of study and although they cannot openly tell the local authorities but they find that if women own land the men would be surrendering God given rights of men and hence women should remain focused on maintaining family interests not sharing land with their husbands.

Furthermore, the attitudes have created a behavior of laziness among the youth because they believe it's a matter of time and they own land from their parents. Hence, they don't have to struggle much to own land in other areas as a result of their sweat from different activities provided that parents are still alive. Indeed, through interview one respondent indicated that *"why should I work so hard yet my father is still alive and it is his responsibility to ensure that I settle down with my wife on the land which he is expected to have planned for me"* (Code 15, January, 2020). This is a bad behavior that has seen many engaging in land wrangles for believing that the parents are by law supposed to ensure that they own land since ownership is customary. Through such laziness some youth have abandoned schools despite government introduction of universal primary education and universal secondary education to curb illiteracy rates and many have been taken over by drug abuse. This therefore implies that the next generation of youth is degenerating into sociologically uncouth behavior and health issues and all the writing is on the wall that the moral decadence of the youth is taking an increasing trajectory.

Another behavior that has developed is shifting of people to other areas as the pressure of land increases. In this area, there has been a tendency due to suitable climatic conditions and the area being a food basket of Rwanda to have rapidly increasing population which has led to increasing land fragmentation. Therefore, land process has tended to increase and hence it has led some people to shift after selling their pieces of land to other areas and on several cases to Uganda which is a nearby country. This was observed by one of the officials in the local government that:

*"The government law doesn't limit people who want to sell their land and shift to other areas where they feel land is abundant for their own families and people selling their farmlands have been increasing over time to satisfy their land needs and change to more productive areas since most of the land in this area is slowly losing nutrients due to over cultivation"* (Code 11, January, 2020)

This implies that the people of Kinigi sector have developed a behavior of looking at land as a means of greener pastures where it can be sold as long as it cannot sustain the family can be sold and people shift to other areas where the sold plot of farmland can fetch them more land. This therefore explains the prevalence of more people who were formerly in Kinigi now to have

shifted to areas of Umutara Province that were sparsely populated. It is against this background that one can argue that the more the pieces of land being owned in the area become smaller the more the chances of migration by their owners to other areas where land is deemed sufficient for them.

Furthermore, there is a behavior of violence that has been created in the area emanating from the scarcity of land that is predominant in this area. As noted earlier that societal attitude to landless is negative and those without individual lands become a laughing stock to the communities around because they are considered to be doomed to generational poverty as land is taken as the most suitable means of livelihood and production for that matter. Hence this situation has exacerbated land wrangles in the area that are manifested into inter and intra family wrangles. Therefore, many families have had wrangles within themselves emanating from unequal distribution between family members by their parents or disturbing different uses of land among family members for example as one is doing farming of food crops while another is rearing small livestock to make ends meet. On the other hand, violence has been observed among different families on cases of boundaries of land where those who are unscrupulous have tended to change boundaries minus any negotiation hence leading to quarrels. This was indicated in the focus group interview where one respondent asserted that:

*“violence as a behavior has been mounting in this area where family members always detest the sharing of land among family members where some men have favorite children and unfavorable children and in times of distributing land to them cases of unfairness have been observed that have led to violence among themselves as a way of settling scores”.* (Code 22, January, 2020)

This implies that such wrangles could be inexistent if land is not scarce but are developing rapidly in the area since most of the people have been reducing the pieces of their farmlands due to population increase and selling to make ends meet. It should be noted that violence originating from such wrangles is a recipe for crime increasing trends in the area and mitigating the trend is somehow difficult because the population of the area is far bigger than most other areas unless there is a deliberate move by the government to resettle people in other areas that are sparsely populated.

Related to the above is that some violence have been manifested between different families originating from changing boundaries and having different but very competing land uses for most of the people. This was pointed out in the focus group discussion by a respondent who indicated that:

*“Due to genocide against the Tutsis, some people migrated and also in different wars that later erupted in the area in form of insurgency and many people who run for their lives didn’t all survive and after the end of genocide and insurgency in the area some people found their boundaries on land changed and some were changed by the government to resettle the returnees”* (Code 5, January, 2020).

This implied that since land registration had not become a policy to be implemented in area, some people lost land in this whole process and others grabbed land due to the circumstances mentioned. This therefore resulted into protracted legal battles to ensure harmony is returned and in cases where proof of ownership was hard to demonstrate, families further lost land and in the end, animosity was created that has culminated into many landless people and violence in particular which has affected the area. This means that with such violent behaviors developed the cohesion of the society is questionable and some families are sitting on time bomb with more desire to revenge for the so-called injustices they feel were exerted on them.

The researcher further discovered that there is a behavior that has developed due to land scarcity where the families have diversified income sources to ensure that livelihood is sustained for different families. It was discovered that the land has been facing the problem of over cultivation since there is no much bush fallowing in the area as a result of small pieces of land that are cultivated over and over again for subsistence farming. Through interview one respondent informed the researcher that:

*“families have become culturally artisans through undertaking pottery and marketing it and it is common seeing men and women moving around with clay pots marketing them and helping in floriculture that is pottery based just to make ends meet as the small and scarce land cannot ensure their survival”* (Code 26 , January, 2020).

This diversification of income sources and ways of life among the people of Kinigi wasn’t legendary but circumstances of scarce land emanating from pressure on land has made the people

think outside the box just to ensure that their living standards are not affected by the problem of scarce land. This further implies that the behaviors developed to ensure survival can also be benchmarked elsewhere in Rwanda because land scarcity is a general problem needing effective solutions.

