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Full Length Research Paper

Assessment of mobility dynamics and re-settlement outcomes of land evictees in Uganda's oil exploration areas; the case of Hoima and Buliisa Districts

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Land evictions present a compelling global challenge to food production and food sovereignty. Uganda's promised oil potential came along with the risk of marginalizing thousands of indigenous people evicted from their lands and threatened livelihoods of the affected households. This chapter investigated the post-eviction resettlement options by households and the livelihood outcome of the resettlement decisions. The study used a socio economic survey to collect data from land evictees; the data was used to determine the resettlement options and outcomes of the resettlement decisions. Results indicate three distinct resettlement options: national park, urban area, and re-integration into the community commons. Results indicate a significant drop in income for small holder farmers, decrease in per capita land holding and integration of the small holder farmers into nearby communities when compared to the other livelihood groups. The study concludes that resettlement options and outcomes are significantly determined by pre eviction livelihood patterns. Pastoralist retained pre eviction livelihood activities more than any other livelihood group. Small holder farmers had a higher risk of dropping out of this livelihood. The study recommends developing a deliberate strategy for resettling evictees that takes into consideration their previous livelihoods.

Keywords: *Eviction, mobility, resettlement patterns, eviction destinations, oil exploration*

INTRODUCTION

The Albertine region of Uganda is experiencing drastic realignments to livelihoods and ecosystems functions caused by oil exploration, production, and related activities. These livelihood transformations embody complex and multiple influences that range from physical constraints of land evictions and shifts from agriculture as the livelihood mainstay to oil- accompanied livelihood activities; there are extensive and reciprocal changes in settlements and struggles over resources competition

(Hilson 2016). The oil sector came along with forms of inequality and social differentiation in land ownership (Hickey 2013). The rate at which oil explorations is affecting land ownerships and settlements is increasing (Kj/Er 2015). The impact thus far has been substantial at a macro level with infrastructure development and the expected improvement in balance of trade, but most benefits do not 'trickle down' to former land inhabitants.

Land is the most and often only productive asset for the Albertine, and the sole source of household basic necessities such as fuel, water, food, building materials for their homes, and traditional medicines. Changes in

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ownership and accessibility brought about by changing economics and growing population density, as well as the emerging oil sector, have created intense competition for the limited space available (Cooper and Wheeler 2015). Cases of increasing rates of land grabbing, boundary encroachments, intra- and inter-family land disputes, and rampant appropriations of common lands are increasing (Van Alstine, Manyindo et al. 2014) as more land is grabbed, sold off to entrepreneurs or taken over by government forcing people off of their traditional lands.

Since 2001, a number of evictions took place in different areas of the Albertine; 2,041 people were evicted from four areas near a forest in Buliisa district (Mwesigye and Matsumoto 2016), and 1,191 pastoralists were forcefully evicted from proposed oil exploration sites (Hunt 2004). In 2008, over 7,000 people were evicted from a proposed petroleum refinery site (Van Alstine, Manyindo et al. 2014). In Buseruka sub county, over 1,000 people are still living in a refugee camp in Bugambe sub county after eviction (Deininger and Castagnini 2006). A further 600 families with over 20,000 head of cattle were evicted during the Balalo- Bafuruki conflict (Adelman and Peterman 2014). At the on-set of eviction, evictees are forced to relocate to areas to re-establish livelihoods and settlements; they endure loss of economic livelihood and social marginalization. Evictees at the lower end of the income yardstick, are compelled to live on the periphery of their previous settlement and maintain synergies with their area in terms of employment and energy (e.g. firewood), water (if wells or catchments are closed in), and supplies. A direct consequence of the evictions was displacement of thousands of families, without compensation or viable plans for resettlement (Adelman and Peterman 2014). The evictees are exposed to a range of interrelated impoverishment risks at the point of eviction and simultaneously deprived of economic, cultural and social resources (MAITRA 2009, Mwesigye and Matsumoto 2016).

New forms of inequality and social differentiation are reported to occur in post eviction periods and many transformations take place (Lyons and Westoby 2014). However, there is no evidence on the magnitude of this and reciprocal interactions with livelihoods; this has received scant focused attention in livelihoods literature to date. The overly simplistic conclusion that oil revenue shall provide the needed resources to set up structural and institutional mechanisms for future planning needs to be examined in the changing context of what exactly people do after eviction. These livelihood decisions, processes and the dynamic relationship between evictees, their previous livelihood activities and their new environment are of particular importance. Current assumptions that need to be studied are based upon personal traits and instincts on which people fall back (Campbell-Sills, Cohan et al. 2006).

