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Resilient nations.*

Understanding Land Dynamics and Livelihood in Refugee Hosting Districts of Northern Uganda



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Foreword

While the rest of the world is still reluctant to fully integrate refugees, Uganda has, for several decades, recognized the need for a shift from policies that kept refugees confined to camps. Applauded as one of the most progressive in the world, Uganda's refugee policy profoundly commits to enabling refugees to pursue self-reliance and a dignified life while in exile, not only out of compassion, but also to empower them to contribute to their new host communities, as workers, tax-payers and as consumers.

During the Solidarity Summit on Refugees held in 2016, Uganda was recognised for its generosity in hosting nearly 1.3 million refugees, at the time. The number has since increased to 1.4 million. The international community was called upon to emulate the country's generosity. Emulating Uganda's approach is novel because in the face of the daunting challenges of protracted displacement, waning humanitarian assistance, and the inclusivity of the 2030 Agenda, models that emphasise assisting refugees to "assist themselves" must take center stage.

In addition to the myriad services that Ugandans extend to refugees, including education, healthcare, water, security and protection, refugees receive land for settlement and agricultural use to supplement relief support. While it is known that refugees receive land, information on modalities of access, use, productivity and community relations regarding this productive asset is still largely anecdotal. This informed my decision to commission this report to contribute to the growing knowledge on refugee management in Uganda. I am glad that the report addresses important aspects, while elucidating the growing interconnectedness between refugees and their hosts, which I find critical to sustaining co-existence.

The report underscores several critical interventions to sustain Uganda's progressive model, which I implore policy makers and relevant development practitioners to consider critically in their programming. The findings of the report show that while land is used effectively by refugees for settlements, the use of land

for production is at sub-optimal level to assure food self-sufficiency as well as a sustainable livelihood. Considering the increased demand for land in the foreseeable future, guaranteeing official land rights to host communities can be a viable assurance mechanism to facilitate acquisition of land by Government as well as to enable ease of transactions between hosts and refugee communities. It will ensure trust and facilitate the envisaged productive use of land. Second, in addition to enhancing the optimal utilization of land for production through improved technologies, there is an urgent need to implement interventions that will diversify livelihood options by involving the private sector through developing effective incentives specifically targeting refugee hosting districts. Third, recognizing the opportunity presented due to the transformation of villages to small rural towns due to the influx of refugees, it is imperative to empower Local Governments in refugee management, to not only guarantee community cohesion, but also coherence in local development and physical planning. Not least of all, the environment, if in grave danger, then people and the future are equally endangered. We should galvanise efforts to revamp this natural capital, but also devise mechanisms for sustainably utilising it.

I thank my staff for taking lead in the preparation of this report. I appreciate the unwavering support of the Office of the Prime Minister that guided preparation of this report, and the Economic Policy Research Centre that led the research process. UNDP remains steadfast in its commitment to support the Government of Uganda and other actors in their quest to mitigate risk and sustain the livelihoods of vulnerable refugees and their host communities

Rosa Malango



UN Resident Coordinator &
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1 Introduction

Establishing systems to protect and sustain the livelihoods of refugees presents challenges at the global, continental, regional and national levels. Given the changing landscape of humanitarian response, host governments and development partners are beginning to shift the philosophy of refugee assistance to durable solutions for addressing humanitarian and development needs of refugees and their host communities. In Uganda, this philosophy started much earlier. The Government has, since 2006, pursued a progressive approach to refugee management backed by a conducive operational environment. First was an inclusive Refugees Act of 2006 and Refugees Regulations of 2010, which extended, among others, property rights, freedom of movement, the right to work, and access to services.

Second, the National Development Plan (NDPII-2015/16-2019/20) articulates the Refugee Settlement Transformative Agenda (STA) through which it seeks to foster sustainable livelihoods through, in part, sustainable management and efficient use of landⁱ for refugees and host communities. For 2016/17 alone, Uganda's annual conservative cost of protection, management and provision of essential services such as health, education, security, and environmental services for refugees both in-kind and financial was estimated at US\$ 323 millionⁱⁱ. Taking into consideration the protracted nature of the refugee situation, enhancing productive capacities is envisaged to build self-sufficiency given the unpredictable nature of humanitarian support.

As part of the above inclusive reforms, the Government of Uganda allocates land for residential and agricultural purposes, to refugees, irrespective of ethnicity and originⁱⁱⁱ. While the Government's intent is still on course, there is growing debate on the land question, particularly on issues pertaining to: the rising uncertainty of land access owing to the growing number of refugees and asylum

seekers from 0.15 million in December 2015 to 1.4 million by January 2018^{iv}; concerns on the optimal utilisation of allocated land to support food security and sustainable livelihood objectives; and management of community expectations in return for hosting refugees.

Focusing on Northern Uganda¹, this brief provides insights into land as the main productive asset for building self-reliance. It provides evidence on the access and utilisation of land considering the growing number of refugees, also considering how the interplay of the local social, political and economic context influences decisions on land. It also highlights the impact of land decisions on household livelihoods and the environment and proposes options for optimising Uganda's progressive refugee policy.

Information was drawn from 12 focus group discussions (FGDs) and 16 key informant interviews (KIIs) held in November 2017 among select host and refugee communities in Adjumani, Yumbe, Arua and Lamwo districts. The districts were purposively selected to reflect the age of settlements, refugee population as well as the social cultural diversity (ethnicity) of refugee hosting communities (see Appendix 1 for the detailed methodology). The refugee respondents included both recent arrivals (less than two years) and those in protracted situations (more than 5 years)². Where data permitted, comparisons were made between hosts and refugees. The qualitative information was complimented by data from the 2017 Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) survey, which was conducted in all the 5 refugee-hosting districts in Northern Uganda. Lastly, administrative information from the sampled Local Governments (LGs) and the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) regional desk offices was used to substantiate findings from the aforementioned sources.

¹ Emphasis on the northern region is motivated by unique characteristics that it exhibits including: the highest refugee population (over 70%); growing vulnerabilities resulting from the long period of armed conflict and susceptibility to natural disasters (UNDP 2015); high and persistent poverty partly compounded by the above factors; and increased occurrence of land conflicts following cessation of internal displacement (Refugee Law Project, 2012).

² The cut off for protracted situations was guided by a 2003 UNHCR study. <http://www.unhcr.org/research/working/3e2d66c34/solutions-sight-problem-protracted-refugee-situations-africa-jeff-crisp.html>

Land Access and Acquisition in Refugee-Hosting Communities

Majority of refugees access land through Government

The allocation of land among refugees is guided by the Refugee Act (2006) and Refugee Regulations (2010). Accordingly, most refugees access land through OPM on behalf of the Government. The percentage of refugees that have acquired land through OPM per settlement area ranges from 80.5 percent in Adjumani to 94.3 percent in Lamwo (Table 1).

