



Conflict and Tensions Between Communities Around Gendrassa and Yusif Batil Camps, Maban County

South Sudan Refugee Response

December 2016

REACH Informing
more effective
humanitarian action

 **UNHCR**
The UN Refugee Agency

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List of acronyms

CRA	Commission for Refugee Affairs
DDG	Danish Demining Group
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
FGD	Focus group discussion
GFD	General food distribution
GoSS	Government of South Sudan
HDC	Humanitarian Development Consortium
HR	Human resources
IDP	Internally displaced person
KI	Key informant
KII	Key informant interview
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
NFI	Non-food item
NGO	Non-governmental organization
ODK	Open Data Kit
RI	Relief International
SAF	Sudan Armed Forces
SGBV	Sexual and gender based violence
SPLM-N	Sudan People's Liberation Movement - North
SSP	South Sudan Pound
UNHCR	United Nation's High Commissioner for Refugees
USD	United States Dollar

Introduction

Violence between the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N) in Sudan's Kordofan State and Blue Nile State began in 2011, resulting in large scale displacement. To date, over 200,000 refugees have crossed the border into South Sudan, with 136,462 housed in the four refugee camps established in Maban County, Upper Nile State: Doro, Gendrassa, Kaya, and Yusif Batil.¹ A number of humanitarian agencies have been operational in the camps under the coordination of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

From the arrival of the refugees, and up to the time of assessment, positive relations were found between refugees and the host community. Interaction through trade, intermarriages, and friendships were not uncommon.

Suffering from similar levels of vulnerability and facing increased competition over resources, the host community became frustrated at the perceived negative impact of the presence of refugees and few perceived benefits, especially as the early phases of the response focused solely on refugees with no initial assistance provided to the already vulnerable host community.² Consequently, tensions between the host community and refugees have remained tense, resulting in, at the time of assessment, between 50 and 90 people being killed as a result of conflict between these communities in Maban.

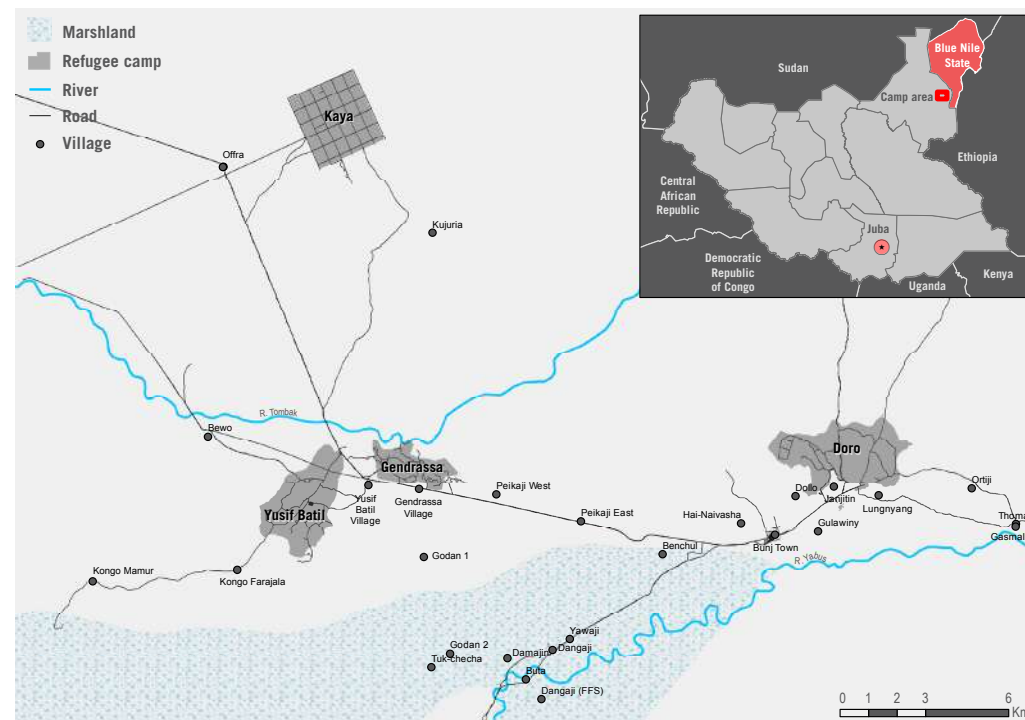
Adding further complexity to the situation, internally displaced persons (IDPs) have been moving to the area around the four refugee camps since the onset of the South Sudan crisis in December 2013, primarily Mabanese from surrounding areas to the south and west of the county. Although many wish to return to their homes, protracted conflict in their areas of origin has kept a large number of IDPs in the area, with over 16,928 IDPs registered by UNHCR by May 2015 in 12 locations.³ IDPs typically reside within or near host community settlements in emergency shelters provided by UNHCR in coordination with HDC. The presence of this population puts an even greater strain on resources and services around the area, and adds further layers of complexity and potential instability to the already tense and complicated situation.

IDPs surrounding Yusif Batil and Gendrassa Camps are found interspersed throughout the host community villages near the camps, many times staying with relatives. At the time of data collection, the main concentration of IDPs in the area were found in Offra to the northwest of the camps, Kongo Mamur to the southwest, and Benchul to the east. IDPs are typically highly mobile in the Maban context, and it is unlikely that these populations will remain in their current location for an extended period of time. See Map 2 for an overview of main places of origin of IDPs around.

Previous assessments

The first assessment on conflict and tensions in Maban was conducted by Danish Demining Group (DDG) in 2012.⁴ DDG found that

Map 1: Maban County refugee camp area, Upper Nile, South Sudan



competition over livelihoods opportunities, such as livestock grazing, natural resource usage and access to employment were creating tensions and conflict between refugees and the host community. Refugee numbers swelled in the intervening years, and the lack of a political solution to the crisis in South Kordofan and Blue Nile meant that refugees would likely remain in South Sudan for the foreseeable future. Further assessments were needed to better inform humanitarian programming focused on conflict reduction and to ensure that all programming within Maban County was conflict sensitive.

To fill information gaps, REACH, supported by UNHCR, conducted a conflict assessment in Maban County in November and December 2015. REACH provided an analysis of dynamics in the areas surrounding the camp, highlighting locations of conflict and overlapping use of natural resources between the host community and refugees, while also pinpointing other drivers of tensions.⁵

Access to land was found to be one of the primary drivers of conflict between communities around Gendrassa Camp. With the large majority of host community relying on subsistence farming for access to food, the

1. As of November 2016, latest data available on the [UNHCR Information Sharing Portal](#)
2. Upper Nile Refugee Crisis: Avoiding past mistakes in the coming year, Oxfam, April 2013;
Towards an environmental strategy for Sudanese refugee hosting areas in Upper Nile and
Unity States, South Sudan, UNHCR/SDC, June 2013.

3. As of May 2015, UNHCR Protection Unit.
4. Displacement, Disharmony and Disillusion – Understanding Host-Refugee Tensions in
Maban County, South Sudan, Danish Demining Group (DDG), 2012.

shrinking of available agricultural land due to increased population in the area was found to be a critical issue. The Ingassana tribe, making up the majority of refugees in Gendrassa, are agro-pastoralists who rely on agriculture and livestock production as main sources of income. While land has been allocated to the refugees for cultivation, many were still dissatisfied with the amount available for their use, often using host community land. Even where agricultural land was readily available, both refugees and host communities reported high levels of insecurity due to conflict between the communities, both for themselves when

going to cultivate and for the crops, which are commonly stolen.

Forest resources were found to be the other primary driver of conflict. An essential resource used for construction, firewood, charcoal and as a secondary income source, both communities place high value on wood. Since 2012, mass deforestation has occurred around all camps in Maban as trees are continually cut, despite a Ministry of Forestry ban on the practice.⁶ Refugees reported heightened insecurity in areas of tree cutting and firewood collection, while the host community has

expressed anger and accused refugees of widespread tree cutting. In a similar fashion, access to resources such as fish, land for livestock grazing and the livestock themselves have become instigators of conflict.

With food rations lowered in 2015 by 30% due to funding decreases, and high malnutrition rates found throughout both host and refugee communities, it was thought unlikely that the over-exploitation of natural resources as a coping mechanism will stop.⁷ Thus, the REACH assessment recommended that clear land demarcation takes place, with community meetings held to ensure that refugees and host community alike were aware of the location of agricultural land assigned to the refugees, and that refugees understand where the camp boundary with the host community exists. Improved security and a strengthened rule of law in Maban County were also posed as recommended solutions.

The Danish Refugee Council (DRC) and Forcier Consulting conducted another assessment of conflicts and tensions in March 2016.⁸ Using focus group discussions (FGDs), the study focused on host communities and

refugees surrounding all four camps of Maban County. Building upon and confirming the importance of natural resources as a trigger of conflict, DRC went further in analysing the underlying tensions behind the conflict.

Lack of access to livelihoods, poor law enforcement, militarisation and criminality, and top-down discourses on relations between communities were all identified as possible drivers of tension. Reported perceptions of host community by refugees showed an improvement of relations from 2015. Host communities, on the other hand, reported little to no positive change and expressed their fears of further conflict.

Despite these general perceptions, the study also highlighted positive relations between refugees and host communities, noting common interactions at marketplaces, establishment of friendships between members of the different communities, and the presence of intermarriage between refugees and host community members. The DRC assessment concluded with recommendations focusing on the equitable distribution of services and benefits to bolster host community livelihoods,

Map 2: Reported origins of surveyed IDPs

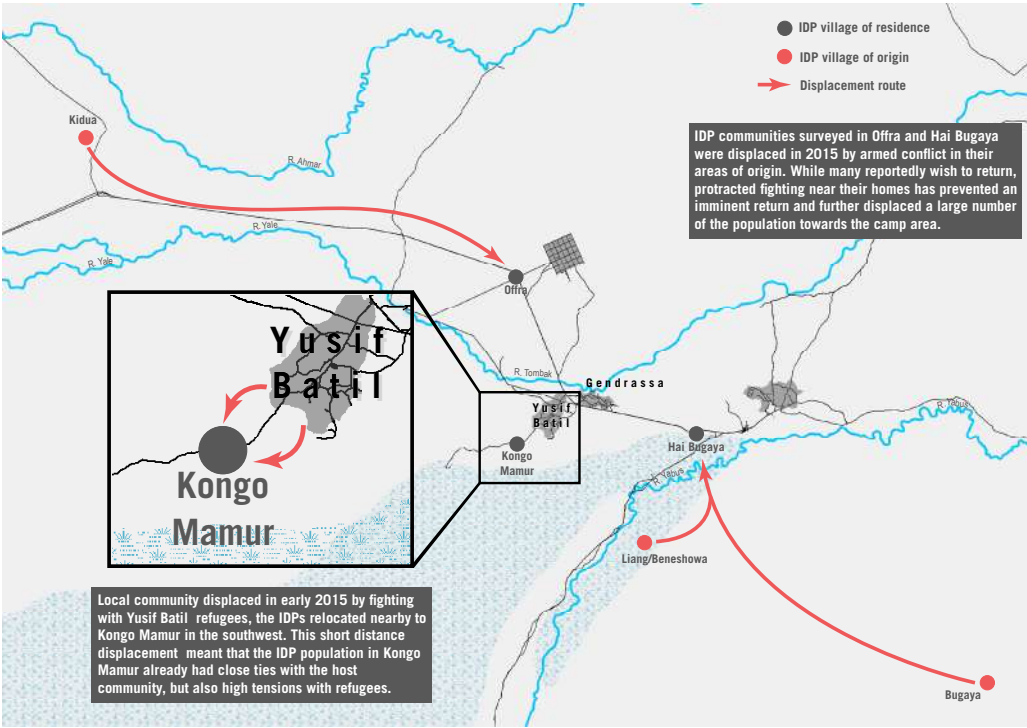


Table 1: Conflict assessments in Maban County

Assessment	Date	Area of coverage	Methodology
DDG	2012	All 4 camps and host community	Desktop research, FGDs, and actor interviews
REACH	2015	Gendrassa Camp and host community	FGDs, participatory mapping, and actor interviews
DRC	2016	All 4 camps and host community	FGDs and actor interviews

5. Mapping of Tensions and Disputes Between Refugees and Host Community in Gendrassa, Maban, REACH, December 2015.
6. Licenses are available for refugees to cut trees, but due to their cost and perceived difficulty to be approved, they are not frequently requested by refugees. Refugees are left with little recourse but to cut trees illegally.
7. Doro Refugee Camp Comprehensive Needs Assessment, REACH, December 2015.
8. Conflict and Cohesion in Maban: Towards Positive Refugee/Host Community Relations, DRC, March 2016.

demilitarisation, and improvement of peace dialogue and initiatives, with the end goal of community integration in mind.

