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LIVELIHOOD ADAPTATION TO DISPLACEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT DUE TO OIL REFINERY IN UGANDA

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ABSTRACT

Displacement and resettlement due to natural resources extraction and infrastructural development is known to be associated with impoverishments globally. In the Albertine region of Uganda, including the Hoima District, displacement and resettlement have resulted in loss of assets and livelihood resources, yet the exploratory and infrastructural development activities are still at the infancy stage. This study therefore assessed how households are adapting in relocation areas, constraints affecting adaption strategies of men and women, and ways to improve adaption strategies of displaced people. Qualitative information was gathered by interviews and focus group discussions with people receiving different types of compensation, and the host community of those formally resettled. The results of the study indicated that, farming remains a dominant activity where rural communities make a living. Although there were no variations observed in activities undertaken as coping strategies by men and women, divorced women and widows found it difficult to adjust to the situation, as they must take up all activities and responsibilities for the family. Displaced communities face several challenges such as reduced access to land, water and fuelwood, making it difficult to rebuild their livelihoods in relocation areas. Lack of access to infrastructural facilities including roads, markets, schools, and health centres was emphasized during interviews and affected the coping strategies of displaced households in relocation areas. The government needs to fulfil the promises of providing infrastructural facilities both to resettled people and host communities. There is a need to ensure that important resources such as trees and water that women are so dependent on in their daily activities are easily accessed in relocation areas to minimize walking long distances and time wastage. The request made by displaced people to build

resettlement houses in their own identified land would minimize complaints about too small compounds and lack of privacy and help polygamous families to relocate together.

Key words: livelihood, adaptation, displacement, resettlement, Uganda

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Extraction of natural resources such as oil, minerals and water for hydropower is associated with benefits in forms of employment opportunities, economic growth and good standards of living for a country (Vanclay 2017). Such large-scale development projects involve massive land acquisition for infrastructure development, rendering project affected people (PAPs) exposed to social and ecological processes that heighten their vulnerability (Cernea 2008). Displacement and resettlement resulting from development projects has persistently remained a problem everywhere, though developing countries seem to be more affected (Vanclay 2017).

Every year more than 15 million people in developing countries are involuntarily displaced due to land acquisition for large infrastructural development projects leading to loss of assets and resources on which their livelihoods are dependent (Terminski 2012a). Forceful eviction by oil and gas development projects exposes affected communities to similar risks as people displaced by dam constructions, conservation projects and waste management plants (Terminski 2011). Risks identified by Cernea (1997) in his Impoverishment, Risk and Reconstruction Model include loss of land, homes, common community resources and social networks. There is also an increase in diseases, food insecurity and marginalization. The loss of land and natural resources on which rural livelihoods are dependent increases livelihood insecurity and poverty among the displaced communities (Tsikata 2009). When displacements occur, gender roles often change due to loss of livelihood assets. Men also tend to migrate to other areas in the name of looking for jobs. During this time women are forced to take up roles for which they were not prepared (Bisht 2009) and find it difficult to cope with the new situation in the resettlement area (Terminski 2013). Commercial quantities of oil worth 6.5 billion barrels were discovered in Uganda in 2006 and ever since the discovery, exploration and infrastructural development activities such as construction of the waste management facility, roads, and electricity extension has been taking place (Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development 2012). Other infrastructural developments such as the oil refinery and airport construction are under way. Although extraction of oil and gas is still in its initial stages, the effects from displacement and relocation due to infrastructural developments have tremendously affected the people within the oil project area (Kyomugasho 2016). Understanding the adaptation processes of displaced and resettled people is very important in order to come up with adaptation policies and strategies that can improve the livelihoods of displaced people (Yumiko et al. 2017) in case of future projects that require land.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Most existing literature on displacement and resettlement due to land acquisition for infrastructural projects in developing countries, including the Albertine region of Uganda, has focused on the general effects (Quetulio-Navarra et al. 2014; Kyomugasho 2016; Ogwang et al. 2018a). The impacts caused by displacement and resettlement often worsen the situation of the affected men and women, making it difficult to adjust or cope with the situation in the new environment. The adaptation strategies of people displaced by infrastructure projects in Uganda has not been adequately explored. This study explores the livelihood adaptation strategies undertaken by displaced households in the Albertine Region and the differences in effects and strategies employed by men and women.

1.3 Overall objective

To determine how households are coping with the consequences of displacement and resettlement in relocation areas.

1.3.1 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of the study were to:

1. Assess how displaced and resettled households receiving different benefits and host communities are adapting in the relocation areas.
2. Examine factors constraining displaced women's and men's livelihood adaption strategies.
3. Determine how the livelihood adaption strategies of households could be improved in the relocation areas.

1.4 Research questions

1. How are households adapting in the relocation areas?
2. How are the livelihood adaption strategies of men and women constrained?
3. How can the livelihood adaption strategies of displaced households be improved in the relocation areas?

