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Compensation packages and implications for social networks among development-induced displaced persons in Uganda's Albertine Graben

Frank Mugagga, Leonida Tibakunirwa and Paul Musali

ABSTRACT

The study aimed at understanding the implications of compensation packages for the social networks of displaced persons in Uganda's oil-rich Albertine Graben. Questionnaires, interviews, focus group discussions, and observations were used to obtain data from purposively selected respondents. Qualitative data was analysed using content analysis while quantitative data analysis entailed generating descriptive statistics (percentages) and inferential analysis was performed through cross-tabulation by way of chi-square tests. There was a significant association between compensation type and social network distortion for the affected groups ($p = 0.000$). Institutional management of different compensation packages exhibited professional shortcomings that need to be addressed to build sustainable social networks such as credit facilities. We thus recommend that government involves all stakeholders at every development phase and that compensation rates are continuously updated to allow for fair compensation rates in future and effective resettlement procedures during induced-displacement and resettlement processes.

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Development policy; social exclusion; sustainability

Introduction

A major failing of resettlement planning has been the inadequacy of compensation arrangements (Vanclay 2017) which has enormous repercussions for livelihoods (Youliang et al. 2018). Displacement refers to how major development projects expropriate people together with their assets to allow the project (public good) to proceed (Cernea 1996). Unfortunately, the processes involved such as planning, forced eviction, compensation, resettlement, restoration/rehabilitation, and development do not merely expropriate but also disrupt people's social systems not limited to resettlement. Governments/developers overlook this mega process when they think that righting displacement wrongs through compensation provides social justice (Vanclay 2017).

Compensation refers to all rewards earned in return for livelihood assets which are lost either directly or indirectly and whose valuation is controlled by the market price (Huu, Van Western, and Zoomer 2013). For this paper, market value is "the estimated amount that the land might be expected to realize if sold in the open market at valuation date after proper marketing between a willing seller and a willing buyer and they had acted knowledgeably, prudently and willingly". There are three commonly offered packages during involuntary displacement, namely: a cash package, a resettlement package, and a land-for-land package. Cash compensation is a type of package where the displaced has all his assets valued into liquid cash. Land-for-land compensation is a type of package designed for those who had land in the refinery area but with no houses. The

assets on that piece of land such as crops and fruits are valued and paid for in cash while a resettlement package entails a well-furnished house on top of land and other material gains such as food rations and seeds.

The available literature shows that compensation funds are grossly inadequate (Vanclay 2017), which deters displaced persons from improving their incomes by harnessing new development opportunities or maintaining their businesses and credit saving organisations. Vanclay (2017), however, contends that the negative implications of compensation emerge due to the erroneous and slow processes during valuation exercises. The errors among others include lack of proper planning and due compensation (Sreya 2009), lack of transparency, inadequate sensitisation, and lack of current and updated compensation rates which all confirms a long-time historical and negative perception about compensation (Brenda-Parlee 2015; Ofariwa and Olando 2015). In most development-induced displacements, compensation must be commensurate with the resultant impacts on livelihoods like loss of businesses, crop fields, religious and traditional ornaments, but not limited to cash (Vanclay 2017).

However, in most development projects, governments and their development partners, including non-government organisations (NGOs), concentrate on providing an alternative means of survival (Hilson and Banchirigah 2009) in the form of new jobs and material gains in the form of food rations and farm tools which hardly help the displaced persons overcome development shocks (Randell 2016), which raises a human right concern (UN-HABITAT 2014). The available literature reveals that the dynamism associated with compensation makes replacement of losses necessary and identification of an alternative place for relocation complex, making people lose their identity and sense of place (Vanclay 2017), thereby eroding the socio-economic benefits of compensation.

The challenges surrounding compensation complicate the process to a level of displacing people before they are fully compensated. Studies show that untimeliness and inadequacies during compensation affect livelihood restoration, turning compensation into a social function where displaced persons figure out and devise means of how to survive in their new locations. Studies by such as Vanclay (2017) consider this to be a shift from the historical ultimate goal of livelihood restoration to livelihood enhancement and assisting people to adapt their lives and livelihoods to new circumstances. This raises a methodological contention with an ultimate question as to when and how best can people's livelihoods be restored or improved amidst dynamic compensation processes.

Major compensation processes include collecting baseline information for the affected persons, validating it to ascertain legal ownership, and signing of consent forms. In Kabaale Parish, most of the interviewed displaced persons (96%) owned land customarily with no ownership certificates; the rest owned land under freehold tenure arrangements. Eligibility for land and property compensation was approved if ownership was not contested by any other person before the Local Council one (LC1) and village resettlement committee. The LC1 comprised nine members who were already serving their tenure (elected after five years) while the village resettlement committee was made up of four members of whom one had to be a woman. Appointment to the village resettlement committee required one to have been born in that village and to have lived there for a period of not less than 30 years. When ownership had been ascertained, the valuation exercise would commence bearing in mind the choice of compensation package per household. The valuation and compensation exercise was done according to the international guidelines for involuntary displacement and resettlement intended to restore, maintain, and/or improve people's livelihoods.

