CONFLICT ANALYSIS ASSESSMENT

SUPPORT PROGRAM TO THE REFUGEE SETTLEMENTS AND HOST COMMUNIITIES IN NORTHERN UGANDA (SPRS-NU)

(Kiryandongo, Adjumani and Arua Refugee Settlements)

The Danish Refugee Council and Partners in Consortia

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This document is the baseline report on the conflict assessment in Kiryandongo, Adjumani and Rhino refugee settlements in Uganda which was carried out by the DRC, ZOA, Save the Children and, CEFORD. The field study was conducted from 21 December 2016 till 12 January 2017, and the report was prepared in February 2017. A total number of 560 refugees and 310 host community members were surveyed. A further 19 separate FGDs were conducted. The overall goal of the assessment was to identify, if any, existing conflict at the micro-level between refugees and also between the refugees and the host communities in the settlements. The main outputs resulting from the conflict assessment are as follows:

- Conflict management efforts for reconciliation by the implementing partners have improved relations between previously divided refugee groups from different ethnicity as measured by greater pro-community behaviour of such groups. Hence conflict related to lack of social cohesion or tribal issues is not the primary cause of conflict. Instead small-scale conflict over natural resources especially water, and conflict over aid especially food is more prevalent.
- Lack of productive land for growing crops is a major hindrance to the livelihoods of the refugees especially in Adjumani and Rhino. However, conflict related to land is negligible.
- Distance between refugee villages and the location of services was cited as a barrier for access to basic social services.
- All respondents indicated that they have greater confidence in community level institutional structures for most types of dispute or conflict resolution that are within the community structures' jurisdiction.
- The RWC-1s are especially better able to resolve any small-scale conflicts at the community level.
- The depletion of natural resources has placed environmental pressure on limited and fragmented land, and eroded productivity.
- In terms of durable solutions, the priority for all stakeholders- OPM and the IPs should be given to designing programs that will improve livelihoods related to small scale agriculture like vegetable farming and income generating activities.

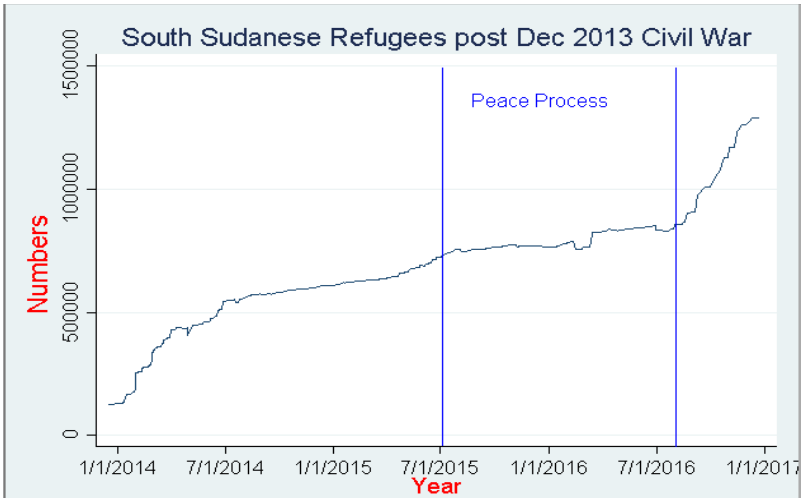
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Since 1959, Uganda has been hosting refugees in village-style settlements where refugees are allocated government-owned gazetted land and are free to support themselves. This policy has been maintained by successive Ugandan governments despite several flows of refugees into and out of the country. Uganda is signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 protocol by which the Government of Uganda is obliged to protect persons fleeing from persecution. Statistics as of December 2016, show that Uganda hosts almost 800,000 refugees and asylum-seekers.

The recent outbreak of a new civil war in South Sudan in December 2013 has caused hundreds of thousands of South Sudanese to be displaced across Uganda in refugee settlements. The ongoing ethnic conflict has further exacerbated South Sudan's deep divisions by where ethnic divides are now salient in everyday life. Due to this most recent breakout, there has been a sharp increase in the South Sudanese refugee numbers from approximately less than 50,000 before 2013 to almost 350,000.[1] However, the available natural resources in and around the settlements have remained the same placing huge environmental pressures on the limited and fragmented land available to the refugees and eroding productivity.

Fig 1: South Sudanese refugees post December 2013 Civil War (numbers from UNHCR)



**Note*: The spike in the number of refugees after the breakdown of the August 2016 is matched by our baseline data in terms of numbers arriving in the three camps after August 2016.

[1] All figures from OPM Office.

For these reasons the Uganda Government is determined to make extraordinary and transformative investments in refugee settlements in order to increase their productivity and to diversify their economic opportunities, so as to improve the social and economic linkages between refugees and host communities, leading to a greater degree of self-reliance.

The initial conflict baseline study in the settlements housing South Sudanese refugees was carried out by the Danish Refugee Council (DRC) Uganda, a private non-profit making international humanitarian organization, which runs four refugee camps housing South Sudanese refugees in Northern Uganda. DRC recently began a three year intervention in the refugee camps focusing on livelihood support, conflict management and education. The project titled "Support Program for the Refugee Settlements" (SPRS) is being funded by the European Commission through their European Union Emergency Trust Fund component (EUTF). The project aims to reduce the risk of violent conflict, especially dealing with land and natural resources, between host communities and refugees in the districts of Adjumani, Arua and Kiryandongo in northern Uganda. The project, over a 36 month period, aims to target 42,000 (7,000 households) beneficiaries from 7,000 households from refugees and host communities in Northern Uganda. The project is being implemented in consortia with Save the Children, ZOA and CEFORD.

1.2 Objective

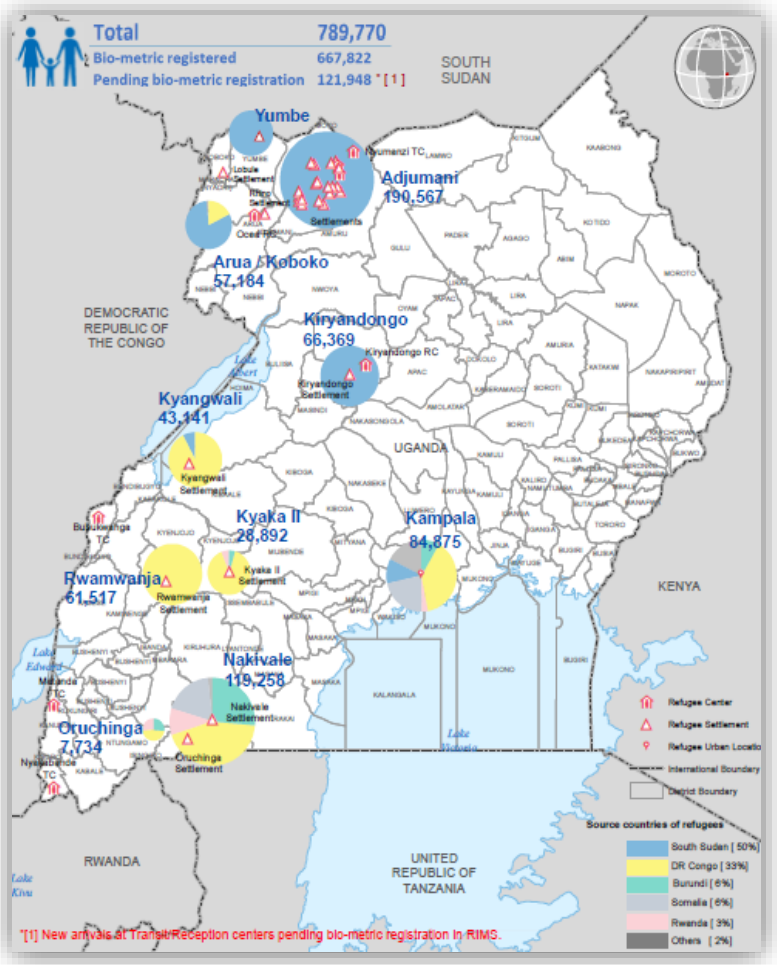
This study is a part of the actions for the Support Program to the Refugee Settlements and Host Communities in Northern Uganda (SPRS-NU). The SPRS-NU is a 3 year program funded by the European Union through the Emergency Trust Fund (EUTF). The conflict assessment is aimed as a baseline for a DRC led consortium intervention which aims at preventing, mitigating and resolving the most prevalent conflicts identified in the initial conflict analysis assessment –in particular access to agricultural land and access to resources and services. The focus of the baseline study, therefore, revolved in the areas of conflict, livelihoods and conflict management to understand the conflict dynamics within the settlements and between refugee settlements and host communities.

This study will be followed by a mid-line and an end-line to measure the impact of the intervention designed and implemented by the Consortium in line with the Ugandan progressive refugee policies in terms of integration and peaceful coexistence in the Northern Uganda settlements. The final end-line study, after the completion of the intervention, will also provide recommendations for improvement of the policies at national level and draw lessons learned of the impact of the Uganda progressive policies in term of impact on outward migration from Uganda and possibly onward to Europe.

Hence, the objective of this study is to only provide an in depth understanding of the protection and conflict situation in the three settlements, namely Kiryandongo, Adjumani and Rhino located in the West Nile Region. The findings from the study are expected to guide the development of a comprehensive programming in the area, appropriately structured and resourced. The three specific expected objectives of this study were:

- To map out existing community structures and examine the scope and capacity of the existing protection system (ranging from formal to informal) and accountability mechanisms.
- To map out services and information available within the settlements to identify potential gaps in services and opportunity to improve service delivery and/or constraints of specific groups to access them.
- To seek a deeper level of understanding of the history and geography of conflict in the settlement including identifying the mediators/interlocutors involved in resolving all spheres of conflicts in the refugee settlements.

Fig 2: Kiryandongo, Adjumani and Rhino located in the North West region. The three settlements are in blue.



1.3 Geographical Coverage

The research covered three refugee settlements namely Kiryandongo, Adjumani and Rhino in the West Nile Region. Kiryandongo settlement consists of two ranches divided into 17 clusters with a total population of 66,369 South Sudanese refugees. Adjumani is divided into two zones out of which zone B is under DRC's management. Zone B is divided into 12 settlements which are further divided into blocs having a total population of approximately 101,499 South Sudanese refugees.[2] Rhino consists of six zones, further divided into just over 35 villages with a total population of 57,184.[3]

1.4 Challenges

The main difficulty encountered during the research was the short time frame available for the survey since the baseline's design relied on quantitative methodology for the primary data generating process. Since the baseline used behavioral games in a lab in the field setting, all enumerators had to travel together and the geographic spread of villages, especially in Adjumani and Rhino, proved challenging. The other difficulty encountered in Rhino was logistics due to the absence of DRC field office's involvement. Since Rhino's responsibility fell under ZOA and because ZOA's office is in Arua, it meant limited access to field resources. For this reason, there were no surveys conducted with host communities in Rhino. Additionally, having to train separate teams of survey enumerators in each of the three camps hindered uniformity of survey teams otherwise desired. Finally, the spread of houses in the refugee communities made it difficult for the survey teams to reach the appropriate balance in the sample as planned regarding exact co-variates matching by size and structure of the refugee population.