Lastly but not least and on a positive note Kinigi area has developed a behavior of hardworking people who believe that through hard work, they can pay their bills comfortably and multiply their wealth that will by extension lead to entire economic development of the country. One respondent through an interview expressed that:

*“people in Kinigi have developed a behavior of hardworking due to circumstances of scarce land and most have come to believe that through hard work they can acquire land not through parents because even the land owned by the parents is not sufficient for them”.* (Code 18, January, 2020)

In other words, many people have exported their labor in other areas and through the acquired money, some have come to invest it back either in the sector of Kinigi or other sectors in Musanze district and it is common to see that all parents are able to take their children to school and in case of hospitals they have the capacity to finance it. This knowledge of working hard has been developing due to scarcity of land in the area and a way of averting land related conflicts. It can be argued that this is a good lesson learnt that can be benchmarked in other areas of Rwanda as population density is exploding to the extent that family conflicts relating to land can be done away with over time. Furthermore, the norm of waiting for parents to ensure the survival of adult children is slowly getting diminished as it was seen to curtail development and family harmony.

#### **4.4. Practices that have become prevalent in the area of study due to land and reasons behind the practices**

The researcher had to interrogate some of the practices that have developed in the area of study as a result of having or not having land such that data is generated on how land ownership is determining the social, economic and political structures in the area. The researcher discovered that:

*“land has increased gender based violence in the area due to insensitive behavior to gender that makes the men at the top of land ownership and alienation of women as*

*landless and hence with no means of production and hence actions of men towards men are not supposed to be accounted for and what pleases the man is ever right” (Code 17, January, 2020).*

This implies a male chauvinistic practice where a man develops superiority complex and hence recognition of women as a second-class citizen person in the area and this undervaluing of females has given a leeway to the practice of gender-based violence in the area. Therefore the increased gender based violence as a practice is detrimental to the society and a basis for insecurity as more family insecurity in form of gender based violence accounts for the general security situation of the area and since there is a nexus between security and development, then there is curtailing of economic improvements because these insecurities in homes derails them from contributing to development in the area.

Related to the above is a practice of defilement being perpetuated or falsely accused on some people. It was discovered during data collection that as men start owning land the next thing is marriage either officially or illegally. Therefore, anyone who owns land is taken as rich to the village standards and must elevate status in the society through marriage but in the process end up marrying age-mates who are always before the majority age of 18. It was also discovered that due to climatic conditions and other commercial activities that are commercial in the area, there is a tendency of good growth of children to the extent that they may not look their age. Therefore, defilement has been registered in this area but some categorize it as early child marriage. One respondent observed that: *“after attaining majority age all men are expected by their families and the society to marry and start a family as a way of settling and girls should be married early so that pressure on land is reduced with the reduction of the members of the family” (Code 34, January, 2020).*

This practice of early marriages is seen as emanating from land scarcity as women or girls have no rights on land in their own families and marriages are arranged to ensure that they immediately go and pressure on family land is reduced. However, it can be argued that this practice has led to demographic explosion in the area and by extension land scarcity due to competition of ownership of land as a means of production and livelihood.

The researcher further discovered a practice of overvaluing land as the only source of wealth and means of settling conflicts. During the focus groups, the respondents remarked that:

*“People tend to settle disputes through taking the land of the offender because it’s price is easily measurable and the worth is determined and it is illogical to die behind bars when you still have your land as you rather sell and settle a dispute instead of spending life in prison “ (Code 14, January, 2020).*

This practice of settling disputes like assault, debt servicing originating from illegal or unfair money lending is becoming serious and threatening to wreck families and communities around. It is so painful that some of these dispute settlements are done without camera because dispute settlement of this nature is not in line with the approach of government that encourages rule of law but the practice is done behind the back of the government and its hard to prove that really the settlement was amicable as one person lose the treasure of land that is considered a means of production and which can lead to difficulty in survival. It is noted that if dispute settlement is done in the dark, chances are high that someone may be accused falsely on cases like rape, defilement, wife snatching, and adultery. It can be argued that land scarcity brings about unfavorable practices and animosity that puts the community on a time bomb which can explode at any slightest opportunity.

Due to land scarcity, many people in this area have resorted to commercial activities within Kinigi Sector and Musanze town after selling the little and unproductive land they formerly had. It was noted in focus group from one respondent who observed that:

*“business is more profitable and brings quick results as in economic development of families instead of staying on tilling land year in and year out that has led to loss of soil fertility but through business because the scarce land is not productive then one is able to develop and acquire land somewhere else which is sufficient from the proceeds of land sale that are multiplying” (Code 9, January, 2020).*

It should be noted that Kinigi is one of the border areas to Uganda border and business is a profitable practice and is encouraged as a way of silencing land wrangles that emanate from scarce land. Commercial farming practices have been adopted by different families to manage effects of land scarcity in the area and it is argued that Musanze town which is near Kinigi sector is now a secondary city with amenities that are next to Kigali city in quantity and quality. This is on a positive note that development is being witnessed from prudent management of scarce land

in the area and which by extension has minimized pressure on land and land related family conflicts.

More still due to scarcity of land, it has led to poverty where the people are easily manipulated to sell their land cheaply and since they don't have sufficient bargaining power. One respondent in FGD remarked that:

*“land scarcity has given a chance to land grabbers to undervalue land and buy land from those shifting to other areas at giveaway price and the sellers don't have much capacity to negotiate further if the land is not productive anymore and chances of sustaining the family in the near future are declining”* (Code 18, January, 2020).

This therefore means that land grabbers in the form of buying land cheaply as a way of bailing out families that want to shift or settle disputes or acquire family aspirations like marrying a wife for the grown up son or else paying bills like school fees. This Kinigi area being a home to tourism has attracted rich people to buy land in anticipation of tapping from these tourists. So they acquire land below the worth of the land and end up gaining much more than the land owners. This implies that landless people are increasing with this situation of land grabbers. It can be argued that when the number of landless people increases in an area there is also an automatic increase in number of redundant people who can't contribute to the economy as land is seen as a means of production.

Land scarcity issues have led to the practice of zero grazing as far as keeping livestock is concerned whereby many people have resorted to abandon local breeds of cows, goats, and pigs and concentrate on feeding their animals from home. As one respondent in focus group remarked that:

*“people's practices in modern farming are slowly getting changed to modernity as many local cows are at the verge of extinction by introducing Friesian cows that can be fed well at home in a kraal with local grass and feeds from markets yet at the same time their production is more compared to the former local breeds that were prevalent in the area”* (Code 10, January, 2020).