Dynamism in compensation is used to refer to the unpredictable nature of compensation during development-induced implementation processes which do not just bring benefits. Packages are regarded as inadequate when they fail to help displaced persons maintain or improve on their former livelihood strategies, or comprise unclear compensation timeframes which are not respected. Scholars such as Viet (2018) show disproportionate compensation effects on women which

neutralise displacement effects. Recent studies (Vanclay 2017; World Bank 2016) show more concentration on guiding principles and less on the integral role of different types of compensation packages in improving the livelihoods of displaced persons. Conversely, understanding the dynamic processes during compensation can be significant in designing appropriate livelihood restoration and improvement measures.

Commercially viable oil and gas deposits were confirmed in 2006 in the Albertine region of Uganda and were viewed as an opportunity for poverty reduction. Dabla et al. (2015) show how development-induced displacement helps the displaced persons improve their survival incomes through the trickle-down effect by providing job opportunities. The next section presents the theoretical framework on which the paper is anchored.

Theoretical framing

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework advanced by Lasse (2001) considers livelihood as an approach to poverty reduction through the use of livelihoods capabilities, assets, and activities required for a living. Proponents of this theory further believe that development-induced displacement triggers industrial development which leads to related economic benefits such as new employment opportunities (Byakagaba, Mugagga, and Nnakayima 2019). Despite the associated benefits, involuntary displacement of any form and at any scale unravels existing social patterns which compensation of any sort cannot replace (Downing 2002). The problem is exacerbated by dysfunctional social networks amidst dismantled production systems (Cernea 1996). Displaced and resettled communities in Kabaale are yet to realise a significant positive impact. Farmers, peasants, and business owners are yet to restore their former status. However, it could be too early to expect tangible positive impacts at upstream stages.

Critics of the trickle-down benefits, such as Nyandaro, Takehiko, and Shigeo (2017), Oyefara and Bamidele (2016), and Randell (2016), base their argument on the inadequacy of the redeeming powers of compensation (both material and non-material) that is often fronted as the best solution to restoring or improving community survival. They further contend that development-induced displacement which paves the way to extractive industries is associated more with poverty rather than improvement in income levels (Hilson and Banchirigah 2009; Ofariwa and Olando 2015). Their argument is based on the idea that extractive industries undermine traditional activities while fuelling income inequality and food insecurity. Besides, empirical data assessment has produced no satisfactory evidence that extractive industries economies are “pro-poor” or “anti-poor” (Gamun, Le Billon, and Spiegel 2015).

Legal and policy framework

Uganda does not have an explicit law/policy on resource-induced resettlement but it is a signatory to some international conventions such as the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (OAU 1986) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (2015). This implies that international guidelines on induced resettlement apply together with the project Resettlement Action Plan. However, the Land Acquisition Act of 1965 of Uganda is the major legal instrument applied in addressing issues of entitlements of people displaced by development projects (GoU 1965) but it is not comprehensive enough to address disparities that emerge under a pluralist land tenure system. The 1998 Land Act section 77 requires that during large-scale land acquisition the affected land and developments thereon, are valued at open market value in the case of customary ownership; land valuation should be by reference to geographical location implying a depreciated replacement cost for rural areas and open market value for urban areas. The Act demands that the government/developer pays monetary value for standing crops during the period of notice on top of a disturbance allowance compensation of 15% or 30% if less than six months’ notice is given. The government valuer is mandated to make an assessment and awards compensation in relation to

the extent of the land. Section 6(1) of the Land Acquisition Act demands that all persons who have an interest in the affected land get paid. In reference to these legal demands, the following categories were compensated: all displaced persons who had formal legal rights (including those with customary and traditional rights such as heirs), those without legal rights at the time of displacement but who had a claim to the land, and those with no recognisable legal rights on the land.

In this study, we assessed the implications of the different compensation packages for the social networks of the displaced communities in the Albertine Graben. The study was motivated by macro-level studies such as World Bank (2016) which posit knowledge on the guiding principles during induced displacement which leaves the impacts of compensation at a micro-level not well elaborated and yet rural communities that live in the proximity of extractive industries face related challenges which are not well understood and can exacerbate negative impacts to reduce the survival strategies.

This paper is not intended to resolve debates on whether compensation “improves” or “distorts” people’s livelihoods but aims to assess how different compensation packages affect people’s social networks so as to contribute to the debates on the dynamic nature of compensation packages and the associated challenges. Some previous studies conducted in the Albertine region (Tumusiime, Maweje, and Byakagaba 2016) focused on people’s expectations on oil and gas exploration with no attention given to the dynamics of post-exploration situations. Other recent studies (Ogwang and Vanclay 2019) endeavoured to understand the social impacts of project land acquisition associated with oil production in the Albertine Graben region of Uganda. The studies were not limited to Kabaale Parish and hence do not reveal the detailed local perception of the compensation packages and the associated impacts on social networks. Explicitly, the paper reveals how demographic characteristics of the displaced persons influenced the type of compensation package. It also shows how the different packages affected the social networks so as to contribute to the debates about compensation packages for resource-induced displacement and also to deepen our understanding of the impacts of induced displacement and compensation amidst unpredictable processes.

Study area

The study site was Kabaale Parish, Buseruka Sub-County Hoima District, one of the Districts in Uganda reported to have commercially viable oil deposits in 2006. Hoima District is located between 1°25′00″ N and 31°05′00″ E, and it is inhabited by a population of 572,986 (UBOS 2014) with the majority depending on land for survival.