1.5 Layout of the Report

The remainder of the report is as follows. It first discusses the research design in the methods part followed by the study's findings. It then compares and contrasts the findings separately between the three camps and, uses inferential statistics to uncover the direction and magnitude of the mechanisms at play. It then lays out some recommendations and concludes.

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[2] For example, Maji II, one out of the twelve settlements in zone B, is further divided into 6 blocs, namely block A-F.

[3] All population figures provided by the OPM and are of December 2016. There are a few households of Congolese refugees in Rhino and Kiryandongo.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

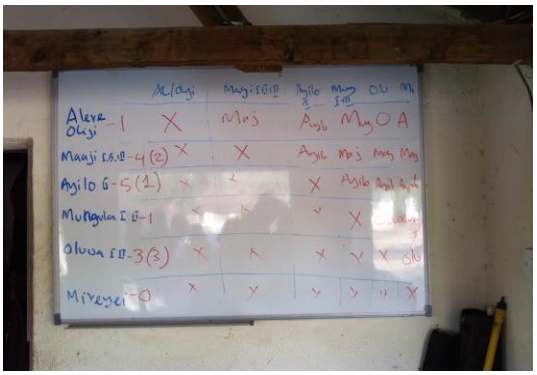
2.1 Design

The methodology used for this research was based on both qualitative and quantitative study design. Qualitative data collection was done through Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) using interview guides, direct observation, and structured and semi-structured interviews with the refugee community leaders, different community level committees such as RWC-1,2,3 and the host population. Non-structured interviews and informal meetings were also held to collect complementary information especially with the various stakeholders such as- the three settlements.[4]

Table 1: Example of matrix method used (sample left, application top right) and thematic visions (bottom right) used during FGDs.

Elders/ leaders

Issues	WATER	AID DISTRIBUTION	LAND/ BORDER	GBV	POVERTY	GRAZING
WATER		Water	Water	Water	Water	Water
AID DISTRIBUTION			Aid Dist.	Aid Dist.	Poverty	Grazing
LAND/ BORDER				Land/ Border	Land/ Border	Land/ Border
GBV					Poverty	Grazing
POVERTY						Grazing
GRAZING						



Analysis:

Problem	Rank	Number of times prioritised
Water	1	5
Aid Distribution	5	2
Land/ Border	2	3
GBV	6	o
Poverty	4	2
Grazing	3	3

	Ideal Vision	Current Situation
Vision 1	Electrification	Only 1 solar lamp pole
Vision 2	Community center	None but land available
Vision 3	Better roads	Roads are bad
Vision 4	More vocational training	Very few
Vision 5	More schools	Not enough
Vision 6	More health care centers	Not enough

During the Focus Group Discussions, thematic visioning was extensively used. For example, the Refugee Welfare Committee (RWC) members were asked to share their vision of their ideal community in terms of security and then identify what the situation of community is currently. This allowed the committee members to analyze the gap between

[4] There were all together 19 FGDs conducted in the three camps.

the ideal and the reality and come up with possible solutions that they can put in place to mitigate security risks and improve their communities (see example above on table 2).

Measuring norms, opinions and views, solely using qualitative data, is a great challenge, and is susceptible to measurement error that stems from a set of cognitive biases which might shape such response. Moreover, participants may distort or fabricate responses about sensitive information, especially if conflict and violence is present. In order to overcome this key challenge to generating accurate data on conflict, survey methods and behavioural games are considered a superior measurement strategy than solely relying on self reported attitudes and beliefs from interactions and FGDs, where subjects may be unaware of their true attitudes and beliefs or may be unwilling to admit to them. Also, critiques argue that respondents during FGDs feel compelled to give the "desired" answer to questions with the hope that they will have access to more aid.

The baseline study, therefore, mostly relied on a survey design for the primary data generating process. We used extensive survey questionnaires which included questions grouped per the following six main themes or outcome of interest:

- Demographics and socio-economic data
- Extensive coverage of land issues
- Perceptions of the conflict situation within respondents' communities/village and between refugees and host communities.
- Perceptions toward existing dispute/conflict resolution institutions
- History of exposure of violence in South Sudan
- Information need and sources
- Income sources other than agriculture

Each theme was assessed and analysed with the help of different sub-themes (please see annex for the survey questionnaire). The data generating process using behavioural games are explained in detail later in section four.

2.2 Sample

A team of ten enumerators, supported by DRC staff, conducted interviews in all 17 clusters in Kiryandongo (n=190), in 19 randomly selected blocs/villages covering all 12 settlements under DRC control in Adjumani (n=190), and in randomly selected 18 villages in Rhino (n=180) with a total sample size of 560 refugees.[5] Respondent ratings were based on Likert scales of either 1-5 or 1-3. DRC trained the team of enumerators on how to use the

[5] In some villages, the population range between 300 to 22,000. Any village with a population of more than 5,000, therefore, was sampled one more time for every 5,000. So, for a village of 20,000, it was sampled at least three times.

questionnaire so that only the respondent's answers were recorded in order to avoid group settings. Also each enumerator was responsible to survey only one subject at a time to avoid creating a convenience sample. Additionally, to mitigate selection bias, the enumerators never showed the list to the respondents but only matched their answers with the list of responses in the questionnaire.

In order to achieve a representative sample from the population of interest, the sample was first partitioned into already existing blocks or strata which in this case were the zones, sub-zones and the villages. Then, within these 3 blocks, to ensure the refugees shared similar covariates, data was collected and dis-aggregated by ethnicity, gender and by age group based on the figures provided by the OPM.

For robust statistical results, we adopted two methods:

- First, the sample size was randomized at the individual level. A random point in the village was selected from where all ten enumerators went into different directions and selected only one person per household. The ten subjects were then brought to a common location where we had them play the behavioural games in a group setting. The games were followed by a survey where the ten enumerators surveyed each single subject separate from each other.
- Second, only 10 households were interviewed in each village so that standard errors would also be clustered at the village level to account for village level correlation in regression results. Though clustering at village level gives us a much smaller "***n***", we took this approach since it addresses contamination issues as most project intervention in the settlements are at the community level, be it food distribution or sensitization and, therefore subjects from the same community may potentially share similar traits with other individuals of the same community.[6]

3. FINDINGS

3.1 Results

The results are divided into two parts. We first look at each of the three refugee camps individually using descriptive statistics from the survey data backed by our FGDs findings to draw any similarities or differences in the findings. The second part is followed by a combined analysis comparing the three camps using regression models to look at the causal effects of our main variable of interest - level of trust of social cohesion at the camp level.

[6] We, therefore, tried to increase the number of villages in each settlement to address this concern.

3.2 KIRYANDONGO CAMP

3.2.1 Demographics and Socio-Economic Data in Kiryandongo

Summary statistics for the different variables of interest are presented in table 3. The summary statistics reveal several interesting patterns about our subjects, who represent sampled individuals of 190 from all 17 clusters from the total population of "refugees" in Kiryandongo.

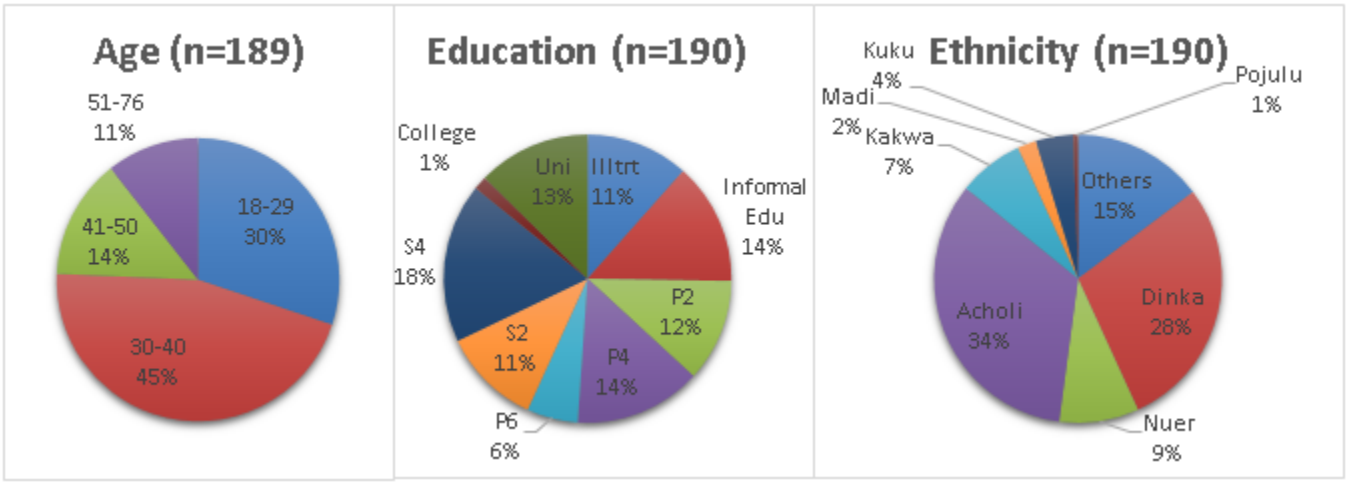
- 45% of our subjects are males with the average age of 36 and average education of P-3.
- 97.8% of refugees are Christians and 74% are married but only 45% of those married have their spouse present in the HH.
- The average HH size in Kiryandongo is 7.8 with the average male number 3.6 as opposed to a higher female number of 4.1.
- 98% of the total refugees are new in the sense arrived from South Sudan post the 2013 civil war and have lived in Kiryandongo on average for 20 months.
- 85% of the refugees have children attending school and 74% have at least one cell phone in the household.