1.5 Justification of the study

Displacement and resettlement do not only affect the rural people in terms of loss of assets and resources on which their livelihoods are dependent but can weaken their capacity to adapt. Understanding adaptation strategies of displaced men and women could inform and guide in the development of gender sensitive approaches for future infrastructural projects requiring land.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Effects of displacement

Displacement is defined as the forceful eviction of people from their places of origin (Terminski 2013). On the other hand, resettlement involves a plan by the government or development project to relocate people (de Sherbinin et al. 2010). Displacement and resettlement does not only physically affect displaced households but leads to economic, social and psychosocial effects. Many lose their traditional livelihoods due to loss of assets and resources (Bisht 2009). The affected people have no choice to remain in their homes when faced by the realities of displacement, and hence end up bearing the pain (Price 2009). It was observed that local people within the oil-producing region of Uganda would suffer the deepest and most immediate changes in their lives. This is due to the fact that people received insufficient compensation for the impact caused by displacement and resettlement due to oil exploration and development activities (Shepherd 2013). According to the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development (2012) in the Hoima District of Uganda, affected households would lose assets including land and common resources on which livelihoods are dependent.

Gendered effects

When the effects of displacement and resettlement are analysed from a gender approach, women are often more affected than men (Bisht 2009). One major gender factor influencing women is legal position and the accompanying economic effects of displacement. These include differential formal access and ownership to land and to common pool resources such as lakes, rivers and forest resources. This deprivation limits women in their customary economic activities, including collecting firewood, fodder, and wild foods, and partly constrains them in providing food for the family (Terminski 2012b). Often when displacement and resettlement occur, there are sudden increases in the number of female-headed households. Women's roles and responsibilities in some households change and they may be ill-prepared (Gururaja 2000). Bisht (2009) argues that women are not only subjected to the impoverishment risks of resettlement but also marginalized in their daily lives. The impoverishment brought by displacement and resettlement makes it difficult for the women to adapt in the new environment (Terminski 2013). A study by Ogwang et al. (2018b) in the Albertine region of Uganda indicated that loss of land and misuse of the cash from compensation on luxuries and leisure by men led to family breakdowns. Some of the men abandoned their wives and children for other women, leaving the women and children left more vulnerable as they were left landless and homeless in addition to the task of taking care of the family.

2.2 Adaptation strategies

Adaptation strategies refer to the ability of an individual to take action in response to any harm in order to avoid any adverse consequences (Kelly & Adger 2000). Livelihood diversification through access to farmland and natural resources such as fisheries and forest land are useful to rural household adaptation strategies. Diversification strategies through non-farm activities such as petty businesses could also act as displaced people's main sources of income which then improve their ability to cope and ensure food security (Suhardiman 2015).

2.3 Challenges constraining adaptation strategies

Displacement and resettlement greatly affect households' abilities to cope in relocation areas. This is because the resettled households have limited options to rebuild their livelihoods (Wilmsen et al. 2011). A study by Yankson et al. (2018) indicated that several challenges such as water scarcity, decreased access to forest products such as charcoal and firewood, and reduced access to fertile soils constrain the coping strategies of resettled communities of the Bui Dam project in Ghana. Evidence from a similar study conducted by Sayatham & Suhardiman (2015) in the Nam Mang 3 project in Laos revealed that displaced communities were faced with insufficient access to agricultural land, poor agricultural skills and inadequate funding as major constraints to livelihood coping in relocation areas. In their study in Vietnam, Bui et al. (2013) also found that resettled households had reduced crop yields, partly due to reduction in land sizes. Displaced communities were going to suffer a lot due to water and food crises because most of the boreholes had broken down and open water sources were contaminated. Women and young girls will be more constrained because of their task in ensuring that water and food are always available for the family (Global Rights Alert 2015).

2.4 Ways to improve livelihood adaptation strategies of displaced people

To restore the livelihoods of displaced households, resettlement programmes should have proper restoration programmes and income to avoid the challenges and impoverishments that affect adapting in relocation areas (Koenig 2014). Oliver-Smith & Sherbinin (2014) argue that inadequate resettlement processes from planning to implementation have contributed more to failure than success of involuntary resettlement and relocation. The compensation programmes need to be based on rights, fair, just and prompt to protect families from impoverishment that could affect their standard of living (Vanclay 2017). There is need to come up with gender sensitive approaches such as joint land ownership and titling, and decision making processes to ensure that women are not so much impoverished (Global Rights Alert 2015).

3. STUDY AREA AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Description of the study area

The Albertine region of Western Uganda where large deposits of oil and gas are located covers areas east of Lake Albert and the Nile Delta north of Lake Albert. The region stretches from south-western Uganda along the Uganda-Congo border to north-west along the Albert Nile (Tumusiime et al. 2016). The Albertine region consists of nine districts including Hoima, where the study was conducted in Buseruka sub-county, and located south-east of Hoima town. The sub-county consists of 3 parishes: Kabaale, Nyakabingo and Tonya. A **parish** is the next level after a village. A group of villages within a delineated boundary make up a parish (Kyomugasho 2016). Oil and gas development activities are currently being implemented in Kabaale parish, which is located 49 km from Hoima town. Kabaale parish is the proposed construction site for the oil refinery. Figure 1 shows a map of the location of Hoima District and Buseruka sub-county.

Uganda called Strategic Friends International (Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development 2012). However, only 96 affected households chose to be resettled and 1,125 households preferred cash compensation to resettlement.