Hoima is located in the mid-western part of the Republic of Uganda, bordered by Buliisa District in the North, Masindi District in the North East, Kyankwanzi District in the East, Kibaale District in the South, Ntoroko District in the South West, and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) across Lake Albert in the West as shown in Figure 1. Hoima District was chosen as a case study because it lies within the oil-rich Albertine Graben and most importantly, it hosts Kabaale Parish from where communities were involuntarily displaced to pave the way for the oil refinery (GoU 2016), hence, qualifying as a super site for studying social network dynamics compared to other oil districts within Uganda’s Albertine Graben.

Methods and materials

Research design and data collection approaches

Qualitative and quantitative approaches that entailed observation, interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), and questionnaires were used to obtain data from 48 displaced households through a snowballing approach. Using Krejcie and Morgan’s (1970) method of sample selection,

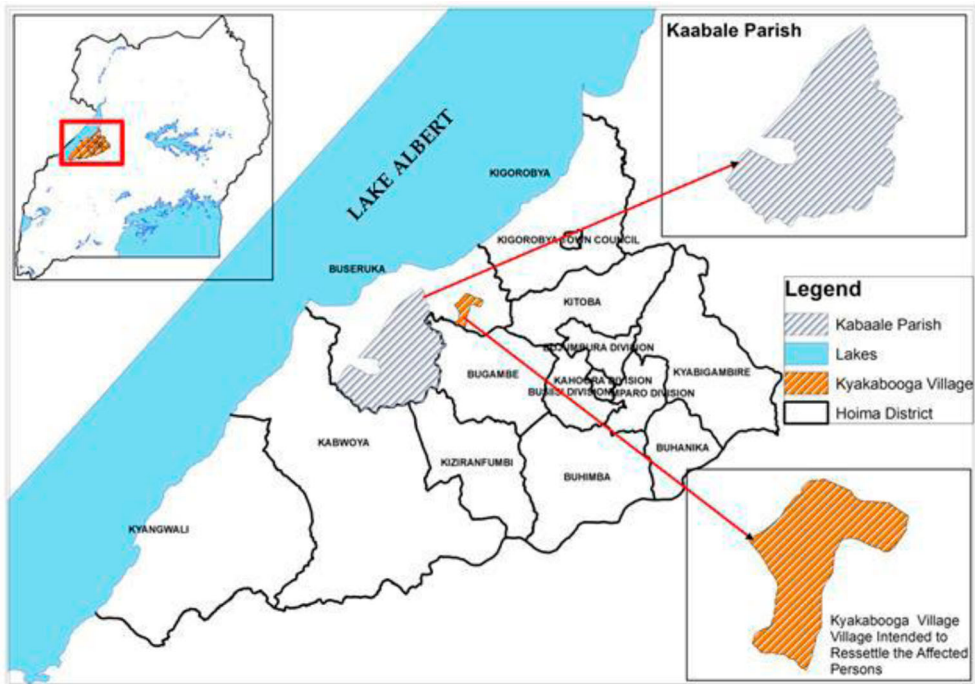


Figure 1. Location map showing study area.

the study had intended to sample 375 of the 11,924 affected households. Unfortunately, 87% of them later opted for a cash compensation package and scattered to distant and unknown destinations while 12.9% went for resettlement. The survey targeted household heads but in instances where they were absent, a spouse or any household member aged over 18 years was allowed to participate in the study. Interviews were held with purposively selected key informants such as three Local Council Leaders in the area, one Community Development Officer, three personnel from the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development and the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, four Civil Society Organisation officials, three farmers, 11 business owners within the refinery area, 10 women (including married and separated) for the FGDs, and one Opinion Leader. Selection was based on their expertise, place of work, and position in the displaced community. The obtained information was important in closing the gaps that questionnaires could not adequately address. The selection of marginalised groups such as women and the elderly was based on their social caste, since they were disproportionately affected by compensation windfalls arising from development-induced displacement.

Data collection tools

Data was collected through qualitative and quantitative methods during the month of May 2017. Interview time was between 20 and 30 min and interviews were conducted in places deemed safe for the participants using an interview guide. Flexibility was used to accommodate comments or questions as long as they were not deviating from the interests of the researcher. Four focus group discussions were held with an intention of getting ideas on how different compensation packages can disproportionately affect the social networks of different social groups and whether the impacts, magnitude, and perceptions differ. Consent was sought from all categories to record the discussions

which were later transcribed for subsequent analysis. Questionnaires were administered in the local language and in the case of a language barrier an interpreter was hired.

Data analysis

Data was coded, categorised, and entered into SPSS to generate descriptive statistics such as frequencies and percentages. These were used to determine the impact of compensation types on the social networks due to development-induced displacement. Inferential analysis was performed using chi-square tests through cross-tabulation between responses and demographic characteristics and different compensation packages and social networks indicators. This was intended to test whether there was any association between categories. Chi-square tests were preferred because the data was categorical for both the dependent and independent variables. The chi-square test may have shortcomings in providing accurate estimates but it is adequate when it comes to providing insights into the dynamic compensation packages.

Qualitative data was analysed using content analysis that entailed transcribing, coding, familiarisation with the data through reviews, reading, organising and indexing for easy retrieval and identification, anonymising of sensitive data, identification of themes, re-coding and exploration of relationships between categories (Kuckartz 2014). Key messages were arrived at after considering the most dominant response from a given set of questions and were later used to fill gaps left by the questionnaires. Findings of the study are provided in the next section.