Table 2: Kiryandongo summary statistics

Summary statistics of Key Demographic Variables in Kiyrandongo

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Age	36.169	12.622	18	76	189
Male	0.453	0.499	0	1	190
Education (0=Iltrt/8=Uni)	3.773	2.581	0	8	190
Religion	0.978	0.143	0	1	190
Married	0.746	0.436	0	1	189
Spouse Present	0.45	0.49	0	1	175
Household Size	7.815	4.402	1	20	189
Male Hshld No	3.637	2.633	0	10	190
Female Hshld No	4.158	2.876	0	13	190
Refugee Post 2013	0.989	0.102	0	1	190
Children attend Schl	0.85	0.35	0	1	190
Cell Phone in HH	0.74	0.43	0	1	190
As Refugee in Months	20.252	26.615	0	329	190

Fig 3: Pie charts disaggregating (left to right) age, education and ethnicity in Kiryandongo



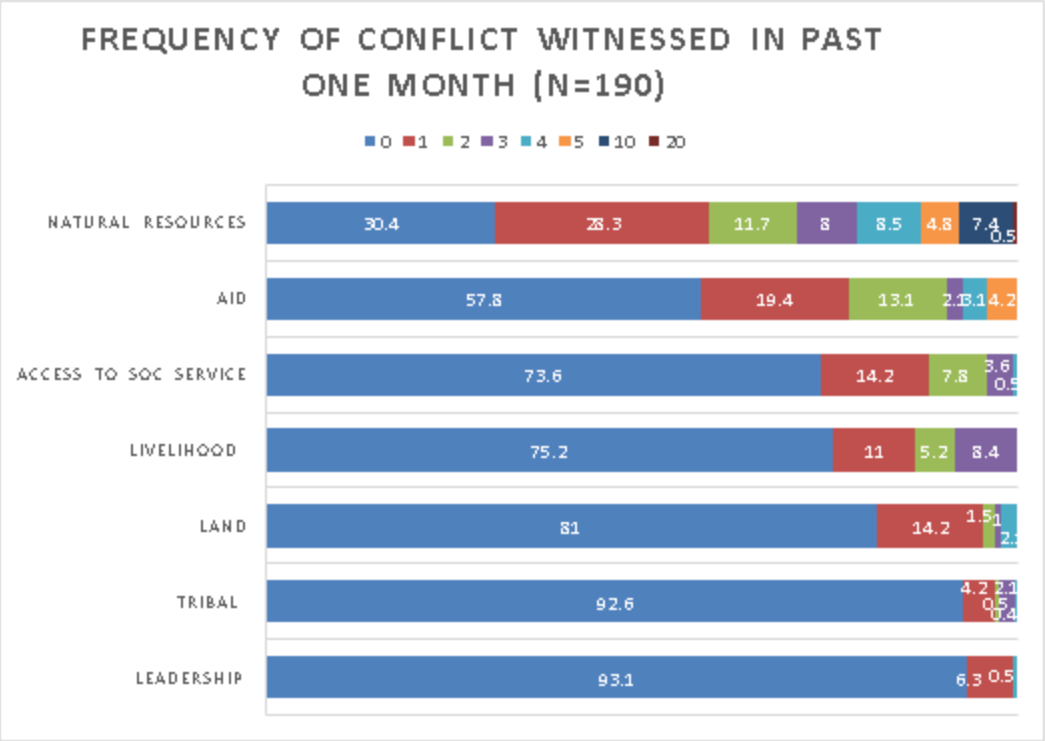
- Fig 3 shows that 30% of the refugees in our sample (sample consists of only 18 and above) in Kiryandongo are between 18-29, 45% between 30-40, 14% between 41-50 and 11% above the age of 51.
- In our sample, 11% of refugees are illiterate and 14% reported receiving some kind of informal education which should be equal to very basic education. Another 32% receiving some level of primary education, 29% receiving some level of secondary education and 14% receiving above secondary education.
- 28% of our respondents are Dinkas and 9% Nuers. The remaining 63% of the refugees are from the three Equatorial regions with Acholi being the highest followed by Kakwa, Kurku and Madi. We have another 15% of different Equatorial tribes in our sample which is representative of the actual population from Kiryandongo.

3.2.2 Conflict and Security

Surveys questions collected data on the key conflict dynamics believed to affect refugee settlements. Respondents were asked a detail question for each of the seven types of conflict most prevalent in the settlements. [7] For example, the question asked was, "if in the past one month how many times you, any member from your household or an immediate neighbour have had a serious argument/quarrel over aid," and so on.

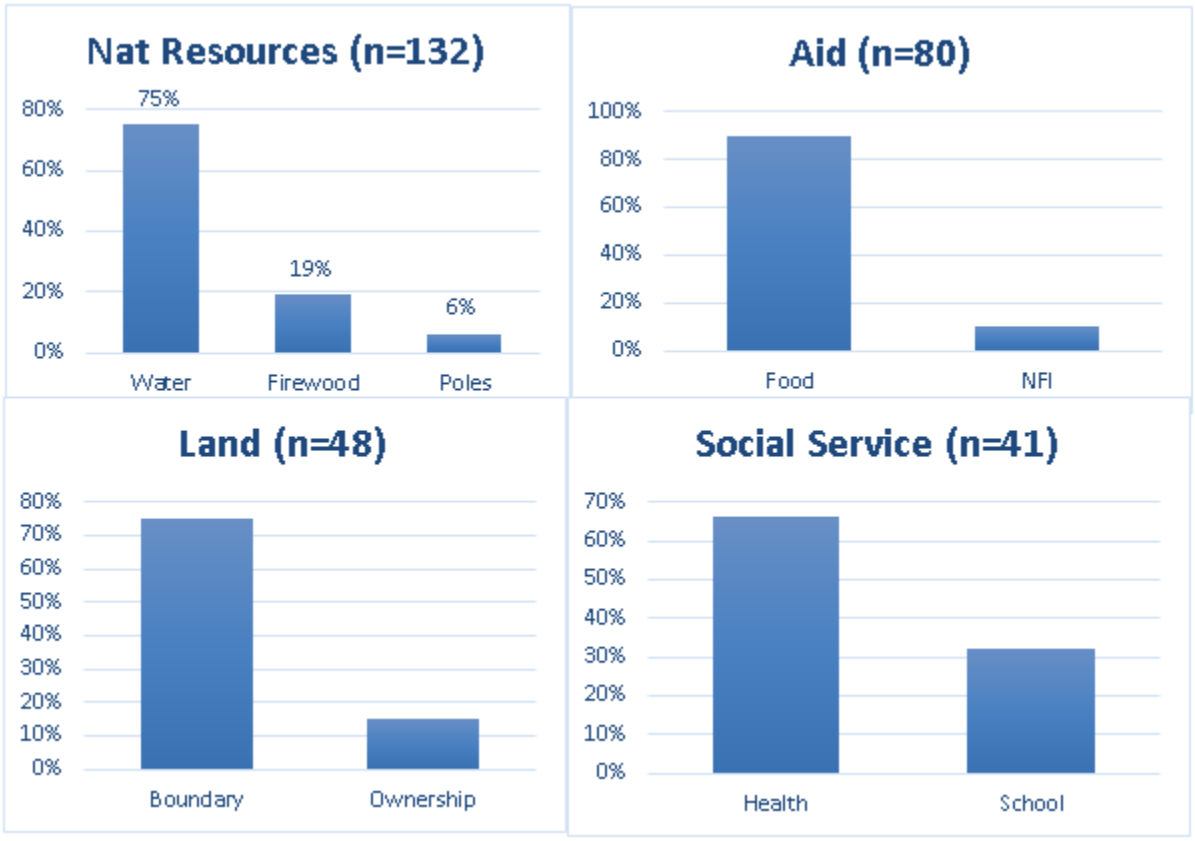
[7] We chose the seven headings based on pilot tests with refugees and after detailed discussion with both IPs and different refugee committees.

Fig 4: Bar Charts disaggregating the most prevalent types of conflict (top to bottom) in Kiryandongo



- Fig 4 shows, that the top three types of conflict most prevalent in Kiryandongo are related to natural resources, aid and access to social services.
- 70% have witnessed conflict over natural resources within the past one month; 42% over aid and 26% over access to social services.
- Only 19% in Kiryandongo have witnessed some type of conflict in the past one month related to land.
- Only 7.4% of our respondents have witnessed some type of conflict related to tribal issues and only 6.9% on matters related to leadership.
- Because tribal related are reported to be much lower than expected, we additionally asked questions related to conflict in South Sudan which are presented later.

Fig 5: Bar charts disaggregating four primary conflicts (clockwise from top left)-natural resources, aid, land and social service in Kiryandongo



- Fig 5 shows that out of 132 subjects, which is 70% of our sample in Kiryandongo, that reported witnessing conflict related to natural resources 75% reported it to be over water; 19% over firewood and 6% over construction poles.
- Likewise out of 80 reported cases of conflict over aid 90% reported it over food and 10% over NFIs.
- Out of 48 reported cases over land, 75% reported it to be over boundary and 25% over ownership.
- Of the total 41 incidents reported over social services, 67% was over health and 33% over school.

3.2.3 Land

Since land is directly related to economic opportunities, we asked more questions on land The followings, as shown in fig6, were some key findings related to land:

- As the left most charts in fig 6 below show, 71% have their land clearly demarcated; 24% of the refugees are renting land from the host community; 23% reported that their land is not accessible which can be an indication that this 23% may have moved to other plots from those assigned by the OPM.
- 20% reported that they also rent land from other refugees and 18.5% reported that they have some kind of land documentation which was mostly a land number.
- 13% reported that they had faced some kinds of threats of eviction from their land. 10.5% reported that the original size of their plot had decreased and almost 6% reported that their plot for cultivation is not adjacent to their house, meaning their cultivation plot was separate from their house plot.

Fig 6: Bar charts disaggregating info related to land (left to right)- land facts, quality of land and land registration in Kiryandongo