Owing to the relatively high levels of integration and peaceful coexistence, refugees have devised other innovative ways of accessing more land for production. One of these is through bilateral agreements with host communities, in which case, land may be provided for free or hosts may request modest rent in the form of cash payments or share cropping. This is the case for refugees in more than 80 percent of the settlement areas. For example, in Imvepi settlement, refugees access land at an

average of US\$11 per acre each rainy season. This form of cooperative behaviour could be harnessed by development actors to enhance sustainability of livelihood interventions. In some cases, implementing partners have facilitated refugees and hosts to form joint farmer groups to undertake agricultural projects on relatively bigger pieces of land (minimum of 5 acres for a 25-member group).

Approximately 4.1 percent of refugees are reported to have accessed land through agreements with landowners, while close to 1 percent accessed land without agreements but with user rights (Table 1). For districts such as Moyo, Adjumani and Yumbe, "just walked in" seems to be an important channel through which refugees access land. This accounted for 7.6 percent of refugees, 4.2 percent, and 4.6 percent in the respective districts. This model is likely to cause conflict between host communities and refugees if left unchecked.



Group farming in refugee host communities: Photo credit: FAO

Approximately 69,336 hectares of land has been allocated for refugee settlement in Northern Uganda

As of May 2017, 49,531 hectares had been allocated for refugee settlement in the region. One year later, the land size has increased by 40 percent. Overall, Yumbe and Arua have allocated the biggest share of their community land, accounting for 48 percent and 32 percent, respectively (Table 2). About 75 percent of land allocated to refugees in the region is used for settlement purposes while the remaining 25 percent is distributed between agriculture and public services³.

OPM acquires community land for refugee settlement through Local Government structures

OPM works with the local leadership to identify land for settling refugees. Landlords with big chunks of land at the Local Government level are requested to offer part of their land to settle refugees. In some cases, land owners contact authorities with land offers. The land acquisition process is concluded by signing a memorandum of understanding (MoU),

upon which a survey is undertaken by the government. Although no direct monetary benefits accrue to land owners, communities provide land in anticipation of positive reciprocity from Government or development partners working in the refugee space. These expectations range from the sharing of social services and interventions that are provided for refugees and hope of rewards in terms of employment or scholarship opportunities. To some extent, communities that host refugees share social services such as health facilities, schools and roads that are constructed in and around settlements.

Hosts also receive livelihood support in the form of farm tools and they may also benefit from interventions targeted for integrated (comprising of both refugees and hosts) livelihood groups. Sharing of resources is guided by the local integration strategy that abolished the use of parallel services by refugees and the 70:30 Government directive that entitles hosts to a share of 30 percent of the interventions supporting refugees⁴. Although efforts are made to secure lives and livelihoods of both refugees and hosts, this is not without challenges⁵.

Table 1: Modes of land access by refugees (%)

	Adjumani	Arua	Lamwo	Moyo	Yumbe	Total
Purchased	0.8	1.1	0.4	0.4	1.6	1.0
Inherited or received	3.8	1.6	0.4	2.0	1.1	1.7
Leased in	1.2	0.3	0.0	0.8	0.3	0.5
Just walked in	4.2	0.9	0.9	7.6	4.6	3.1
Do not know	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.1
Received from Government	80.5	91.3	94.3	84.5	86.5	88.1
Agreement with land use rights	6.5	3.3	1.8	4.0	5.4	4.1
Without agreement but with land use rights	1.2	0.8	1.8	0.8	0.3	0.9
Other	1.9	0.8	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Computations based on FAO data (2017)

Table 2: Land size per refugee settlement

Settlement	District	Ownership	May 2017	May 2018
Rhino Camp	Arua	Community	7,030	14,487
Imvempi	Arua	Community	5,659	7,897
Bidi	Yumbe	Community	25,420	33,402
Lobule	Koboko	Community	110	2890
Palorinya	Moyo	Community	7,800	5200
Adjumani	Adjumani	Community	3,312	3,760
Palabek	Lamwo	Community	200	1,700
Total			49,531	69,336

Source: OPM Head Office; Refugee Desk office, Adjumani and Arua (2018)

³ Refugee desk offices, Arua and Adjumani

⁴ The 70:30 rule excludes food assistance that is exclusively received by refugees.

⁵ For some interventions, it is not easy to apply the 70:30 formula, resulting in hosts not fully benefiting from this provision. The

The refugee influx has impacted land allocations

OPM allocates land at household level irrespective of household size. Although plot sizes vary by settlement, each refugee household, on average, receives a 30*30m plot. Prior to 2016, households were allocated separate plots for residence and agricultural use. They were given agricultural land of about 50*50m and a homestead plot of 20*30m in Arua while allocation in Adjumani was 30*30m for residential and 30*50m for agriculture⁶. With the surge in numbers since 2016/2017, Government focus shifted to meeting residential needs (refer to Table 3). For instance, except for the 30*30m plot for settlement, no extra plots have been allocated for agriculture in Adjumani⁷. The allocation in Rhino and Invempi is currently 50*50m for both courtyard and small-scale backyard gardening while refugees in Lobule and Bidibidi receive 30*30m for settlement and an additional 30*30m for farming⁸. Overall, households are allocated an average of 30*30m-approximately 0.22 acres (Table 3 and 4).

There are high expectations by hosting refugees including employment opportunities, social services and other benefits

Key Informant,
Yumbe.

Out of the 6 settlement areas considered by the study, representing more than 60 percent of the total refugee population in the region, 50 percent received plots measuring 30*30, while the rest received more.

Gender differences in land access in the refugee settlements arise from who is registered as a household head in the OPM database. In households where a man, wife and children were granted refugee status at the same time, the men tend to be the decision makers on the allocated plots. In households where the women arrived first without a spouse, plots are allocated to them as registered heads and they tend to remain in control even when their husbands join them.

Refugees possess 'only' user rights on the allocated land

While refugee households can exclusively use the assigned plots, they do not possess power to own, sell, rent out or pledge the allocated land by Government as collateral for credit from financial institutions⁸. There is no fixed timeframe over which refugees can use the allocated land. Their user rights are revoked upon relocation, resettlement elsewhere or upon return to their countries of origin. Upon refugees' departure, landowners can repossess their land together with all non-public

Table 3: Land allocation size (metres) before and after refugee influx of 2016

	Before 2016		After 2016	
	Residential	Agriculture	Residential	Agriculture
Rhino camp	20*30m	50*50m		50*50m
Invempi	20*30m	50*50m		50*50m
Adjumani	30*50m	30*50m		30*30m
Palabek	Not applicable (NA)			30*30m
Palorinya	NA	NA		30*30m
Lobule	NA	NA	30*30m	30*30m
Bidibidi	NA	NA	30*30m	30*30m

Source: OPM Refugee Desk office Adjumani and Arua, 2018

Table 4: Average land size per household (acres)

Adjumani	0.23
Arua	0.16
Lamwo	0.23
Moyo	0.13
Yumbe	0.23
Total	0.23

Source: Computation based on FAO data (2017)

⁶ increase in demand for social services because of the increase in population also compromises quality of particularly health services but also learning; dissatisfaction among hosts citing inequity with regard to accruing employment opportunities.