Many of the findings in the 2015 and 2016 REACH and DRC assessments echoed the results of DDG's 2012 work. While some recommendations of DDG were implemented, such as the creation of land use and natural resource agreements, many issues remain unresolved.

Current assessment

In order to provide an update on conflict

dynamics and relationships between these communities, REACH, on behalf of UNHCR, conducted an assessment of conflict and tensions between communities around Gendrassa and Yusif Batil Camps in Maban County from June to October 2016. This study was designed to further the understanding of tensions and disputes in Maban County that was established by the previous assessments, and focused on the areas surrounding Gendrassa and Yusif Batil. Similar to the 2016 DRC study, this research focused on two separate yet related topics: security and conflict, as well as relations and tensions.⁹

As recommended by the 2015 REACH report, seasonality was incorporated into the analysis of the security situation, in order to assess conflict over the 2016 dry season. The recommendation for incorporating IDPs into the analysis was also followed.

This study was conducted in Yusif Batil and Gendrassa refugee camps and their surrounding communities. With similar breakdowns of ethnicities within the camps (majority Ingassana), shared interactions with host communities, and geographical proximity, it was considered as making sense to analyse the two camp areas together.¹⁰ In addition, peacebuilding programmes for the two camps are often combined into one entity, such as the joint Yusif Batil/Gendrassa peace committee (compared to individual committees in Doro and Kaya).¹¹

The report begins with a detailed presentation of the methodology used, followed by the key findings of the assessment broken down in the following sections: 1. Security and conflict, 2. Relations and tensions, and 3. Conclusion and recommendations.

Methodology

This study implemented a mixed methodology of data collection in order to map relations, tensions and conflict amongst host community, IDPs, and refugees.

Qualitative data collection

A total of 18 FGDs and participatory mapping sessions were conducted between 14 of June and 12 September, 2016, reaching 93 participants in total. The questioning route is available in Annex II. FGDs were sampled from a large number of locations in the area.

Map 3: Assessment sites in Maban County

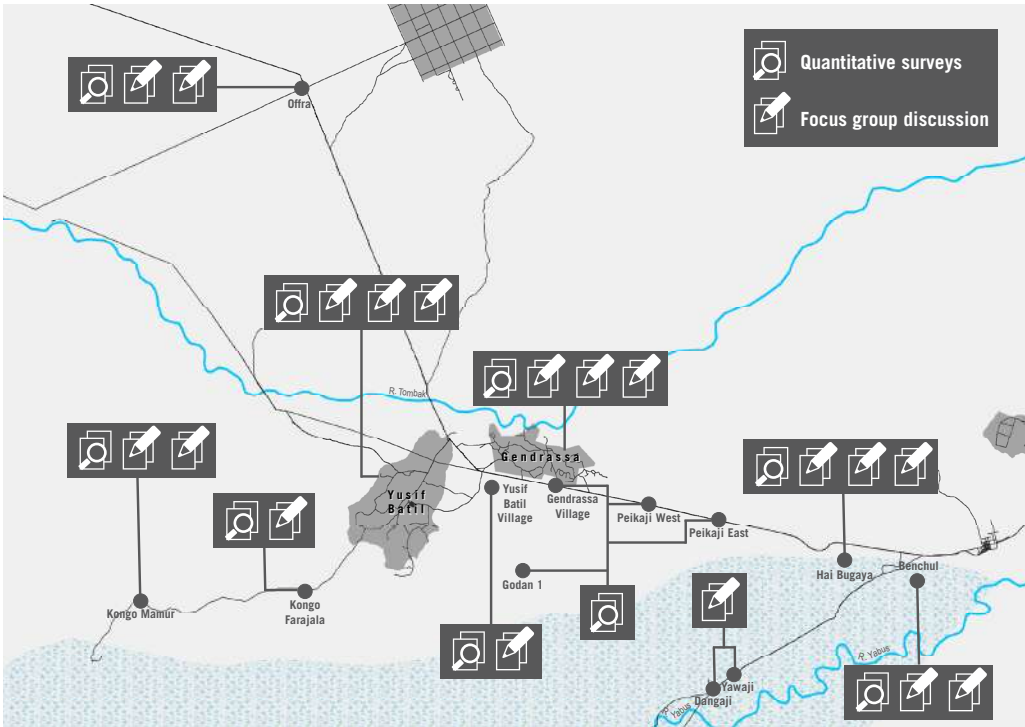


Table 2: Focus group discussion locations and targets

Population	Group	Location	# of FGDs
Refugees	Male youth; sheikhs/elders; women	Yusif Batil Camp	3
Refugees	Male youth; sheikhs/elders; women	Gendrassa Camp	3
IDPs	Male youth; sheikhs	Hai Bugaya	2
IDPs	Male youth	Kongo Mamur	1
IDPs	Sheikhs; women	Offra	2
IDPs	Women	Yawaji/Dangaji	1
Host community	Male youth; women	Benchul	2
Host community	Male youth	Kongo Farajala	1
Host community	Sheiks; women	Kongo Mamur	2
Host community	Sheikhs/umda	Yusif Batil Village	1

9. Conflict and Cohesion in Maban: Towards Positive Refugee/Host Community Relations, DRC, March 2016.
10. A Crisis Normalised: Civilian perspectives on the conflict in Sudan's Blue Nile State, IRRI, September 2016; Actors across the county often informally refer to the camps and their surrounding areas as "Gentil".
11. Yusif Batil Camp Snapshot, UNHCR, October 2014.

Male youth, women and sheikhs/elders were selected to participate in the FGDs in order to provide a broad understanding of the current situation. Table 2 below identifies the composition, location and number of participants.

Participatory mapping was a component of FGDs and was used to highlight the differences between past and current land usage, along with unsafe/dangerous areas and community land ownership. The map utilized for participatory mapping is available in Annex IV. The information from FGDs and participatory mapping was recorded by the

FGD translator with the guidance of both the community and FGD facilitator.

Spatial information collected in these sessions was digitised using ArcGIS¹², then analysed to identify common themes and relationships with spatial data collected through the quantitative surveys. This analysis was used to produce the maps presented later in this report. Narrative information collected during the FGDs has been used throughout this report to provide more explicit contextual detail not captured through the mapping exercises.

Eight key informant interviews (KIIs) targeting

NGO staff, agency staff, local authorities and other stakeholders in the area were used to complement FGDs. The KII guide is available in Annex III.

Quantitative data collection

A quantitative questionnaire was run, covering 392 host community members, 340 IDPs, and 1,024 refugees, using smartphones and the Open Data Kit survey programme.¹³ The full coverage of the quantitative survey can be seen in Map 3.

Sampling was done using available population data, such as household registration data for the host community, camp populations, and IDP biometric registration counts. The population numbers were used to collect proportional random samples in the villages around Yusif Batil and Gendrassa camps. Village-level data was not available within the camps. For each village, the enumerator team would randomly select households by traveling in an assigned direction from the centre of the village and collecting data from every second household.

This helped achieve a simple random sample, with data being representative to the camp level for refugees and representative of the broad host community and IDP populations with a margin of error 6% and 95% confidence level.

Before the analysis, the data was first cleaned and aggregated by REACH. Using ArcGIS, spatial data was then analysed along with the

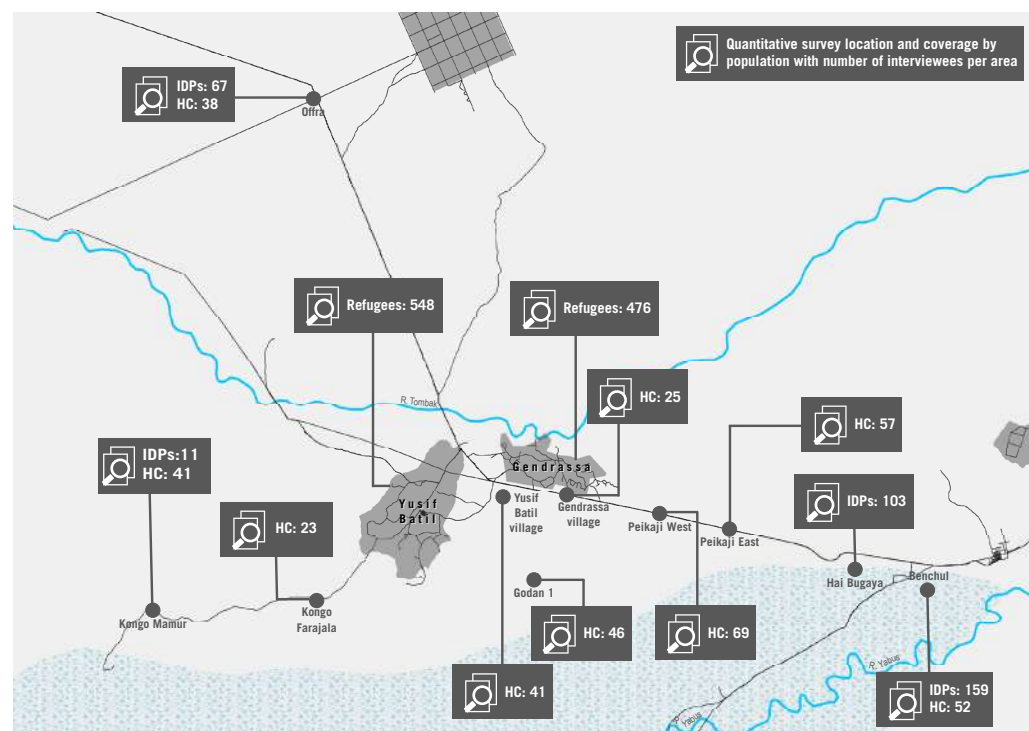
data digitized from the FGDs to create a picture of conflict and tensions in Maban, with the rest of the quantitative analysis being performed through R and graphically displayed through the ggplot2 package.

Challenges and limitations

REACH spent a total of 30 working days in Maban. Due to insecurity, local staff strikes and evacuation from the country following the events of Juba in July 2016, the data collection periods were separated by long delays. Staff striking lead to the premature halting of data collection in Yusif Batil camp, leaving a small portion of the southeast of the camp unsurveyed. REACH enumerators were denied access to certain host community villages following the resumption of data collection in August, leaving only partial data collected from some host community villages. Delays also pushed some data collection into the wet season. To ensure respondents answered about the dry season, training of quantitative enumerators emphasized the study's focus on dry season security, while questions in the quantitative tool focused on dry season security repeating the phrase "over the dry season" for further emphasis. The FGD questioning route was similarly modified.

Logistical concerns (e.g. poor road quality, lack of vehicles) meant that communities far from the main road or in areas difficult to access were sometimes surveyed less frequently. These may contribute to a skew in the data due to sampling errors. However, through

Map 4: Quantitative survey coverage



12. ArcGIS is a geographic information system used to manage, analyse and present spatial information.

13. The Open Data Kit (ODK) is a set of tools designed to manage mobile data collection.

crosschecking of quantitative results against the FGD data collected, REACH expresses confidence in the quality of data presented.

While the study attempts to discuss broader themes across Maban County, REACH acknowledges the limitations of the data collected and the possibility that conclusions may not hold in areas near Kaya or Doro camps.

The research team conducting this most recent assessment was all male due to low levels of female education among the host community and refugees. This very likely prohibited women FGDs from including information on sexual and gender based violence (SGBV), which reportedly represents a large problem for Maban. For more information on the unique problems presented by SGBV and its prevalence in Maban County, DRC has conducted multiple studies on the issue,¹⁴ including one study in 2015.¹⁵

14. Sexual and gender-based violence assessment, Jammam Refugee Camp, DRC, September 2012; Sexual and gender-based violence assessment, Doro Refugee Camp, DRC, July 2012; Sexual and gender-based violence assessment, Yusif Batil Refugee Camp, DRC, November 2012; Understanding Sexual and Gender Based Violence in a Context of Forced Displacement, Male Disempowerment, and Refugee-Host Tensions,

Upper Nile State, Maban County, DRC, May 2014.

15. Gender Based Violence Research on Sexual Assault: Maban County, South Sudan, DRC, August 2015.

Security and conflict

The daily security within Maban County has been poor since the arrival of the refugees in 2012, with all groups affected by insecurity. Anywhere between 50 to 90 host community members and refugees have died due to conflict between the two groups, with an unknown number of IDPs killed.¹⁶ In particular, 2015 was a year marked by intense conflict, especially around Gendrassa and Yusif Batil camps.

This section begins with a brief analysis of the impact insecurity and conflict has had on the lives and livelihoods of host communities, IDPs, and refugees, followed by an overview of the security situation in the 2016 dry season and the general triggers of conflict.