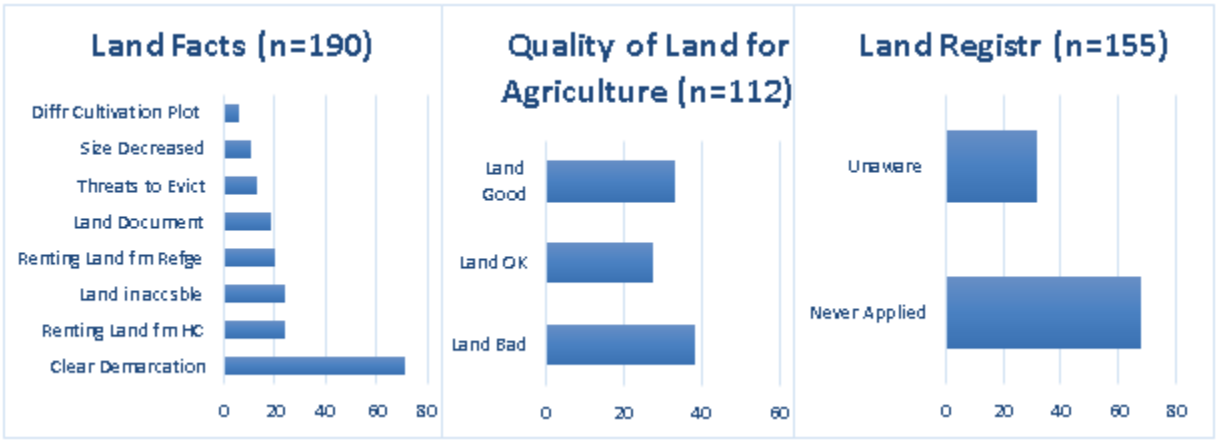
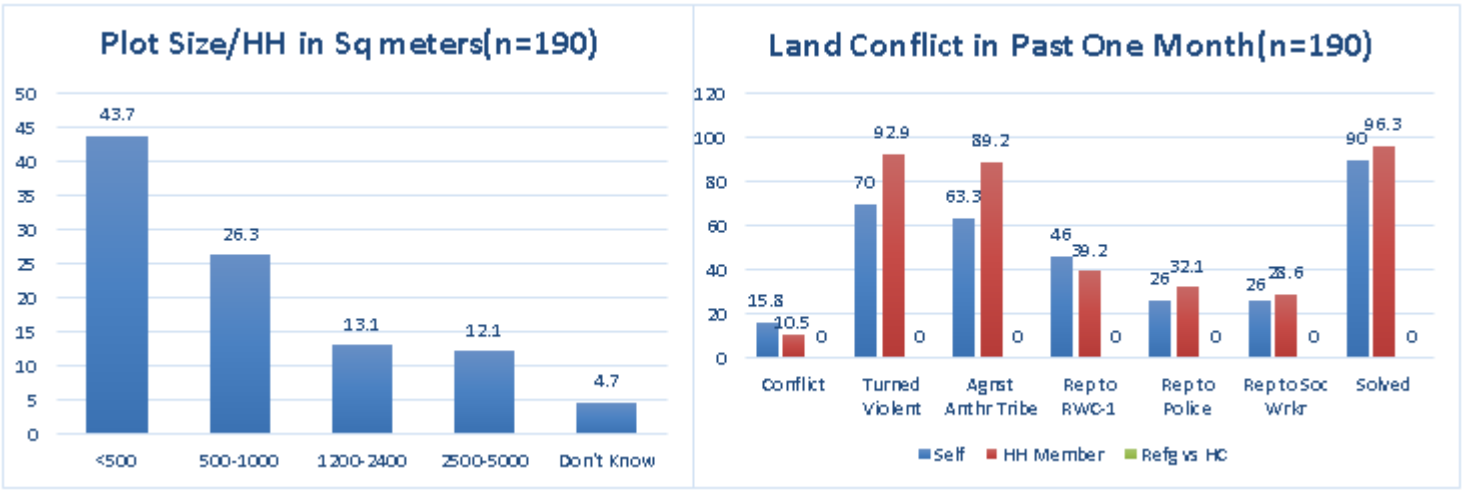


Fig 7: Bar Charts on (left to right)- land plot size and land conflict in Kiryandongo



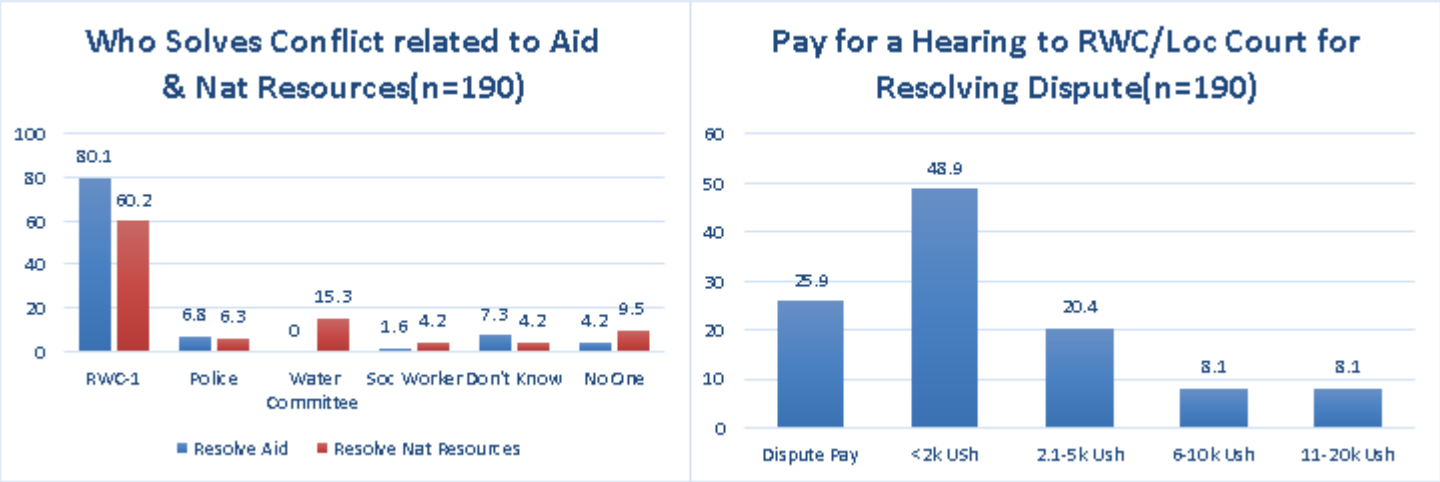
- Fig 7 above tells us that 43.7% have a plot size of less than 500 square meters; 26.3% have a size between 500-1000 sq mtrs; 13.1% own a plot between 1200 and 5000 sq mtrs and 4.7% reported not knowing the approximate size of their plot.
- When asked to disaggregate land conflict according to- if the individual refugee with another refugee, a HH member against another refugee or someone from the community against a Ugandan host community member was involved in the past one month, we find that (right graphs in fig 7) only 15.8% in our sample had some type of quarrel with another refugee, and only 10.5% reported that someone from their household had a quarrel related to land with another refugee in the past one month. No one reported that their community members had any quarrels related to land with the host community.
- Out of these reported land conflicts (15.8% and 10.5%), 70% individual and 92.9% involving a HC member turned violent. The other bar graphs depict who the refugees reported to during these conflicts. All quarrels are reported to existing institutions prevalent in the camps such as RWCs or social workers.
- Likewise 90% of the conflicts involving the individual subjects were solved were as 96% of the conflicts the subjects reported which involved another HH member were solved.

3.2.4 Conflict Resolution

Since conflict related to aid and natural resources are the most prevalent, we asked who the refugees rely on to solve such conflicts.

- As fig 8 below shows, refugees rely on their RWC-1 the most with 80% and 60% (left hand side figure) being solved by RWC-1 for conflict related to aid and natural resources.
- 25.9% of our sample also reported of knowing someone from their community having to pay to RWC-1 or the local court for a hearing.
- Out of this 25.9% who reported this practice, 48.9% reported the amount is less than 2000 USh; 20.4% reported it being between 2 and 5,000 USh; 8.1% between 6-10000 and another 8.1% between 11-20,000 USh.

Fig 8: Bar charts disaggregating info of actors invovled in solving conflict (left) related to aid and natural resources, and (right) if they have to pay for a hearing in Kiryandongo

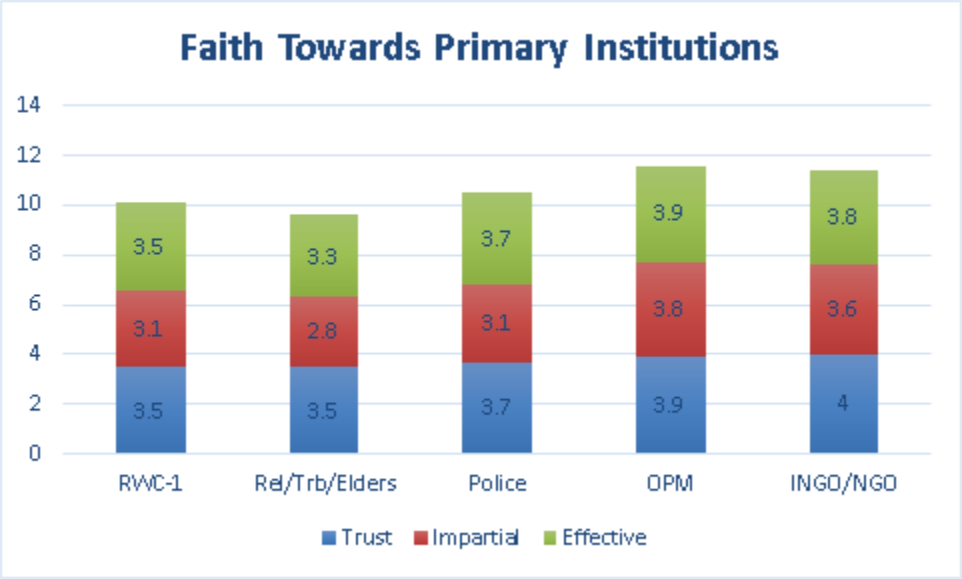


3.2.5 Faith Towards Key Institutions inside the Settlements

In order to measure faith towards key institutions, each refugee was asked to rate, out of 1-5, how they feel about these institutions in terms of trust, impartiality and efficiency, all related to our variable of interest- faith, which is depicted below in figure 9.

- The top institution that refugees in Kiryandongo ranked is the OPM followed by the Implementing Partners(IPs) and then the Police. Note that all these three institutions are external to the refugees.
- The RWC-1 is ranked fourth followed by Religious and Tribal leaders which are both endogenous institutions to the refugees.

Fig 9: Bar charts depicting faith index towards key institutions



3.2.6 Economic Livelihoods

Economic opportunities at individual level translate into incentive for peaceful co-existence. Some of key livelihood indicators as shown below in figure 10 are as follows:

- 49.4% reported to grow some type of vegetable in their allocated plot. Out of this reported figure 37.1% reported that they also sell vegetables. Likewise 58.8% in our sample reported that they grow at least one type of seasonal crop and 31.9% out of this 58.8% reported that they sell some of this crop.
- 12.6% reported they also grow a second seasonal crop and out of this figure 64.5% reported they sell some of this second crop. Lastly 5.6% reported they grow a third crop which they reported are all sold (100% out of 5.6%).
- 33.16% in our sample reported owning poultry and 14.2% reported owning goat or pigs. None in our sample reported owning cattle.
- Fig 11 tells us that 35.7% are involved in some kind of income generating activity besides farming and livestock. 25.4% in our total sample said their household owns some kind of instant cash business like a shop or a salon. 23.7% said that they are involved in some cooperative- an indication that the HH owns some cash they are able to invest.