Therefore, relevant studies to positively inform broad

scale resettlement patterns and livelihood outcomes would help in pre-planning and implementation of resettlements plans. Such planning would take care of occupational adjustment needs, income-earning reorientation, social re-identification and spatial relocation for evictees' resettlement (Koczberski and Curry 2005). Unfortunately, this knowledge and planning are too often lacking in the context of resettlement activities in Uganda.

This chapter therefore asks two fundamental questions:

1. What types of resettlement patterns do evictees employ to respond to eviction shock?
2. What socio-economic factors are associated with the decision to pursue a specific resettlement pattern?

Answers to these questions could help us to understand why the vast majority of displaced communities fail to thrive and face challenges in trying to rebuild their livelihoods during large scale evictions.

METHODOLOGY

Study Area

This study was conducted in the Albertine Graben forms the Northern most part of the western arm of the East African Rift Valley, it stretches from the border between Uganda and Sudan in the north to south of Lake Edward – a total distance of 500km with a variable width of 45Km. Hoima district total land area is 3,664.1 km² (1,414.7 sq mi) (Lærdal and Talbot 2002). However this study focused on strictly two districts of Hoima and Buliisa, Hoima District consists of 2 counties with 11 sub-counties and 2 town councils. The 2012 census counted 548,800 persons at a density of 49.8/km² (388/sq mi). Due to the presence of a lake, an escarpment, a natural forest and national park, Buliisa is a relatively smaller district; it has a total land area of 22,498.3 km². The Total populations was estimated at 80,800 in 2012 with a population density of 32.3/km² (84/sq mi). Buliisa District is sub divided into two sub counties and one Town council; Buliisa and Biiso sub counties and Buliisa Town council.

The area is located in the Lake Albert crescent agro-ecological zone (AEZ) characterized by hills and midlands with altitude ranging from 680 – 1400 metres above sea level, the lowest point is located in L. Albert at 682 metres above sea level (Hisali, Birungi et al. 2011). The slopes are generally steep with wide valleys. The western fringes lie in the western rift valley largely covered by Lake Albert and the Escarpment (Jacob, Bonnell et al. 2014). The area receives a bimodal rainfall pattern with totals ranging from about 800 mm in the L. Albert flat rising rapidly further away to the East above the escarpment to between 1250 – 1500 mm per annum before tapering off to 1000 mm in the Eastern border areas. The peak periods are between March – May and September to December. This presents a very important

potential for crop production and forage growth.

People primarily depend on natural resources for their livelihood; subsistence crop production, pastoral and agro pastoral activities are supplement with other activities such as charcoal burning, roadside markets and hunting for wild animals. Fishing is the major source of livelihood for people living around Lake Albert. Areas in the interior of Hoima district are mainly Agro-pastoralists, throughout people rear chicken and few have cattle, sheep and goats although not as herds. Buliisa district is pre dominantly a pastoral, a 2008 livestock census recorded over 201,449 livestock GDP. Therefore lands form a significant part of their livelihood. All land in the study area is customary, clad heads exercise ownership rights but the trend is increasingly with lease holdings in recent years. This is due to migration and large scale purchases in areas with oil in anticipation of a higher resale value, compensation or royalties resulting into land tensions.

Study Design

This study adopted a mixed methods design; this was deemed necessary because the study was integrating a range of issues to understand. Quantitative data was collected from evictees to characterize socio-economic factors before and after eviction, qualitative data was collected from church leaders, local government leaders at village, Sub County and district level, officials in Tullow Oil Company, World vision to represent NGOs.

A non probability sampling was used to represent strictly land evictees and particular stakeholders. A multi-stage sampling procedure was used to selected evictees in the two districts. In the first stage, 3 sub counties were purposively selected from the 12 according to number of evictees' settlement in their location. In the second stage, to avoid taking sample respondents who are non evictees, 1 parish was selected from each sub county, in the third stage, only 2 cells (the smallest unit in local government), from those 3 parishes and these constituted a sampling frame of 6 cells. Then from those cells, the probability proportionate to size sampling was used to select a sample of 372 respondents from 7,191 evicted households.