Kyakaboga village in Nyakabingo parish is the location where households that chose to be resettled have been relocated. Kyakaboga where the government acquired 503 acres of land is located 15 km away from Kabaale where the oil refinery will be constructed. In Kabaale parish out of the 13 villages, three had all households displaced by the planned oil refinery site and four villages were partly affected. Some of the affected households may have preferred to move to villages nearby the planned oil refinery. The environment and lifestyle of nearby villages could be the same as where they were before the displacement and resettlement. The choice of relocation to nearby villages could also be due to the need to maintain their social networks (Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development 2012).

3.2 Research Design and data collection methods

A cross-sectional design that is exploratory and descriptive was employed. Exploratory research is a study conducted in new areas where certain activities and phenomena may be occurring (Bhattacharjee 2012). Since oil and gas exploration and development issues were in the infancy stage in the study area, more exploration was required to get a deeper understanding of the problem under study. The study also applied a descriptive design when collecting data on current conditions and adaptation strategies of various social groups such as women and men in investigated households belonging to three categories: cash compensated, resettled or part of the host community for displaced households. The study employed qualitative approaches during data collection. Qualitative research involves understanding the problem under study in depth from a small number of people (Denzin & Lincoln 2005). The qualitative methods employed for data collection were individual and key informant interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), all using semi-structured interview guides (see Appendices I, II and III).

Two male research assistants and a local leader to guide and introduce the research assistants were employed during data collection. The two research assistants were from Kampala. One research assistant was a master's student at Makerere University, waiting to graduate. The other research assistant had graduated recently with a bachelor's degree, had been born in Hoima District and was familiar with the study areas. One of the research assistants facilitated the FGDs and the other took notes during interviews. In choosing participants for individual and key informant interviews and FGDs, the research assistants employed a purposive sampling method through the help of the local leader who was familiar with the study areas. The participants for individual interviews and four FGDs were selected based on whether they had received cash compensation or been resettled as part of the benefits for displacement. One Focus Group consisted of members from a village hosting formally resettled households. The main issues discussed focused on livelihood strategies, gendered experiences, social networks and relationships and compensation benefits. The FGDs were conducted in the local language Lunyoro, spoken by the research assistants and the people of Hoima District. The discussions took about one and a half hours for each group. The key informants were purposively selected using local knowledge of the geographical area and the study themes. Key informants can provide the researcher with rich and detailed information on specific themes of the study (Alson & Bowles 2003). Themes related to study objectives such as coping strategies and other issues raised during the FGDs were addressed, using key informant interviews for clarity.

3.2.1. Participants and location of data collection

There were 39 informants, including individuals, focus group members and key informants for this study, 18 women and 21 men. Interviews were administered to five women and five men heading either cash-compensated or resettled households. Four FGDs were held, comprised of men and women separately from the displaced households; five men and four women from cash compensated households in Kitegwa and Kabaale villages, and five men and five women from resettled households in Kyakaboga village. The fifth FGD was a mixed group of four men and three women from the host community in Kyakaboga village. Three local government officials, including two men and one woman, were interviewed as key informants; key informant 1 (local leader in Buseruka sub-county), key informant 2 (local leader in Buseruka sub-county), key informant 3 (local leader in Kyakaboga village).

3.3 Data analysis

During interviews and FGDs the research assistant taking notes was translating the interviews directly into English. Translating interviews directly into English may have caused misinterpretations in some situations, as it is never possible to be accurate. The main researcher was situated in Iceland and the notes from interviews were scanned and sent via computer, using email. To get a better meaning and understanding of the notes taken during interviews and FGDs, the main researcher read through everything several times while consulting the research assistants to make clarifications on study themes discussed that were unclear. Contents were then analysed based on related themes for objectives and narratives generated. The study being exploratory in nature, required the need to find narratives to structure the discussions, guided by the study objectives and questions. Data was coded and a matrix for the various data in relation to study objectives were generated. After coding, the researcher read through the coded data to be able to identify the analysed data based on each study objective.

4. RESULTS

Results of the study are presented below based on research objectives and questions. Section 4.2 answers the question on the choices made for compensation benefits and reasons for the preferred choice, section 4.3 answers the question on adaption strategies undertaken by displaced households, and section 4.4 presents answers on the constraints to the adaption strategies of men and women in relocation areas. In section 4.5 ways of improving displaced people's adaption strategies in relocation areas are presented. Chapters 5 and 6 then present the discussions, conclusions and recommendations, respectively.

4.1 Types of benefits chosen and reasons for the preferred choice

This section presents the different choices of compensation benefits by men and women of a given household and the reasons why these choices were preferred. These choices included formal resettlement benefits and cash compensation.

4.1.1 Formal resettlement benefits

Key informant 1 reported that the resettlement benefits included either land for land or land and house compensation options. In addition, these resettled households were given food; 50 kg of rice, 50 kg of beans and maize flour by the government as a way of restoring their livelihoods though for a short period of time (six months). These households also had the chance of getting one cow and two goats.

Individuals that chose the resettlement option reported that the reasons for choosing to be resettled were influenced by several factors. In the first case, the government had made several promises, including one cow and two goats for each resettled household, tarmac roads, schools, a health centre, market and children's kindergarten within the relocation area. Some resettled households feared being cheated since a lower compensation rate was used. According to a man in FGD of the cash compensated, the government had promised to use the land market rate of 2012 but instead used the 2010 rate which was lower. Households that hadn't yet made decisions on the compensation option to take later preferred formal resettlement. Other households feared wasting money and the hiked prices of land.