Fig 10: Bar charts (left to right) showing agriculture production and poultry/livestock

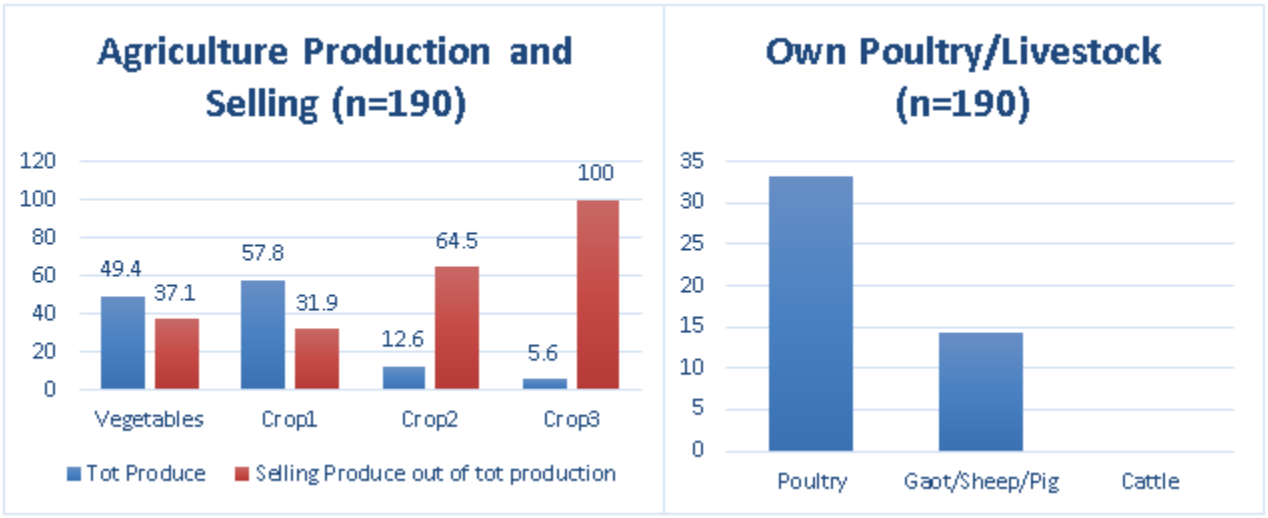
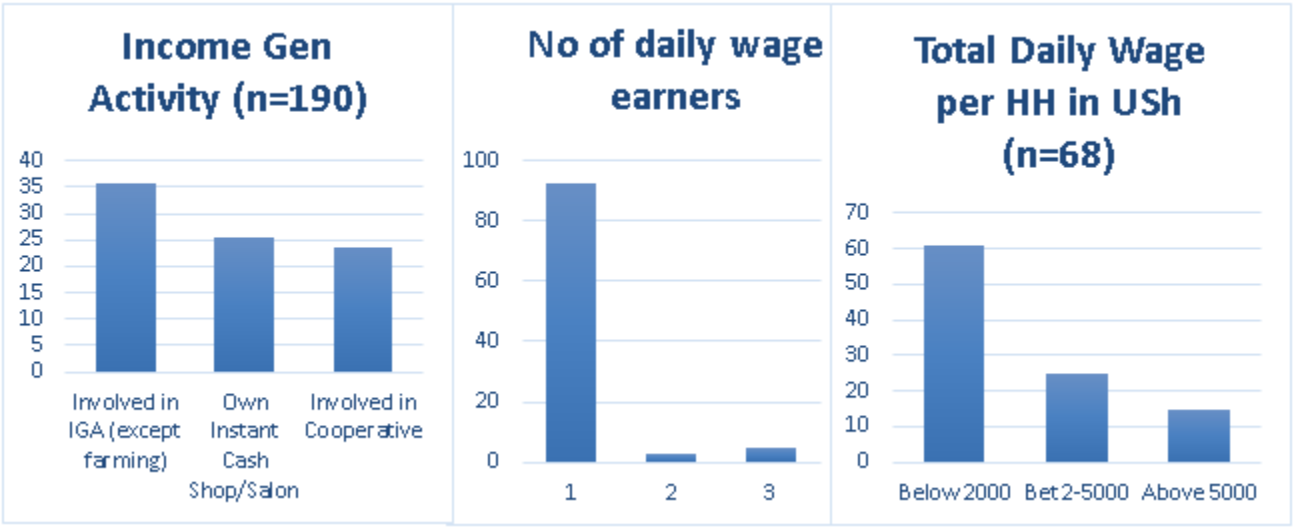


Fig 11: Bar charts depicting income generating activity besides agriculture and livestock



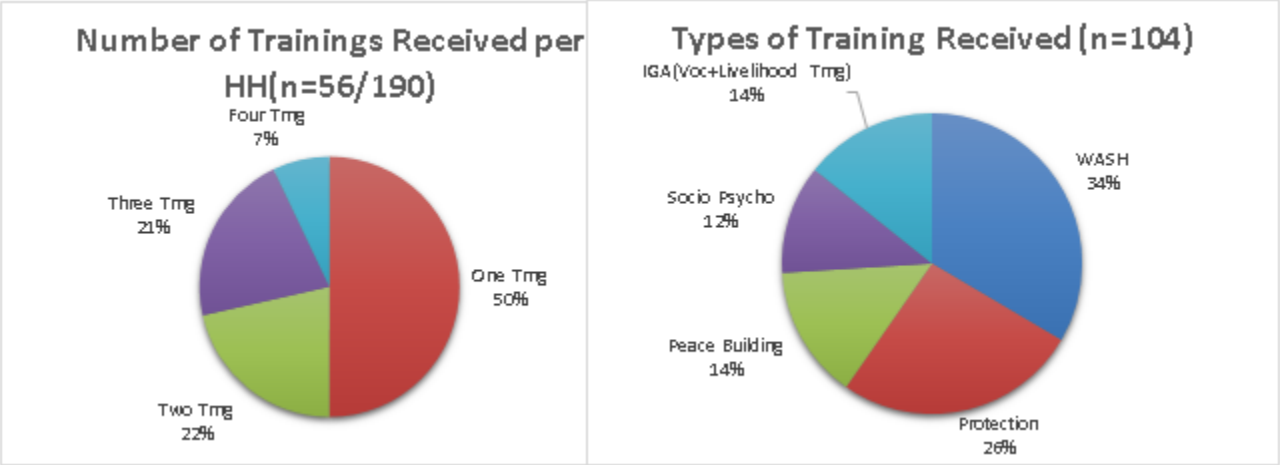
3.2.7 Trainings

IPs are heavily involved in engaging the refugees with different trainings and support. Figure 12 below depicts the numbers and types of trainings received reported by our sample.

- 56 subjects out of 190 reported having received training. 50% out of those 56 reported having received one training where as the other 50% received two or more.

- Out of 104 trainings received by the subjects or someone from their HH, 34% were related to WASH, 26% related to protection, 14% peace building, 12% related to socio-psycho and 14% reported having received some kind of IGA vocational training.
- The less focus on IGA trainings can be due to the emergency phase where trainings related to WASH and security are more crucial.

Fig 12: Pie charts depicting training per HH and types of training in Kiryandongo

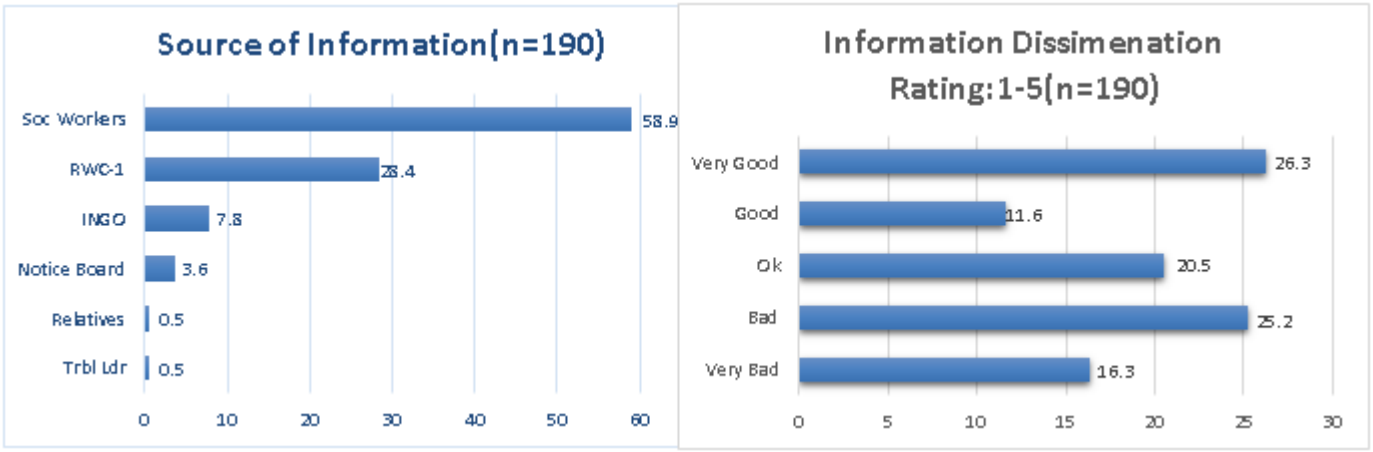


3.2.8 Information Source and Dissemination in Kiryandongo

We considered sources of information of the refugee population and how the refugees rate their sources of information. The findings as fig 13 show were:

- 58.9% form our sample of 190 rely on social workers in the community and 28.4% get their information directly from the RWC-1 structure. Traditional structures such as tribal leaders and elders as the primary source is only 0.5%.
- 26.3% in our sample rate the information sources to be very good. However 25.2% rate it to be bad and another 16.3% as very bad.