Image 1: Cropping and tree cutting area near Kongo Farajala



Host community

Host community members across Maban County reported that the dry season in 2016 was very secure compared to both wet and dry seasons of the previous year. Youth host community members emphasized the security incidents occurring around areas of cultivation and wild food collection, where multiple host community were attacked, robbed, or killed. However, all of the serious incidents mentioned occurred during 2015. All communities reported that no major security incident had occurred in 2016 to date, with KI interviews confirming the relative safety of the 2016 dry season.

Minor security incidents were still reported by host community members as occurring across host community areas, with almost all reportedly attributed to refugees. As indicated by Figure 1, 72% of incidents were related to the use of natural resources, particularly land cultivation and livestock grazing, confirming the results of previous conflict assessments. Insecurity surrounding these activities has caused many host communities to abandon use of former agricultural lands or grazing areas, and joining up with nearby communities to plant or graze in higher numbers and in different areas, providing better security. These areas they shift to are typically further from the camps.

Host community members perceived an improvement in safety and security, and often attributed it to behavioural changes

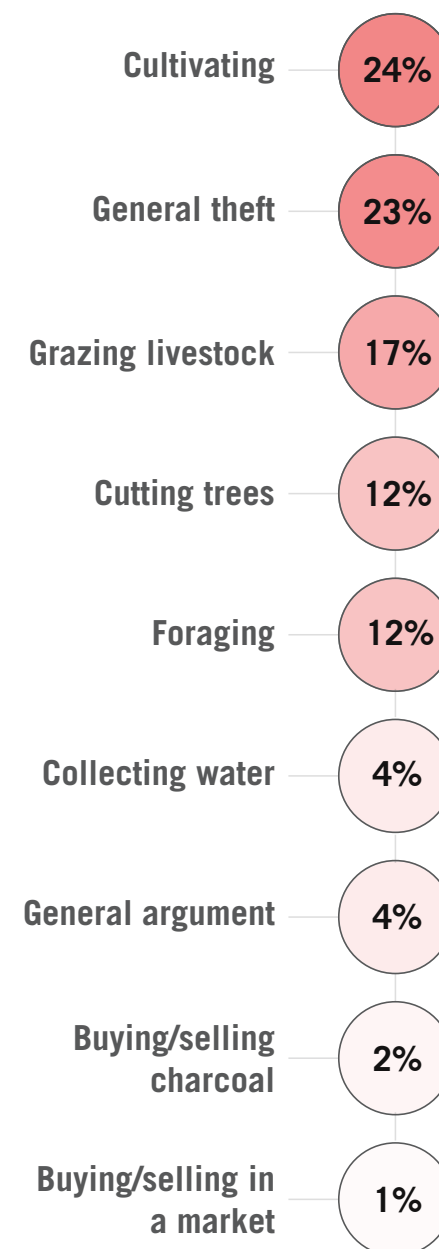
on their part. This included the fact that they were no longer traveling to dangerous areas, thereby reducing risks, but also their reduced willingness to fight and willingness to avoid conflict.

Another explanation for the improved security situation compared to the previous years wet season was related to the seasonal loss of vegetation, which reduces hiding places for ambush. Communities reported that after firing a gun or stealing a goat, it is much easier to hide and escape during the wet season. As well, the threat of thirst and lack of water prevents members of each community from traveling too far into the bush, preventing the likelihood of a more serious security incident, which more frequently occur in the more remote areas.

"We didn't have any secure incidents over the dry season. It was very good and safe. But we are worried for the rainy season."

- Woman, host community, Kongo Mamur¹⁷

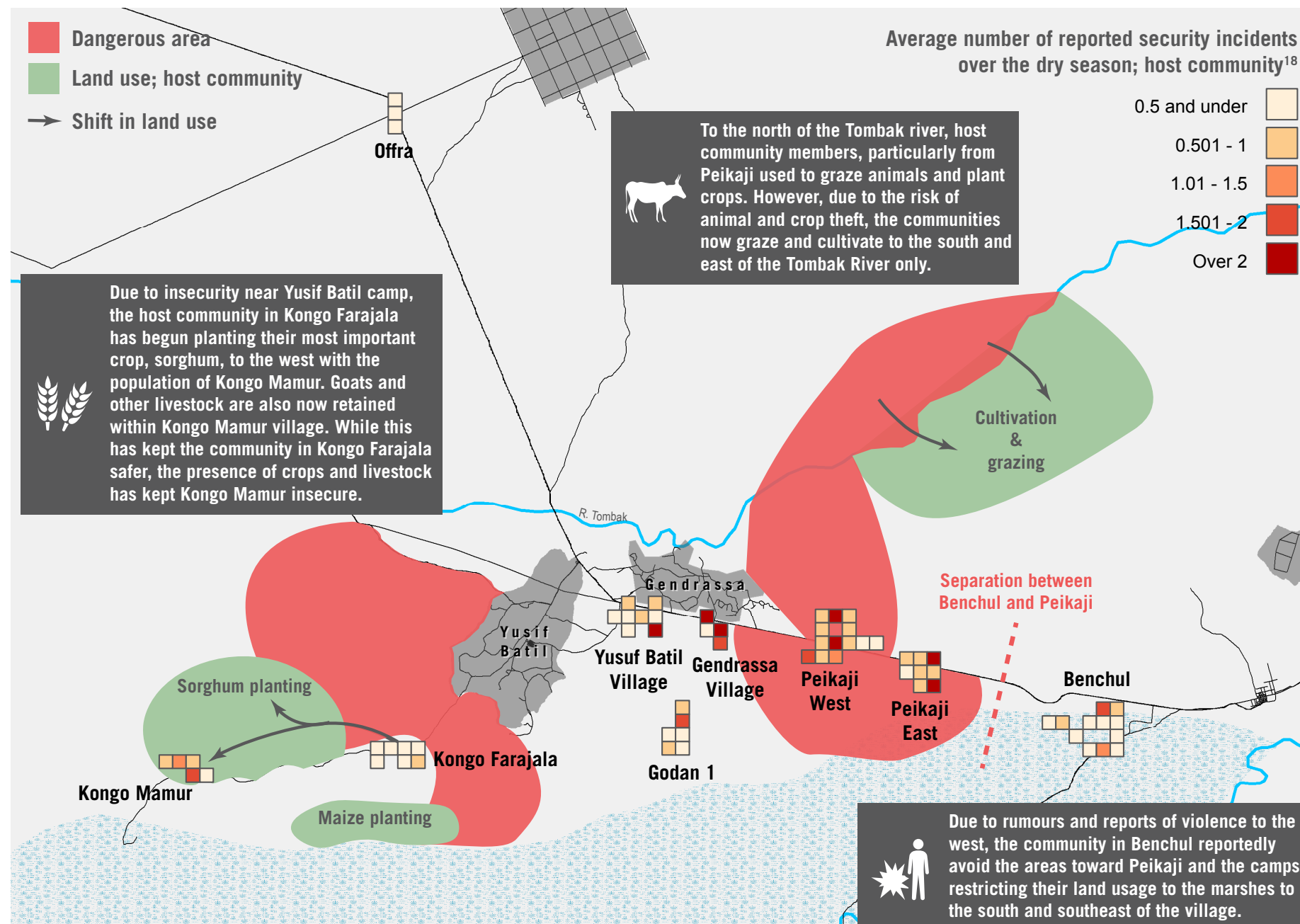
Figure 1: Triggers of dry season security incidents reported by host community



16. Conflict and Cohesion in Maban: Towards Positive Refugee/Host Community Relations, DRC, March 2016.

17. Quote from an FGD with host community women from Kongo Mamur Village on June 20th, 2016.

Map 5: Host community reported conflict and perceptions of security



IDPs

Typically residing within host community villages or in settlements abutting host communities, IDPs have no formal agreements with the host communities on land usage, so the use of these natural resources can provoke further conflict. IDPs reported the primary drivers of conflict with the host community were access to water and the cutting of trees.

In Offra, IDPs reported that during the dry season, the host community will often cut off their access to water, either by severing the line to the IDP's tapstand or preventing the IDPs from accessing the tapstand due to its geographical location within the host community area, with similar problems seen around the Medair borehole in Benchul.

Foraging for wild food and cultivation were also listed as major instigators of conflict by IDPs.

Distributions of non-food items (NFIs) and general food distributions (GFDs) were frequently cited by FGD participants as provoking conflict between host communities and IDPs, particularly in Offra, since host communities typically do not benefit from the distributions. The host community Umda¹⁹ reportedly harassed IDPs and threatened to attack them during distributions, and in some cases, actively shut down the ongoing distribution. To appease the situation, IDPs would often give a portion of their distribution to the host community in order to prevent further escalation of conflict.

Compared to incidents with the host community, reported incidents between IDPs and refugees were low in Offra and Hai Bugaya. In Offra, good relations with Kaya refugees and distance from other camps is a likely factor in their relative security. Concerning Hai Bugaya, its distance from Yusuf Batil and Gendrasa Camps is the likely reason for its relative security. Due to its proximity with Yusuf Batil and their more positive relations with the host community, the majority of incidents reported by IDPs in Kongo Mamur were with refugees. In FGDs, IDPs and host community members in Kongo Farajala and Kongo Mamur reported the same issues and problems with refugees (e.g. tree cutting and minor thefts), focused around the insecurity near the camp and in areas of cultivation.

Due to their recent arrival in the area, and their frequent movements to and from their home areas when security conditions permit, IDPs did not have a clear picture of how the security in the 2016 dry season was compared to previous years. The IDPs surveyed did not see their security situation further improving without assistance being provided to the host community, reducing the tensions between the two groups. As well, echoing statements from the host community, there was fear expressed that the wet season would bring out renewed conflict.

Figure 2: Triggers of dry season security incidents reported by IDPs

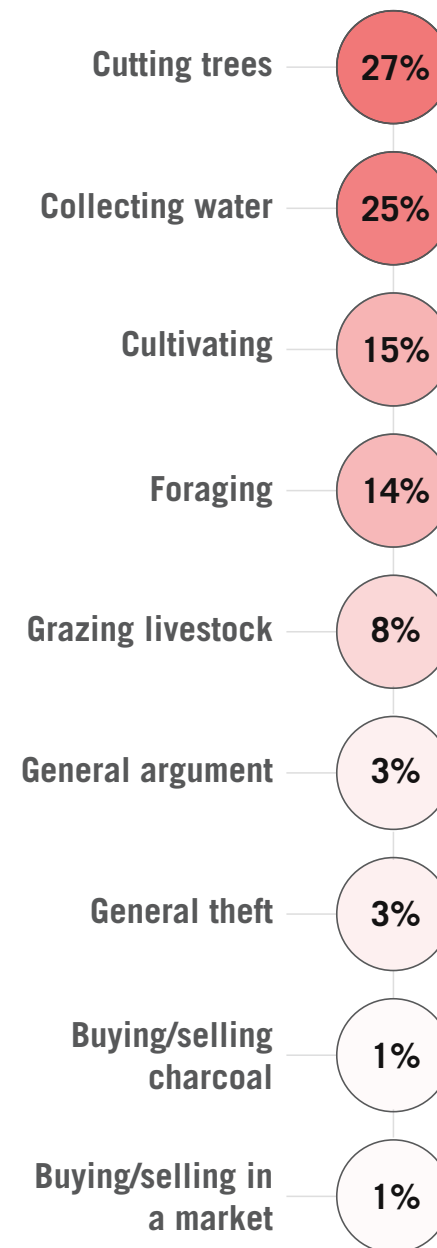
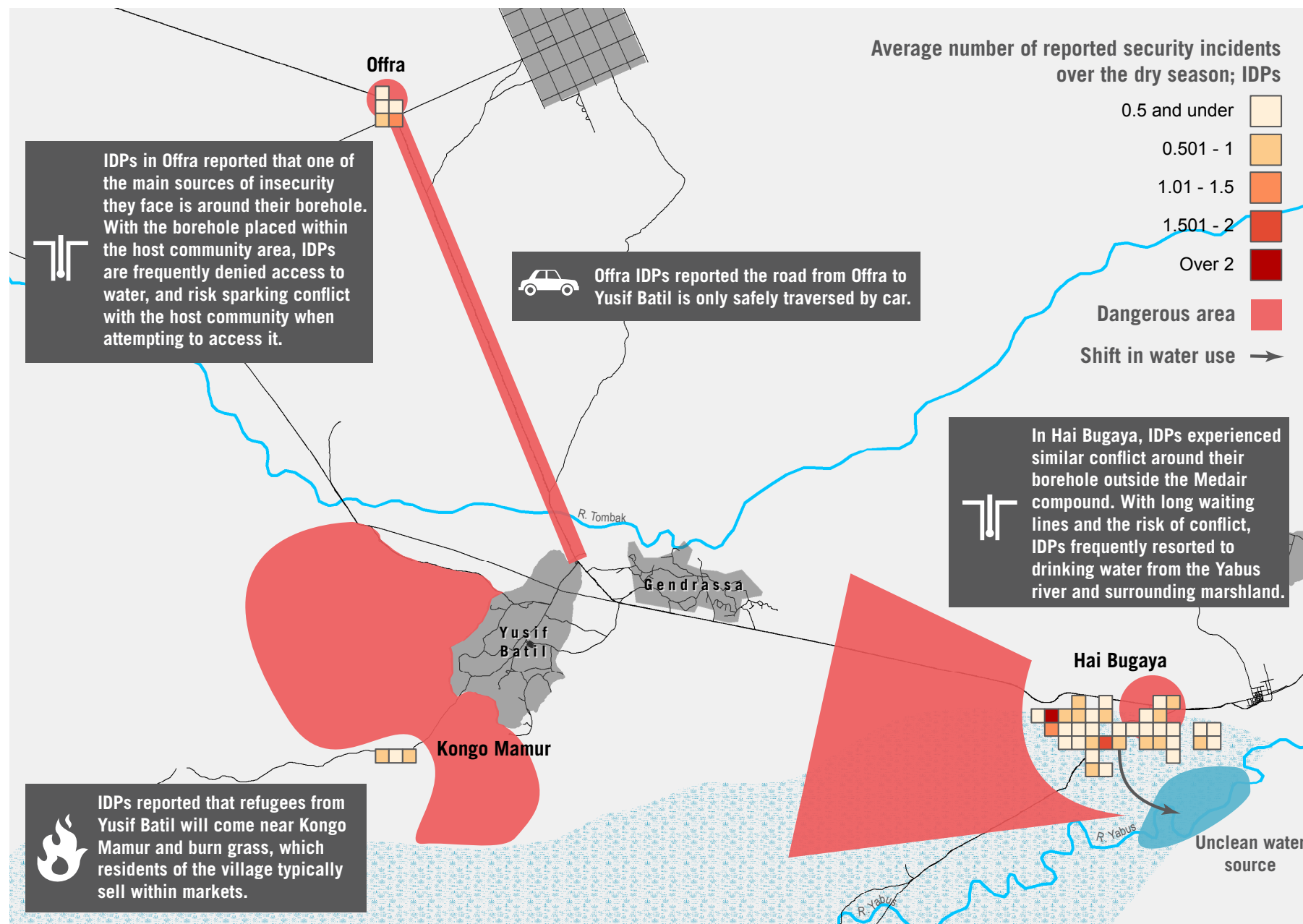