Land size, compound and house

These resettled households complained that the sizes of the land allocated in relocation areas were smaller than the size of land they previously owned. An elderly man said that in the previous location, most households had larger pieces of land over 5 acres and their homesteads were so spacious and accommodated animal grazing. In the formal resettlement area, the land allocated was not equal to what was previously owned. According to key informant 1, resettled households complained that the land allocated was not fertile, subjecting men and women to worry about the amount of yield they would get compared to the previous location. The compounds within the formal resettlement area were so small that children couldn't play freely.

According to resettled men and women who were of the Alur ethnic groups, the resettlement benefits, especially the house and compound, were not favourable for certain families where men were polygamous. This is because in these families during relocation to the formal resettlement village of Kyakaboga it was not possible to resettle with more than one wife. The house and land given to those who chose the resettlement option was in the name of one man and one woman only. The men from polygamous families became very bitter and some of them ended up renting cheaper houses within the oil refinery area for their other wife or wives.

4.1.2 Cash compensation

According to key informant 1, in the first phase of cash compensation which started in July 2013, only male heads of households were entitled to cash compensation and opened accounts in their names. The reason for considering only men to receive the cash was that traditionally men were considered heads of families and owned house properties. However, the female heads of households and housewives had to raise a complaint through Human Rights Non-Governmental Organizations such as Global Rights Alert and African Network for Energy and Governance

Organization to get their voice and rights recognized. In the next phase of the compensation, women were considered and asked to open a joint account with their husbands.

Informants from cash-compensated households explained that the main reason why cash compensation was preferred to resettlement was that they did not have any idea where the government was relocating them. They feared being relocated very far from the area where oil and gas activities were being implemented. Three informants said that they had their farming land within the refinery area that could easily be replaced by buying land somewhere else; hence they needed the cash compensation to help buy food and pay for children in school.

In an interview with key informant 1, it was claimed that among households that received cash compensation in the first phase, only a few or less than 20% spent their money wisely buying land, livestock and if possible building a house. It was claimed that the majority of those who were cash compensated spent their money recklessly, such as marrying other women and abandoning their former wives, buying bottled water for bathing and using beer to wash the skin of goats and motorcycles. The key informant further elaborated that after some men had spent all their money, they ended up frustrated and poorer than the situation before displacement and relocation. In families where the men disappeared with money, women and children remained suffering a lot. It has been difficult for women to cope since they must provide everything for the family. A woman participating in an FGD of women from cash-compensated households divorced by her husband bitterly said:

“I do not know what to do ever since my husband left me. I try to do some casual labour work such that I can cope with the situation. If I get some little money at the end of the day, I buy food for my six children. I live in my sister’s house now.”

4.2 Adaption strategies undertaken by displaced households

When informants were asked how they were earning a living and adapting in relocation areas, they responded that farming, petty businesses, casual labour and making social networks of friends were the main activities and strategies employed.

4.2.1 Farming activity

During interviews ranging from individuals, FGDs and key informants, farming was emphasized as one of the main livelihood activities undertaken by displaced households as an adaptation strategy. Six of the informants explained that subsistence farming for home consumption and sale of produce was the major activity undertaken. Crops grown were mainly ground nuts, maize, cassava, sorghum and beans. Four individuals who had been cash compensated stated that they were involved in large scale farming where coffee, maize and cassava were the main crops grown for sale. Resettled men complained during the FGD that before resettlement, farming was done on a larger scale but in relocation areas, the land given was smaller in size and land prices had increased. One of them spoke loudly, *“We have very little harvest now and it is not possible to store anything for consumption in the future”*. Before resettlement, most households carried out farming on larger pieces of land such as five acres, whereas after relocation, cultivated lands were smaller, less than 5 acres. See Figure 2 below, an example of a cultivated field by a cash-compensated family.



Figure 2. Cultivated field of a cash-compensated family in Kitegwa village. (Source: Field photo from Davis Tumuhairwe July 2018).

Key informant 1 explained that before displacement, women owned some small pieces of land where they grew vegetables such as egg plants, cabbage, and tomatoes for home use and sale. After the displacement, women lacked gardens/plots to cultivate because the land allocated around resettlement areas and the land bought by cash-compensated households was smaller in size and owned by husbands. Informants reported that no improved farming activities were being undertaken in relocation areas except the seeds being planted. A woman during an FGD reported that it was only the improved varieties of maize and cassava given by the Hoima Caritas Development Organization (HOCADAO) that was helping them. These improved varieties mature so fast and that has helped a lot, especially in taking care of children. A resettled woman said, *“Cassava helps a lot, when it is there, the children can eat, drink water and sleep. You can just boil the cassava with salt and the children eat”*.

The male group of resettled households in a discussion reported that the piece of land allocated as compensation was being used for growing crops and rearing livestock. In case the animals multiplied, some of them could be sold and the money helped start up some petty business activities to generate more income. However, the land allocated was not enough to accommodate animal grazing and crop growing. The land allocated was smaller in size and the compound where their houses were constructed was not large enough to rear animals. The situation therefore forced some families to sell off the livestock, including the cow and the two goats distributed.