⁷ OPM desk offices – Arua and Adjumani

⁸ Adjumani Desks includes settlements in Moyo, Adjumani and Lamwo

⁸ These restrictions are enshrined in the Refugee Act of (2006) and Refugee Regulations of 2010.

infrastructure developments in place. However, there is contention regarding ownership of woodlots planted on community land. It is not clear whether these woodlots should be taken over by Government or the landlords upon repatriation of refugees. For example, trees planted by refugees in Alere refugee settlement in 1995 were handed over to the sub county in 2005 when refugees returned to their home countries. Land that is allocated for

social infrastructure (schools, hospitals, roads, churches etc.) is permanently given away as a contribution by the community to the State. While no direct compensation is offered at this point, the community continues to benefit from the public services offered in and around settlements. In cases where refugees borrow or rent land from hosts through bilateral informal arrangements, there may be a specified period for land use (e.g. for a season).

Box 1. Show-casing the potential of investing in refugee hosting communities. The case of Mukwano Industries in Yumbe District



Farmers in Bidibidi, Yumbe district attend to their sun flower garden; Photo credit: DanChurch Aid

During the 2017 Solidarity Summit for Refugees held in Kampala, the private sector was encouraged to identify refugee-hosting communities as business hotspots, rather than areas of low potential. The current engagement of Mukwano, showcased below, provides early evidence of this potential, and value of cultivating partnerships to sustain business as a win-win for both the private sector and local communities.

DanChurch Aid (DCA), a Danish NGO, entered into a partnership with Mukwano Group of Companies to promote the production, processing and marketing of sun flowers in Yumbe District by implementing a two-year project funded by aBi Trust. The project, which commenced in January 2018, is targeting 6500 farmers, 40% of whom are refugees.

Mukwano factory, located in Lira district, has a capacity to process 200 metric tons of sun flower daily but is challenged by low production levels in the region. Under this partnership, the company is guaranteed an increased supply of input to sustain its operations, while farmers are assured of a ready market for their products at stable prices. Proceeds from the sale of the product are expected to enable farmers to address family needs but also invest in non-farm activities to smooth consumption during dry seasons. The factory provides training to farmers in sustainable production practices and quality control. To ensure quality, the seed is purchased directly from the factory, estimated at Shs 100,000 per acre.

At the beginning of the first season, DCA registered 3700 farmers in 7 pilot sub counties, although only 200 participated in production, partly owing of uncertainties associated with the first season, as well as early stages of the partnership. For proceeding seasons, farmers in all the 12 sub counties are eligible to enrol into the programme. DCA has dedicated a gender and human rights specialist to address pertinent issues that may affect relations within households and among farmers.

While refugee farmers access land from OPM particularly in Bidibidi Zones 1, 2 and 5; in some instances, DCA enters agreements with landlords for land on behalf of refugees for a period of 3-4 rainy seasons through agreements. According to the agreements, for every five acres provided by the landlord, DCA clears one acre for the landlord in return. In some locations, for instance, Zones 1 and 2 in Bidibidi, refugees have established partnerships with host communities to secure land for joint farming. DCA formalizes this process by facilitating simple time-bound agreements for land use to avoid future conflicts.

The scheme shows the potential that exists for enhancing value chains and involving refugees and host communities at the various levels of the value chain. While the first production season is yet to come; the project demonstrated the opportunity to work with the private sector in livelihood diversification.

This kind of scheme requires Government commitment to make it work. For example, one of the main challenges is the high cost of sunflower seed provided by Mukwano. Attempts by DCA to provide a 30% subsidy to vulnerable farmers have not been sustainable. It is imperative to devise mechanisms by which the factory provides seed on credit and ensures recovery during payment for farmer produce. Given that more than 70% of the host community are Muslims, with strong reservations regarding usury, credit should be provided interest-free. The Government should also consider providing additional extension services to enhance production and productivity to refugee and host farmers. Further effort to attract more private investors to refugee districts should be given due attention by devising appropriate incentive schemes.

3 Refugee Settlement and Physical Planning

There is limited linkage between refugee settlement and district physical planning

Due to a lack of technical capacity and financial resources, physical planning in the study districts has been largely limited to only town councils. Despite the existence of district physical planning committees, planning is

The district physical planners and surveyors are not involved in the mapping of the land for refugee settlement in the district. OPM comes with its own surveyors and planners who are not locals to the area

Adjumani Local Government official.

undertaken in a piecemeal and phased manner because of limited financing. In addition, the current efforts in planning have been largely funded by the donor community through projects - which raises sustainability questions. Individual interests and political influence were reported as other factors undermining physical planning in the region; consequently, committee decisions are

wilfully ignored and hardly implemented.

Since planning is limited to town councils, settlement of refugees is not guided by district land use plans as none of the existing settlements lie within the district town councils. Inadequate physical planning can pave the way for encroachment on protected areas and wetlands or hamper urbanization efforts. In addition, Local Government officials decried the limited involvement of relevant district departments in land mapping and refugee settlement.

Before settlement of refugees is done, UNHCR undertakes surveys/land mapping to ascertain whether the secured land is suitable. These mappings involve determination of the land size, holding capacity, soil characteristics, social service sites, road networks and natural capital such as wetlands. Note that, this preliminary assessment is not always adequate. There have been reported cases of flooding in Palorinya and Palabek refugee settlements in Moyo and Lamwo respectively^{vi}, in some cases necessitating relocation of refugees.

4 Land Use and Food Security

While the quality of land allocated to refugees varies by settlement based on availability, most of the land allocated to refugees is being used effectively.

Mindful of the fact that the number of refugees almost doubled between 2015 and 2017, the allocation of land is guided by availability and not land productivity. Fittingly, the quality of land varies across settlements. Some settlements such as Mungula I & II in Adjumani, Palabek in Lamwo, are reported to have fertile soils while others are reportedly rocky, infertile and unproductive (e.g. Alere in Adjumani and Ramogi, Kululu and Kochi sub counties in Bidi Yumbe). Although no scientific soil fertility tests were conducted to ascertain the quality of soil quality allocated to refugees, by and large, compared to hosts, refugees tend to cultivate less productive land.

Reportedly, households in 83 percent of the settlement areas studied fully utilise the plots allocated to them and require additional land to sustain livelihood. The rest account for a few cases such as Imvepi settlement camp where plots on rocky ground were not utilisable for crop production. Overall about 30 percent received additional land outside of settlement camps for cultivation. One such case included households in Bidibidi that were allocated land 6kms away from the settlement. However, they have not adequately utilised it, citing long distance, limited access to inputs, and unsuitability of the land for agriculture. Understandably, this is pronounced for households headed or largely constituted by women and children. Although the distance falls within the 10 km standard radius recommended by UNHCR, for labour-deprived households, this distance poses a significant constraint to economic activity. In the absence of official detailed mapping, it was not possible to accurately quantify the extent of land use.