It should be noted that Kinigi area was formerly a place commonly inhabited by a category of Rwandans with interest in cattle keeping and having bigger herds of cattle. However due to the



population density of the area, the land is continuously becoming scarce yet culturally herding cattle must remain as a norm in their lives. This has forced them to adopt zero grazing and the results have so far been wonderful as milk production has increased tremendously which in return is sold and help in settling other family problems. Therefore scarcity of land has transformed the people into modern farmers so that they can keep relevant and such practices are helping to resolve land related family conflicts that were on increase probably emanating from animals feeding on people's crops but with zero grazing as a practice much of this pandemonium is averted and harmony is returned in the area were this research study was undertaken.

More still, it has brought about the practice of mortgaging land as collateral security in banks and since land registration was started some people have valid land documents that can be mortgaged in banks for loans. It is anticipated that if land is small then it cannot sustain the livelihoods of the entire family but can be used as security in banks and the money acquired can be channeled to other productive ventures. Through an interview with a respondent in land offices, he remarked that:

*“ land problems are escalating where some people use their plots of land as security and when they defraud banks through failing to pay and the interests have accumulated, the land becomes a property of banks and some of the former owners have used the money badly in unproductive ventures and have less capacity to service loans ... or else some have used the money to migrate to other areas or outside the country and are difficult to be traced”* (Code 24, January, 2020).

This implies that there are lingering problems emanating from the land scarcity that forces people to undertake such risks that are irreversible. However, some have used the loans for productive purposes and have forgotten the stress they went through due to scarcity of land. It can be argued that land scarcity sometimes can wake up people to think positively on how to manage their affairs and for those who have used small pieces of land in productive ways have lessons that can be benchmarked elsewhere where the land scarcity problems have multiplied.

Land scarcity has led to a practice of modification of settlements in the sector of Kinigi sector to suit the different sizes of land and ensuring that all, people have habitation despite the small size of land by making apartments and communal settlements (Imidugudu) kind of housing to ensure that all inhabitants of the area have shelter. Through observation in the Kinigi sector the

researcher found out that most settlements have been constructed in plots of land that are congested. They are somehow communal in nature by members of different families and settlements are detached from the rest of the land size and all this is a practice that is developing to manage scarcity of land and land related family conflicts. This is intended to save land that was formerly spoiled in building detached houses with bigger compounds. Therefore as population grows then scarcity of land increases through further fragmentation of the already fragmented lands. It is also common after careful observation that decent small houses are emerging as opposed to bigger ones to manage issues of land scarcity. It was further observed that construction of houses is extended to the main road that is passing through Kinigi sector which is leading to developing of town centers. Therefore urbanization is emerging and it is a practice that is related to ensuring that small lands are used productively and maximally. It can be argued that with modification of settlements to support urbanization the problems that were formerly emanating from land scarcity are being mitigated through shrewd management that is creating harmony in the communities.

Related to the above is the emergency of planned settlements that has brought modern houses and hotels that accommodate tourists in the area that is known for mountain gorillas. It was observed that smart houses are emerging and commercial houses that will eventually lead to urbanization. Many well to do families have bought plots of land to build in this area and tap from the advantages of the area like booming tourism and proximity to the borders which favors commercial activities and good soils of the area that favors growing of crops like maize and Irish potatoes. Therefore, these smart houses have hanged the situation that was characterized by poor houses and congested with people who were not capable of developing the area. It should be noted that this area was always affected by land related family conflicts that were managed through many ways like selling the land that caused trouble and distributing the proceeds where the beneficiaries can embark on doing different things without looking at the land itself as the only means of survival. The hotel business that is also witnessed in Kinigi sector is also booming in places where the owners had scarce land and sold it to shift to places where they could get sufficient land in relation to the families they have. Therefore, one can argue that land related conflicts have led to smart planning on how scarce land resource can be used productively thereby leading to the development of the area.

The researcher further discovered through data collection that on a positive note the communities have settled for the practice of monogamy as opposed to the practice of polygamy that was prevalent in the area among the inhabitants of the area. Since land is taken as a means of production and survival for that matter, then marrying as a practice must in principle to be practiced within the means someone is capable of holding or owning. This was through FGD where the respondent indicated through rhetorical questions that:

*“How can you marry more than one woman when you don’t have land?, what will you feed the many women and children that come out of the polygamy?, how will they settle in one house when you don’t have sufficient land?, how will the children attain education when the economic situation is harsh?, how will one manage the land wrangles among children arising out of unequal distribution of shares of land?”* (Code 2, January, 2020).

These questions point to one thing of mindset change as far as having more than one wife is concerned and hence has led to circumstantial monogamy in the area. They further point to the fact that land scarcity leads to family conflicts and they can be averted through minimizing the chances of having many family members which is mostly possible through monogamy and associated family planning practice that is always embraced by these people whose mindset has changed. It can therefore be argued that due to scarcity of land, families have been encouraging the adoption of monogamy as a practice that can mitigate family conflicts

#### **4.5. Perspectives of respondents on land related family conflicts.**

The researcher was further interested in understanding the individual perspectives on land related family conflicts about how they come up and why in some instances especially in the area of study. It was noted that family wrangles emanate from the spouses themselves and they later spillover to other members of the family and by extension the neighbors and the extended family members. It was noted that when the spouses develop misunderstandings such as assault and adultery which the common cases are known in this area especially during times of harvest when the financial stand of both partners is good. Through interviews with respondents in security circles one respondent indicated that:

*“following spouses developing misunderstandings they begin using or inciting children to take sides among both partners on who is right and who is wrong and it is common*

*that mothers always incite sons to make their fathers accountable to the land and the produce that comes out of the land if the mother has valid grounds to make accusations of mismanagement of land and its produce” (Code 27, January, 2020).*

This situation implies that during harvests, some fathers tend to get financial breakthrough from the sale of produce and some end up mismanaging it through adultery and alcoholism and which definitely impacts on the family financial status and harmony especially where adultery threatens the position of the mother in the family.