4.2.2 Petty businesses and casual labour

Most of the cash compensated households interviewed revealed that after relocation, it became possible to start up petty businesses within the sub-county trading centre. The cash-compensated households felt that the income from petty businesses supplemented the food and income from farming. In the resettled and host village, petty businesses have been set up by a few women who were mainly selling food stuffs such as tomatoes, dried fish, cassava and sugar cane within the resettlement village. The female informants interviewed said that if one wanted to sell any food item, he or she needed to move from one place to another or household to household within the

village. Anyone interested in buying would call the seller and buy the amount he or she could afford. During FGD interviews with women in the formal resettlement village, they complained that before displacement it was easy to conduct petty businesses because they had access to nearby markets. There were also many people within the previous location who could support businesses, whereas after relocation, businesses became dormant. Among women interviewed, two complained that they could not start up their tailoring businesses because there were no markets where they could operate, hence affecting their adaptation strategies.

According to people in resettled and host communities, casual labour work on farms generated some money that helped with buying food and other items for their families. Most of the displaced households were not well educated, so casual labour which did not require formal skills could be accessed. However, women and men in resettled households reported that the majority of those who used to employ them as casual labourers had relocated to different villages.

4.2.3 Social networks of relatives, friends and neighbours

Both men and women reported that they were making new friends as an adaptation strategy though it was not very easy in the beginning to interact with new faces. The friends made in relocation areas and a few of those who relocated with them were very supportive. The friends helped with garden work, renting out land at cheaper prices and sharing information such as immunization for children. Social networks of friends and relatives also helped a lot during burial arrangements, hence helping displaced communities cope in relocation areas. To find casual labour jobs, one needed to consult a friend.

4.3 Constraints to the livelihood adaption strategies of men and women

According to interviews, several factors were identified to be constraining the livelihood adaptation of men and women. These were water and fuelwood crises, lack of a market to sell goods and services, inaccessibility of health facilities, insecurity and lack of privacy.

4.3.1 Water and fuelwood crisis

According to all interviews conducted, informants explained that the water problem had been so demoralizing that it had constrained both men's and women's adaptation strategies in relocation areas. Women complained that, even if one wanted to carry out an activity early enough including washing clothes, utensils and general clean up, it could be delayed by lack of water. Men from all displaced communities said that the water problem had affected their activity of brick laying, which generated some money to support their households. Resettled households reported that there was only one source of water, a borehole drilled by the government in the formal resettlement area. Worse, the borehole water accessed was hard and salty, hence difficult to use for drinking and other purposes. The one borehole was not enough for all households within the resettlement village. Key informant 2 reported that before the borehole was drilled, host households were fetching water from a stream which wasn't safe for cooking and drinking purposes. Even animals drank and moved in this stream water, making it dirtier.

In the FGD with women from cash-compensated households, it was elaborated that women were mainly concerned with fetching water and looking for firewood. Young girls were not supposed to

be made to go fetch water alone, especially from distant locations, because rape cases became rampant in relocation areas. The girls fetched water from nearby streams which were not safe for cooking and drinking purposes. Resettled households have also been harvesting rainwater during rainy seasons in the tanks given though they were small. As for the cash-compensated and host communities, households with young boys sent them to fetch water and those with bicycles, to use them.

The fuelwood crisis also greatly constrained the adaptation strategies of women in relocation areas. Both women from cash-compensated and resettled households complained that before relocation, fuelwood could easily be accessed on their own farms but in relocation areas it had been very difficult to get fuelwood for cooking. The National Forestry Authority does not allow cutting down the surrounding trees and the trees on farms have owners. During FGDs and individual interviews, it was a challenge emphasized as affecting women. A woman who chose the resettlement option remembered:

“My garden had several trees where I could gather fuelwood but now I must look for twigs of trees around, which is very difficult to get. How shall we cope with this situation? I mainly feel worried because of the children. They are young and must eat.”

Fuelwood has not been a problem to the host community households in the resettlement village because their farms had trees which they could cut and use as fuelwood. Households that had few trees could be helped by friends with more trees in their gardens, according to key informant 2.

4.3.2 Access to market and services

According to interview results, especially in the FGD of the cash-compensated and resettled families, the lack of a market was mentioned as one of the main factors constraining the efforts of both men and women. After harvesting crops such as beans and maize, it was very difficult to find a nearby market to sell some of the harvest. Therefore, one had to sell the harvest at low prices to nearby households. Lack of a market led to decline in prices of agricultural products and hence the low income earned by men. Key informants explained that it had been a challenge for farmers to sell their products. There are no markets where farmers should take their surplus yields, and this has made many households sell off their products cheaply. A woman from the resettled households said, *“I used to work as a tailor in the previous location but here, there is no market where I can go and continue with the tailoring business”*. The nearest market for all kinds of goods and services including food and necessities could be found within the sub-county trading centre which is about 5 km away.