Table 5: Refugee livelihoods

Settlement	Size	Use
Alere	30*30m both residential and agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Used for residence, back yard gardening and limited livestock rear land is fully utilised. • Households negotiate with host communities for additional land for and grazing.
Mungula	30*30m both residential and agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primarily used for residence, followed by backyard gardening (veg fruits), and to tether a goat or two. The land is fully utilised.
Bidibidi	30*30m –residential 30*30m – agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residence and agriculture (50 percent allocation for each). Land is utilised. • Upon request, some households have received additional land for cultivation 6kms away from settlement but have not utilised it citin distance and inadequate farm inputs.
Palabek	30*30m both residential and agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land in Palabek refugee settlement is primarily used for settlement kitchen and gardens take (10%) and 5% to tether a goat and some Land is fully utilised.
Rhino camp RS	50*50m both residential and agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • About 50% is allocated for each. Farming within these plots is mos backyard gardening and is maximally utilised. • Households willing to access additional land are organised into farm groups which sometimes include local communities and provided I within not more than 2km from the settlements.
Imvepi	50*50m both residential and agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • About 50% is allocated for each. Households adequately utilise thi including farming, except for locations where the ground is rocky a unfavourable. • Given the space constraint, some households rent land from host communities at an average of US\$ 10 per acre each season.

A high percentage of refugees identify themselves as farmers

A majority of the refugees identify themselves as farmers (Table 6). Among them, some are farmers out of necessity rather than choice.

Table 6: Refugee livelihoods

	Adjumani	Arua	Lamwo	Moyo	Yumbe	Total
Pastoralist	0.5	0.6	0	0	0.34	0.36
Agro-pastoralist	5.5	13.5	0.5	27	27.6	15.4
Farmer	94	70.4	99	67	71.4	77.6
Urban/Commerce	0	7.04	0	6	0.34	3.5
Others	0	8.4	0.5	0	0.34	3.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Computation based on FAO data (2017)

Although refugees are more likely to use improved seeds, technology uptake beyond seeds is low; there is limited use of fertilizers and irrigation

On average, about 22 percent of refugees use improved seeds compared with just 8 percent among hosts. Use of improved seeds is highest among refugees in Lamwo at 56 percent followed by Moyo and Adjumani at 26 percent and 23 percent respectively (Figure 1). However, use of fertilisers and irrigation was below 1 percent for host communities and refugees in all the five study districts. The high usage of improved seeds among refugees is attributed to interventions from implementing partners. A high proportion of refugees access the improved inputs as a package because of their refugee status. Despite the existence of a policy that recommends a 70:30 ratio sharing of interventions between refugees and their

Culturally, the different tribes specialize in different economic activities. For instance, while the Dinkas prefer cattle rearing, which requires significant land, the Madi and Kuku are predominantly inclined to crop production.

hosts, its implementation remains weak. This is evidenced by the low usage of improved seeds among hosts. There is no effective mechanism to monitor and ensure compliance with this policy, let alone foster accountability.

Current land allocation cannot support household food sufficiency in the absence of food aid:

Despite what Government and development partners offer, food sufficiency among refugees remains just an aspiration. This can partly be attributed to insufficiency of arable land for refugees to supplement food production and limited opportunities for alternative income generating activities. This is exacerbated by low productivity because of climate variability – unreliable rainfall, floods and droughts, but also the inadequate use of innovative modern technologies to make farming more

Figure 1: Use of improved seeds and source (%)

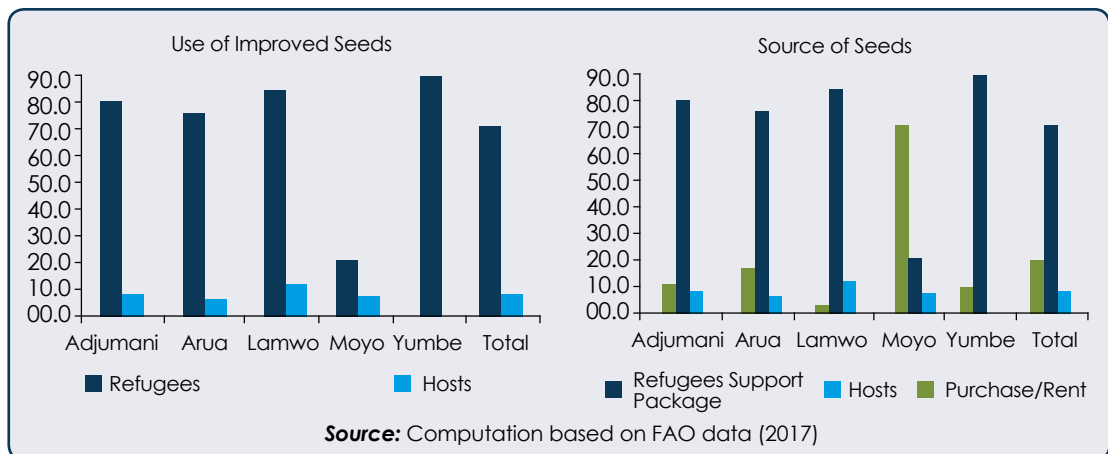


Table 7: Estimated production based on 0.22-acre (30*30m) agricultural plot

a) Scenario 1a: Using traditional farming methods

	Maize	Finger Millet	Rice	Beans
Land (acres)	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.07
WFP ration person/month (kgs)	12	12	12	2.4
Yield (kgs/acre)	500	375	710	375
Production (kgs /year/household)	75	56.25	106.5	26.25
Estimated kgs/person/month	1.3	0.9	1.8	0.4
Gap (kgs)	-10.8	-11.1	-10.2	-2

b) Scenario 1b: Using improved seeds

	Maize	Finger Millet	Rice	Beans
Land (acres)	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
WFP ration person/month (kgs)	12.0	12.0	12.0	2.4
Yield (kgs/acre)	875.0	500.0	710.0	460.0
Production (kgs /year/household)	131.3	75.0	106.5	32.2
Estimated kgs/person/month	1.82	1.04	1.48	0.45
Gap (kgs)	-10.18	-10.96	-10.52	-1.95

Source: Authors' computations based on 2017 crop productivity levels for Arua

If one's son marries and forms his own household, he is not allocated a new piece of land, hence the small piece of land allocated to the original household is subdivided to cater for the new family.