This implies that a fight for rights is commenced and the mother must get allies from her own children who begin holding their father accountable for the misused finances. These wrangles begin in such a small mode but later exacerbate into serious confrontations and assault that can lead to death, therefore it can be argued that incitement of children is originating from the mismanagement of the scarce resource of land and the produce that comes out of the produce. Hence it is very important that a lesson is learned to ensure that such ugly development is averted through peaceful accountability and the authorities must supervise harmonious settlement of these family disputes that have commenced from the misunderstanding of spouses.

Respondents further view these land related family conflicts as a government creation through legislations that empower government to expropriate people from land where it deems a high risk zone or a land that is suitable for public development. Through the FGD, a respondent observed that:

*“the government has been expanding the gorilla national park which is in Kinigi sector as the population of mountain gorillas is increasing and also for the construction of social facilities like Hotels and expansion of operational areas of soldiers who guard the mountain gorillas that are seen as a biggest source of foreign exchange earnings” (Code 8, January, 2020).*

This implies that many people have lost land and become landless through such plans of ensuring that government plans are implemented. It is noted that some of those expropriated have been misusing the money and end up blowing it before buying new lands for settlements and new farmlands to help the families. Therefore, through such land related conflicts have been

emerging and escalating due to absence of deliberate plans for the government to ensure that the people expropriated productively use the money acquired through expropriation.

Related to the above is also attributed to the government failure to implement population control measures to mitigate population density as earlier proposed. This was a respondent who observed that:

*“It is noted through interviews that the population control programs that had been proposed of limiting the number of children to three by each family could have helped but they were not implemented and its population increase that has been a factor in creating land fragmentation which is associated with increased scarcity of land and increased land related family conflicts”* (Code 25, January, 2020).

The individuals have a perspective that when family members increase it causes wrangles through distribution and this is causing further problems where the scarcity of land increases and by extension family conflicts increase. In that respect the people of Kinigi have continued to bear many children who in the end turn into a danger as it causes wrangles. Therefore, it can be argued that unless population is controlled, the problems emanating from the scarcity of land cannot be mitigated and harmony of families will not be achieved in Kinigi sector.

The researcher further discovered that individuals hold the perspective that culture binds them to only stay in that area instead of shifting to areas where land is somehow sufficient and that will definitely avert land related family conflicts as ownership to land won't be limited like in Kinigi sector. Through cultural beliefs they feel that migration to other areas will definitely dilute their cultures and by extension affect the next generations from maintaining their cultures by adopting new cultures found in places they have migrated to. This feeling was expressed during the focus group discussion and a respondent argued that:

*“It is our common perspective that if we migrate from this Kinigi sector where we were born and although its land is slowly reducing in sizes as our populations keep on increasing the chances are high that we are risking our children to adopt cultures we feel are not appropriate for them”* (Code 30, January, 2020).

This justifies that culture determines land tenure system in this area and hence land fragmentation has continued to ensure that people continue to stay in this area as a way of

safeguarding their culture or fearing that the societies where they might shift would definitely segregate them and hence feel out of place through segregation. This is common among the people who are called history marginalized people ( Abatwa). It is known that Kinigi sector hosts most of these kind of people and their culture is safeguarded and the government has not been active on ensuring that the historically marginalized people are safeguarded and helped to live a normal life but in Kinigi not resettling them in other areas because even removing them from the bush to areas that are favorable for decent shelter and interaction with other people was not simple to achieve but government believes any policy can go on in phases in an endeavor not to undermine the successes so far registered towards liberating the historically marginalized people.

Furthermore, the researcher discovered that land related family conflicts have been emerging after mismanagement of proceeds from the sale of land following family meeting on how to bail out one of the members. It was noted that sometimes family members have been agreeing on sale of land to help one member who is willing to undertake other economic activities like business in cycling. It is noted in an interview from one of the respondents that

*“scarcity of land has come up when one of the family member believes can make a breakthrough when part of the land is sold and many have sold some of their plots to buy motorcycles in anticipation of making quick money that can be used to replace the sold land but in the end some of these business don’t perform as expected due to the risks involved”* (Code 36, January, 2020).

This implies that land has been sold in good faith and in agreement with all family members expecting good business performance but when the risks overshadow the profits, it becomes difficult to convince the people that actually losses in the business were encountered and in the end resulting into wrangles. As if this is not enough, the family member who brought the loss of land comes back to conflict for the remaining land since there is no option of survival and in this case, the wrangles escalate and hence this perspective is basically exclusive internally in the family. It can be argued that when one member is given land regardless of whether the land was squandered other members develop the desire to get their shares hence individual interest surpass family interests thereby creating animosity among the people in the family and by extension in the whole community or Kinigi area.

Furthermore, it was discovered that people perceive that land scarcity and by extension family conflicts have a strong relationship with education. This is where by the family members perceive that if land is sacrificed for one of the members or all the members so that they can attain education, it will later be recuperated. However, after the beneficiaries get education and jobs and can replace land from the salary achieved from the job however the expectation to a greater extent hasn't been realized. Through the focus group discussion most of the respondents agreed with the respondent who indicated that:

*“Educating the children in most areas of Kinigi sector is financed by sale of land and the proceeds are used for school fees and scholastic materials since most of the families do not have another option of financial generation other than sale of land but after school the members who have benefited haven't made it an obligation to replace the family land as anticipated due to unemployment, inconsiderate behavior among others”.* (Code 28, January, 2020).

This gives a further grey picture on how land scarcity has been increasing from deliberate means and which most of the family members are accountable. And hence the children have further created a gap among family members after the loss of their land by believing that it was a responsibility of educating them through whatever means and it is not incumbent upon them to replace the land. It can be argued that this educating of children is becoming detrimental to land ownership in Kinigi area and until people learn to educate their children for the university courses that are marketable in the job market then land related family conflicts will not be mitigated in cases where land is sacrificed to educate someone in anticipation of that someone getting a job in future to replace the land. There is a strong capitalism or individualism cancer that is eating the societies and it is on increasing trajectory with minimal signs of diminishing and this implies that what is lost is never recovered.