There is also a problem of inadequate health care services within relocation areas, as reported by men and women particularly in the resettlement area of resettled households. According to men in the resettled households, inaccessible health services has greatly affected women. A complaint was raised that the nearest government health centre was about 5 km away. One of the men from individual interviews remarked, *“Health centre III, which is the nearest, is very far and when women go there, they are charged some money saying that women have money, yet treatment is supposed to be free”*. The available private clinics which are not even nearby are not affordable. Although health centres were renovated, and more wards constructed within Buseruka sub-county, the distance to access health care services coupled with poor roads is grave. An FGD with resettled

households indicated that before relocation, the government had promised to construct some infrastructural facilities such as well-equipped health centres, schools including a kindergarten, and tarmac roads. However, the government did not fulfil its promises, leaving many resettled and host households frustrated. A key informant reported that other adaptation strategies helping relocated households were sharing of motorcycles to reach a health centre or take a patient for treatment. Otherwise one could easily die on the way to the health centre since it was about 5 km away.

4.3.3 Insecurity and privacy

Insecurity in relocation areas was also reported by informants as hindering adaptation strategies. Most of the insecurity complaint was by resettled households and the host community. During FGDs with both men and women from resettled households, it was revealed that there was increased theft of property such as crops in the garden and livestock. Four individuals reported losing goats, leaving the rest of the people scared. FGDs with host community members indicated that the rampant theft cases were mainly by natives within the host community. Theft cases within communities where the cash-compensated households relocated were reported, but not rampant as in the resettled household's communities.

During an FGD comprised of men and women from resettled households, it was reported that there was no privacy within the relocation area due to the closeness of houses. A young man in a house said, *"The houses are made like a camp, there are so close to each other"*. Families felt insecure, especially when their children were playing, as they could cause havoc to a neighbour's property. One woman explained that children could easily contract sanitation-related diseases like cholera, typhoid fever and diarrhoea. In a loud voice she said:

"These houses have three bedrooms, not enough for large families such as ours. There is no privacy. In the previous area, parents, boys and girls had their own huts and if relatives visited us, there were some free huts where they could sleep. Now in this resettlement camp, when our older children and relatives visit us, where will they sleep? The space between houses is so close, even our children cannot play freely. (See Fig 3)."

Figure 3 below shows how closely spaced resettlement houses are constructed.



Figure 3. Oil refinery affected residents are unhappy with congested resettlement houses. (Source: From Davis Tumuhairwe 2018).

4.4 Ways to rebuild the livelihoods of displaced households

Informants suggested some ways to rebuild the livelihoods of displaced households in relocation areas. These strategies included establishment of good and accessible infrastructural facilities, good and planned resettlement processes, adequate support in terms of material items and sensitization programmes.

4.4.1 Infrastructural facilities

All the resettled, cash-compensated, and host households suggested that the government should establish good and accessible infrastructural facilities and social amenities such as markets, health centres, roads, piped water and schools to promote standards of living in relocation areas.

An FGD with men and women in Kyakaboga village indicated that both the host and resettled households are angry with the government because of not fulfilling their promises of building accessible health centres, schools, markets and first-class tarmac roads. Members of the host households in an FGD explained that during the land acquisition processes to relocate households that chose resettlement options, the government promised households in the host village that if they sold part of their land, they would benefit from good roads, health centres, schools and a market.

4.4.2 Adequate resettlement programmes

Key informant 2 suggested that there was need to construct permanent houses for households who chose resettlement benefits on their own identified land. This would help minimize unnecessary

conflicts amongst households, congestion and lack of privacy. The government shouldn't choose an area and build houses like a camp.

According to FGD interviews with the host community, it was emphasized that all affected households, including host communities, formally resettled, and cash-compensated in relocation areas, should be considered when giving support in terms of food and other benefits. This is because after households were relocated to the resettlement village, only resettled households had been given support in terms of food and water. Key informant 3 gave an example that when anybody from the host community went to fetch water, he or she would be asked to pay money to be allowed to fetch water. Host community members felt very uncomfortable with the behaviours of resettled households. When anybody from the host village was seen fetching water by men from the resettled households, they would immediately draw closer to the borehole and chase the fellow. Key informant 3 further expressed himself saying, *“Instead of the government fulfilling their promises, they are favouring only resettled households”*.

4.4.3 Support and sensitization programmes

Men and women from individual interviews indicated that there was need for continued support for resettled households in terms of food for at least one year. The individuals felt that since they were just starting to rebuild their livelihoods in relocation areas, distributing food longer would be very helpful.

Key informant 1 suggested that the government needed to continue with sensitization programmes to help bring cooperation between host and resettled communities. Key informant 2 within the resettlement village said when there is cooperation, it is easy to participate in community activities such as clearing roads and wells. Cooperation also promotes peace within the entire village instead of resettled and host households operating differently. Key informant 3 reported that resettled households want to be in control of the entire village in that they have no respect for host households. The resettled households went as far as rejecting the local council chairperson of Kyakaboga village because they wanted to have their own chairperson. That situation has increased conflicts between the host and resettled households.

The government and NGOs should continue supporting and sensitizing displaced households on various issues such as health and rights. Health-related sensitization programmes would help minimize bad health practices and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS that was becoming common. An FGD with women in resettled households indicated that the role of NGOs such as Global Rights Alert, Hoima Caritas Development Organization, and the AIDS support organization had been important in improving livelihoods and the rights of displaced people.