Image 2: IDP settlement in Hai Bugaya



Map 6: IDP reported conflict and perceptions of security



Refugees

In agreement with the other communities covered, refugees again reported a dry season with improved security. During focus groups, no refugees could recall a major security incident that had occurred over the past year, although smaller incidents, such as livestock theft or fighting were reported.

As with IDPs, the cutting of trees was cited as the primary trigger of incidents reported by refugees. Nearly half of all incidents refugees reported were over the cutting of trees, with significantly more of these incidents being recorded around Gendrassa. Wood, used as fuel for cooking and as a coping mechanism through the burning and sale of charcoal, is an important resource for residents of both camps. However, Yusif Batil refugees reported it was safe for them to collect firewood near

Bewo to the west, and they did not experience issues with the host community or IDPs.

Gendrassa refugees are forced to go far north towards Kaya and beyond to cut firewood without risking conflict with the host community. Despite the sheikh's warnings to no longer cut firewood in host community areas, particularly around Yusif Batil, Gendrassa, Peikaji West, and Peikaji East villages, some Gendrassa refugees may still be collecting wood or other natural resources in these areas, sparking violence. Tellingly, 40% of Gendrassa refugees reported experiencing at least one security incident in the 2016 dry season, compared to 23% for Yusif Batil refugees.

Gendrassa refugees, along with those of Yusif Batil, cited their respect of host community areas as the primary reason the 2016 dry season was safer than any season before.

Image 3: Maize garden within Gendrassa Camp



Refugees reported that their cultivation, firewood collection, livestock grazing and other activities outside the camp have been shifted to areas of agreed use with the host community or kept within the camp itself. Sheikhs, through their interactions with the host community on peace committees, keep their communities up-to-date and informed on areas where they should and should not go.

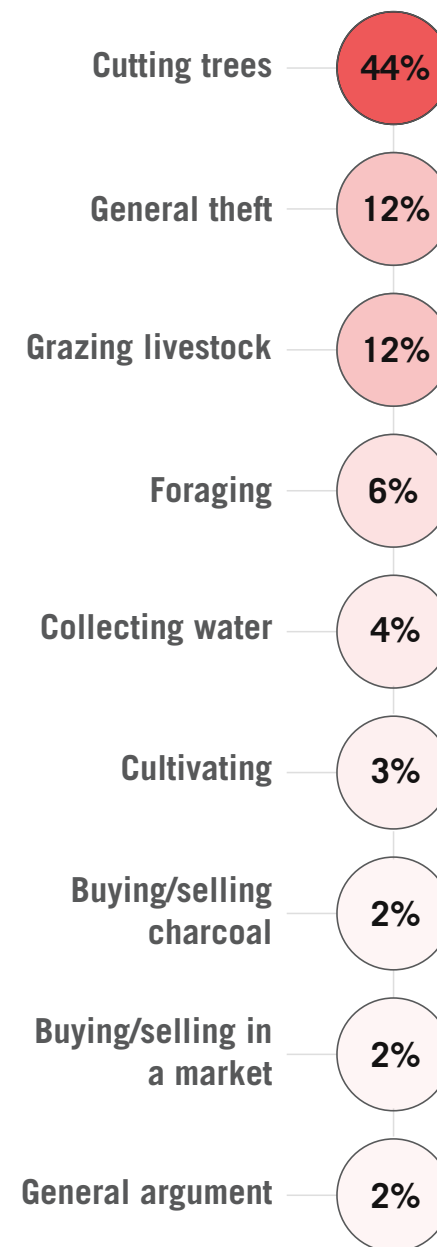
While this has improved security, refugees reported that this is not the desirable solution, as the use of lands that spark conflict with the host community are important for their livelihoods and survival, and they only stay near the camp due to security threats. Cultivation within the camp can also be difficult, as space is extremely limited. Some refugees did still report leaving the camp to cultivate, collect food or chop firewood on host community land or land allocated to refugees, often in groups of three or more for safety.

"We want to go outside and find food and cultivate, but we stay inside because of fear."

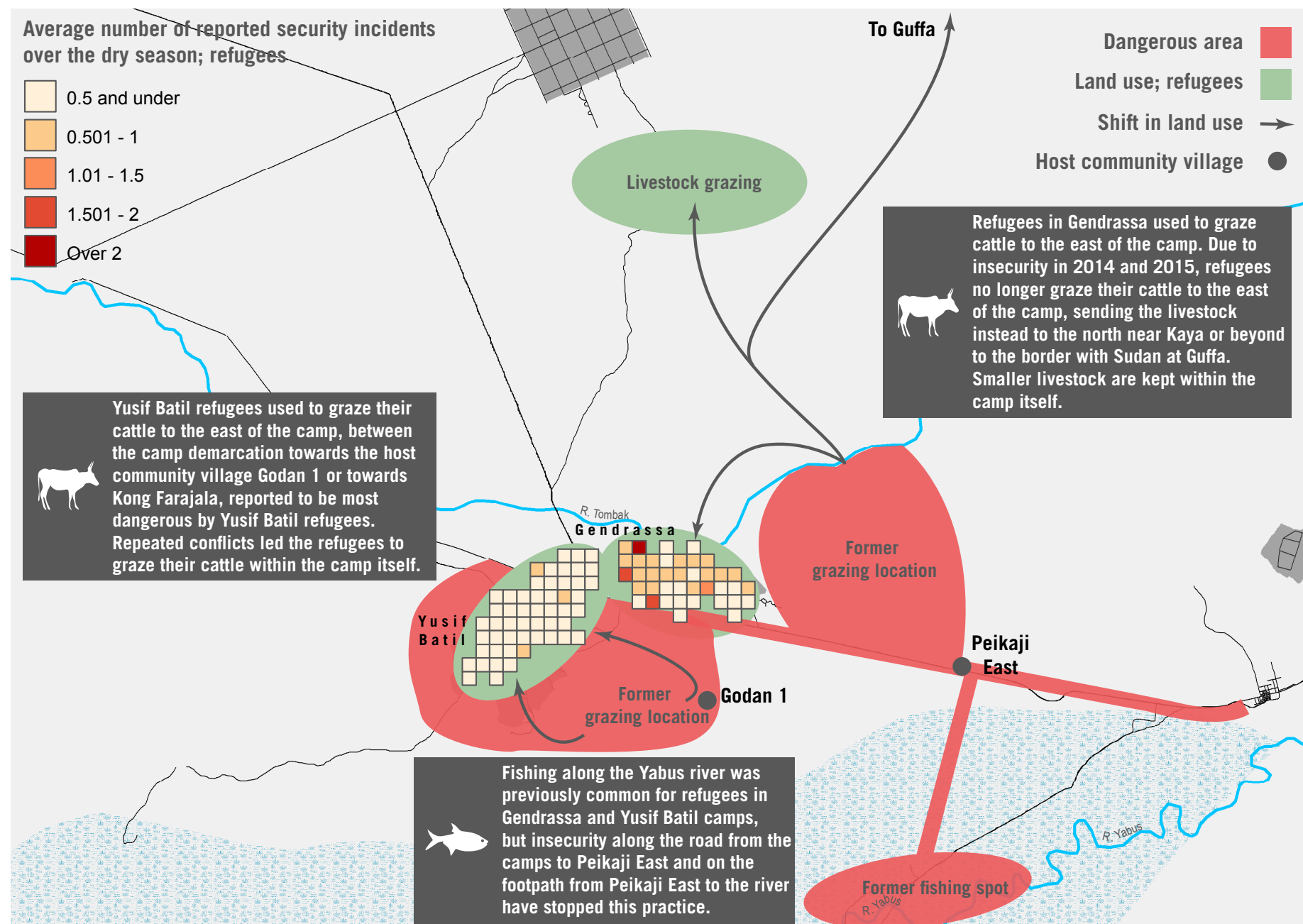
- Male youth refugee, Gendrassa.²⁰

Women in Gendrassa camp believed the removal of weapons from the camp, through efforts by the Commission for Refugee Affairs (CRA) and UNHCR, contributed to improved security. They claimed that while armed elements in the camp did not initiate security incidents, they responded to them with excessive force, escalating violence between refugees and the host community.

Figure 3: Triggers of dry season security incidents reported by refugees



Map 7: Refugee reported conflict and perceptions of security



General security situation

All of the FGDs held in Maban concurred that the 2016 dry season was relatively safe and secure, although communities across Maban had slightly different experiences.

Disarmament

The decline in the presence of arms within the camps has been one contributing factor to the increased security. With discussions beginning late 2015 and early 2016, leaders in the camps were consulted about removing arms from the camp. Early in 2016, this programme went into effect in Yusif Batil and Gendrassa Camps. Refugees within Gendrassa Camp referenced this event as having a positive impact on the security, although no mention of disarmament was made by host community FGDs or refugees in Yusif Batil. At the time of assessment, while there were concerns that arms had returned to the area, positive changes due to arms reduction were apparent. The process of disarmament in the area is complex and still ongoing.

Change in use of land and natural resources

The data gathered for this study further confirms the importance of natural resources in the conflict between communities. Conflict over natural resources accounted for 75% of security incidents reported through the quantitative survey. Refugees, IDPs and the host community were all equally affected by conflict arising over natural resources, though

in somewhat different ways. Also, during FGDs, refugees, IDPs and the host community emphasized the dangers they face while collecting resources or using land.