#### **4.6. Findings on the land related security problems in the study area.**

Furthermore, the researcher was interested in understanding the security problems emanating from land scarcity and associated family conflicts. It is noted that security cuts across all other sectors and undermining its role is a recipe for disaster. Other sectors are given impetus by the security status and if good, there are more chances of fueling the growth of other sectors such as development, marriage, health education, land acquisition, reduction in crime among others.

Therefore, it is important to note what we make of the factors or effects that result from land scarcity and family conflicts.

The researcher first of all identified from the respondents that in terms of human security aspects a lot is resulting from these land related family conflicts and their scarcity is a problem to the rest of the sectors as information from the respondents indicate that:

*“ due to land scarcity, some families that have far smaller sizes of land have experienced food security problems to unimaginable levels that have been forced to migrate in search of food or suspending other activities like schooling children in favor of buying or working for food”* (Code 18, January, 2020). From the above, it is clear that a hungry person is a source of insecurity and hence without food security the harmony of families in the area is questionable. This further implies that due to scarcity of farmland, the practice of subsistence farming is not favorable for them and the harvest is not enough for all the family members and as a behavior in Kinigi area, the families have been reported to be extraordinarily larger than other areas in the country. Therefore, with food security being in question, the rest of the sectors are affected and the maintenance of security in the general area becomes exclusively untenable task to achieve.

Related to the above is the issue of health security whereby without food security the issue of quality food is not given attention and hence there is malnutrition. As noted, that food security impacts on all other sectors and this means the children who face malnutrition get stunted and are always visiting hospitals. On the other hand, as noted from a respondent that:

*“without food security, it means there is no surplus to markets and since in this area, land is a means of production and survival, and if there is insufficient produce then the financial sources are limited and many people are unable to purchase health insurance and pay their medical bills”* (Code 12, January, 2020) .

This implies that the health status in case of food insecurity is affected beyond favorable levels and in some cases the residents of the area are unable to take their patients to hospital which would consequently lead to death of some and hence reducing on the man power and in some case the family treasured resources. Therefore, this entire health sorry situation is originating from the scarce land and its related family conflicts that may bring indecision on the way forward for the rectification of the health situation for the people. It can be argued that an area



with people whose health security is in oblivion tends to result into many undesirable effects and efforts should be done to ensure that this ugly development is averted.

More still, the crime rate is seen to have increased in the area due to scarcity of land and its associated family conflicts. In such a situation where the means of production are curtailed it has been noted from the interview where one of the respondents noted that *“crime rate has been increasing especially on cases like attempted murder, assault causing grievous injuries, robbery, defilement, adultery among others due to increased redundancy that is caused by lack of enough land that can be used for production”* (Code 7, January, 2020).

This indicates that the increasing crime rate is not easy to curtail the trend from having an upward trajectory and the security officials will be having one song that we reduced crimes instead of eradicating some crimes and with the rise of urban centers in the sector of Kinigi, there is a likelihood of having these crimes multiply in view of the fact that the increase in redundant youth lead to gambling and drug abuse. These also are leading to a host of other crimes that would otherwise be mitigated if the area had enough land for various families in the area to ensure that all people do engage in the production process.

#### **4.7. Findings on the theoretical framework on land**

The researcher was further interested in getting findings on the selected theoretical framework that was chosen to give an explanation to the study about land related family conflicts. The theory posits that land conflict theory addressed four dimensions of conflict: scarcity competition, structural inequality of access, war for land, and revolution precipitated by land conflicts. Scarcity competition happens when there is not enough land for everyone. Structural inequality is exemplified by the rich being able to buy land that the poor cannot afford. Throughout the findings from the study, it was revealed that the conflicts that have been witnessed in the area of Kinigi have come up due to scarcity of land that is seen as a means of production. The families in the area were found not to possess enough land to help them manage their aspirations leave alone paying bills. It was found out that if parents don't distribute the land to their children fairly in form of their shares then, chances of wrangles among the family members are inevitable consequence.

It was also discovered about structural inequality that some well to do people have grabbed land from the poor through underpricing their land and expropriating them. One respondent in FGD noted that:

*“in some cases when the rich begin constructing well planned houses, those of unplanned houses are advised to find their level and Kinigi being an area visited by the white people from Europe leave alone hosting national occasions like naming ceremonies of mountain gorillas that has been attracting international celebrities and the national leaders”* (Code 23, January, 2020).

This implies that the poor people who formerly owned land are technically knocked out of the area since it is no longer suitable to settle in the area that is attracting unimaginable development.

And on the side of wars on land, the findings indicated from one respondent that *“Family conflicts have been pronounced in areas began by the spouses due to their irreconcilable differences, have led to all sorts of conflicts such as adultery, selling of produce without consensus on both spouses, absconding from paying bills of children and home bills among others”* (Code 13, January, 2020). This indicates that some of the conflicts are not pronounced as the area is under maximum security of both the police and the army that controls the areas inhabited by the mountain gorillas. It can be argued that land related conflicts or war on land can only be solved by ensuring that the root causes are uprooted such as resettling the people in sparsely populated areas, financing through soft loans their diversified income sources or facilitating their export of their own labor to other countries to help in reducing the pressure on the land. It can be argued that for land related conflicts to be solved the mindset change is important through sensitization so that the attention of people to survive can be diverted from land to other things like commercial activities that can contribute to survival of families without necessarily through wrangles or competition for land resource which is scarce.

Findings on structural inequality of access to land was witnessed in the findings that discovered that from one responded who remarked that *“the women in our area must work hard to purchase their own land or acquire from their husbands depending on the way they are living but in most families it is still known that gender empowerment or equality is not extended to land”* (Code 33, January, 2020). This indicates that the land ownership in the area is gender insensitive and women have been alienated from this resource of land that is considered as a means of

production. It can be argued that for development process to flourish, all able bodied people regardless of gender should participate in production and less of this is a disaster for development and harmony in families and hence scarcity of land has affected the commitment of females in contributing with all their capacity to development and it is a recipe for families to remain in abject poverty. The education levels are likely to continue reducing as access is curtailed since the common saying goes that “*educate a woman and you will have educated the nation*”. Therefore, basing on the fact that education is not the one from schools but in all the entire spectrums of life gender insensitivity to land because it is scarce is a step in the backward direction as far as campaigns for developmental objectives of the communities in Kinigi is concerned.