A pre-test was done to evaluate the effectiveness of the questionnaire and focus group checklist. The feedback from both the pre-test and the focus group discussion were used to revise the questionnaire and make it as real as possible. The questionnaire was pre-tested on 50 respondents before the actual study was conducted. Three enumerators all masters' students were trained before the study was commissioned, the lead researcher maintained a hands on involvement through the study to ensure consistence and accuracy in data collection.

Data collection

Data was collected from three sub locations of Hoima and Buliisa districts that were purposively selected for the study, where evictees were settled on the selected locations for more than seven years. We randomly selected these villages without any attempt to bias the selection. The main tools for quantitative data collection were household questionnaires, Focus Group Discussion and Key Informant Interviews with evictees. The questionnaires were administered to head of the household, and additional information was provided by other family members. As supplementary reference to the questionnaire, we carried out open-ended interviews on topics of interest to evictees such as intervention and the "ideal" eviction scenarios, recognizing that non eviction would truly be 'ideal'. The study investigated the influence of pre eviction livelihoods and mobility patterns on the adaptive response strategies the evictees took to find out their relationship with post eviction status. The survey collected information on key elements of households including farmland area, income before and after eviction, variation of livelihood changes, and other socio economic factors. Every question in the questionnaire had several choices, but only one could be chosen except when explicitly stated otherwise, such as questions about sources of income, factors affecting income, and likely future livelihoods, where multiple selections could be made. In addition, open-ended questions concerned future livelihood patterns and their degree of difficulty in an attempt to further examine the impacts of the eviction on household livelihood variation. Through field investigation and random questionnaires in households taking place between September 22 and October 24, 2014, a total 372 respondents were surveyed from 7,191 evicted households.

Data Analysis

A Multinomial Logit (MNL) model was used to determine the factors that influence choice of the post-eviction resettlement options by households. The MNL model is considered an appropriate tool when there are more than two dependent variables with no such ranking or ordering with independent variables that can be continuous as well as categorical in nature. The model was used to assess to what extent evictees were likely to choose a particular resettlement option.

The Multinomial Logit model was specified as follows;

$$p(y = \frac{j}{x}) = \frac{\exp(x\beta_j)}{1 + \sum_{h=1}^j \exp(x\beta_h)} \quad (\text{eq}_1)$$

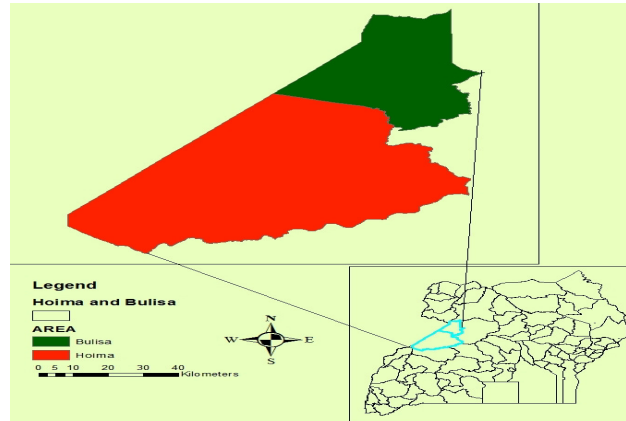


Figure 1 Map of Uganda Showing study area

Where, y is a random variable based on values $j = 3$ (re-integration, moving into a urban , and settling in a conservation area), x is a set of conditioning variables which in this case are evictees households' characteristics, exp indicates exponents and β represents unknown parameters to be estimated. The probabilities for choosing each alternative sum up to

$$1 \left(\sum_{j=1}^n p_j = 1 \right).$$

One set of the coefficients is normalized to zero or is taken as a base category. In this study, re-integration was taken as the base category and assigned coefficient = 0. This left $j-1$ sets of coefficients to be estimated. The coefficients of the other two alternatives are interpreted with reference to the base outcome. This meant that the possibility of choosing one resettlement option was independent of the possibility of choosing an alternative option. This assumption is based on the independent and homoscedastic disturbance terms in the above model.

Being proximate to the eviction area, the neighbouring community provided the immediate option for resettlement in relation to either relocating to urban centres or settling in the conservation areas.