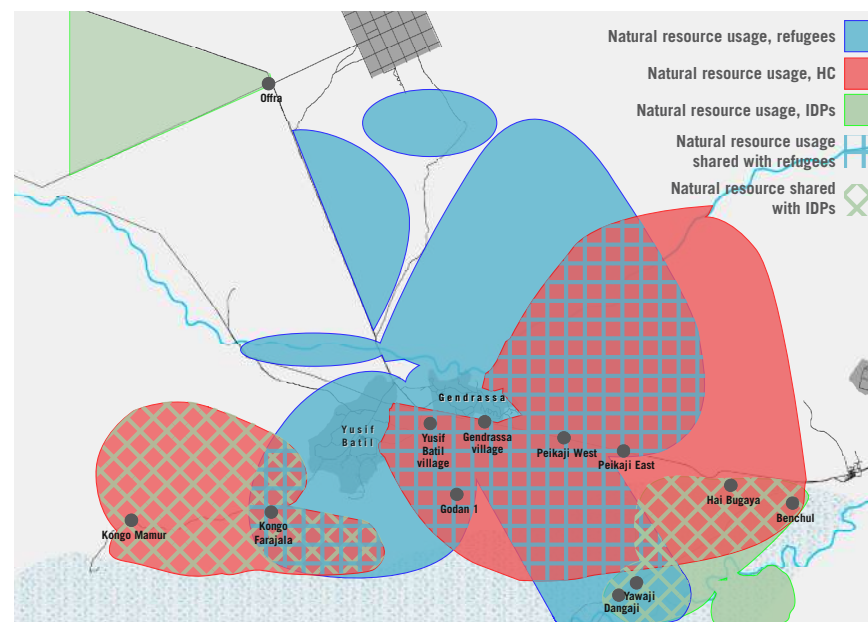
Similarly, both refugees and host community claimed that they have altered their patterns of land use, decreasing encounters and conflicts with the other group. For refugees, this was explained by refugees adhering to the host communities demands on which lands were used for cultivation, livestock grazing, and collection of resources such as wood. For the host community, this was instead shown as an avoidance on their part of using lands that have been historical hotspots of violence.

Like refugees, IDPs reported little land use, but when using land, it was on land agreed upon for their use by the host community (although there was no indication that was a change from the previous year due to the short period of time they have been present in their current settlement).

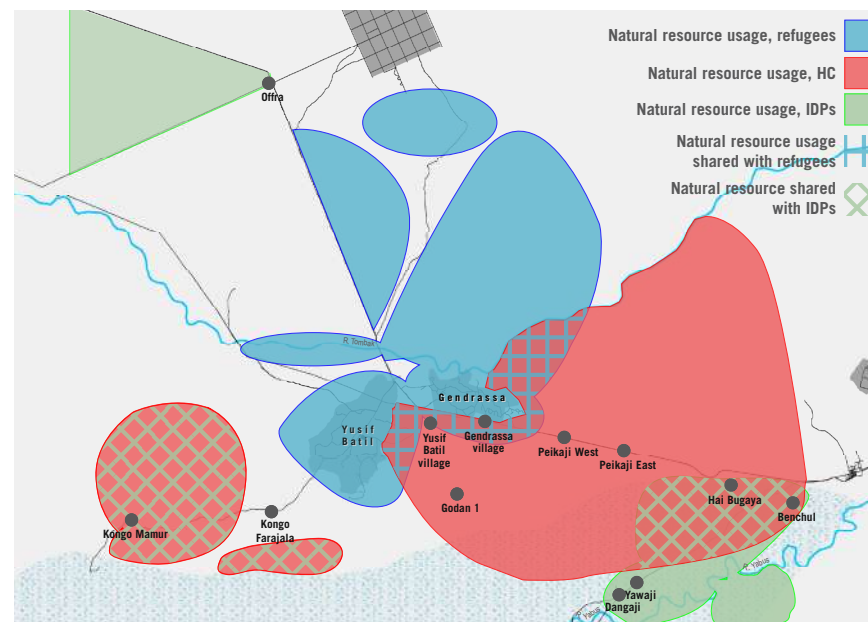
Looking at maps of land use collected during participatory mapping exercises which report on lands currently and previously used, significant decreases can be seen in overlapping use, particularly between host communities and refugees. Responses clearly indicated that refugees who cultivated beyond the borders of the camp were more likely to experience a security incident than those who cultivated within the borders of the camp or did not cultivate at all. This is shown in Figure 4.

Decreases in the use of land outside the

Map 8: Community natural resource and land use; pre-2016 dry season



Map 9: Community natural resource and land use; 2016 dry season



camps by refugees and decreases of land used near camps by host community likely contributed in similar ways to a more positive security situation.

Peace committees

Ended in 2014 after a series of agreements for peaceful coexistence were created, peace

committees restarted in 2016 after conflict and tensions worsened between the host communities of Kongo Farajala. The peace committees bring together sheiks from the host community and refugees to create open dialogues and support peaceful coexistence, among other goals.²¹ While there is still mistrust between the communities, there was acknowledgment that these dialogues were

helpful in promoting awareness of where conflict may arise over the use of land or natural resources, reducing the likelihood of conflict being triggered.

Distributions

Distributions, both GFDs and of NFIs, have become an increasingly contentious issue within Maban. These events are particularly precarious for IDPs, who receive distributions in the immediate vicinity of host communities.

As noted before, IDPs in FGDs requested that distributions be provided to them only if the host community is receiving a distribution simultaneously. NGOs that deal more commonly with IDPs and host communities have on occasion provided distributions to host communities when distributing NFIs to IDPs, but the issue remained as host communities in Maban only received a small part of food assistance at the time of data collection.

The issue of distributions has not caused significant violence between host community and refugees, but there is a possibility this could escalate in the future. NGO staff reported fears that strikes by host community staff or other disruptions to distributions or services (e.g. WASH) could spark conflict, and worried that the worsening economic situation will exacerbate this issue if host community assistance remains low.

Unpredictability

In late 2015 and early 2016, the camp areas and villages surrounding Yusif Batil and

Gendrassa were considered to be the most conflict-ridden. As noted earlier, significant improvement in the security situation for the 2016 dry season has been seen in these areas. During the period of greater conflict in and around Batil and Gendrassa in 2015, Doro Camp was seen to present a model for refugee relations with the host community, as security incidents were low and ties between the majority Uduk refugees and Mabanese were strong. Previous conflict analysis recommended looking at the Doro situation as a model for better understanding Yusif Batil and Gendrassa.²²

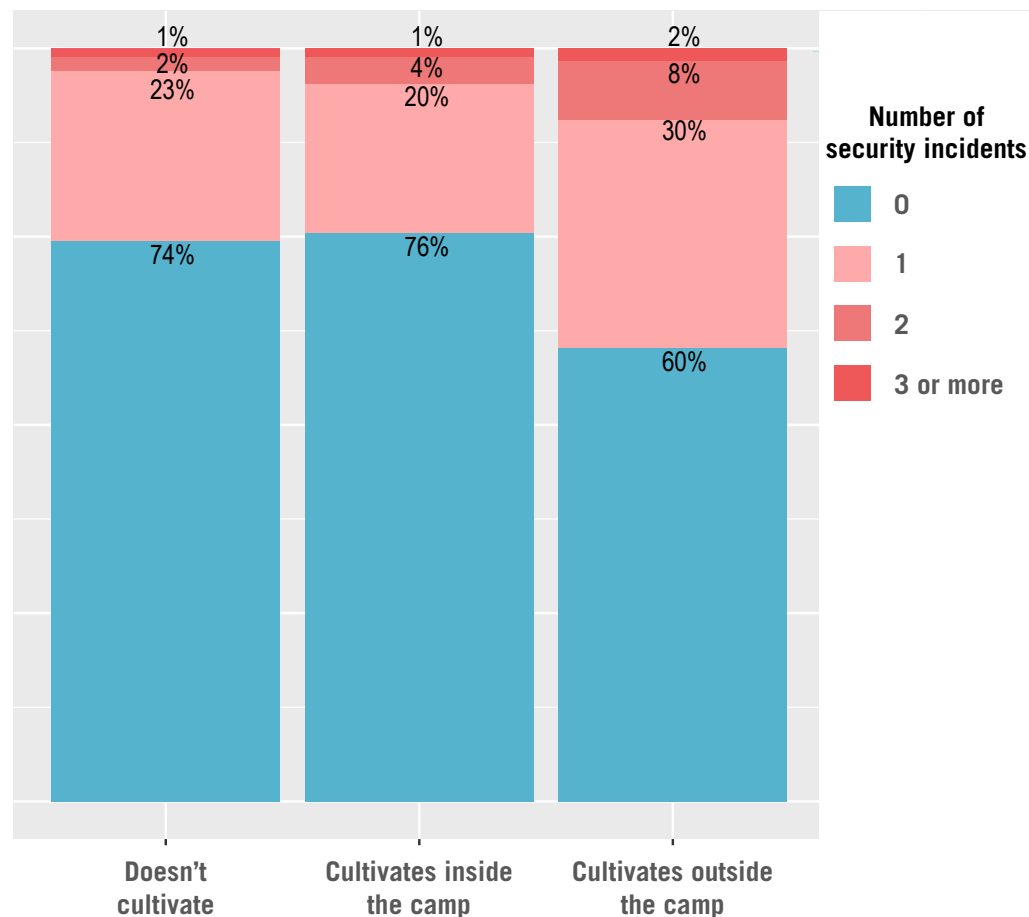
However, by May 2016, the situation in and around Doro had deteriorated to the point that widespread fighting broke out between communities, resulting in the burning of homes and five deaths.²³ As of October 2016, security around Doro Camp was regarded as the worst in Maban, with palpable tensions between host communities and refugees. NGOs working with host communities in Maban had ceased operations around Doro from June 2016 until the time of writing.

Looking at this situation in Doro relative to what was presented in the reports of 2015 and 2016, it is clear that security in Maban continues to be difficult to predict. While security around Gendrassa and Yusif Batil has improved, it may deteriorate quickly if underlying tensions in community relations are not resolved.

Demographics of conflict

In FGDs, male youth were mentioned as

Figure 4: Proportion of refugees reporting dry season security incidents, by cultivation habits



the most likely to cause issues with other communities and threaten peace. Both refugees and host community members expressed frustration at young people who are not able to be controlled by the community, and threaten the peace agreements made in peace committees and through other efforts by committing crimes or acts of violence even after an agreement has been made.

In the quantitative data, displayed in Figure 5, we can see the relationship between age and number of security incidents experienced.²⁴ Looking at the plotted curve of security

incidents against age, those under 30 were not experiencing significantly different amounts of incidents than older respondents. Yet, the respondents reporting three or more security incidents were more often younger, indicating the propensity of a few young people to be involved in disproportionately high number of security incidents.

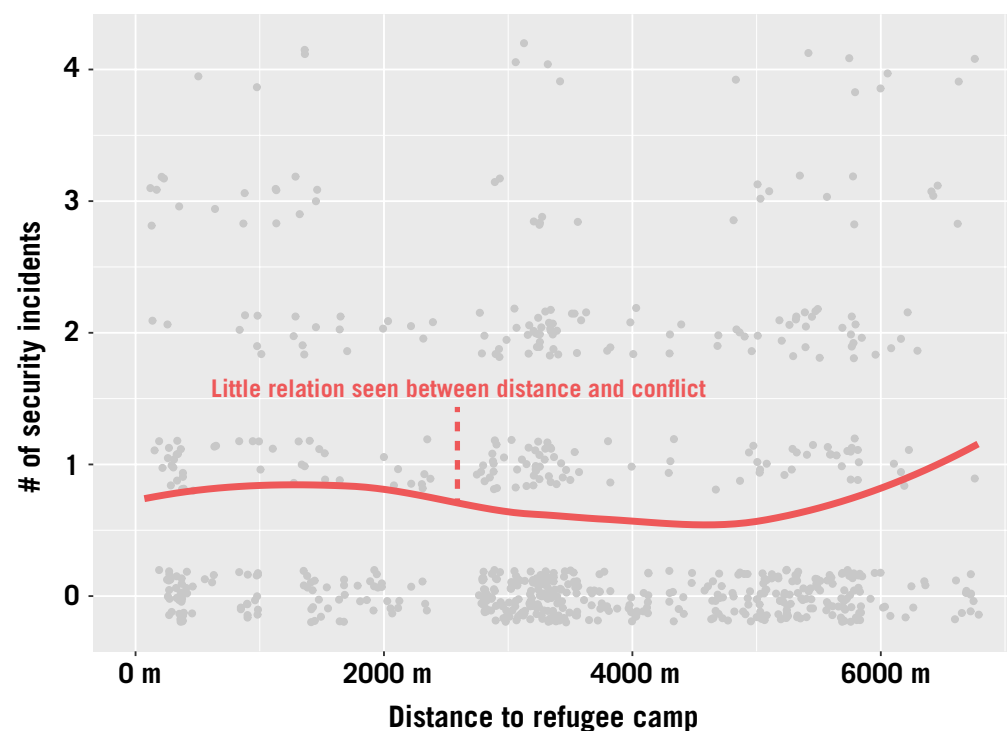
In FGDs, host community and IDPs frequently blamed refugees for the minor incidents reported, such as livestock or agricultural thefts. Host community members and IDPs living nearer to refugee camps would therefore be

expected to report a higher number of security incidents over the dry season, particularly due to the more limited movements of refugees in 2016. However, looking at Figure 6, no clear relationship between distance to the camps and the incidents of insecurity can be seen.