Related to the above the land tenure system has been detrimental to increase majority owners as findings indicate that land is historically acquired from customary ways as grandfathers pass on land to the next generation and the situation goes like that in that direction. However, in findings it is indicated that some people acquired land through government where returnees were settled in those areas and this was encroaching on the land owned by those who were born traditionally there. However, this meant that people’s plots of land were reduced to absorb the new comers in the area. Findings further indicate that the government has been expropriating people to expand the boundaries of the mountain gorillas national park and in some cases the law that allows the government to take any land and turn it public land in case the government want to develop it like for tourism purposes like hotels that have been constructed in the area from land formerly for the people in the area and according to findings they indicate that those expropriated were given funds that are not worth the value of the land.

Therefore in conclusion on, land conflict theory it is indeed appropriate in explaining the land related family conflicts in the area and by extension the general situation of all conflicts that are emanating from and especially when land is scarce and the population density of the area is increasing without control measures that are earmarked to reduce pressure on land and where some of land fragmentation taking place is not regulated by the government. However, the theory may have shortcomings in explaining the fact that those who have acquired land through working elsewhere are not catered for by the theory and may still conflict due to land. There is a situation of those who prefer not to conflict because of land scarcity and end up migrating to

other areas or other countries to find a lasting solution to the problem of land scarcity are also not catered for by the theory in its propositions. The theory although was developed many years ago seems sufficient to a greater extent in explaining problems associated with land and can go a long way in explaining the solutions to all land related conflicts including the family conflicts that have been prevalent in the area of study project.

In conclusion, the findings on land related family conflicts rotated around the attitudes that are formed due to scarcity of land, then the behaviors that are formed due to those attitudes. It later handled the practices that are developed among the people that could correspond to the scarce land family conflicts and these practices and behaviors were formed to respond to land scarcity issues. The study also looked at perspectives that are held by the people due to the beliefs they have on land especially when it is scarce. Findings indicated that land scarcity is a major cause of different attitudes, behaviors, practices and perspectives that are expected to ensure that land related conflicts are mitigated.

It was discovered that there are security related problems that are reported as a result of scarcity of land and they go beyond the jurisdiction of the family, findings also found out that the attitudes, behaviors, practices and perspectives created are not entirely negative, some are positive towards addressing the problems that are created by the scarcity of land towards either increase or reduction of family conflicts emanating from scarcity of land and indeed it can be stated that some of the behaviors formed show that there is light at the end of the tunnel as far as uprooting land related family conflicts in Kinigi sector.

Some of the new formed behaviors and attitudes like practice of monogamy to reduce family conflicts, diversification of income sources to reduce pressure on land, changing attitude towards the type of education to skills-based type of education and the taking of available opportunities like migrating to other sparsely populated areas leave alone adopting and embracing urbanization to mitigate land related family conflicts thereby changing focus on the traditional way of looking at land as the only means of production is changed deserve mention in this conclusion.

#### **4.8. Discussion of findings in the views of the researcher**

As the researcher, I find that the land related family conflicts were basically prevalent in the area in the past years but are changing to the mindset that is changing basing on the attitudes, behaviors, practices and perspectives that were seen in the findings. The findings indicate some disparity between the reviewed literature and actually the findings collected from the field. It was noted that most of the research on land although enormous have been ignoring the research on attitudes, behaviors, practices and perspectives and yet in qualitative research they are vital in explaining the phenomenon under the research. The findings have revealed that some attitudes, behaviors and practices held or formed by the people are to a great extent positive towards addressing the land related family conflicts and by extension all land related conflicts and where the cases of discrepancy have been discovered there was an intervening variable of the government that intervened to change the way the people in the area attach to land and its related consequences especially when it is scarce. The people themselves have instituted measures without waiting for the government to intervene they have solved disputes in families arising from land pressure; they have sold land to embark on commercial activities and for some such planning has worked well.

The security problems that have been registered and the main perspectives of people on how and why these land related family conflicts surely come up are seen to be managed and they haven't reached unimaginable levels where the situation is irreversible. Some of the conflicts look mere misunderstanding and the findings indicate that a cocktail of measures are in place instituted by the people to ensure that they are solved.

However, there is need for further research on the sustainability of some of the attitudes, behaviors, practices and perspectives and how they can stand a test of time, further research is also possible on how deliberate resettlement of people in other areas can be welcomed by the people with open hands as a measure of curtailing land related family conflicts.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0. Introduction**

The research study undertaken in Kinigi sector found in Musanze District of Northern Rwanda that was interested in examining how land scarcity can impact on family conflicts. This was to be achieved by looking at the research objectives and reviewed literature to be compared with the findings and thereafter suggest recommendations that can eliminate the identified research problem in the statement of the problem.

The study was anchored on three objectives namely: To examine the practices, attitudes and behaviors of individuals that lead to family conflicts, to assess the individual perspectives on land wrangles in families of Kinigi sector and to investigate land related security problems that are reported in Kinigi Sector. The objectives guided the study in conformity with the research questions that have been answered in the previous chapter. The following summary linked the ideas and arguments of the scholars and the objectives to come up with the summary.