In Multinomial Logit model (MNL), a baseline category corresponding to the status quo also known as 'do nothing' situation is chosen; one of the options must always be in the respondents' choice set to be able to interpret the results in standard welfare economic terms. The Multinomial logit has been used in many of the studies dealing with choice, and the model has been used in building early warning systems (Caggiano, Calice et al. 2014), determining spatial driving factors influencing arable land-use change, and finding simulated arable land transition probabilities (Xu, McNamara et al. 2013) and also to construct a likelihood-based aggregation formula for combining multiple probability forecasts (Satopää, Baron et al. 2014).

The resettlement option, with three possibilities – *reintegration*, urban and *conservation area* – was used as the dependent variable. Reintegration represented

settling in a nearby area with other community members, urban represented settling at lake Albert landing site where a small urban centre has emerged, and conservation represented people who settled on land that belongs to the national park. The choice 'reintegration' was used as the baseline group.

By fitting the variables, the model can be presented as;

$$y_{j-1} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 AgeHH + \beta_2 EHH + \beta_3 GHH + \beta_4 NHS + \beta_5 TLH + \beta_6 LHH$$

$$\beta_7 AIH + \beta_8 AH + \beta_9 TR$$

Based on the conceptual framework and on past empirical work on choice (Satopää, Baron et al. 2014), a number of relevant and suitable independent variables likely to affect the choice of mobility were identified and used in the MNL analysis. Table 4.1 shows the list of the explanatory variables and their expected signs as presented.

RESULTS

Socio economic characteristics of the evictees indicate that majority of evictees were still in their productive age with average of 39 years old. 17% of household heads did not have formal education, while 30% only had basic education; education was measured years spend in school. Only 3% of the respondents had secondary and tertiary education, with no degree or post graduate education, therefore majority of evictees were less skilled. Land ownership was between 0.57 to 18.6 acres, with an indication of land fragmentation.

The post-eviction land holding per household decreased from 2.7 acres of production land to 0.5 acres. In terms of post eviction migratory routes, three distinctive but often overlapping livelihood options were noted namely Reintegration, resettlement in conservation area and resettlement around peri urban centers. Four livelihood options were categorized identified as crop farmers, off farmers, pastoralists and agro pastoralists. However, overlapping activities in form of seasonal vegetables cultivation was observed across multiple

Table 1 Hypothesized Explanatory variables

Variable	Description	Expected influence
AgeHH	Age of household head; Years (discrete)	+
EHH	Education of household head; Years (discrete)	+
GHH	Gender of household head (male 0, female 1)	+
NHS	Household size (number of people in a household) (continuous)	+
TLH	Total land in use (acres) (discrete)	+
LHH	Household livelihood activity "pastoralist=1; agro-pastoralist=2; small holder farmer =3; and others =4)	+
AIH	Annual total household income (USD) (continuous)	+
AH	Sum of assets before eviction (continuous)	+
TR	Land tenure (customary=1, =2, <i>mailo</i> land=3, leasehold=4)	-

Table 2 Socio economic Characteristics of evicted households

Variables	Sample respondents(N=376)
Socio-economics	
Average age of respondents	39
Percent of respondents below 55 years old	85
Average number of people in a household	5
Average monthly household income (UGX)	61,747
Gender (Percent of male evictees)	57
Education level	
Percentage of respondents who never attended school at all	28
Percentage of respondents who attended primary school	66
Percent of respondents who attended at least secondary school	6
Land size and resettlement	
Percent of evictees re-integrated	53.9
Percent of evictees who settled in the conservation	17.6
Percent of evictees who settled at urban	28.4
Average land size before eviction	3.4 acres
Average land size after eviction	0.89 acres

Source household interviews (N=376)

Table 3 Results of multinomial logit model

Variable	National Park		Urban	
	Coefficients	P-value	Coefficients	p-value
AgeHH	-0.06	0.005***	-0.05	0.004***
EHH	-0.02	0.571	-0.03	0.439
GHH	0.34	0.498	-0.08	0.860
NHS	0.05	0.622	-0.001	0.990
TLH	0.24	0.066	0.09	0.452
LHH	-0.03	0.907	0.31	0.203
AIH	1.16	0.018**	0.96	0.033**
AH	0.79	0.000***	0.32	0.140
TR	-0.06	0.005***	-0.05	0.004***
Log likelihood	*** 1%, ** 5% and * 10% levels of , number of observations = 376			
Pseudo R_Square	LR chi2 (42) = 154.76 Prob > chi2= 0.0000***			
Number of respondents	Log likelihood = -234.93514 Pseudo R2= 0.2478			
Base category, Re-integration				

livelihood options.