Figure 5: Dry season security incidents reported by age; IDPs, refugees and host community²⁵



Figure 6: Dry season security incidents reported by distance to refugee camp; IDPs and host community



30. Due to the likelihood of skewed or dishonest answers, the quantitative survey did not collect data on who instigated reported security incidents. Thus, we analysed the total number of security incidents reported by individuals, regardless of whether or not they were the instigators.

25. A jittered scatterplot separates overlapping points by randomly distributing them

vertically. Y-axis data are integer values ranging from 0 to 7, so all responses around each integer are actually the integer value itself, rather than a decimal value, as it appears. A LOESS curve plotting age of the respondent against number of security incidents has been added to the graph. A LOESS (local regression) curve is a method used to produce a smooth line through a scatter plot to visualize relationships between variables and trends.

Relations between communities

While trigger events, such as refugees chopping firewood on host community land, can spark conflict and create insecurity, the conflict is perpetuated by underlying tensions between the communities in Maban County. While some also act as conflict triggers, a multitude of issues exist that stress relations and make both the likelihood of conflict and the intensity of any conflict greater.

Host community - IDP relations

IDPs, almost all originally from Maban County, have extremely strong cultural ties with the

Image 4: Unclean water source in Hai Bugaya



host community. However, as shown before, many IDP communities arrived in their current location from far corners of the county with little capacity to support themselves, immediately stressing the available resources. This competition for resources puts communities at odds and often ignites conflict. IDPs in particular have begun to view host communities as impediments to their own survival. Barriers to collection of water, firewood and wild grass by the host community, and the resulting conflicts, were reported by IDPs to be the primary stresses on their relations with the host community. Being forced to collect water from wetlands areas rather than from an available borehole in Hai Bugaya, for example, has built animosity between the two groups.

In the host community, FGD participants rarely mentioned issues they had with IDPs, and in fact rarely mentioned IDPs at all. Through quantitative surveys, host communities reported very positive relations with IDPs, as can be seen in Figure 7. Although conflict exists between the two communities, issues host community members face with IDPs are dwarfed by those with refugees, who are much greater in number and are blamed for a wider set of issues, particularly theft and conflict. Effectively, when it comes to conflict, IDPs are largely invisible in the eyes of the host community due to the scale and duration of the refugee presence.

However, IDPs noted that the host community routinely raises issues between the communities, such as by insisting that IDPs

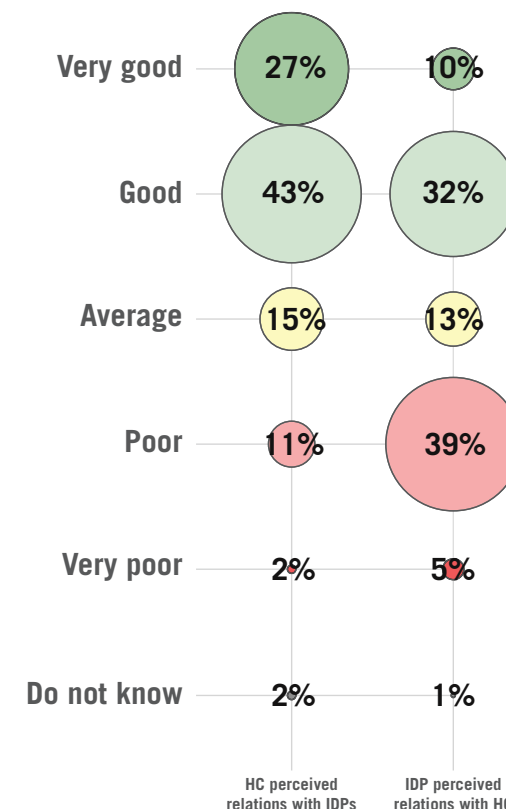
provide portions of their distributions to the host community. This indicates that, despite reports indicating the contrary, relations are not all positive from the side of the host community. Most of these revolve around the provision of distributions or services to IDPs, where the host community feels that they have not received fair or similar compensation. In a similar way to how IDPs feel their livelihoods are threatened by the host community, according to IDPs, the host community views IDPs as a threat to their own survival, with IDPs being favoured for services or distributions that they themselves also need.

Despite these issues, there are no official mechanisms in place for the IDPs to meet with the host community and discuss issues. When IDPs first arrived in Offra, for example, they initially met with the host community in order to come to agreements on land and resource use. These were quite successful, and both the host community and IDPs were satisfied with the agreement. Yet, when issues between the communities do arise, such as over borehole access, IDPs are reluctant to address the issue without the assistance of organisations.

"If we can make a meeting of Umdas for IDPs and host community to come together, would be good to pass a message of peace. But we cannot enter into their house be rude. What we need to do is have organisations set up these meetings for us. Then they can sit together and solve problems."

- IDP woman, Offra²⁶

Figure 7: Reported relations between host community and IDPs



At times, the Humanitarian Development Consortium (HDC) has promoted talks between IDPs and host communities, particularly after a specific security incident or conflict has occurred, but these mechanisms are ad hoc and do not represent long term programmes meant to improve relations over a longer period of time. As conflicts over access to resources or services arise, their impact on community relations will not be addressed systematically, possibly raising the risk of further conflict and deterioration of relations.

These problems should not obscure the fact that relations between IDPs and host communities are relatively positive. IDPs are not restricted in movement due to the host community, and typically enjoy the same freedom of movement as host community members from nearby areas. Friendships and intermarriage are not uncommon between the two groups, and few issues surround most regular daily interactions between the two groups. While relationship problems exist around some key issues, there does not exist a systematic distrust or wariness between the two groups as seen between host community and refugees.

Host community - refugee relations

Relations between host community and refugees are particularly strained. FGDs with both groups have identified a multitude of serious issues, and both communities have large numbers of people reporting poor or very poor relations with the other, per Figure 8.

One of the most prevalent reasons given for tensions between the two groups is the poor security situation in the area. Security incidents, from the rarer incidents of killings to the commonly reported theft of goats and other livestock, continually stress relations. This is exacerbated by the fact that it is rare for perpetrators of security incidents to be caught. Host community members in particular were quick to blame refugees for the majority of thefts and other security incidents,

although admitting they could not be certain who the perpetrator was in most of these incidents. NGO staff interviewed reported that baseless blaming was common from both host community and refugees.

Restricted freedom of movement due to the threat of conflict is another critical issue. Many refugees are afraid to leave the camp to collect natural resources and to go into more remote areas. Similarly, the sheiks of these refugee communities have warned their constituents about leaving the camp and collecting resources, resulting in severely restricted freedom of movement for refugees. Host community members, on the other hand, also reportedly feel frequently afraid to go to more remote areas around their homes, where they typically collect natural resources, cultivate, or graze livestock.

Many members of the host community are also frustrated by the relative lack of services and distributions they receive relative to the refugees. While this anger is not necessarily directed at refugees, all host communities in Maban County mentioned their need for food and other services during FGDs. Much of the frustration in this regard is directed at NGOs who do not provide these services; these perceptions of unfairness also stoke tensions with refugees.

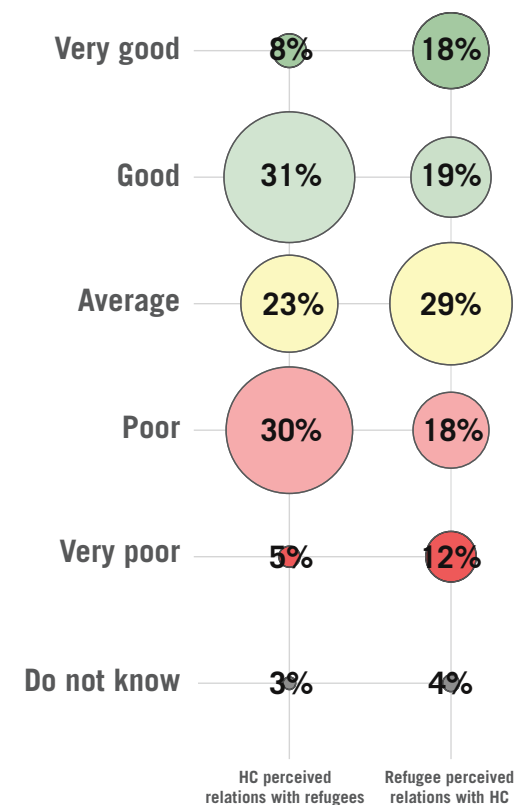
When looked at together with the restricted freedom of movement and constrained ability to collect natural resources, these factors all contribute to building frustration within the

host community that believes avenues to improving their livelihoods are being blocked by refugees. The overwhelming perception is that either refugees have a negative impact on host community lives and livelihoods directly through theft, physical violence or usage of their natural resources, or indirectly through refugees receiving preference in allocations of jobs, services, or distributions.

For host communities, the fact that refugees are using land previously considered their own adds another dimension to these tensions. Although reportedly reduced in the 2016 dry season, the continued usage of land by refugees, particularly uses that destroy productive land (e.g. cultivation areas) or significant resources (e.g. trees), aggravates the host community's frustration. With refugees receiving an amount of aid above what the host community receives, further use of host community land entrenches the perception that their limited resources are being consumed by a group with less need.

Refugees expressed many similar positions during FGDs. The restrictions on their freedom of movement and collection of natural resources were noted as large issues between refugees and host community. Refugees also voiced complaints about their limited ability to provide for themselves through cultivation, foraging and other livelihood strategies that are typically taking place outside of the camp boundaries - activities which are now considered dangerous due to ongoing conflict with neighbouring host communities.

Figure 8: Reported relations between host community and refugees



Refugees and host communities alike expressed feelings that organisations around Maban favour the other group in their hiring practices. For the host community, the volunteer contracts for refugees, paid in USD, were presented as evidence of this preference. Host community casual labourers receive wages in SSP, which due to recent inflation and currency instability is less desirable than wages paid in USD. Refugees felt there was a general preference for hiring Mabanese staff, both host community and IDPs, over

themselves for contracted positions within NGOs.

These tensions have been seen across Maban, as some host community youth have organized together as the Jinkuata Youth in an effort to gain employment. Letter sending campaigns and demands directly to NGOs for employment have become frequent. Host community staff frequently go on strike across Maban County, threatening service provision and NGO operations, as was seen in August 2016 when a staff strike was partially responsible for a delayed food distribution in Gendrassa Camp which resulted in a riot. While not directed at refugees, requests made by strikers often include a normalisation of pay rates between the two groups, and the Jinkuata Youth frequently demand the firing of refugee staff and their replacement with host community staff.

At a more basic level, the host community expressed feelings that refugees do not respect their land, customs or hospitality in allowing their presence. In multiple FGDs, host community members would mention their time as refugees in Ethiopia, and the positive relations they shared with the host community there due to their respect for their land and culture. They often expressed feelings that theft and attacks by refugees, along with overuse of natural resources, are the results of refugees' lack of respect for the host community and their hospitality.

Refugee - IDP relations

Relations between IDPs and refugees are much less clear. Refugees never mentioned IDPs in their FGDs, and overwhelmingly reported average to positive relations with IDPs in the quantitative survey. Because of frequent movement of IDPs around Maban County and their Mabanese heritage, refugees found it difficult to distinguish between host community members and IDPs. Because of this, refugee FGDs did not discuss relations with IDP unless prompted, when answers provided were often short and unclear.

While over a quarter of IDPs reported poor or very poor relations with refugees, 21% reported they did not know what their relations were with refugees. This was confirmed through FGDs, where IDPs did not frequently mention refugees, and sheikhs indicated they had no official relations with their refugee counterparts. Typically, IDPs mentioned that tensions with refugees were low, and not a pressing issue. However, similar to the host community, IDPs would generally blame refugees for thefts of livestock and restricting their freedom of movement due to fear of violence, but to a lesser extent.

In Kongo Mamur, abutting Yusif Batil camp, these problems with refugees were significantly heightened. Since IDPs there were local community displaced due to conflict with refugees, relations between the two groups were very stressed. Yet even in Hai Bugaya and Benchul, where IDPs reside further from

the camps, IDPs expressed fear of moving into other areas around Maban County where they could be identified as host community by refugees and attacked due to poor relations between the other two communities. Since IDPs have not been involved in peaceful coexistence efforts around the county, there is a risk of relationship deterioration if security incidents between the two groups increase or are perceived to increase.