**Refugee Welfare Council
 Leader, Mungula RS.**

sustainable, resilient, and productive. Consequently, many refugees are still aid dependent irrespective of their duration of stay. Tables 7 and 8 present scenarios on the estimated production potential of the allocated

agricultural plot per refugee household. Two cases are hypothesized – a 30*30m plot with and without use of modern technology (improved inputs, such as fertiliser) and a 50*50m plot with and without use of modern technology. The projections emphasise how the current low productivity levels amidst land constraints cannot sustainably meet the dietary needs of refugees in the absence of food rations. The estimations are based on productivity levels for Arua district and are computed for cereals (maize, finger millet, rice) and beans (Table 7). Although it would be important to extend these scenarios to the other districts

Table 8: Estimated production based on a 0.62 (50*50m) acre agricultural plot

a) Scenario 2a: Using traditional farming methods

	Maize	Finger Millet	Rice	Beans
Land (acres)	0.43	0.43	0.43	0.19
WFP ration person/month (kgs)	12	12	12	2.4
Yield (kgs/acre)	500	375	710	375
Production (kgs /year/household)	215	161.25	305.3	71.25
Estimated kgs/person/month	2.99	2.24	4.24	0.99
Gap (kgs)	-9.01	-9.76	-7.76	-1.41

Scenario 2b: Using improved seeds

	Maize	Finger Millet	Rice	Beans
Land (acres)	0.43	0.43	0.43	0.19
WFP ration person/month (kgs)	12	12	12	2.4
Yield (kgs/acre)	875	500	710	460
Production (kgs /year/household)	376.25	215	305.3	87.4
Estimated kgs/person/month	5.23	2.99	4.24	1.21
Gap (kgs)	-6.77	-7.76	-7.76	-1.19

Source: Authors' computations based on 2017 crop productivity levels for Arua

to capture agro-ecological and production potential differences, comprehensive data on productivity for different crops was only available for Arua district. The estimations assume mono-cropping and a five-member household. The choice of the crop combination was guided by the current WFP food ration that includes a cereal (maize or sorghum), beans, cooking oil, corn soya blend (CSB) and salt (see Appendix 2 for quantities provided per category of refugee). We also assume that two thirds of the available plot would be allocated to the cereal given the high dependence of poor households on energy-dense foods and a third of the plot to production of a pulse (beans).

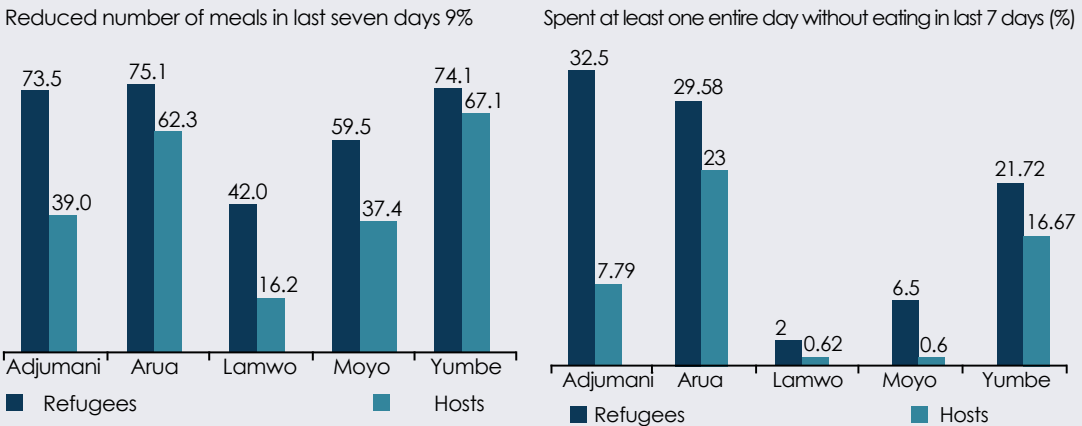
Estimations from Table 7 reveal interesting results. Assuming a refugee household allocates 0.15 acres and 0.07 acres of the allocated 0.22-acre agriculture plot to the production of maize and beans respectively (scenario 1a), holding other factors such as weather constant, a household would produce about 75 kgs of maize and 26 kgs of beans per year. Based on the current WFP full food ration provided to each refugee (see Appendix 2), quantities for beans and maize

would last a 6-member household about 1 and 1.8 months, respectively. By implication, in the absence of food rations, a refugee household can hardly sustain itself for a year by feeding on food grown on the allocated plot.

Although the food gap reduces with use of modern technologies⁹ and increase in land size, the quantities produced are still insufficient to meet food needs (Figure 8).

This has continued to happen amidst persistent aid reductions for refugees in protracted situations, owing to resource limitations. Refugees whose food rations are reduced tend to adopt negative coping strategies such as reduction in number of meals per day and quality consumed (figure 2). Households that reported having spent an entire day without a meal in the last 7 days preceding the survey ranged from 21.7 percent to 32.5 in Yumbe, Arua and Adjumani against 2 percent in Lamwo and 6.5 percent in Moyo. This could be explained by the fact that most refugees in Adjumani and Arua are in protracted situations and thus receiving less quantities of the food rations depending on duration of stay.

Figure 2: Prevalence of food insecurity



Source: Computation based on FAO data (2017)

⁹ Refer to Appendix for projections assuming improved seed and fertilizer

5 Effect of Refugee Influx on the Environment

The current demand for natural resources is unsustainable.

Due to a high refugee population density in settlements and surrounding areas, environmental degradation has become a matter of concern. The ecosystem loss due to refugee settlement was estimated at USD

90.7 million for 2016/17, constituting about 28 percent of the total public cost on refugee protection and management in Uganda^{vii}. The contributing factors to ecosystem loss include land degradation, deforestation, loss of vegetation cover, and water contamination among others.

Table 9: Refugee fuel wood needs per district

	Daily (tonnes)	Annual (tonnes)
Yumbe	1,007	367,666
Arua	889	324,618
Adjumani	850	310,259
Moyo	2,471	902,045
Lamwo	92	33,706
Total	5,310	1,938,293

Source: Computation based on FAO data (2017)

Degradation of the environment has been taking place because even mere settling of the refugees requires mass clearing of the vegetation. Unfortunately, this is unavoidable,

Settlement Commandant, Arua

Deforestation is by far the most observable effect associated with refugees. Trees have been cut down due to increased fuel and construction needs, land for settlement and increased commoditization of forest resources by refugees as a quick-short term income generating activity. In Adjumani, about 75 percent of trees have been cut for sale by farmers to provide poles and logs for construction during the refugee influx

in 2017, yet no more than 40 hectares of trees have been planted to replace the cut trees. About 14,000 hectares of land have been degraded, yet only 900 hectares of the degraded land has been planted with trees (ibid).

Almost all refugees rely on traditional biomass for cooking and have limited access to modern forms of energy^{viii}. To estimate the likely effects of the high wood fuel consumption on the above ground biomass, the study uses Bidibidi's average wood fuel daily consumption of about 3.5 kg per person^{ix}. Table 9 shows the projected daily and annual

fuelwood requirements per district based on the March 2018 refugee populations.