Results

Demographic characteristics of the displaced persons

The study was conducted among 48 displaced persons with 15 females and 33 males. Although women respondents were few (31.2%), findings from key informants and focus group discussions revealed that women were disproportionately affected by compensation processes given their social class in society. Focus group discussions and information from key informants revealed high levels of illiteracy among the displaced persons (91.7%) save for one (2.1%) who had acquired tertiary education. Low levels of education were highly reported as having affected power to negotiate fair cash compensation packages.

Level of education

Low literacy levels among displaced persons influenced choice of a given compensation package. Findings revealed that five people (10.4%) had attained an Ordinary Certificate of Education (senior four), only two people (representing 4.2%) had an Advanced Certificate of Education (senior six) and above, and 41 people (85.4%) were illiterate. This had a negative impact on their negotiation potential for fair compensation packages not excluding competitive advantage for the available jobs after displacement. Findings further revealed that persons who were able to speak English (14.6%) had more resilience to displacement risks such as social exclusion and intimidation.

During the survey, the following narrative was picked:

At first they were taking us for granted but the fact that I could speak English, I ably engaged officials from the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development to advocate for a fair package for myself, my parents and the greater refinery community. Though some of my demands have not yet been met, they no longer take me for granted. They had labelled some of us all sorts of names saying that we are inciting the displaced persons to be violent and ask for impossibilities.

In a related development, one youth who completed senior four constantly engaged the Ministry of Energy officials and at a later time he became a mediator between government and displaced

communities. His ability to speak the official language (English) helped him access important offices. "I was able to approach relevant people in matters of refinery induced resettlement. Today [I] am known in many offices and because of this I have been able to negotiate for resettlement amidst all ordeals." (Narrative from one displaced youth in Kabaale Parish.) This implies that a person's education level raised their self-esteem to go for what they felt was important in improving and/or restoring their livelihood potential. In the next section, empirical data complemented with qualitative assertions about the compensation types that were offered is presented.

Compensation types offered to the displaced persons

Information from key informants and focus group discussions revealed that three major compensation packages were offered to the displaced persons. They included: cash compensation, resettlement, and a land-for-land package. The majority (87%) reported having preferred a cash package regardless of its effects. Respondents agreed to having opted for cash compensation after uncertainties about a resettlement package as attested to by this narrative:

At first we were convinced to accept getting resettled. Government educated us on the benefits of resettlement such as personal land titles, well-furnished houses and land equivalent to the one lost among other benefits. This led us into choosing resettlement as the best compensation package. However, later on information that started coming in was that we might be relocated to Karamoja and besides those without houses will not get houses in Kyakabooga but land replacement. (Captured from some key informants and a section of displaced individuals)

The elderly and other vulnerable groups such as women had also opted for cash compensation. However, through an interview with the Lands Officer (Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development), he disclosed that government had identified vulnerable people like the elderly, widowed, or separated women and convinced/negotiated with them to accept friendly packages such as resettlement rather than getting cash compensation. This narrative was captured:

Many of the Project Affected Persons (PAPs) wanted cash compensation but at times we would come in to help the old people and separated women realise the need to get resettled. This was done to deter any possible domestic violence in case the man came to know that the wife had received cash. We even wanted to prevent some wrangles between family members who would scramble for cash. The elderly were convinced to take up a resettlement choice since they were too old to individually establish new homesteads. (May 2017)

For those who got a cash compensation package, the amount received was kept confidential for security reasons. This was a flawed compensation process given that Hoima District Land Board failed to pin the rates on the notice board defining how valuation was done. This does not imply however that government never followed the legal requirements during the induced-displacement and compensation processes. The following narrative was captured from the Lands Officer at the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development:

Government followed legal procedures as recommended by the Laws and Policies both Local and International. Government acquired land for resettling PAPs in Kabaale Parish while observing people's land rights as defined by Article 237 of chapter 15 of the Constitution of Uganda which defines land rights for the citizens of Uganda (Land belongs to the Citizens of Uganda in accordance with the Land Tenure Systems) and also making use of article 26(2) which gives government powers to acquire or even forcefully take over land for public use but only if certain conditions have been fulfilled by the government. They include:

1. Prompt payment of a fair and adequate compensation prior to the taking over of a possession
2. A right of access to courts of law by any person who has an interest or right over property

The same opinion was echoed by the Chief Government Valuer, Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development who contended that government followed the legal and policy frameworks which included: the National Oil and Gas Policy (2008), the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of

Uganda, the Draft National Land Use Policy (2013), the Land Acquisition Act 1965 and International Policy and Guiding Practices (Cohen 2013).

Despite the above argument, some project affected persons felt that the valuation exercise was not fair, an indication of lack of involvement of all the affected stakeholders right from the beginning. In an interview with one of the respondents in Kabaale Parish waiting to be relocated to Kyakabooga, this is what was captured:

I had my ownership rights but I was never asked to present them, so how much my property was worth and how big is the land [a person] is entitled to get in Kyakabooga depended on the one assessing. If it was not lack of what to survive on, I would have changed my mind to ask for cash compensation so that I can go far away from oil. (Oil affected person in Kabaale Parish, May 2017)

Kyakabooga resettlement village was constructed with permanent and well-furnished structures and hence the name Kyakabooga Modern Village. It is situated in Kabaale – the same sub-county for their former homesteads. It is dominated by lateritic soils which are not very fertile but support most crops such as cereals, cotton, tobacco, coffee, and fruit trees. Despite this, chi-square tests revealed no significant association between the fertility of the soil and decline in the survival strategies of the community that opted for a resettlement package ($p = 0.069$, $df = 12$, $\chi^2 = 19.889a$). This is attributed to the delay in accessing the resettlement village which gradually depleted the community's social organisation closely defining them as an impoverished society. During the survey this narrative was captured:

We have waited for long. All the time they come and give us empty promises. In December 2016 they had assured us of getting relocated in January 2017. It is now May 2017 and no one has come to update us. Life is hard because after December we stopped cultivating in anticipation of getting moved soon. Please tell them we want to go to our land and start digging but because Kyakabooga is far we can only do this after settling in our houses.