5. DISCUSSION

Interview results show that most of the displaced households are at the initial stage in trying to restore their livelihoods in relocation areas. They are engaged in subsistence farming and petty businesses, but the majority seem to be finding challenges with adapting in relocation areas.

Farming, as the main livelihood activity in rural areas, was undertaken by most displaced households. Most of the households were involved in small scale farming on a reduced size of land compared to before, as commonly found in studies on displacement in Asia and Africa (Bui et al. 2013; Yankson et al. 2018). A few cash-compensated households were able to buy larger land sizes and farmed on a larger scale, which meant more food production and income. However, though displaced households were compensated either by cash or land, the majority remain impoverished. The compensation for the land and properties lost was insufficient, unfair and not prompt enough to continue supporting livelihoods in relocation areas, which was a common finding (Vanclay 2017).

In general, the cash-compensated households who invested their money in building houses and income generating activities are coping quite well and better than the resettled and host community households. Some of the cash-compensated started petty businesses that have in turn helped in improving their standard of living. However, households that spent their money recklessly on leisure and unproductive assets are poorer and frustrated and find it hard coping and adapting in the relocation areas.

There are no wide variations observed in activities undertaken as adaptation strategies by men and women, as both are mainly involved in farming and petty businesses for their livelihood. Loss of access to smaller plots of land by displaced women seemed to have affected food production and the independent income women earned before relocation. That situation has left resettled women to be more dependent on their husbands in relocation areas. There were indications that households headed by divorced and widowed women were worse off and had more difficulties in adjusting with the situation in relocation areas. Some of the divorced women had been abandoned when displaced from their former home and as widows they must take up all activities and responsibilities for the family. Often, when displacement and resettlement occur, there is a sudden increase in the number of female-headed households. Women's roles and responsibilities in some households change and they may be ill-prepared (Gururaja 2000).

Access to common resources such as water and forests affected household adaptation strategies, especially for women who had been greatly dependent on these resources, as foreseen in a study conducted by the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development (2012). Water and fuelwood crises constrained women's adaptation strategies more, though the men also felt troubled. According to informants in this study in some households, men and boys helped fetch water from distant locations. The support given by men helped women to engage in household activities, taking care of children and saving the time that would be spent fetching water. Young girls were also saved from attacks and rape, as it had become common in the areas surrounding the oil refinery. The surrounding areas of the oil refinery became isolated after affected households had relocated. The area for the oil refinery had become depopulated and riskier to move around alone, especially in the evening.

The finding on land and housing in formal resettlement for polygamous families in this study was interesting. During relocation, men in polygamous families resettled with one wife and rented for the other wife or wives in the surrounding oil refinery areas. The land and new house given as compensation accommodated only one monogamous family (husband with one wife and children). According to the results, compared to the cash-compensated and host community households, formally resettled households were co-operative and supportive of each other, helping men and

women to cope with the situation in the relocation area. If someone was sick, those with motor bikes helped those who did not have one to rush the patient to the health centre, a strategy that helped a lot and saved pregnant women, given the fact that the health centre, which is in Buseruka trading centre, was far from the relocation area.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, the results indicated that farming and petty businesses were the dominant activities helping displaced and resettled households to cope and adapt in relocation areas. For example, some of the cash-compensated and resettled households that started up petty businesses were coping well in relocation areas. Displaced communities face several challenges such as reduced access to land and water and a fuelwood crisis. This affects both coping and adaptation strategies, as well as the lack of access to infrastructural facilities such as roads, markets, schools, and health centres in relocation areas. The problem of inaccessible infrastructural facilities was emphasized during the study, and hence the need for government intervention as earlier promised. More accessible infrastructural facilities such as water and health centres can both help to raise living standards and reduce existing conflicts between resettled and host households in the resettlement villages. Availability of markets within relocation areas can encourage farmers to produce more agricultural products when they can sell them for a higher price. Many could also start up petty businesses or continue with former businesses that could boost their income and improve their standards of living. The study therefore recommends that the government should fulfil the promises of establishing first class tarmac roads, health centres, schools and markets for affected households. There is need to ensure that resources such as trees and water, which women are so dependent on, are easily accessed in relocation areas. That could reduce the time spent and burden of walking long distances. It is important to consider the request made by displaced people to build resettlement houses in their own identified land. Building houses on individual land minimizes complaints about relocation areas about lacking privacy and enables polygamous men to settle with their wives in their preferred location.

The displaced households, especially in resettled and host communities, felt that if the government had fulfilled their promises of establishing schools, health centres, first class marram roads, and a market, they wouldn't be facing all the challenges they are currently undergoing. Other displaced households, including those cash compensated, needed more support in terms of food and water to enable settling and coping in relocation areas. More accessible water sources and fuelwood could ease the work of women and time spent fetching water as well as collecting fuelwood. The failure by government to fulfil their promises to provide adequate and accessible infrastructural facilities within the resettlement villages generated conflicts between the host and formally resettled households. The formally resettled households do not want to share facilities such as water with the host households; hence the need to provide more and accessible social facilities.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEWS

The overall objective of the study is to investigate how households are coping with the consequences of displacement and resettlement due to the planned oil refinery site in Hoima District, Western Uganda. This research will cover Hoima District where commercially viable deposits of oil and gas were discovered and confirmed. The study will be based in Buseruka sub-county, particularly Nyakabingo and Kabaale. The study is conducted by Miss, one of the participants of the sustainable land management and land restoration programme in Iceland.