Such high demands on the environment can easily lead to complete depletion of aboveground biomass if left unchecked without mitigating interventions such as massive tree planting and use of energy efficient cooking technology. For instance, in a hypothetical worst-case scenario, the estimated total existing above ground biomass stock and growth from trees and shrubs in the Bidibidi settlement could supply fuelwood to the current settlement population for up to only three years (ibid).

To circumvent environment related challenges, interventions and sensitization programs are underway in many settlements and host communities. A common example is the practice of tree marking, tree planting and the use of improved cooking technologies. Trees in and around the refugee settlement have been marked Red for "Do not cut" or Yellow for "can be cut only with special permission." Red-marked trees are mainly fruit trees and trees with significance to the community in terms of size, land demarcation and religious connotation. Yellow-marked and unpainted trees may be cut and used for firewood. ICRAF and GIZ also promoted agroforestry for the dual role of food and environmental conservation; however, in the short run, communities still



Bidibidi before refugee settlement



Bidibidi after refugee settlement

Table 10: Annual fuel wood requirements; case of Bidibidi

		Mar-17	Mar-18	Mar-19
BAU	Bidibidi population	272,206	287,801	295,599*
	Annual fuelwood consumption (Tons)	347,480	367,666	377,628
	Annual charcoal equivalent (Tons) ¹¹	69,496	73,533	75,526
Improved cook stove	Annual fuel wood consumption (Tons)	243,236	257,366	264,339
	Annual charcoal equivalent (Tons)	48,647	51,473	52,868

*March 2019 is a refugee population estimate

Source: Authors' computations based on baseline data adopted from FAO (2017) Rapid wood fuel assessment for Bidibidi

need to understand and appreciate the importance of agroforestry.

Using a case study of Bidibidi refugee settlement, the study evaluated the potential gains from using innovative energy saving options at household level. Based on refugee statistics of March 2017 and 2018, assuming a 2.7 population growth rate¹⁰, we project the refugee population of 295,599 by March 2019 (Table 10). Using the 3.5 kg per person per day biomass consumption (as business as usual (BAU)), as at March 2017, the annual wood fuel consumption for Bidibidi was estimated at 347,480 tonnes. However, with population growth projections the annual fuel demand is likely to increase up to 377,628 tonnes per annum threatening depletion of the total

biomass in less than 3 years.

Transitioning to improved cook stoves¹² with 30 percent energy efficiency would reduce total wood fuel consumption by 113,288 tonnes per annum for Bidi bidi alone. This means that even without tree planting, a move to the use of improved cook stoves would delay the depletion of local biomass by a year. In terms of costs, with the business as usual scenario, the cooking fuel cost for a 6-member household was estimated at UGX 613,200 per annum while that for the improved cook stove would be UGX 429,240. These estimates were computed assuming constant prices of UGX 40,000 per 100kg bag of charcoal. A charcoal equivalent was adopted to estimate cost of because in most cases firewood is obtained for 'free'.

¹⁰ The 2.7% is a half of the population growth rate (5.7%) experienced between March 2017 and March 2018

¹¹ Conversion to charcoal equivalents was used as a basis for costing following 672 tonnes of charcoal equivalent to 3360 tonnes of fuelwood FAO (2017)

¹² Improved cook stoves refer to those that use charcoal, wood, animal dung or crop residue but in less amounts than traditional cook stoves. In some cases, energy use efficiency is enhanced by clay lining

Box 2: An Innovation with potential to save the environment: The case of ECO-STOVE

Eco-stoves use volcanic rocks as an alternative for fuelwood in combination with and a small amount of charcoal which can be replaced by locally available materials like twigs, maize cobs, other crop residues and combustible home wastes excluding polythene. The stove is designed with an air system, which is run by solar. Installation involves an initial cost of US\$ 244 for which a household acquires the stove, a solar panel, battery with an in-built radio, two 3-5watt LED lighting bulbs, a USB charger and 12kgs of volcanic rock stones reusable for up to 2years depending on household cooking practices. Whereas the use of local alternatives to charcoal dust has no direct cost implications for the household, we estimate that charcoal dust would cost the household up to US\$ 24 per annum. This is based on a market rate of US\$ 4 for a 100kg bag of charcoal dust which is an estimated requirement for two months. In the subsequent years, the household will have to buy only volcanic stones and charcoal with a contingency of US\$ 14 for any arising maintenance requirements.



Although the initial cost appears high for an average refugee household to afford, this innovation becomes cheaper by the second year – costing a household only USD \$ 57 for cooking fuel. For a population of 991,995 refugees in the region as of June 2018, the initial cost of this energy-saving investment is estimated at US\$ 47 million, with anticipation of a drop to US \$ 9.4 million in the second year. Moreover, additional benefits like income or cost saving from mobile phone charging, solar lighting, but most importantly, considerable reduction in wood fuel demand can be achieved, i.e. 0.6 tonnes of charcoal dust per annum compared to 75,526 tonnes and 52,868 tonnes of charcoal equivalents per household per year in the business as usual and the regular energy saving stove option.

6 Potential Threats to Uganda's 'Progressive' Land Allocation Agenda

Unmet landlord expectations and protracted refugee situations

By and large, Government depends on the good will of bona fide landowners to provide land for refugee settlement in Northern Uganda. To protect asylum space and generosity of landlords, there is an urgent need for Government to consider the landlords' expectations earlier discussed. For instance, locals in the Palabek host community fear for the safety of their land, with suspicion of potential grabbing by Government officials when refugees leave. Some landlords claimed exclusion from the land mapping exercise, resulting in loss of the fertile portions of the land. There has also been contention regarding land gazetted as burial grounds, for which communities demand compensation since it is regarded as unproductive. Growing suspicions have resulted in some communities rescinding their decision to allocate additional land to government. A case in point is where landlords had provided land for agriculture to OPM

A time will come when people will no longer be interested in giving land given the protracted nature of refugee situations in Uganda. Government should consider permanently acquiring land in Northern Uganda

**Commandant,
Adjumani.**

in Palabek settlement but later reclaimed it. To address these challenges, communities expressed the need for Government to provide land titles to the owners as a safety guarantee.

Since land is a fixed resource, it is highly unlikely that the current model of land allocation will be sustainable in the long term. For instance, the Ciforo Sub county incident where the last

refugee settlement (Agojo refugee settlement) in Adjumani was opened; the elders had refused to host refugees in their area and it took a lot of negotiation and persuasion from high-level Government officials to calm the situation (Key Informant Interview, Adjumani District LG). This is exacerbated by the protracted nature of refugee situations.