#### **5.1. Summary of findings on the concept of land conflict**

The researcher was interested to discover from the findings the way respondents understand land conflicts in comparison to Wehrmann (2008, p.9), who stated that land conflict can be defined as a social fact in which at least two parties are involved, the roots of which are different interests over the property rights to land: the right to use the land, to manage the land, to generate an income from the land, to exclude others from the land, to transfer it and the right to compensation for it. A land conflict, therefore, can be understood as a misuse, restriction or dispute over property rights to land. Land conflicts defined as such can be aggravated if the social positions of the parties involved differ greatly. The findings indicate some of the authors views to be true but respondents have different views on some of his views, for example in findings it was discovered that in land conflicts two or more people are involved and unless they cannot find a lasting solution is when a third party like government comes in. It was also discovered that land is a means of production and whose produce is the measure of survival for the families who are focusing on that land and whereby anyone who denies the other rights on that land which he/she inalienable then conflict ensues on that land and when it involves the son

and the father whose social position in the family or society is different then there is aggravation of the conflict. It is the same like when a rich person is interested in the land where the government has earmarked for meaningful development then the rights of the poor who own the land are likely to be disregarded or overwhelmed in the interest of presumed development. Therefore, on a greater extent, the views from the findings of the field are more or less the same as the author.

## **5.2. Summary of findings on family conflicts**

According to Chafetz (1981,p.158) Family conflict is defined as any overt behavior, including verbal statements, by a person towards one or more family members which expresses a negative reaction to the distribution of any scarce and valued resources within the family is considered an instance of family conflict. However, in the findings, there is some disagreement where the conflicts are somehow covert not overt and it was discovered that women always do not demonstrate their conflicts with their husbands due to cultural constraints but always use their children as a vehicle of ensuring that the conflict between the wife and husband becomes pronounced or overt. As far as distribution of family scarce and valued resources, the findings concur with the author in the sense that concerning the topic under study, it was discovered that land if distributed unequally of its proceeds and produce are mismanaged by one of the spouses.

Therefore, the conflict emerges because of the competition interests on how family resources are managed or must be managed and escalates when members cannot reduce of their interests while negotiating for fairness. Also when the members under family conflicts fail to change their positions to facilitate amicable discussion. It was also discovered that if the attitude of the children in family is good and can ensure that the conflict doesn't become pronounced to the strangers or thirds parties then there is no chance of escalating, for example on land distribution, it was discovered that some children may prefer to work and purchase their land since the parents supported them to either acquire education or start commercial activities. It was also discovered that some children are rebels in homes due to drugs and influence of the peers and don't negotiate in family conflicts if their interests and positions are not respected.

### **5.3. Summary of findings on demographic status and land scarcity**

According to Bigagaza, (2001, p. 19) population pressure is an important factor contributing to land conflict in Rwanda. It is well known that Rwanda is the most densely populated country in Africa. Land portioning is a source of many land dispute due to the fact that there is insufficient land to meet the needs of the growing population. If the current trend continues, agricultural conditions in Rwanda will worsen. Already, agriculture is encroaching into protected areas and other ecologically sensitive areas. An estimated 38% of all holdings will be smaller than 0.275 hectares. From the available findings, there is much data concurring with the assertion of this author, because the area of study, population increase was seen to be a major cause influencing land fragmentation and leading to small plots of land in an endeavor to satisfy the interests of the family members. It was further discovered that ownership of land has been customary where generations acquire land from their ancestors and the trend has been moving like that as it conforms to cultural norms.

Therefore, the number of children especially the male children determines the rate at which one's land will be fragmented further so that all male members own land. Therefore short of this will be termed as alienating people from land ownership and a recipe for land related family conflicts. The partition of land is also identified in findings that sometimes are always inequitable as older sons are given more sometimes than the young ones and indeed some young ones are not given in cases where the land helped them to acquire education. In situations where the educated son is not given land and he doesn't get a chance to acquire a job then, he will come to compete for the land and those who didn't get his chances will create a wedge waiting for trouble on land.

### **5.4. Summary of findings on land conflicts and economic activities**

According to Marara, (2011,p.17), land conflicts in Rwanda is likely to have significant effects on the poverty status of households due to the fact that land is an important asset for household production and hence its scarcity is detrimental to livelihood. As earlier noted from the findings, land is a means of production on which all economic activities are done or from its sale, one is at liberty to commence economic activities that can liberate him/her from poverty. On the other hand, it was discovered that although women are most likely form the biggest population in the area where the study was conducted, it was discovered that land ownership is not gender



sensitive and hence its ownership is exclusively for men and this curtails the economic activities for women who don't own land.

It was discovered that through expropriation, many people lost land and in government resettlement therefore even the level at which they can indulge in activities is reduced. It was discovered that some people prefer to sale the small land and migrate to another place that has sufficient land and this also shows how people value land as a means of fighting poverty and enlarging business if one is to sell with intention to invest the produce. Findings further indicated that land has been sold to educate children especially in skills-based education so that they can get quick jobs and money that can help family members to replace the land they lost or acquire more and reduce pressure on the small land they had before fragmentation. Therefore land conflicts if not solved or mitigated they can curtail development because most activities as mentioned are done with the help of land and ownership of land determines the level of wealth a family has.

## **5.5. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS**

The study revealed some interesting facts about attitudes that are formed as a result of scarcity of land versus the nature of family conflicts that come up due to that such as alienating the women from ownership of land since they have some other options to benefit from land and early marriages are organized to ensure the girls are sent packing to mitigate pressure on land, some behaviors that are formed such as family planning to reduce pressure on land.

Some practices were discovered that are formed that using land as a dispute resolution tool and which can lead to landless people in case someone is required to sacrifice the land to settle a case like of defilement fearing jail. Perspectives were also discovered in the findings such as the incitement of children by one of the spouses to settle scores with a fellow spouse and instead of making the conflict covert; it is made overt such that it gets more fuel from children.

The security related emanating from land related family conflicts were also discovered from the findings such as the more land is fragmented the more the chances of food security are increasing and in case of where the pressure on land increases due to population density, measures would have been taken into consideration to ensure that resettlement of people is done and the

economic activities are not affected due to scarcity of land if the government can acquire that land elsewhere.