The survey further revealed that persons who received a cash compensation package invested in short-term businesses which could not improve their incomes despite the training. This may translate into development fuelled poverty (secondary poverty) which re-echoes the long-known phenomenon that displaced communities often find themselves in worse socio-economic situations than before. One key informant was quoted as saying:

Most people who received cash had not planned well on how to use it. Some bought old vehicles which broke down [after] hardly two weeks. Some bought two motorcycles at a go while others went drinking, married new women and also used mineral water for cooking and bathing their animals.

This may increase socio-economic burdens at household levels and give an implication that oil exploration and extraction is a potential resource curse in the Albertine Graben.

Half of the respondents (24) reported having received less cash and yet they had many assets such as land, crop fields among others. This was due to the influence of tenure on compensation packages ($p = 0.049$, $df = 8$, $\chi^2 = 15.549a$). This emphasises the fact that development causes undesirable consequences since it inevitably changes people's status quo. A key informant was quoted as saying:

I was born here. I was hurt when my property fetched less cash. Displacing me from my traditional land and paying me meagre displacement inconveniences on top of delayed resettlement is like taking away my wealth. The new land they are offering is not as good as this one and yet I have no money to buy another land. My future survival after resettlement is in God's hands.

This implies that resettlement is just, but an alternative survival orientation which may not maintain or enhance social sustainability making the risks of induced displacement and resettlement significant.

Key informants from the displaced community, some NGOs, and Hoima Local Government acknowledged undervaluation of land-for-land packages. The following narrative was captured:

I didn't know how they arrived at the amount they gave me. At first I got excited when they showed me the figure reading millions but when I proceeded to the verification desk, I was disappointed when they showed a lesser figure. I was then told that I will get the rest in form of land and house in Kyakabooga. I wanted to pester them to give me more money, but there was no room. I went to court but the case is taking long. Time came when I would hardly get money to survive on, I just decided to sign.

The above is indicative of unclear policies guiding induced-displacement and compensation processes and yet policies are important in streamlining operational approaches while enhancing benefits.

Respondents also reported a delay in getting resettled to the new village of Kyakabooga. One displaced person was quoted as saying:

They tried to chase me from here. I strongly told them I can only leave this place if my house in Kyakabooga is ready because I have nowhere to go. I have gone through tough times but because [I] am a community leader, time came when government realised that collaborating with me is the only way to reduce tension and conflicts between them and displaced persons. I now counsel some affected persons who feel like organising protests against unfair treatment, and delays related with compensations.

The above degree of despair depicts unfamiliar levels of socio-economic dispossession associated with induced displacement. This is likely to breed post-displacement risks such as unemployment or underemployment as some of the development risks given less attention when discussing expropriation issues. The survey revealed that choice of resettlement package was but a "soft landing" since the said communities saw themselves getting exposed to future cultural degradation and/or impoverishment.

Implications of displacement and compensation packages for social networks of the displaced persons

Eligibility for compensation revealed a non-discriminatory approach. Any person who was displaced by land acquisition for the oil refinery received some form of compensation. Notably, the international policy guidelines for involuntary displacement and resettlement (World Bank 2016) presumably guided the process of land acquisition and valuation. Among the provisions in these guidelines



Figure 2. Some of the signposts that were erected along the highway to Kabaale refinery area by the displaced communities, depicting how they were ready to protect their land.

are adequate scoping of the risks, meaningful consultation and participation, an appropriate resettlement tool for effective resettlement chosen which involved development of the Resettlement Action Plan (RAP), effective supervision, compensation based on sound valuation methodologies, putting in place grievance redress mechanisms. Conversely, adhering to timely and adequate compensation was the major policy challenge recorded in Kabaale involuntary displacement (see [Figure 2](#)). Despite this, Uganda took a people-centred approach as the model governing development-induced compensation processes to reduce poverty levels among the affected households. This included negotiation with the displaced, a chance to choose between the available packages, and an independent department for redress in case of any query.

However, responses from both FGDs and key informant interviews revealed that packages received could not replace lost assets, which exposed displaced persons to landlessness and social marginalisation.

The least positive implication mentioned was a chance to choose between the available compensation options (37.5%) but this did not however save vulnerable groups such as women from losing friends and neighbourhoods ($p = 0.000$).

Irregularities on who should get a house at Kyakabooga were also reported pointing to the unpredictable compensation process especially the delivery of information. Findings from key informants revealed that the majority had opted for resettlement exceeding the capacity of the earmarked land at Kyakabooga Modern Village. This bred what they later took to be intended propaganda against the resettlement package and hence many changed to a cash compensation package. The following narrative was captured:

People started hearing rumours that they were going to be resettled as far as Karamoja, which is over 450 kilometres away from Hoima. This scared them to consequently change from getting resettled to cash packages.