Fig 13: Bar charts (left to right) with source of information and their ratings

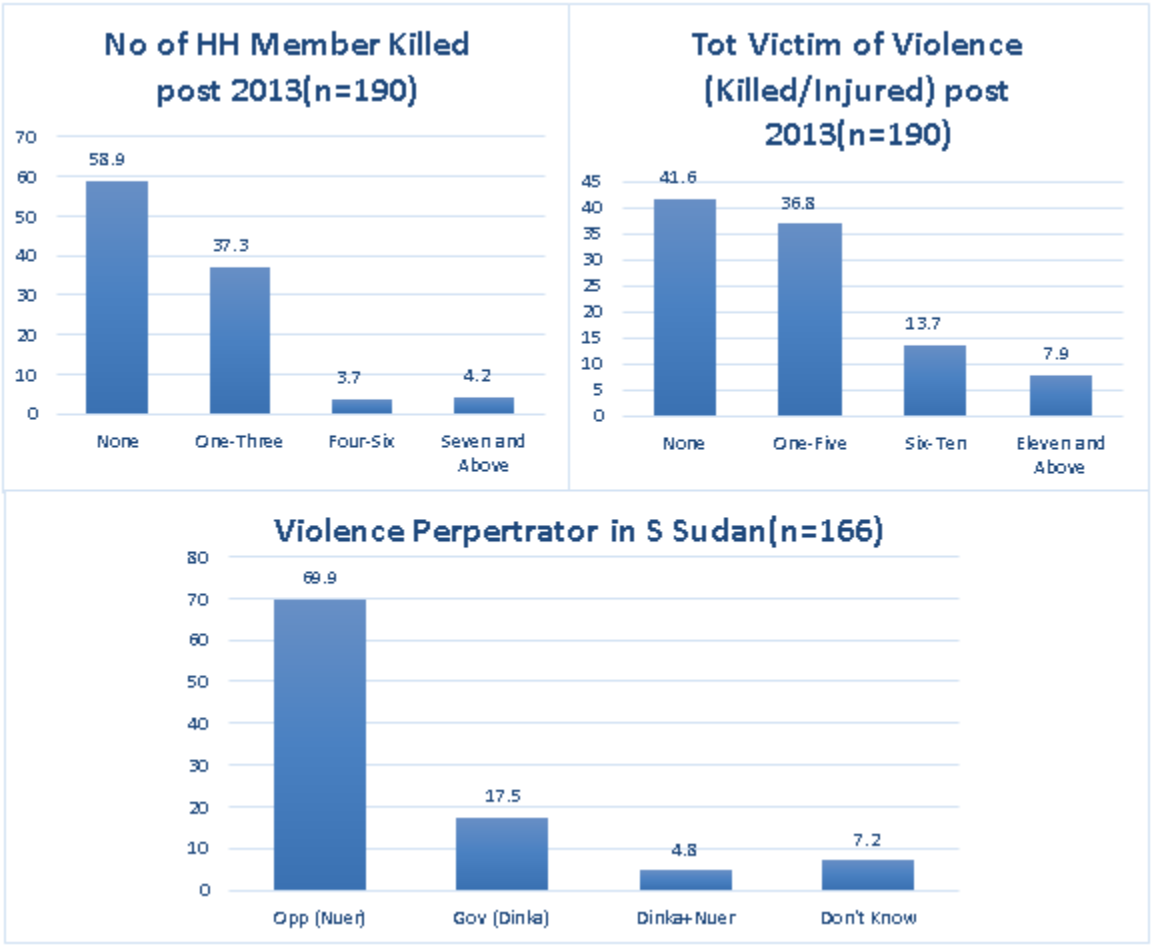


3.2.9 Conflict dynamics from South Sudan in Kiryandongo

To understand the history of conflict so that it assists in the design of project interventions accordingly, we asked several questions related to violence in South Sudan. Some findings as shown in fig 14 are:

- 59% of our subjects did not have any members killed after the break out of the 2013 South Sudan Civil War. 37% had 1-3 HH members killed, 3.7% between 4-6 and 4.2% with seven and above.
- Only 41% of the respondents did not have any member from their HH as a victim of violence -both killed or injured. 36.8% had between 1-5, 13.7% between 6-10 and 8% reported eleven and above.
- Out of 166 subjects who reported some kind of violence 70% blamed it against the opposition group.
- 17.5% said the government was responsible.
- 4.8% blamed it on both the government and the opposition together.

Fig 14: Bar charts (left, right and bottom) with numbers killed, total victim of violence and violence perpetrator in the civil war in South Sudan among refugees in Kiryandongo



3.2.10 Conflict Dynamics with Host Community Members in Kiryandongo

In order to understand the conflict dynamics between the host population and the refugees, we surveyed 120 host community members from ten different host communities neighbouring refugee clusters in Kiryandongo. Some of the findings as shown in fig 15-17 are as follows:

- 49.2% of our HC repsondents were male with 70% being in the 31-45 age bracket. The major ethnic groups were the Gisu, Mugisu (both however are the same) and the Acholi groups with the remainder 35% from other six groups.

Fig 15: Pie charts (left to right) with demographics and ethnic make up of HC members in Kiryandongo

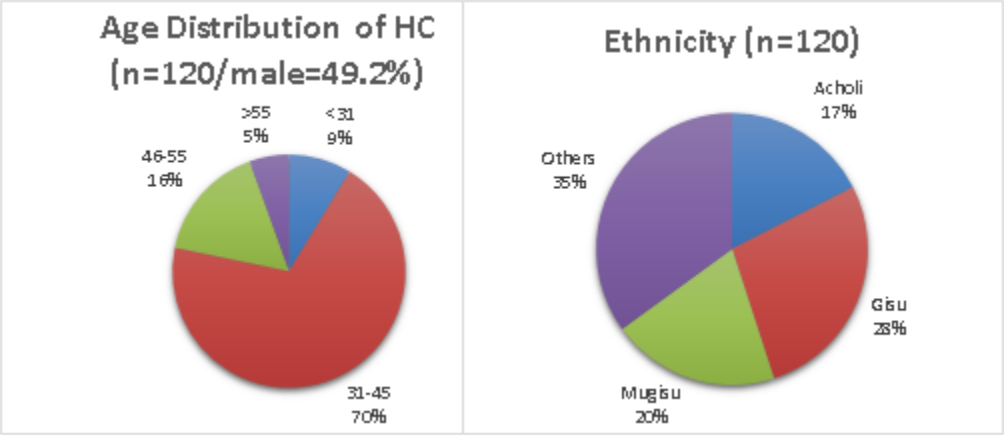


Fig 16: Bar charts (left to right) with types of quarrels and results of the quarrels reported by HC in Kiryandongo

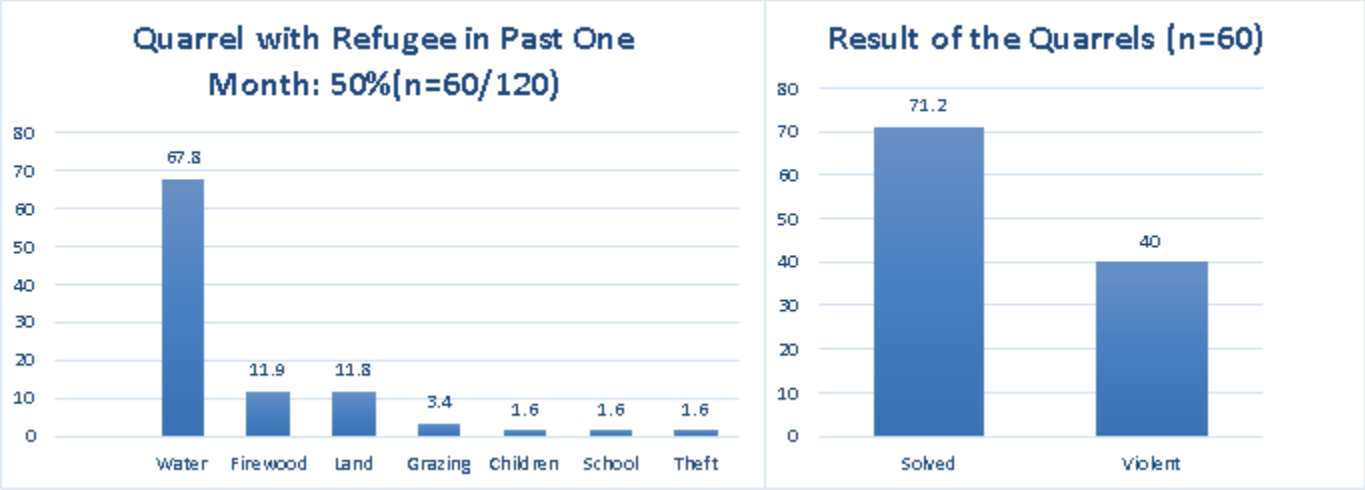
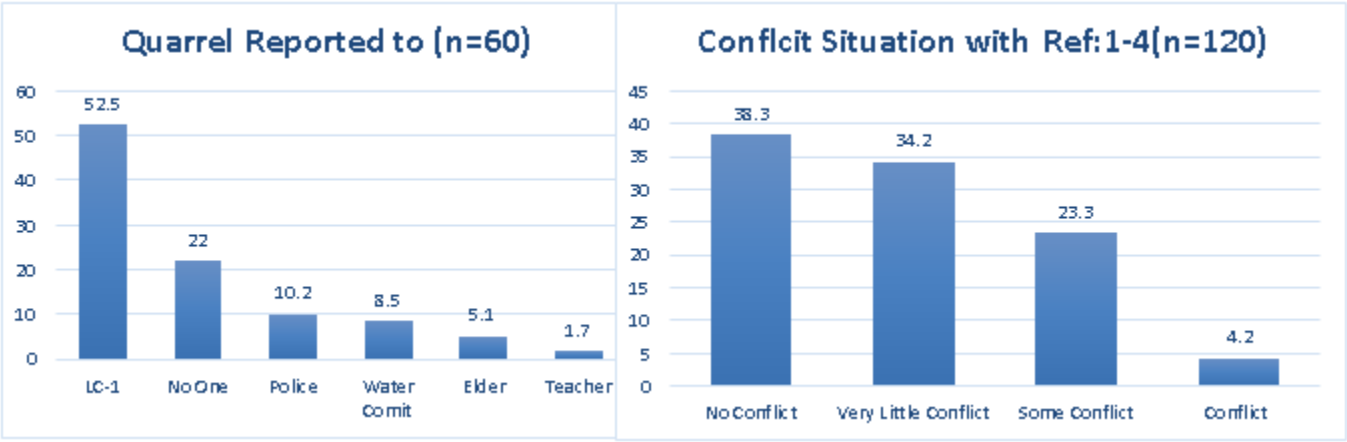


Fig 17: Bar charts (left to right) with who the HC reported to and the level of conflict reported with the refugee communities as reported by HC in Kiryandongo



- As fig 16 shows, 50% of our HC respondents (60 out of 120) reported that a member from their community had some kind of quarrel with the refugee population in the past one month.
- Out of those quarrels, 68% was over water, 11.9% over food and 11.8% over land.
- As the chart on the right of fig 16 shows, out of 60 HC members that reported quarrels, 40% of these quarrels turned violent and 71.2% got solved.
- As fig 17 shows, 52.5% of those quarrels were reported to the LC-1, 22% to no one, 10.2% to the police and 8.5% to water committees.
- When asked to rate the level of existing conflict between the two communities from a scale of 1-4, right bar graphs in fig 17 show that 38.3% reported no conflict at all, with another 34.2% reporting very little conflict. 23.3% some level of conflict and another 4.2% reported high conflict.

3.3 ADJUMANI

3.3.1 Demographics and Socio-Economic Data of Adjumani

Summary statistics for the different variables of interest are presented in table 3. The summary statistics reveal several interesting patterns about our subjects, who represent sampled individuals of 190 from all 11 settlements in Zone B under DRC control in Adjumani.