In Offra, the IDP population reported more positive relations with refugees. The IDPs are more isolated from the refugees in Yusif Batil and Gendrassa, and typically do not travel towards the camps due to insecurity along the roads. Instead, they have more regular positive interactions with the refugees of Kaya, selling khoudra to the refugees and utilising the refugees' grinding mills.

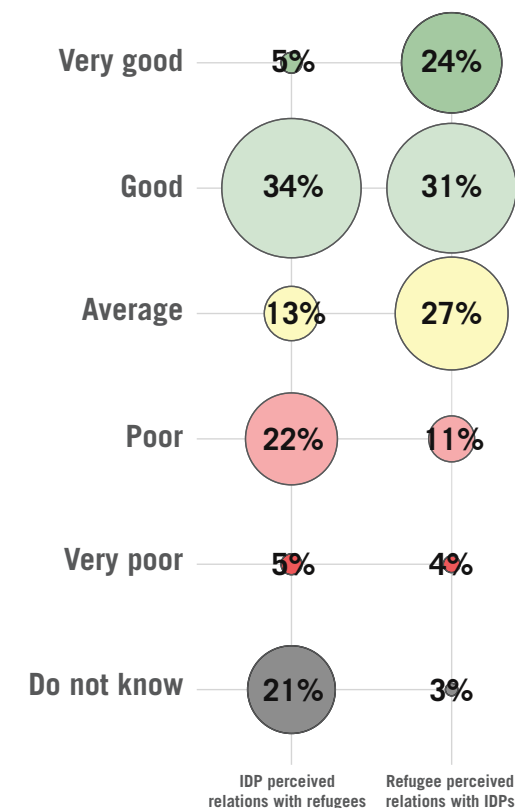
Causes of tension between communities

There are multiple underlying factors that impact community relations in Maban County. These factors contribute to the worsening of tensions or improvement of relations between communities. Poor relations make the likelihood of conflict greater as well as the likelihood that minor incidents will escalate into larger conflict.

Conflict, insecurity and lack of justice

One of perhaps the most obvious factors influencing relations between the communities

Figure 9: Reported relations between IDPs and refugees



in Maban County is the presence of conflict, theft and other security incidents between the groups. For host community members and IDPs, this was made clear in FGDs, with the poor security situation being frequently mentioned as one of the most detrimental impacts of the arrival of refugees in the county. Refugees had expressed similar concerns about the security situation during their FGDs.

In the quantitative data collection exercise,

host community members reporting they suffered from an incident with refugees were much more likely to report poor or very poor relations with refugees, and vice versa for refugees reporting incidents perpetrated by a host community member. This should be viewed with concern, as the furthering of peaceful coexistence initiatives within Maban County will be difficult without the will of the communities themselves. With 31% of refugees, 42% of the host community and 34% of IDPs reporting they suffered from at least one security incident over the 2016 dry season, a large proportion of the population of Maban County have fresh memories of security violations that may make them reticent to accept peace initiatives or other programmes designed to improve relations between communities.

This is exacerbated by the low level of law enforcement and poor quality of the judicial systems within Maban County. There is little capacity to effectively investigate crimes in the area, leaving the majority, especially minor crimes such as theft or minor incidents of violence, unsolved and unpunished. These unsolved crimes are often blamed on the other group, with IDPs and host community blaming the refugees, and refugees blaming the host community.

Even when crimes are solved or the perpetrator is immediately known, obtaining appropriate punishment through the justice system is difficult. Refugees expressed the opinion that the justice system in Maban is

designed to favour the host community, with police and security forces willing to arrest and lock-up refugees at the behest of the host community, but unwilling to arrest host community members if they commit a crime against refugees.

The host community, while having more faith in the police, also expressed concerns in the police's inability to investigate crimes and enforce laws. The police reportedly purchase charcoal and firewood from refugees, encouraging their collection of natural resources, without ever asking for the necessary permits. While the justice system has reportedly improved over the past year, with a public prosecutor hired and a judge from Renk periodically brought in to try cases, communities still reported low trust in the official justice system. With proper law enforcement, it would be easier to identify the perpetrator of security incidents and then reduce the pernicious effects of false accusations on relations.

Dispute resolutions between communities in Maban have therefore relied primarily on informal mechanisms, such as their traditional courts system and dialogues between leaders of the community.²⁷ These dialogues have been supported by the peace initiatives between the host community and refugees, bringing together community leaders from both sides to discuss and resolve current issues. Informal measures of bringing together sheiks or other leaders of IDPs and host community have been undertaken by HDC, although

these measures are not often taken. While successful resolutions have been reported through these systems, refugees and host community expressed much scepticism about agreements made between the two groups because of a lack of faith that the leaders of either side can enforce the agreements made within their community.

"We will sit together as we always have, but we do not trust the host community. Why should we trust a group that continues to break the agreements that are made?"

- Refugee sheikh, Gendrassa Camp²⁸

Access to livelihoods

An underlying cause of conflict as well, the

other main factor affecting the relations between IDPs, refugees and host community has been access to livelihoods. Communities in Maban County rely on similar livelihoods strategies, resulting in a strain of relations. This can range from access to land for cultivation or grazing to fixed contract employment with NGOs.

Some of these points of contention, particularly livelihoods access through the exploitation of natural resources, act as causes of conflict. To mitigate growing tensions, land agreements in Gendrassa and Yusif Batil camps have been used to demarcate areas of cultivation for the refugee community. The Gentil peace committee has also placed considerable focus on resolving tensions over resource use and security in the two camps. As previously noted,

Image 5: Refugee cultivation land, north of Gendrassa Camp



this has proved relatively successful over the 2016 dry season, resulting in a reduction in security incidents, and easing of tensions over natural resource usage.

Benefits arising from these mitigating activities have also been seen in community relations, as refugees and host community more frequently interact with each other. This has happened not just between sheikhs, as discussed earlier, but also between youth, where host community and refugees youth groups are brought together monthly to discuss common issues and seek common solutions. Informal relations through trading have also increased, with host community and refugees alike selling items to the other group as a source of income.

However, this has not been all positive, as refugees within Gendrassa Camp felt resentment about being forced to purchase firewood or charcoal from host community members when they could previously collect these items themselves. In order to address overexploitation of forest resources, authorities implemented a permits system for refugees, so refugees could only cut trees in specific areas upon permission. They feel unfairly restricted by the need for permits to collect firewood or burn charcoal, which are expensive and otherwise difficult to receive.

Inequitable NFI and food distribution continue to fuel tensions. One of the most frequent complaints brought up during FGDs with the host community is that the standard of 10% of aid allocation to host communities is not being

met. Tensions, and the potential for conflict, surrounding the provision of food distributions, which are only for IDPs and refugees, are significant - the host community feels they have as much or greater need than the communities receiving aid. These claims are not unfounded as indicated in an assessment by LWF in 2015 which found that the host communities in Maban County had higher rates of malnutrition than refugees, indicating that host communities have lower access to food in general.²⁹

Little has been done to address issues of employment practices and wages in Maban County. Due to the threat of unrest, striking, and possible violence from the host community, some NGOs reported they have begun to exclusively hire Mabanese staff, particularly for casual labour and low skill contracted positions. Other NGOs maintained their typical practice of hiring the most qualified candidates for open positions, regardless of status. While it was reported that the issue had been raised to the HR Working Group³⁰ and a coordinated response was being developed in Juba, members of the group in Juba expressed they had not heard about these issues and that they were therefore not being addressed.

Politics of power

One NGO staff working in community relations and communication suggested that much of the issues arising around natural resource usage, employment and distribution of services are in reality power struggles

between the two communities. The host community views the preferential treatment provided to refugees (through employment and distributions) as empowering the refugee community. Combined with the refugees' movement throughout host community areas and their usage of natural resources, the issues between the communities are a result of host communities' fear of losing power in the area to the benefit of refugees.

It is important to look at how communities feel relations should be repaired and maintained. Women and youth interviewed, from both host and refugee communities, have expressed interest in being involved in the peace process. One of the main problems with peace committees expressed in FGDs was the feeling that agreements developed in peace committees are often broken by members of the community not involved in current peace processes, such as male youth. A bottom-up process would encourage more involvement from the youth and other members of the community more likely to be involved in security incidents. However, FGDs also indicated that respondents have faith in their community leaders and expressed the desire that peace committees continue as they are now, with some women and youth even recommending the status quo as the sole solution to the current issues.

NGOs, UNHCR, and the local government all typically interact with communities through their leadership. As liaisons with these agencies and key county authorities, the

power of the community leaders is recognised, acknowledged and entrenched in the eyes of their communities. This ongoing and long-standing validation will make it difficult to drastically shift from the top-down process.

Moreover, the fact that community leaders hold considerable power also necessitates their involvement in peace processes. In late May 2016, a football match for peaceful coexistence, bringing together host community and refugee youth around Doro Camp, erupted into violence.³¹ Community leaders were not consulted or made aware of the activity. Without community leaders present, there was no one with the authority to de-escalate the situation. This is widely cited as the primary reason the situation got out of hand, ending with the death of a refugee and two host community members on the day, with sustained violence and conflict following throughout the week.

Positive aspects

Despite all of these issues, community relations in Maban do have positive outcomes. Refugees interact with the host community in markets and often visit host community areas to purchase livestock or other goods. Friendship between communities is not unheard of, and even intermarriages have been reported. IDPs, although struggling with issues with the host community over distributions or water access, typically enjoy free access to areas around Maban and do develop relationships with the communities hosting them.

29. LWR/LWF Needs Assessment: Maban County, Upper Nile State, South Sudan, August 2015.

30. The HR Working Group is a working group intended to provide guidance and facilitate discussion on HR policies and issues for NGOs operating in South Sudan.

31. UNHCR saddened by deadly incident in South Sudan's Doro refugee camp, UNHCR Press Release, June 3rd 2016.

A large proportion of respondents in the quantitative tool reported okay to very good relations with other groups. These positive relations are both a positive sign that the overall situation can improve in the future. However, in FGDs, discussion of the more positive aspects of relations with other communities was rare. It is likely that positive perceptions are outweighed by negative ones due to the fear of further violence and insecurity.

Recommendations and conclusion

This study, conducted in Gendrassa Camp, Yusif Batil Camp, the surrounding host community villages and IDP settlements, set out to understand facts and perceptions of conflict and insecurity during the 2016 dry season, and their root causes. Building on previous work by REACH, DRC and Forcier Consulting, this research expanded its scope to look beyond the triggers of conflict to also examine community dividers and connectors.

The findings of the 2015 REACH study were confirmed: usage of land and natural resources is still a primary dry season conflict trigger in the area, especially between host community and refugees. The ongoing presence of arms in and around the camps has only exacerbated these problems. For IDPs, access to water and NGO distributions were found to be the most common triggers of conflict with host community members.

While security has been bolstered around Gendrassa and Yusif Batil over the past year due to sensitisation of refugees to land usage and the work of peace committees, the lack of similar improvements in community relations threatens the progress made. Competition over livelihoods, including access to natural resources, but also NGO employment services, along with the conflict itself drive the current tensions between communities and sustain a low-intensity, high-frequency cycle of disputes between groups.

With the presence of refugees and IDPs in these areas expected to continue, there is a need for organisations around Maban to continue to work to ease these underlying tensions between the communities. Without addressing these tensions, the likelihood that insecurity and conflict will again worsen is high. Peacebuilding programmes and conflict sensitive NGO policies and services are needed to maintain security around Yusif Batil and Gendrassa and prevent a reignition of conflict as has been seen in Doro.

What follows is a set of recommendations that findings show will best improve relations between communities and reduce the likelihood of continued, more intense conflict from resuming.

Host community support

Support from NGOs to the host community should be increased and aligned with the support provided to refugees and IDPs, including food distributions. Both IDPs and refugees recommended in FGDs that more support be provided to the host community. Increased support will reduce the resentment over the support for refugees and IDPs, and help bolster a vulnerable host community, enabling more focus and attention to be paid to peacebuilding efforts.

Distributions and protection

All distributions should be conducted with a focus on protection. Distributions to IDPs are reportedly frequently disrupted and/or

cancelled due to host community interference. IDPs in Offra specifically requested that they no longer be given distributions without the host community receiving a similar distribution before them or at the same time. FGDs with all three population groups indicated that if support is provided to the host community, they will cease to disrupt distribution.

Access to livelihoods

Due to the current economic situation in Maban, employment with non-local organisations has become increasingly viewed by the host community as a livelihoods source. Currently, there is a lot of resentment towards NGOs and other agencies' hiring and payment practices, as host communities believe there is preference given to hiring refugees. While the conflict over natural resources has been a focus of peacebuilding efforts, little attention has been paid to the negative effect hiring practices have had on tensions. Agencies and NGOs in Maban should reconsider their current pay scales, payment practices, and hiring systems, ensuring that the HR practices of NGOs and agencies across Maban are not exacerbating tensions and conflict. Organisations operating in Maban County must also make greater efforts to hire more host community members. Working within agencies, particularly operating within camps, could help increase contact between host community and refugees and sensitise the two groups to each others' positions.