A delay in getting resettled was reported as having impeded livelihood restoration and improvement by over half of the respondents (54.2%). Compensation timeframes associated with delays to officially access the allocated land were reported as having affected community survival as they exposed displaced persons to landlessness. By May 2017, 65% of the respondents reported having no land to cultivate, which exposed them to hunger. There was a significant association between delay in getting resettled and happiness for the refinery displacees ($p = 0.028$) and this bred loneliness. Findings from key informants revealed that families that had scattered in the neighbouring sub-counties and beyond in a quest for survival were exposed to new environments, lost friends and neighbourhoods (60.4%) making it hard for mutual dependence.

There was a significant association between displacement without immediate compensation and loss of savings groups ($p = 0.000$). The collapse of businesses was highly associated with delays in getting paid replacement costs on top of resettlement which caused loss of clients and customers ($p = 0.029$) and this affected their savings and leadership ties exposing them to development fuelled poverty.

Religious places such as churches and mosques were among the lost common properties. Key informants reported religious disorientation, isolation, and a spiritual vacuum among refinery displaced persons who awaited resettlement and construction of some new worshipping centres at Kyakabooga Modern Village.

There was a significant association between loss of leisure groups and happiness ($p = 0.001$). Men confessed having lost social groups they had originally acquired through meeting points such as drinking places. Reports from key informants also revealed a significant association ($p = 0.0157$) between displacement without fair compensation packages and reduced access to common necessities of life such as water sources, schools, and markets. This exposed them to new and unfriendly environments potentially jeopardising their social dependence while breeding feelings of sadness.

A significant association between lack of effective and immediate relocation plans and loss of businesses ($p = 0.029$) was revealed, which had an impact on the wellness, incomes, and happiness

of the displaced persons (51.2%). Findings from key informants revealed failure to respect set time-frames which affected restoration plans for the displaced since they could not invest in any business in anticipation of immediate departure.

Survey reports also revealed that spouses who jointly owned assets shared compensation benefits. This was further enhanced by NGOs who helped in the enforcement of the law regarding joint ownership and how husbands can share benefits with their spouses. Through this arrangement, women were able to sign the valuation forms. However, the study revealed a significant association ($p = 0.112$) between gender discrimination and property ownership which skewed the sharing of compensation benefits negatively affecting women.

Distortion of former social ties through loss of friends and social groups was the most highly reported implication of development-induced displacement with a significance level of $p = 0.000$ where ties such as trust and credibility (58.3%), contact with family members ($p = 0.010$), and meetings and gathering points (50.0%) were lost. The majority had found refuge in the neighbouring sub-counties while a few families still dwelt around the refinery grounds by May 2017.

Challenges related to compensation dynamics

Development-induced displacement and compensation exposed displacees to some challenges including famine, loss of businesses, and failure to manage liquid cash. Cash excitement led to spending on consumable items with less impact on their future incomes and social class. Critical to note was that safeguards on compensation packages were put in place by the Government of Uganda and NGOs such as Global Rights Alert, Africa Institute for Energy Governance (AFIEGO), Mid-Western Region Anti-Corruption coalition (MIRAC), and Bunyoro Coalition for Oil and Sustainable Livelihoods (BUCOSA). These included training the displaced persons on how to use/invest cash, stringent measures against selling of houses in Kyakabooga Modern/Resettlement Village or land to it (land for cultivation), making it mandatory for both spouses to sign compensation benefits agreements as a way of protecting all affected parties in a household. Despite this, the affected persons did not significantly manage and/or overcome displacement and compensation risks.

More specifically, the following challenges were reported by the respondents.

More men (33; 68.8%) than women (15; 31.2%) benefited from different compensation packages. Cultural subjugation was reported to have put women at a disadvantage when it came to negotiating and choosing a given compensation package. In tandem with the historical postulation that women are always left on the margins of development and more so the female gender bearing more socio-economic burdens of involuntary displacement and resettlement, one of the FGDs revealed the following narrative:

We are women. Our husbands were the ones to attend negotiation meetings. What they decided in regard to compensation, we had no choice but to accept their decision and some of our husbands never updated us on compensation proceedings. Some of us could not have known how much we were entitled [to] if the law had not demanded that husbands must allow their spouses to sign on valuation forms. When money reached the account, it was the husbands who received alert messages and they decided on how to spend it.

We wanted the money given to us to be spent on particular items that are beneficial to the whole household. However, when you would advise your husband, he would tell you he is at liberty to use the money the way he wants because he is the man. If you insisted, this would end up in violence.

The following narrative from one key informant gives the magnitude of the challenges women faced:

Families have broken up after husbands got compensation money and left their homes for supposedly a better living. Some used compensation money to marry new and young women in towns of Hoima and Masindi. Two serious cases were reported and one husband arrested from Masindi town enjoying life with his new wife at the expense of his family.

To reduce displacement risks, the government put in place some alternative livelihood strategies such as availing all displaced households with a plot of land equivalent to the one lost, supplying the displaced persons with improved seedlings and animals (cattle and goats) for improved farming and skilling one member in every displaced household as a way of helping them maintain their former livelihood assets. The local leadership also encouraged them to go for off-farm activities such as mobile shops. However, all these were done with an assumption that markets did exist, the affected communities understood the dynamics of such markets and possibly had the ability to find and survive on the alternative livelihood strategy which did not apply to all.