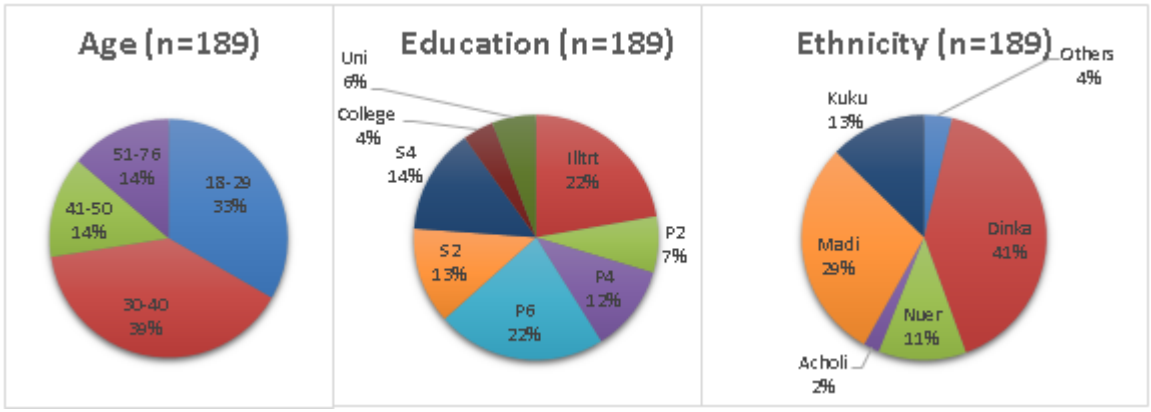
- 50% of our subjects are male with the average age of 36 with average education of P-3.
- 92% of refugees are Christians and 87% are married but only 67% of those married have their spouse present with them in the HH.
- The average HH size in Adjumani is 7.9 with the average male number 3.7 as opposed to a much higher female number of 4.2.
- 76% of the total refugees are new in the sense arrived from South Sudan post the 2013 civil war and have lived in Adjumani on average for 73 months.
- 87% of the refugees have children attending school and 73% have at least one cell phone in the household.

Table 3: Adjumani Summary Statistics

Summary statistics of Key Demographic Variables in Adjumani

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Age	36.48	11.38	22	74	189
Male	0.50	0.50	0	1	190
Education (0=Iltrt/8=Uni)	3.35	2.39	0	8	190
Christian	0.92	0.27	0	1	190
Married	0.87	0.32	0	1	190
Spouse Present	0.65	0.47	0	1	189
Household Size	7.93	3.97	1	24	189
Male Hshld No	3.73	2.09	0	11	190
Female Hshld No	4.22	2.66	0	17	190
Refugee Post 2013	0.76	0.422	0	1	190
Children attend Schl	0.87	0.32	0	1	190
Cell Phone in HH	0.73	0.44	0	1	190
As Refugee in Months	72.86	93.31	3	395	190

Fig 18: Pie charts disaggregating (left to right) age, education and ethnicity in Adjumani



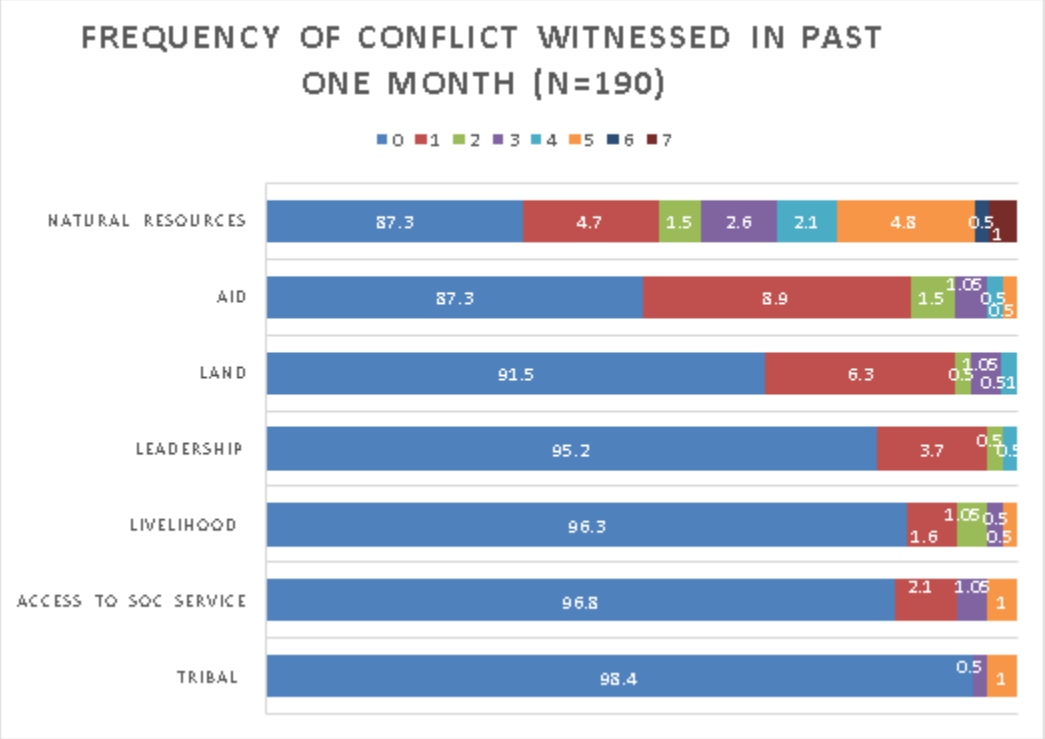
- Fig 18 shows that 33% of the refugees in our sample are between 18-29, 39% between 30-40, 14% between 41-50 and 14% above the age of 51.
- 22% of the sampled refugees are illiterate. Another 41% received some level of primary education, 27% receiving some level of secondary education and 10% receiving above secondary education.
- 41% of our respondents are Dinkas and 11% Nuers. The remaining 48% of the refugees are from the three Equatorial regions with Madi being the highest followed by, Kurku and Acholi. We have another 4% of different Equatorial tribes in our sample which is representative of the actual population from Adjumani.

3.3.2 Conflict and Security

Surveys questions collected data on the key conflict dynamics believed to affect refugee settlements. Respondents were asked a question for each of the seven types of conflict most prevalent in the settlements.[8] For example, the question asked was, "if in the past one month how many times you, any member from your household or an immediate neighbour have had a serious argument/quarrel over natural resources," and so on.

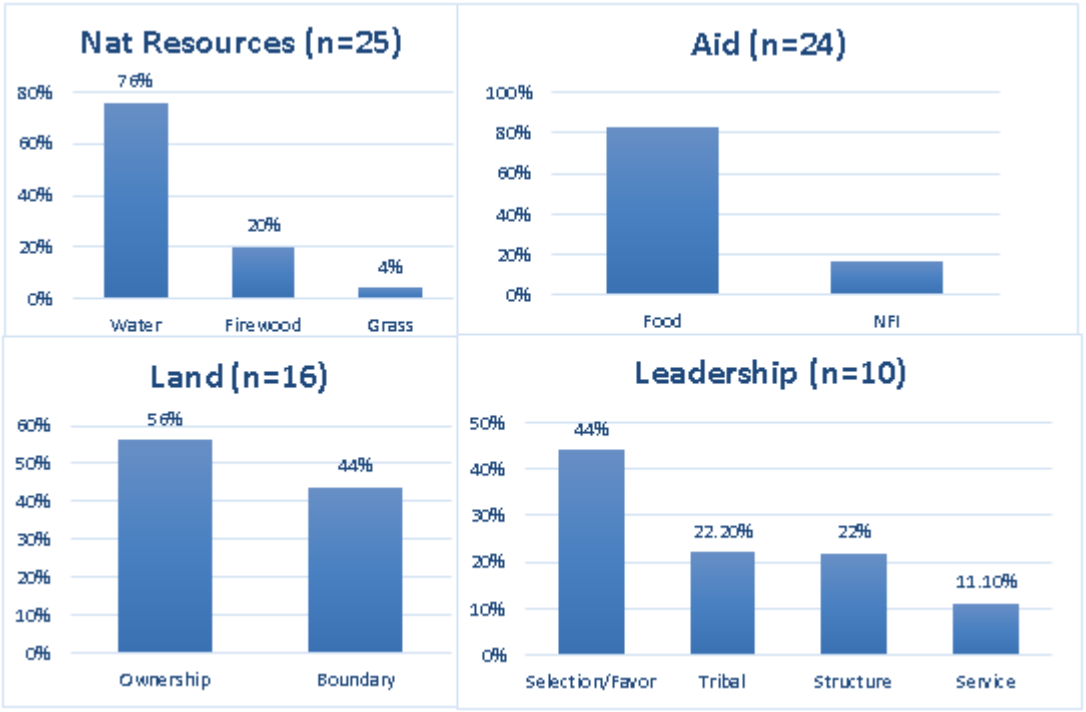
[8] We chose the seven headings based on pilot tests with refugees and after detailed discussion with both IPs and different refugee committees.

Fig 19: Bar charts disaggregating prevalent types of conflict (top to bottom) in Adjumani



- Fig 19 shows that the top three types of conflict most prevalent in Adjumani are related to natural resources, aid and land.
- However, unlike Kiryandongo, it is surprising how few reported witnessing a conflict in the community in the past one month.
- Even when we look at the number one conflict reported which is related to natural resources (top most bar in fig 19), 87.3% in our sample reported no conflict related to natural resources and of the remaining 12%, that witnessed conflict over natural resources within the past one month, 4.7% reported witnessing it only once; with 1.5% witnessing it twice; 2.6% thrice and so on.
- Likewise 87.3% reported not witnessing any conflict related to aid. Out of the remaining 12%, 8.9% reported witnessing it only once, 1.5% witnessing twice and so on.
- The third highest reported conflict was land which however was reported only by 8.5% of the refugees. Out of the 8.5%, 6.3% reported it witnessing once, 0.5% twice and so on.
- Less than 5% in our sample reported witnessing any conflict related to leadership, livelihood, access to social service or tribal. In fact only 1.6% in our sample reported witnessing a tribal conflict in the past one month.

Fig 20: Bar charts disaggregating four different conflicts (clockwise from top left)- natural resources, aid, leadership and land in Adjumani



- As fig 20 above shows, 25 subjects, which is 12% of our sample in Adjumani, reported witnessing conflict related to natural resources.
- Out of this 12% (25 out of 190)- 76% reported it to be over water; 20% over firewood and 4% over construction grass.
- Likewise out of 12% reported cases of conflict over aid, 83% reported it over food and 17% over NFIs.
- Out of 16 reported cases over land, 56% reported it to be over ownership and 44% over boundary.
- Of the total 10 incidents reported over leadership, 44% was over selection and 22% each over tribal issues and structure of the RWC-1 committee.