Monthly income was recorded at a minimum of USD 3.7 to a maximum of USD 18.1 well below poverty Uganda's poverty threshold recorded at USD 20.6.

Post-eviction livelihood options

Within the conservation areas, 79% of the settlers were pastoralists and 21% were agro pastoralists. Pastoralists were characterised as households who solely depended on grazing and kept cattle while agro pastoralists were households who were engaged in both livestock production and crop production. 67% of the respondents that settled around Butyaba landing site which this study categorised as a urban and derived their livelihood from non-farm livelihood activities; these included casual labourers, sell of smoked fish, firewood, fishing and other small scale businesses while a small number were involved in small scale crop production around the urban . 76% of crop-based livelihood households were reintegrated into the nearby communities of origin. These groups experienced a reduction in income.

The study noted a decline in arable land for all livelihood groups, although pastoralists were less affected since they had access to grazing areas in the park. Total arable land on average declined from 2.47 acres to 0.42 acres after eviction per household; the farmland however increased over time. Household income on average dropped from USD 26.1 to USD 4.3; though this drop varied between livelihood groups, with the agro-pastoralists representing the highest drop at 15.9% while pastoralists being least affected.

Resettlement option and livelihood outcomes

Evictees had varied reasons for pursuing a particular resettlement option, livelihoods around crops and off-farm employment accounted for the largest proportion that settlements in the areas of origin (also re-integration scenario), with reintegration at 84.7% for families pursuing crop livelihoods. The proportion of livestock keeper (pastoralists) that were reintegrated was 0.04% and a significant number of 87.4% of the pastoralists settled in the national park area and near a forest reserve. Off-farm employment was split between migrations into an urban area (56.3%), and reintegration near areas of origin (25%); the proportion of off-farm population declined when compared to the pre- eviction livelihoods engaged in off-farm employment, from 40.6% to 23.4%.

The results from the Multinomial logit indicate that age of the household head is significantly associated with settling in urban ($p = 0.04$) and in a park ($P = 0.005$) as opposed to reintegration.

Descriptive analysis indicated that the average age of a

household head settled in an urban was 31 years, while for the park it was 58; youth apparently preferred to move into the urban.

Household size was found to be negative (-0.001) to the option of resettling in urban centres; smaller households had a higher probability of settling into an urban while larger households had a higher probability of settling into a conservation area. Education did not seem to play any role in determining the choice of a resettlement option.

Pre-eviction livelihood activities was found to be a significant factor in determining resettlement option ($p=0.000$). Eighty-six percent of the evictees that settled into at the park were livestock keepers, either pastoralists and agro pastoralists, 9.4% were casual labourers employed by pastoralists, 1.78% were small scale traders involved in livestock products trade, and only 2.82% were crop farmers. These crop farmers did not prefer the location as it was less suitable for cultivation and the Uganda Wild Life Authority, the regulatory body in charge of the parks, was more accommodating to grazers than cultivators (UWA 2015).

Small holder farmers were the dominant group reintegrated (see table 4.2) these faced challenges in continuing to farm, about 76% of these did not continue with farming in the new areas but their immediate needs of food and shelter were met through kinships relationships; results on post eviction livelihood activities indicate that 65% diversified into casual labourers or offered labour.

Agro pastoralists different distinctively in post eviction resettlement, households that owned small animals of chicken, piggery or cattle but on small scale before eviction did not continue with this after eviction. Results from the focus group discussions indicated that these sold off their livestock and used the money to buy small plots either in the urban or the reintegrated areas.

Household income (AIH) was significantly at $p=0.018^{**}$ for conservation area $p=0.033^{**}$ for urban. Wealthy evictees were less likely to integrate into the locations that are near areas of origin in comparison to low income earners who probably rely on social safety nets for their recovery.

Land tenure security significantly decreases the probability of settling in either the urban or the protected area. Evictees with land rights, of which 93.4% was customary, mainly reintegrated into the nearby communities. In terms of gender, the study found that 97% of households settle in the protected area were male headed with significant level of asset holding and family size averaging to 9 members. Women moved mainly to the urban because of limited access to resources. Seventy-six percent of the evictees who resettled in the urban area derived their livelihoods from fishing related activities, trade or service sectors. These were characterized by limited asset holding and an averagely smaller family size.