Findings revealed that some displacees mismanaged cash compensation. Uncertainties surrounding relocation impeded long-term investments, leading to extravagant spending. Respondents also reported young girls dropping out of school following the closure of nearby schools at Kyapaloni and Nyahaira. One of the respondents decried the rate at which men who had money were scheming and confusing their little girls. Through interviews, it was noted that closure of schools like Kyapaloni and Nyahaira primary schools resulted in denial of a right to education for the young children. In an interview with one widow eligible for “land-for-land” compensation, the following narrative was captured:

It is hard for me to earn a living in Kabwooya. I sell fish to find some food for my children. It is hard to take my two children to school so I have decided to make them miss a year as we try to re-set ourselves. My friends with whom I used to save went far away. I occasionally meet only two.

From all FGDs and interviews participants admitted to having lost jobs both on-farm and off-farm activities such as small-scale businesses, gardening, and vending merchandise to the markets such as Kyapaloni which reduced their earnings. This contradicted their earlier expectations of an increase in job opportunities. The scenario of price fluctuation for various commodities did not spare food items, which had a negative impact on community survival. During one of the interviews, this was captured:

We are surviving in a hard way. I move and do casual jobs to feed my family. I had wanted to get a house; it is still hard to convince the government to allow us [to] get a house in Kyakabooga. If all fails and I just get land in Kyakabooga I will still find hardships in getting a dwelling. I don't hope to live a better life given the financial hardships [I] am in now.

Among the negative social challenges, prostitution and cross-generational sex were particularly mentioned. It was reported that men who got some “good” money were falling in love with young girls whose families were displaced. In an interview, the following narrative was captured:

I don't know what to do. Men do not care about the future of young girls. They are deceiving them with money and because the displacement reduced our survival strategies, any opportunity that seems to offer survival is grabbed as a golden chance not only by the young ones but also old women. I have no idea of where I can take my little girl because if she becomes a victim of this ruthless behaviour I might not blame her because she is now idle and vulnerable.

Unsettling experiences were equally attested to by the outcry of some displaced women who were waiting either to be resettled or for land replacement. They wrote to the Area Woman Member of Parliament at Hoima District, articulating the ordeal of being ousted from the oil refinery grounds in Kabaale Parish. Some of their concerns included hunger, lack of schools for educating their children, abandonment by their husbands, lack of income-generating potential, increased burdens such as taking care of homes and no medication, among others.

Displaced communities concurred with how delays in accessing their land had made survival difficult ($p = 0.069$). Some families unofficially settled in their new land at Kyakabooga. In an interview with them, the following narrative was captured:

We left Kabaale because we didn't have where to cultivate and therefore what to eat. Even if you tried to cultivate a small plot, stray animals would come and graze on your crops and if you reported to the police, you would not be helped. The place is almost abandoned since people have scattered to the nearby trading centres. You

would find yourself alone between bushes. We decided to come and live here. We have started cultivating until that time when we get food because currently we survive on a cup of black tea.

The majority of the respondents (87.5%) attested to having got material assistance from government and NGOs on top of the major compensation packages to help them cope with displacement challenges. However, promises on post-resettlement packages were received with mixed feelings. The following narrative captured from one of the interviews brings out more reflections about the above issues:

Whereas the idea is good, I wonder how the government is going to choose who to go for training and not in terms of age. Besides there are households with big numbers, won't it be another chaos in deciding on whom to send! I pray that government designs a simple but fair procedure of picking on individuals in a given household to avoid post-resettlement chaos.

This is indicative of an urgent need for the government to build trust and hope among the displaced communities which was grossly affected by delays in getting resettled. This will help strike the necessary balance between its efforts to augur development and to make it sustainable, just, and equitable. In the next section, we discuss our findings in relation to other scholars' postulations.

Discussion

Compensation types offered to the refinery displaced persons

Cash, resettlement, and land-for-land packages were the major compensation types offered to refinery displaced persons. Similar packages were already noted (World Bank 2016) as being preferred by developers as a way of righting displacement wrongs with less regard to following the set guidelines. This is confirmation that in any induced displacement, compensation takes



Figure 3. A makeshift hut that was constructed by one of the displaced families as a short-term measure to access housing in anticipation of the official resettlement.

precedence to deter displacement-related poverty which shows how development-induced displacement can distort livelihood strategies (as depicted by [Figure 3](#)) if not well managed (Cernea 1996). The laxity in explicitly following policy guidelines during involuntary displacement and resettlement left the displaced communities unlikely to maintain, restore, or grab new opportunities since technocrats give less attention to cost estimates and population resettlement at the onset of project designs.

Induced displacement involves payment in respect of displacement inconvenience which at times is undervalued. This becomes disastrous when it comes to mitigation of resettlement and compensation risks. Earlier studies such as Chumpee (2014) noted how inadequate compensation can be detrimental to a person's survival. Undervaluation of the affected properties was highly mentioned as one of the major shortcomings related to compensation which hampered their potential for restoration. This calls for an explicit institutional framework to plan and design relocation and compensation approaches that aim not only at expropriation, but for total rehabilitation of affected communities under a strategic but comprehensive monitoring system.