## **5.6. Recommendations**

Having carried out the study, the researcher as one of the contributions to ensure that some of the findings that are negative in ensuring that land related family conflicts are mitigated, the following are recommendations that are seen as suitable:

- The perspectives, behaviors, practices and attitudes on land being skewed towards culture hence determines who owns land and how much he/she owns land , looking at land as the only source of production should be changed through sensitization because some other countries are managing their economies with scarce land and they are developing.
- The law enforcement officers should manage family conflicts emanating from land scarcity in their infancy before they escalate into worst case scenarios and that there should be regular analysis of the trend of these land related family conflicts to ensure that there is progress in mitigating these conflicts.
- The government should ensure that landless people are helped to own land such that they don't cause conflicts as land is seen as a means of survival and production in general. It is noted that some landless people were caused by the government when they resettled people on areas that were formerly inhabited.
- The government should relax stringent conditions and taxation policy to enable many people join commercial activities in the area as it can help in reducing land related family conflicts. The area being near the border gives an opportunity in this study area to indulge in business because chances of booming are prevalent,
- The land office should expedite the registration of land so that the land owners get capacity of registering their land that can be used as collateral security in banks to acquire loans that can lead to the development of family income from several sources.
- Women empowerment campaigns must be scaled down to Kinigi area with constant monitoring and evaluation to ensure that there is mindset change among the people as land ownership and rights over usage of land are still in hands of the males and since land determines the economic activities then the chances of women developing are always limited since there is alienation of the females on land

- There must be legislation in place to check population density in the area of study and other neighboring areas since it was seen as a major factor in exacerbating land related family conflicts.
- The local leaders should be on the lookout on the land related family conflicts before they escalate and introduce policy interventions that are beneficial to the people that can lead to increase in standard of living and income generation. And with this pressure on family land will be reduced.
- Aggressive sensitization on different behaviors and practices created after the emergency of land scarcity should be increased and neighborhood watch strengthened in villages to report such cases and a solution is agreed upon by all stakeholders before land related family conflicts escalate.

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## APPENDICES

### INTERVIEW GUIDE

Sir/Madam

Land scarcity is one of the causes of family conflicts. In view of that, this study seeks to understand and collect your views and experiences in your neighborhood on the “**Land scarcity and family conflicts in Rwanda: Kinigi sector as a case study.**”

Thus, this interview guide helps to collect data for the above mentioned objective. Feel free to express your opinions on the subject under investigation and elaborate on your answers as best as you can as whatever, information you produce to us will be kept and treated with confidentiality and it will be exclusively used for the research purposes. Under no circumstances will such information be communicated to anyone else or any organization.

#### **Section A-BACK GROUND INFORMATION**

Answering each question please put a tick on the right answer which is most appropriate unless otherwise requested.

1. Kindly indicate your sex.

Male [ ]Female [ ]

2. Kindly indicate your age group.

20-30 Years [ ]

31 -40 Years [ ]

41-50 Years [ ]

51-60 Years [ ]

Above 60 Years [ ]

3. Indicate your Level of Education.

- PHD or Doctorate level [ ]
- Masters level [ ]
- Bachelors Degree [ ]
- Diploma level [ ]
- Secondary level [ ]
- Primary Level [ ]
- No education level [ ]

**Section B. Interview guide for members of the community**

1. What do you understand by the term family conflicts?
2. Do you experience land scarcity and related conflicts in your area? How are they explained?
3. What attitudes are being held by the people of your area on land?
4. Which behaviors emerge among the people when land is accumulated or lost?
5. What practices are done by the people of this area on land especially on its ownership?
6. Are there land related family conflicts in your area? How serious are they and how do they appear?
7. What are the individual perspectives on land conflicts in your area?
8. How are land related family conflicts solved in your area?
9. How does government contribute to solving land related family conflicts?
10. what are the gaps existing in how government is responding to land related family conflicts?
11. How is security responding to land related family conflicts in your area?
12. How do you think that land related family conflicts can be solved?
13. What are individual perspectives on how the rateof land ownership has been dropping in your area?

14. What are the individual perspectives on how culture has determined affairs of land in your area?
15. Are there security related problems that emerge out of land related family conflicts?
16. Do we have spouses instigating children to perpetuate land related family conflicts?
17. How is tourism affecting land related family conflicts in the area?

**Section B. Interview guide for local leaders/Land office staff/ security organs**

1. What do you understand by the term family conflicts?
2. Do you experience land scarcity and related conflicts in your area? How are they explained?
3. What attitudes are being held by the people of your area on land?
4. Which behaviors emerge among the people when land is accumulated or lost?
5. What practices are done by the people of this area on land especially on its ownership?
6. Are there land related family conflicts in your area? How serious are they and how do they appear?
7. What are the individual perspectives on land conflicts in your area?
8. How are land related family conflicts solved in your area?
9. How does government contribute to solving land related family conflicts?
10. What are the gaps existing in how government is responding to land related family conflicts?
11. How is security responding to land related family conflicts in your area?
12. How do you think that land related family conflicts can be solved?
13. What are individual perspectives on how the rate of land ownership has been dropping in your area?
14. What are the individual perspectives on how culture has determined affairs of land in your area?

15. Are there security related problems that emerge out of land related family conflicts?
16. Do we have spouses instigating children to perpetuate land related family conflicts?
17. How is tourism affecting land related family conflicts in the area?

**SECTION C.** Interview guide for Hotel and tourist companies' managers, NGOs staff dealing in environment

1. What do you understand by the term family conflicts?
2. Do you experience land scarcity and related conflicts in your area? How are they explained?
3. What attitudes are being held by the people of your area on land?
4. Which behaviors emerge among the people when land is accumulated or lost?
5. What practices are done by the people of this area on land especially on its ownership?
6. Are there land related family conflicts in your area? How serious are they and how do they appear?
7. What are the individual perspectives on land conflicts in your area?
8. How are land related family conflicts solved in your area?
9. How does government contribute to solving land related family conflicts?
10. What are the gaps existing in how government is responding to land related family conflicts?
11. How is security responding to land related family conflicts in your area?
12. How do you think that land related family conflicts can be solved?
13. What are individual perspectives on how the rate of land ownership has been dropping in your area?
14. What are the individual perspectives on how culture has determined affairs of land in your area?

15. Are there security related problems that emerge out of land related family conflicts?
16. Do we have spouses instigating children to perpetuate land related family conflicts?
17. How is tourism affecting land related family conflicts in the area

**Thank you for your contribution.**