These results have indicated significant difference in socio economic status that characterizes choice of post eviction resettlement choices, including gender. Results indicate that the choices are determined by age, gender, land size, land tenure, income and livelihood activities practiced prior to eviction.

DISCUSSION

Overall, the assessments showed that eviction has a negative impact on local livelihoods. Results showed that pastoralists have more income than the other livelihood groups. The Sustainable Rural Livelihoods (SRL) framework explicitly states past livelihood activities and income levels have a significant bearing on livelihoods pursued by migrants after resettlement. Recovery and outcome depended on household size, age and pre-eviction wealth category. Results indicated a notable proportion of youthful evictees diversifying into off-farm employment after eviction, something that may be explained by the decline in the amount of farmland and the agricultural labour force post eviction. The employment opportunities provided by the oil exploration/extraction further offered off-farm employment opportunities to these youth.

Reintegration relied mainly on strong kinship networks people relied on networks to access land for housing, crop production and grazing. Kinships offered assimilation into the receiving communities and social safety nets to protect the already vulnerable evictees from persistent post eviction shocks and to cope with loss of livelihood support (Damigella, Licciardello et al. 2014, Soontiens and Tonder 2014). The host communities become receptive to people who speak their language, eat their food and participate in their cultural activities.

Sixty-nine percent of evicted households migrated with people of the same livelihood; throughout the study, a lower number of crop farmers settled with pastoralists. The migration theory has traditionally addressed the questions of who migrates, but it has often failed to adequately address specific migration experiences, the directions that people take, the circumstances that lead households to take certain decisions, or how they seek refuge in a particular area (Vincent 2007). Strengthening traditional livelihoods of evictees will enhance post-eviction integration or assimilation. For instance if a livelihood group is empowered to establish and strengthen their traditional and indigenous capacities, enforce community dialogue and reconciliation, it will lead to increased absorptive capacity along the mobility routes (Zetter 2012). Equally important, pre-planning by creating a pool of financial and human capital to support livelihood activities at the expected resettlement sites, based on previous livelihood activities, can enhance practical skills development and lead to income generating activities to mitigate livelihood loss and internal displacement. Fair

compensation offers flexibility and options to households to plan and move to their choice destinations or even diversifies their livelihoods.

Therefore, a pre-eviction resettlement design should integrate livelihood activities and migratory destinations; recovery programmes should be set up at the expected destinations. The study offers some insights into the movement and resettlement patterns of migrants and what type(s) of livelihood support structures needs to be in place to achieve a reasonable level of sustainability for their livelihoods. Within the various social strata, livelihood activities that follow evictions are influenced by a number of socio-economic variables and ensuing livelihood support structures should take cognizance of these peculiarities in order to achieve sustainable rural livelihoods and long-term well-being.

CONCLUSION

The research findings from this study clearly show that post land eviction resettlement has a distinct relationship with pre eviction livelihood strategies. In many areas of the world, including in this study, a farmers continued farming hence moved into arable land areas and grazers were happy to continue grazing. The land evictees livelihoods were dominated by pre eviction-related livelihood activities. In all of the areas surveyed, pastoralists had more income and assets an indication of a better outcome. This is due to the mobility nature of livestock and availability of grazing areas in the national park where they resettled. The mobile nature of allows pastoralists to adapt to the new environment very quickly, which allows them to continue with their livelihoods with minimal disruptions. Small holder farmers experienced significant drop in livelihood since fields were cleared at the onset of eviction and led to dropping out of a livelihood and food security. New land owners cleared all the land and did not allow people to harvest their crops. Many of these moved into the sale of agricultural production and other small scale business around Butyaba; throughout the data collection period, roadside markets were managed by more men than men. Many of these confessed that previously they were small holder crop farmers but now had no land to cultivate hence diversifying into small scale businesses. This (roadside markets) among other off farm income generating activities seemed to further supported household food security needs of most migrants.

Policymakers and development programming need to appreciate the inter-connectedness between pre eviction livelihoods and their impacts on post eviction household sustainability. Results here suggest that ownership/secure access to land is critical in enhancing the sustainability of livelihoods of migrants. Investing sufficient resources in off farm employment could lessen pressure on already limited arable lands and abate the

likely dangers associated with overuse in the limited spaces allotted to these displaced migrants.

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