All information provided will be used and treated with utmost confidentiality. It will be strictly used for academic purposes only.

Your response and answers will be of great importance to this research. You are therefore kindly requested to participate willingly.

A. Background and socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

1. Village.....
2. Gender of respondent
 - a) Male
 - b) Female
3. Age
 - a) 20 – 30
 - b) 31 – 40
 - c) 41- 50
 - d) 51-60
 - e) 61 and above
4. Marital Status.
 - a) Married
 - b) Single
 - c) Divorced
 - d) Never married
5. What is the composition of your household membership in terms of size?
 - a) Boys (0-17 years)
 - b) Girls (0-17 years)
 - c) Men (18 - 60)
 - d) Males (18 - 65)
 - e) Old people (61+).....
6. What is the education level of the household head?
 - a) No education
 - b) Primary
 - c) Secondary
 - d) Tertiary (Diploma training, University)
 - e) Others (specify.....)

7. How long have you lived in this village?.....
8. Where did you relocate from?.....
9. What benefits did you/your household receive because of displacement from former home?
10. Why did you choose this compensation option?
11. Are you satisfied with the benefits offered?.....

A. Coping strategies undertaken in relocation areas

12. How do you/your household make a living in this location?
 - i. Farming – what kind of farming? Are you involved in improved farming activities? Explain those you are involved in
 - ii. Other income generating activities – tell me what you and other household members are doing to generate income for the household.
 - iii. Have you started any new income activities after moving to this location?
13. How are the household coping strategies regarding food and income in the new location doing?
14. What other coping strategies are you involved in at the moment other than farming?
15. Do you have friends and relatives in this area?
 - i. Have you made new friends in this area?
 - ii. What social activities do you participate in?
 - iii. Are the friends and relatives in this area helping you cope?
 - iv. How are they helping you cope in this area?

C. Factors constraining the coping strategies of displaced households

16. Are there any challenges towards the coping strategies being undertaken in your household?
 - i. What are the constraints faced in conducting different activities?
 - ii. Do women and men face different challenges in their activities? How and why?
 - Availability and access to land;
 - Extension services to farming and marketing
 - Education levels
 - iii. Has there been change in gender roles? How have the roles of men and women changed?
 - iv. Are changes in gender roles a constraint to the coping strategies of displaced households?

D. Ways of improving coping strategies of displaced households

1. In your own view, what can be done to improve the process of displacing and resettling households because of infrastructure projects?

APPENDIX 2. INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

The study conducted is part of the training at the United Nations University- Land Restoration Training Programme based at the Agricultural University of Iceland. The main aim of this research is to investigate how displaced households by the oil refinery are coping in the relocation areas. You have been chosen to participate in this study and your contribution is very important to allow me to complete the training I am undertaking.

Men and women from displaced households that have received cash compensation and/or resettlement benefits

Location of Focus group discussion.....

1. What kind of benefits did you /your household get when displaced?
 - i. Why did you choose this type of benefits (weren't there more options?)
 - ii. Do you think that the benefits you received are improving your livelihood coping strategies in the new location?
 - iii. How are the benefits improving your livelihood?
 - iv. What new livelihood strategies have you observed among compensated households?
2. Do you think women and men experience different constrains in income generating activities in relocation areas? If yes, explain in what way
3. What changes have occurred in your social networks of friends and family after relocating to the new area?
 - i. How have these changes affected your situation in the new location?
 - ii. Have you made new friends and social networks? If yes, how are they helping you in the new location?
4. How have Government representatives or Non-Governmental Organisations assisted your adaption in the relocation areas?

Men and women living in the host community (The native).

Location of Focus Group Discussion (FGD).....

Participants (number, gender, age, relocating from where....)

1. Have many people moved to your village after being displaced by oil projects?
 - i. Where did they move from?
 - ii. Are those who moved many or few compared to the village size?
2. Are there any changes brought about by households that have relocated into this area?
 - i. What are the changes you have observed?
 - ii. How are those changes affecting you?
 - iii. How are these challenges constraining your livelihood strategies?
 - iv. What are you doing to cope with the displaced people moving into this area?
3. Are women and men in your village/community differently experiencing the impact of displaced people relocating into this area?
4. How are men and women affected?
5. Explain ways in which the coping strategies of households can be improved with the coming of new people in this area.

APPENDIX 3. INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

Location of interview

Position of participant

1. How long have you worked in Buseruka sub-county?
2. How does your position/work relate you with displaced and relocated households in Buseruka sub-county?
3. How are the displaced households coping in the relocation areas?

- i. Are there differences in coping strategies employed among households?
 - ii. If yes, what is the main explanation for the observed differences in how displaced households are coping?
4. Explain some of the most common livelihood strategies among displaced households
 - i. Are there differences between coping mechanisms employed by women and men?
5. Are there any new livelihood strategies emerging in the relocation areas?
6. How are the coping strategies of displaced households constrained?
 - i. Do men and women face different challenges? If yes, explain
7. How can the livelihood coping strategies of households displaced by large infrastructure projects be improved?