Investment of compensation funds in short-term businesses like bars and motorcycles was reflected in the responses and negatively affected people's incomes. For instance, some married new women, started over-drinking and spending on luxurious items such as mineral water for cooking and bathing of goats. This further shows how excitement about cash compensation can cause more socio-economic problems than before (Abel 2016; Byakagaba, Mugagga, and Nnakayima 2019). The findings correlate with the common phenomenon that displaced and resettled communities often find themselves in worse socio-economic situations than before (Brenda-Parlee 2015; Ofariwa and Olando 2015).

Implications of displacement and compensation packages for the social networks of affected persons

Limited knowledge of the implications about the available packages for the future survival of displaced was noted especially among women, implying how vulnerable the displaced communities were to negative effects of developments. This was further noted in their desire for a cash package compared to other packages which left women with meagre cash after their spouses had taken much of the share. These findings are in agreement with Carl (2016) who noted that development projects which induce displacement affect the entitlements for rural women. However, positive implications associated with involuntary displacement like infrastructure development such as roads and health centres were noted.

Governments' and project lead organisations' preference for timely compensation suggests that in all involuntary displacements the intentions are always positive but are rather hampered by compensation protocols as contended by Vanclay (2017). Unsatisfactory commitment to the set timeframes pointed to difficulties in restoring livelihoods not excluding policy shortcomings. The study agrees with Ofariwa and Olando (2015) who noted how untimely compensation fails to meet the need to avert socio-economic losses expropriated by involuntary displacement. The findings are not different from those of Vanclay (2017) who attributes the errors of untimely compensation and resettlement to the fact that few resettlement and compensation practitioners exist. Relatedly, Gavin and Sadia (2009) contend that lack of greater commitment by government and development projects deters affected persons from enjoying development benefits.

The findings suggested a failure in dissemination of information, which did not reach the target audience in a timely manner and yet information is a tool for social network building (Kibrom and Halmanot 2015), which depicted institutional weakness while compromising service delivery. Lack of expertise in compensation matters (Vanclay 2017) impedes livelihood restoration during involuntary relocation. Legal and policy frameworks demands are rarely met (VanCleaf 2016), which has a negative impact on the livelihoods of the affected persons. These occurred in the study area explaining the dysfunctional social organisations which threaten people's survival. Vanclay (2017), Terminski

(2012), noted how attempts to restore the displaced to their former economic and social conditions have proved ineffective due to under-financing.

Challenges associated with compensation dynamics

Less desire was expressed for “land-for-land” compensation packages compared to cash and resettlement, suggesting the need to assume a new and better social status. Given the negative effects of liquid cash, this affected displaced persons’ potential to restore or rebuild their livelihoods. These findings correlate with the earlier ones by Brenda-Parlee (2015), Ofariwa and Olando (2015), and Gavin and Sadia (2009) who postulated that it was a common phenomenon that displaced and resettled communities often find themselves in worse socio-economic situations than before. Terminski (2013) also argued that with the corruption associated with money transfers, cash that reaches the affected persons is always less than replacement cost and where the affected people use cash extravagantly poverty remains a legacy of involuntary displacement.

Young girls and displaced women were reported to be at higher risk of getting exposed to the ills of sexual behaviours masterminded by old men. This encouraged vices such as prostitution and likely dangers of the spread of HIV/AIDS. Byakagaba, Mugagga, and Nnakayima (2019) and Vanclay (2017) reported similar challenges during induced displacement especially where gender policies are given lip service.

Lack of schooling and loss of employment were among the direct reported challenges of involuntary displacement associated with delayed compensation while hunger was an indirect effect. This shows that induced displacement together with associated processes can be detrimental to human survival strategies. Scholars such as Terminski (2013), Ofariwa and Olando (2015), and Getu and Assefa (2015) have previously made similar observations.

Conclusion

The study has demonstrated how development-induced displacement without immediate and adequate compensation can hinder restoration of livelihood strategies through distorted social networks. This was reflected in communities’ postulation of how delayed relocation exposed them to landlessness, hunger, and social disarticulation among other things. The nature and type of compensation package had a direct relationship to the next step on the ladder of a person’s income and social status. The noted positive implication of compensation processes was the chance to choose between the available options which did not however resonate with improved earnings, health, education, happiness, social groups, or a person’s credibility. The study casts doubt on the trickle-down spiral effects of induced displacement as largely mentioned by most respondents from what they perceived as not only inadequate but also delayed compensation which has increased vulnerability levels especially for women.

Whereas the study may not have largely and conclusively portrayed the gravity of development-induced displacement amidst dynamic compensation packages, it provides some insights on the implications which can be critical in developing precise and comprehensive policies on how to effectively handle compensation packages for development displaced persons so as to maintain and also improve their former livelihood strategies. This requires identifying all affected livelihood capitals, assessing their value using up-to-date market prices while expediting the relocation process. This will equally require revisiting Uganda’s policy and legal framework governing the oil and gas sector. It will also be important in checking institutional management of compensation packages for development induced displacees to uphold standards required to sustain and improve social networks. This study therefore recommends involvement of all stakeholders by government at every development phase if adequate compensation packages are to yield negotiated, agreed, and accepted positive impacts. It is also imperative that the Government of Uganda continuously updates compensation rates for oil-rich Districts to allow fair compensation rates in future and

designing of effective resettlement plans which can provide simple, less costly but coherent procedures during induced-displacement and resettlement processes.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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