Land sustainability concerns on land allocation

Despite the pressure that the current refugee population has exerted on existing resources, Uganda is likely to continue receiving refugees in the coming years. The 2018 integrated refugee response plan projects that Uganda will receive about 375,000 new refugee arrivals in 2018^x. Of these, about 300,000 are anticipated to come from South Sudan, 60,000 from Congo and 15,000 from Burundi. Refugees from South Sudan will likely be settled in Madi Okollo in Arua district and a further expansion of the Palabek settlement in Lamwo district, while those from Congo and Burundi will be settled in Western Uganda (ibid). Subsequently, Government will have to secure more land in Northern Uganda to accommodate the expected arrivals from South Sudan. Table 11 shows that an extra 37,200 acres of land will be required to settle the projected 300,000 refugee arrivals from South Sudan in 2018 assuming a 50*50m allocation per household.

Although still minimal, the prevalence of land conflicts in refugee hosting districts is on the rise

While conflicts are still minimal, ranging from 10 cases in Lamwo to about 20 in Adjumani in 2017, they are generally on the rise in all districts (Figure 3). Conflicts between refugees and hosts exist but are not necessarily related to land grabbing.

Table 11: Projection of land size required to settle refugees in Northern Uganda

	Assumptions	Land required
Arrivals	Based on projected refugee arrivals	300,000
No of households	Assumes a 5-member household	60,000
Required land in acres (settlement only)	If refugees receive only 30*30 plot (0.22 acres)	13,200
Required land in acres (settlement + agriculture)	If refugees receive only 50*50 plot (0.62 acres)	37,200

Source: Authors computations

Only minor cases of trespassing were reported. These typically arise when refugees cross their boundaries to cut grass to thatch their houses in host community lands, cut trees from the neighbourhood for charcoal burning, graze on hosts land without consent, source firewood without consent and enter into false leases—where some hosts pretend to lease land to refugees without consent from other family members.

There are some reported cases of disagreement between OPM and landlords. The disputes are largely triggered by individuals in pursuit of personal benefits as opposed to community benefits (Commandant, Bidibidi). For example, there is a pending court case

Normally there are conflicts over whether the land was allocated for refugee settlement or not, whether the land lord was consulted, whether social service structures and permanent structure should be built and wrong perception and beliefs of land lord

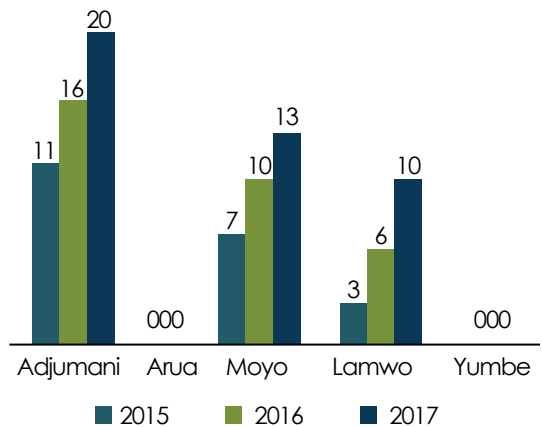
(KII, Arua)

over a health centre that was constructed in Bangatuti village, Zone 4 Odruvu Sub County, Bidibidi. The landlord who signed the general offer document offered the land in question to OPM; but the transaction is disputed by a new claimant over the same land. In another instance, the Araba clan members have approached the president seeking

compensation, after willingly offering over 2000 acres of land for refugee settlement.

It is important to put the issue of land and associated conflict in historical perspective as contentious issue such as land ownership and land rights between the community, Government and at times, private individuals are context specific. Refugees hosting districts in Northern Uganda, following the displacement that took place due to past conflicts in the region have blurred ownership and created access and utilization constraints in a number of cases. This situation should be taken fully into account as it creates some new dynamics in the refugee response management.

Figure 3: Prevalence of Conflict by OPM



7

Way Forward

- (i) *Graduation from food aid and/or reduction in food aid should be considered together with promotion of improved agricultural methods and provision of additional arable land:* While the generous refugee policy provides for the allocation of land for settlement and agriculture in refugee hosting districts, some of the factors thwarting sustainability of refugee livelihoods include: the small size of agricultural plots; disregard for family size in land allocation; low quality of land in some settlements, low adoption of technologies and heavy reliance on rainfall.
- (ii) *To permit for optimum use of land, it is imperative to profile, map and zone land in refugee hosting areas so that promotion of production interventions is based on the peculiarities of the different areas.* By ensuring that agricultural enterprises are matched with climatic and soil conditions, the different production zones will benefit from the comparative advances that Uganda's agro-ecological zones offer. Land Profiling would facilitate identification of specific interventions required to enhance production and productivity.
- (iii) *There is a need to promote and expand interventions to support alternative livelihood strategies for both refugees and hosts to sustain livelihoods, rather than focus on dependence on agriculture, which is land intensive.* Putting in place effective incentives to attract private sector actors is key in diversifying livelihoods.
- (iv) *Development actors should facilitate mechanisms for group formation among hosts and refugees.* Mechanisms that will guarantee security of land rights and production and proceed management will not only sustain social cohesion but also fair participation.
- (v) *To promote social cohesion, it is imperative for Government and development actors to deliberately plan for and include hosts in their programming. Besides having expectations, host communities, in many cases, face similar vulnerabilities as refugees.* Implementation of the of the 70:30 ration in refugee response interventions is pertinent for incentivising host communities to continue contributing to the refugee relief efforts, but also enable benefit from sustainable livelihoods solutions.
- (vi) *To avert further destruction to the environment and mitigate the likely negative effects, there is a need to promote consistent, continuous and sustainable land use and management practices from the onset.* Ongoing efforts such as ordinances against bush burning and the sale of charcoal in Moyo district can be scaled up. For sustained protection of the environment, restoration should be embedded and mainstreamed in LG work plans and budgets.
- (vii) *As a matter of urgency, development actors must promote affordable renewable cooking technologies to replace the use of fuelwood and charcoal.* In so doing, there is a need to ensure that the quality of the technologies introduced is certified. Transitioning to cleaner and more modern energy solutions will reduce fuel costs at the household level and save the environment that both refugees and host communities depend upon.
- (viii) *While physical planning at the LG level is provided for in the 2010 National Physical Planning Act, it remains one of the unfunded priorities.* Financing is crucial for ensuring organized settlements but also paving the way for organized urbanization or the creation of satellite towns. Funding should be complemented by capacity building to enable LGs to sustain the land use planning. The institutional linkages between LGs, OPM and UNHCR in the implementation of land use plans must be strengthened.
- (ix) *The expectations of host communities and land owners must be managed to avoid conflicts.* Doing so requires, in part, ensuring that the land offers are adequately and professionally negotiated and hosts fully understand the terms. Government officials must also avoid making unreasonable pledges, based on which the community can hold Government accountable. Government should consider settling refugees on public land to avoid negotiation encumbrances. Introducing land administration and certification programmes might hold significant benefit for both hosts and refugees.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Data and Methods