These efforts should also be linked to

vocational training. Current vocational training efforts for host community members are poorly attended, providing benefits to participants that may not be fully understood. In FGDs, the topic was never mentioned by any community. However, vocational trainings provide skills and certificates valued by agencies and NGOs during the hiring process. As this is one of the primary services provided to the host community, efforts should be made to link vocational trainings with HR hiring practices and maximise attendance. This can help sensitise the host community to employment practices of NGOs and outline a pathway to employment through participation in these trainings, rather than through less productive attempts, such as the letter writing campaign of the Jinkuata youth. KIs mentioned that successful vocational training could also improve the employment status for the host community in the long term and increase the benefits they see stemming from refugee presence.

Law enforcement improvement

While the hiring of a public prosecutor and judge have helped, further work is needed, as the current resources available to law enforcement are not enough to address most cases, outside of the more serious cases of rape and murder.³² Resources need to be availed to rule of law and the government capacity should be strengthened, to ensure that law is implemented in line with South Sudan legal instruments.

The ability for law enforcement to monitor and investigate criminal activity, particularly theft, is very important. Without effective law enforcement, groups are likely to continue to assign blame for crimes on the other, with host community blaming refugees and refugees blaming the host community, further fuelling tensions and possible further conflict. The current lack of punishment for minor crimes threatens the agreements made within peace committees, as participant community leaders feel the agreements mean nothing if the other side cannot control their constituents. Investigation and punishment for these crimes would go a long way to de-incentivise these minor criminal activities and bolster current peacebuilding work.

Improve physical security

Arms within the camps and outside have proven to be a problem that likely contributes to increased insecurity for all communities and stressed relations between host community for refugees. Efforts were made in early 2016 to enforce the removal of weapons from the camps. In Gendrassa, refugees mentioned these efforts as one of the primary reasons for the improved security. However, little evidence of disarmament was seen in Yusif Batil.

These efforts should continue as arms are a constant and critically destabilising presence around Maban; with their continued presence the issue of physical security within Yusif Batil and Gendrassa Camps as well as the host community should not be expected to abate.

However, it is unlikely that disarmament in the camps will succeed without similar efforts of host community disarmament, which will likely be a larger struggle. It is important that any attempts at arms control are carefully undertaken and do not leave one group at the mercy of another, as has happened before in South Sudan.³³

Coordinated peacebuilding efforts

The Gentil peace committee's work seems to have brought about some success, particularly in improving security throughout 2016. Efforts should be made to expand the reach - and therefore impact - of peace committees, by becoming inclusive of IDPs.

This should also include incorporating into the formal process the parallel informal peacebuilding efforts on the part of the community and efforts by individual NGOs such as HDC. Peacebuilding efforts and the creation of long term, sustainable communication between communities would help reduce the negative impact of security incidents on community relations. In the face of an unpredictable security situation, an improved and coordinated peacebuilding effort will help ensure that individual incidents do not spark larger problems in community relations or further conflict.

These expanded efforts should not bypass the community leaders and should continue to be partially a top-down process, as community members hold trust in their

leaders and threatening the political power of community leaders may reduce the efficacy of peacebuilding programmes. Efforts with other members of the community should occur concurrently and would help to reduce the threat of random security incidents impacting peace agreements.

More peacebuilding programmes targeting male youth should be developed, but all programmes should involve the community leaders to ensure events like the football match in Doro do not reoccur.

Further conflict assessments

As the work of the peace committee has brought improved security and relations to Gentil, further conflict assessments should focus on the knowledge of the peace committees and other peacebuilding initiatives across Maban, and identify the keys to success and lessons learnt from current activities.

Further work should attempt to identify positive relations (e.g. intermarriages) and commonalities (e.g. shared culture) between the communities, providing peacebuilding work opportunities to build upon already existing connections.

Annex I: Quantitative assessment tool

Introduction

Hi my name is _____. We are currently conducting a survey to understand more about the security situation in this location over the past dry season. The survey usually takes between 5 and 10 minutes to complete. Any information that you provide will be kept strictly confidential. This is voluntary and you can choose not to answer any or all of the questions if you want; you may also choose to quit at any point. However, we hope that you will participate since your views are important. Do you have any questions? May I begin now?

1. Record GPS location
2. Where is the interview taking place?
3. Respondent sex
4. Is the respondent a member of the host community, an IDP, or a refugee?

Demographics

5. How old are you?
6. In which village of the camp are you located? (refugees only)
7. Who is your sheikh? (refugees only)
8. Where were you located before you were displaced to here? (IDPs only)
9. When did you arrive at your current location? (IDPs only)

Conflict and security

10. How many security incidents have you been involved in over the past dry season (fight, robbery, harassment, etc.)?

[Loop up to 3 times to ask about 3 most recent security incidents]

11. What was the XX most recent incident you were involved in over the dry season?
 - a. Robbery/theft (of personal belongings)
 - b. Physical attack (beating, fighting, etc.)
 - c. Theft of animals
 - d. Verbal harassment
 - e. I'd prefer not to answer

f. Other

12. What was the primary cause of the incident?
 - a. Dispute over animal grazing
 - b. Dispute over gathering wild food (e.g. lalop)
 - c. Dispute over cropping land
 - d. Dispute over collecting wood
 - e. Dispute over collecting water
 - f. Dispute over buying/selling charcoal
 - g. Dispute over buying/selling other goods
 - h. General argument
 - i. General theft
13. This incident was between you and member(s) of what other group?
 - a. Host community
 - b. IDPs
 - c. Refugees

Relations and tensions

[Loop 3 times to ask about 3 segments of the population]

13. How are relations between you and the HC/IDP/refugee population?
 - a. Very poor
 - b. Poor
 - c. Okay
 - d. Good
 - e. Very good
 - f. I don't know or I don't want to answer
14. If poor or very poor, what is the biggest strain on you and HC/IDP/refugee population?
 - a. Use of cropping lands
 - b. Use of grazing lands
 - c. Use of trees for firewood or charcoal
 - d. Access to water (e.g. boreholes)
 - e. Use of fishing areas
 - f. Use of markets for buying/selling
 - g. Lack of respect from the other group
 - h. Theft of animals
 - i. I don't know or I don't want to answer

Annex II: FGD questioning route

Introduction

Hello, my name is XXXX. First, I would like to welcome and thank you for volunteering to take part in this focus group discussion/conflict mapping session where we will ask you about security and conflict for you over the past dry season. The session will also involve mapping, so we will ask you to locate on a map where different things like areas you use for resource access and areas of conflict. The information you will provide us will be used to inform response strategy and planning.

Please note that this meeting does not have any impact on whether you or your family receives assistance. These discussions are only meant to better understand how you, your household, and the community.

Anonymity: I would like to assure you that the discussion will be anonymous. I and the other focus group participants would appreciate it if you refrain from discussing the comments of other group members outside the focus group. If there are any questions or discussions that you do not wish to answer or participate in, you do not have to do so; however please try to answer and be as involved as possible.

This session will take no more than one hour and a half.

Ground rules

1. The most important rule is that only ONE person speaks at a time. There may be a temptation to jump in when someone is talking but please wait until they have finished.
2. There are no right or wrong answers.
3. You do not have to speak in any particular order
4. When you do have something to say, please do so. There are many of you in the group and it is important that I obtain the views of each of you.
5. You do not have to agree with the views of other people in the groups.
6. *[Explain the map and our locations]*
7. Any questions?
8. Ok, let's start.

Instructions to moderators

1. Questions to participants: these are the questions that should be read and communicated to the participants. If there are some specific vocabulary which may be unclear, do not hesitate to provide a definition for the purpose of the exercise.

2. Probing questions: Probes and clarifying questions are an important part of interviewing and have two main purposes: 1) to help clarify what an interview respondent has said and 2) help get more detailed information on topics of interest. Probes allow the interview respondent to provide more than just a one-sentence answer to the questions to the questions you ask. Do not read probing questions to participants. Use or adapt them if necessary.

Introduction

Can everyone introduce themselves, telling me their names, ages and occupations (main source of livelihoods)? Where do you live within the camp/community?

Natural resources

Food:

1. Tell me about the foods you were eating in the last dry season.
2. *Where* were you getting these foods? (in the market, wild fruits, crops, etc.)

Water:

3. During the last dry season, *where* were you getting water for yourself/livestock?

Wood:

4. During the last dry season, were you gathering wood for shelters, firewoods, charcoal or other purposes? *Where* were you getting water for yourself/livestock?

Crops:

5. Tell me about the cultivation last dry season. *Where* were you cultivating?

Livestock:

6. During the last dry season, *where* were you herding your livestock?

Selling:

7. During the last dry season, *where* were you selling/buying goods? What were you trading?

Livelihoods

8. Tell me about your experiences looking for work in Maban. [Probing: are there too few jobs, too much competition, lack of skills, lack of education]
9. Has competition between communities impacted your ability to find a job?

Access to land

10. I would like to talk to you now about your community's access to and use of land. Tell me about the land you use and/or your community use. [Probing: location, usage, type of access, time period of access, length of access]

Security incidents

11. How was security over the past dry season? Tell me about the overall security situation. [Probing: What/where]
12. What were the causes of these security incidents? How did they happen?
13. Out of these causes/reasons for these reasons, which are more important than the others? Why would you say they are more important than the others?
14. With what groups are you more likely to have conflict? (another village in the camp, IDPs, refugees, host community, etc.)
15. You say that you're more likely to have conflict with [specific group], why do you think that is the case?
16. How do you think this [specific group] views this conflict and these security incidents?
17. Looking forward, out of the different causes of security incidents you mentioned, what are most likely to cause a security incident again? Why? When?

No-go zones

18. Tell me about how these security incidents have effected changes in access to different areas of Maban for you and your community. [Probing: where, by who, why]
19. Are there places you are forbidden to go? Why?

Agreement and laws

20. What do you know about the agreement between HC and refugees on land?
21. What does this agreement stipulate? (size of land, access to areas, usage of areas, forbidden

areas, etc.)

22. What do you currently do with the land that you've been given? Why? *(for refugees only)*
23. What do you know about the borders of and rules surrounding refugee camps in the area? *(probe for camp)*
24. How do you view the current legal system in the area?

Solutions

21. Looking back at the security incidents over the last dry season, what do you think of the current mechanisms that exist to solve the tensions/conflict that cause them? [Probing: opinions of peace committees and other mechanisms]
22. How long and how often have you been using these different mechanisms?
23. Out of the conflict reduction mechanisms you've mentioned, which stands out as having been more effective in reducing tensions/conflict?
24. What types of coping mechanisms have you as a community used to deal with the tensions/conflict?
25. What can help you communicate with other communities? What can help establish a better dialogue?
26. What aspects of the currently used mechanisms would you change to better reduce conflict/tension between you and other groups? In other words, where do you think current conflict reduction mechanisms are ineffective and why?
27. Looking into the future, what mechanisms do you feel will be most effective in reducing conflicts/tensions?
28. What types of mechanisms, not currently used, do you think could be useful to implement? Why would these be more useful than the current mechanisms?

Annex III: Key informant tool

Relative to the FGD tool, the KI tool is much broader and less focused due to the conversational nature of KI interviews.

Introduction

1. Introduction of myself and REACH
 - a. Information management
 - b. Mapping
 - c. Assessments
2. Reason for being in Maban
 - a. Conflict mapping
 - b. Further details on the project and its outputs
3. Information of interest
 - a. Geographic spread of conflict and insecurity
 - b. Causes of conflict
 - c. Relationship stressors
 - d. No-go zones
 - e. Impact of agreements and peace initiatives
 - f. Changes and other dynamics

Conflict and security overview

4. What have been the recent incidents of conflict? Where have they taken place? When did they take place? Who was involved? Are there specific communities more involved than others? Why did it take place?
5. How have the causes of conflict changed?
6. What are the seasonal differences in conflict? How is conflict during the dry season different?

Land use and peace agreements

7. What are the current agreements between refugees, IDPs, and host community? Do you think they are effective? How long have they been in place?

Relations and tensions

8. How have relations between communities been? Have they changed recently? What are the biggest factors impacting community relations?

Information gaps

9. What information gaps are needing to be filled in relation to security, conflict, and community relations in Maban County? What type of information would best assist your programming and the work of others in the area?
10. What other information do you think is useful to know? What are the main points related to security over the past dry season?

Annex IV: Maban County map, participatory mapping tool