The study employed different research methods. A critical review of relevant literature was undertaken to contextualize land ownership, access, use and livelihoods in Northern Uganda. Qualitative data was collected through key informant interviews with a cross section of resource persons and focus group discussions with refugee and host communities. This was supplemented by data from a survey conducted by FAO (2017). This study was carried out in 4 refugee-hosting districts including: Adjumani, Arua, Yumbe and Lamwo. The districts were purposively selected to reflect age and size of the settlements as well as the social cultural diversity (ethnicity) of refugee hosting communities. For example, although the settlement in Lamwo is relatively new and small, it has a population that is culturally different from the West Nile districts and has a different political history and landscape which could impact on land use and livelihoods. On the other hand, Adjumani and Arua are large settlements with populations of both protracted and recent refugees, which is critical for assessment of self-sustenance as proposed in the NDP II's refugee STA. In Adjumani, Ayele and Mungula I were sampled; these are relatively old settlements with protracted and recent arrivals and, a reasonable percentage has been able to access land for agricultural use. In Arua, Invempi and Rhino camp were sampled, Rhino is a relatively old settlement while Invempi is relatively new. In Yumbe and Lamwo, we visited Bidibidi and Palabek refugee settlements, the only settlements in these districts. Communities within a 15km radius of the settlement were considered hosts; the choice of the 15km radius cut off was adopted from a 2017 study by UNHCR¹³.

Data collection summary

Instrument type	Study participants	Purpose
12 FGDs in total (3 per district) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 with host communities • 8 in refugee communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protracted refugees (more than 2 years) • Recent refugees (less than 2years) • Women and men • Opinion leaders 	Understand land ownership, access, land use practices and livelihoods
		To identify linkages if any between land and livelihood outcomes for the different communities and groups in each community
30 Key Informant Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Settlement commandants • Refugee leaders • District leaders • Cultural leaders • Refugee desk officers 	To provide expert insights on key issues related to livelihoods and sustainable land use To identify opportunities and fragilities with current livelihoods and land use approaches

Appendix 2: Monthly WFP food rations and cash grants to refugees

Food Rations Item	Time of arrival into Uganda		
	2015-2017	2012-2014	2009-2011
Cereal (maize or sorghum)/Kgs	12	6	3
Cooking oil/Kgs	0.9	0.45	0.45
Beans/Kgs	2.4	1.2	0.6
Corn Soya Blend (CSB)/Kgs	1.5	0.75	0.75
Cash Grant Option (UGX)	31,000	17,000	
Extremely vulnerable	45,000 irrespective of date of length of stay		

Source: Interview with refugee welfare council leaders, 2017

Appendix 3: Production projections based on improved seed and fertiliser 0.23-acre plot with improved seed and fertilizer

	Maize	Finger Millet	Rice
Land (acres)	0.15	0.15	0.15
WFP ration person/month (kgs)	12	12	12
Yield (kgs/acre)	1875	920	1420
Production (kgs /year/household)	281.3	138	213
Estimated kgs/person/month	3.91	1.92	2.96
Gap (kgs)	-8.09	-10.08	-9.04

13 UNHCR (2017) Livelihoods socio-economic assessment in the refugee hosting districts

0.62-acre plot with improved seed and fertilizer

	Maize	Finger Millet	Rice
Land (acres)	0.43	0.43	0.43
WFP ration person/month (kgs)	12	12	12
Yield (kgs/acre)	1875	920	1420
Production (kgs /year/household)	806.25	395.6	610.6
Estimated kgs/person/month	11.2	5.5	8.5
Gap (kgs)	-0.8	-6.5	-3.5

Appendix 4: Profiles of refugee settlements in the study districts**West Nile, Arua District –Rhino camp refugee settlement**

Rhino Camp is in Arua district and covers an area of approximately 225 square kilometres; it is divided into 10 zones and has 42 villages (or clusters). Rhino camp is one of the oldest refugee camps and was established in the 1980s. However, due to the influx of refugees in 2016 and 2017, Rhino Camp settlement was extended to cater for new arrivals and is currently about 75 square kms. Before the refugee influx, each refugee household used to be allocated a residential plot of 30*30m and cultivation land of 50* 50m. Currently OPM is allocating 50*50m for both settlement and backyard garden.

West Nile, Arua District – Imvepi refugee settlement

Imvepi settlement in Arua is a relatively new settlement. It was opened in February 2017 after Palorinya settlement in Moyo district, which was opened in December 2016, had reached its refugee-hosting capacity. Both Imvepi and Rhino Camp settlements currently host 223,097 refugees, comprising 21 percent of the Arua district population. Imvepi previously hosted South Sudanese refugees and was considered a suitable location for the new settlement as some of the previous infrastructure was still intact and landlords were willing, once again, to host refugees. Like in other settlements, OPM provides refugees with land for settlement.

West Nile, Adjumani District – Adjumani refugee settlements

Adjumani district has had about 18 refugee settlements established in different years. Some are relatively small and old while others are big. The settlements include: Ayilo 1 and 2 established in 2015, Mungula 1 & 2 (1996), Alere 1 & 2 (1990), Olua 1 & 2 (2012), Pagirinya (2016), Baratuku (1991), Baroli (2014), Nyumanzi (2014), Maaji 1, 2 & 3 (1997), Ayilo (2015), Mireyi (1994), Olijji (1991) and Elema (1992). The current refugee population stands at 239,335, constituting 59 percent of Adjumani's population. Some households have been allocated a plot of land for settlement and agriculture while others just have plots for settlement.

West Nile, Yumbe District – Bidibidi refugee settlement

Bidibidi is in Yumbe district near the South Sudanese border. The settlement opened on 3rd August 2016 to help decongest Adjumani, which had been overwhelmed by an influx of refugees from South Sudan. Between 3rd August and December 2016, Bidibidi received about 272,168 refugees, making it the biggest refugee settlement in Uganda. Currently, Bidibidi is home to about 285,014 refugees, comprising about 34 percent of Yumbe's district population. The settlement is divided into five zones spread across the five sub counties of Ramogi, Koki, Kululu, Odravu and Ariwa. The majority of households in Bidibidi have so far been allocated a settlement plot of 30 *30 metres and are yet to receive additional plots for agricultural use.

North, Lamwo district – Palabek Refugee Settlement

Palabek refugee settlement in Lamwo district was officially opened in April 2017 to enhance reception capacity of new arrivals. It is one of the newest refugee settlements in Uganda and currently hosts about 35,533 refugees constituting 20 percent of Lamwo's population. The settlement is clustered (with host community integrated with refugees) and is estimated to cover about 51 square kms. Palabek settlement is in the three sub counties of Palabek Kal, Palabek Ugili and Palabek Gem and is so far, the only refugee settlement in the Acholi region.

Endnotes

- i Office of the Prime Minister, GoU (2015), "A concept paper for the Settlement Transformative Project 2016-2021
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- x FAO and UNHCR, (2017). Rapid wood fuel assessment: baseline for the Bidibidi settlement, Uganda. Rome, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and Geneva, Switzerland, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).
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