3.3.3 Land

Since land is directly related to economic opportunities, we asked more questions on land The followings were some key findings related to land in Adjumani:

- As fig 21 below shows, 86.8% have their land clearly demarcated; 34.5% of the refugees are renting land from the host community; 11.5% reported that the original size of their plot had decreased and almost 9.4% reported that their plot for cultivation is not adjacent to their house.
- 8.4% reported that their land is not accessible due to conflict which can also be an indication that this 8% may have moved to other plots from those assigned by the OPM. It is known fact that if refugees leave their assigned plot then the OPM allocates such plots to other HH.
- 7.8% reported that they also rent land from other refugees; 7.3% reported that they had faced some kinds of threats of eviction from their land and only 2.1% reported that they have some kind of land documentation which was mostly a land number.
- The other two charts (middle and right most) in fig 21 tell us about quality of land and land registration.

Fig 21: Bar charts disaggregating info related to land (left to right)- land facts, quality of land and land registration in Kiryandongo

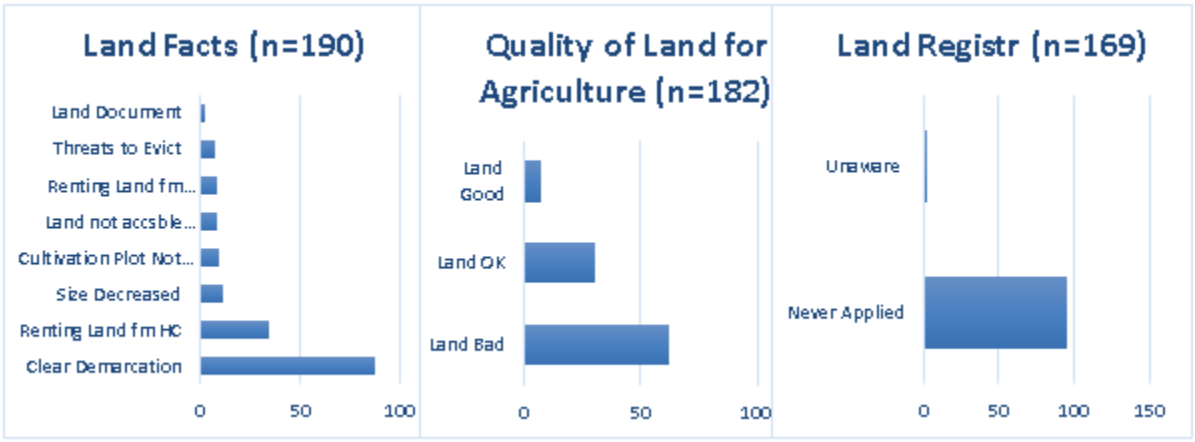
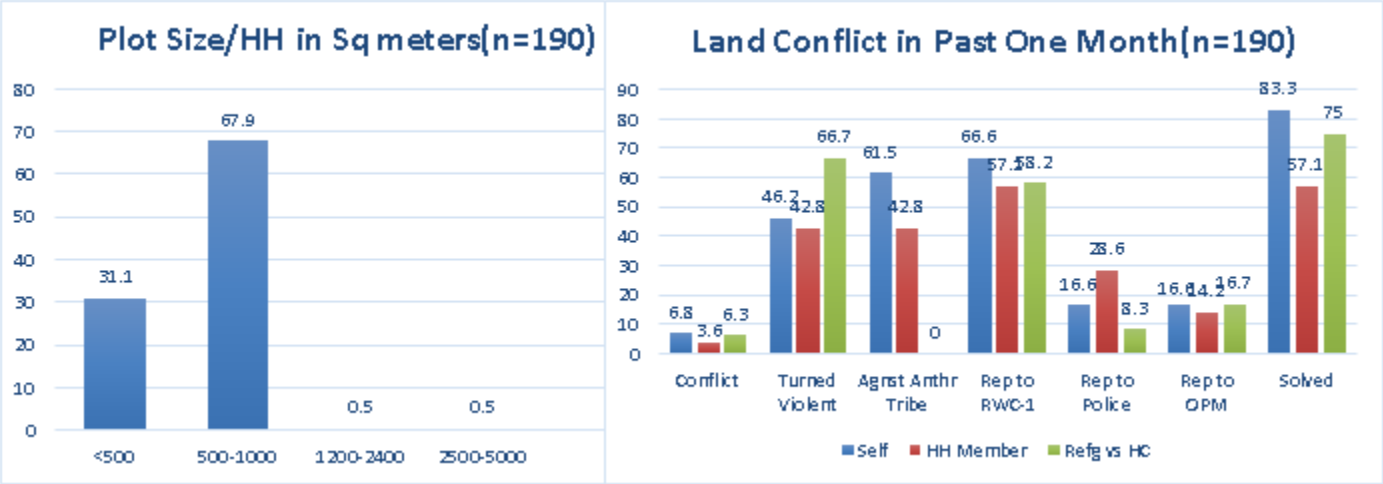


Fig 22: Bar Charts disaggregating info related to land (left to right)- land plot size and land conflict in Adjumani



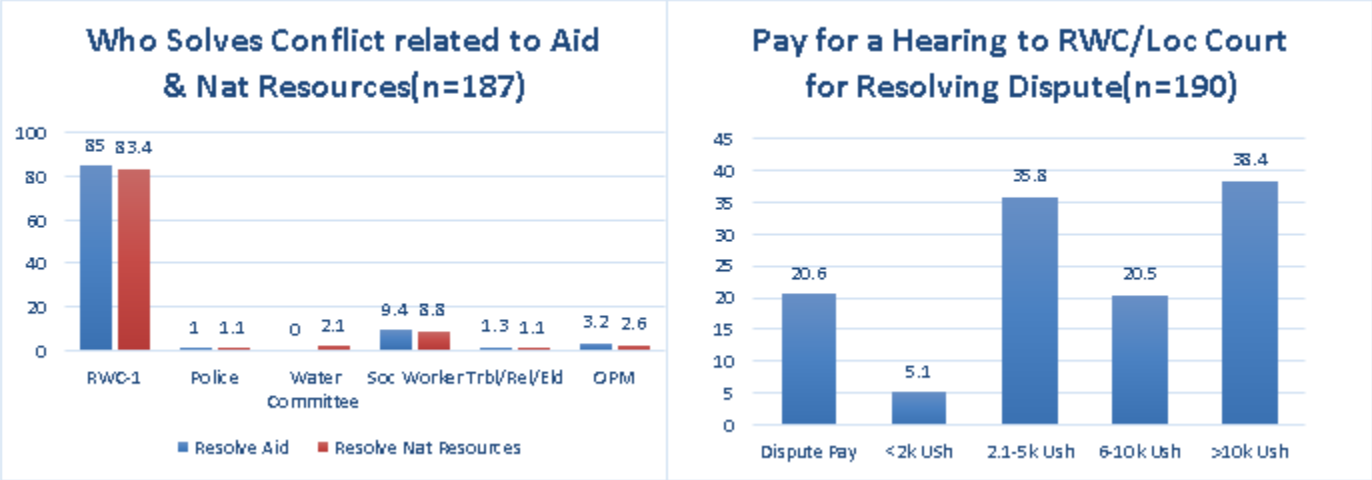
- Likewise as fig 22 above shows, 31.1% reported having a plot size of less than 500 square meters; 67.9% reported owling a size between 500-1000 sq mtrs; 0.5% a plot between 1200 and 5000 sq mtrs and 0.5% reported owning a size between 2500-5000 square meters.
- When asked to disaggregate land conflict according to who was involved- the surveyed individual against another refugee, a HH member against another refugee or someone from the community against a Ugandan host community member, we find that only 6.8% of our subjects had some type of quarrel and only 3.6% reported that someone from their household had a quarrel related to land in the past one month with another refugee. 6.3% reported that someone from their community members had some quarrels related to land with the host community.
- Out of these reported land conflicts, 46% individual, 42.8% involving a HH member and 66.7 % involving a refugee against a HC member turned violent. The other bar graphs on the right hand side of fig 22 depict who the refugees reported to during these conflicts. All quarrels are reported to existing institutions prevalent in the camps such as RWCs, police or the OPM office in the settlements.
- Likewise 83.3% of the conflicts involving the individual subjects and 57.1% involving a HH member were solved. Similarly 75% of the conflicts the subjects reported which involved a quarrel against a local HC member were solved.

3.3.4 Conflict Resolution in Adjumani

Since conflict related to aid and natural resources are the most prevalent, we asked who the refugees rely on to solve such conflicts.

- As fig 23 below shows, fefugees rely on their RWC-1 the most with 85% and 83.4% being solved by RWC for conflict related to aid and natural resources.
- 20.6% of our sample also reported of knowing someone from their community having to pay to RWC-1 or the local court for a hearing.
- Out of this 20.6% who reported this practice, 5.1% reported the amount is usually less than 2000 USh; 35.8% reported it being between 2 and 5,000 USh; 20.5% between 6-10,000 and another 38.4% above 10,000 USh.

Fig 23: Bar charts disaggregating info related to actors invovled in solving conflict (left) related to aid and natural resources and (right) if they have to pay for a hearing in Adjumani

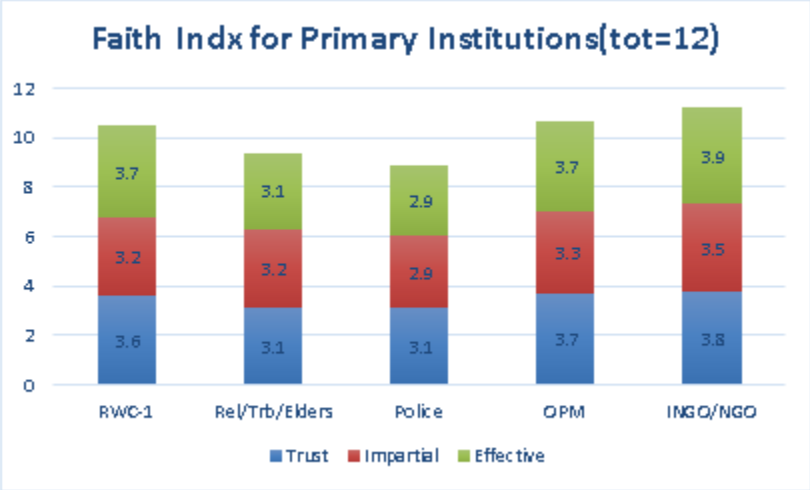


3.3.5 Faith Towards Key Institutions inside the Settlements

In order to measure faith towards key institutions, each refugee was asked to rate, out of 1-5, how they feel about these institutions in terms of trust, impartiality and efficiency which is depicted in figure 24. We believe that our interest variable -faith comprises of these three key indicators.

- The top institution that refugees in Adjumani ranked is the Implementing Partners(IPs) followed by the OPM and then the RWC-1.
- The religious/tribal/elders is ranked fourth followed by the police.

Fig 24: Bar charts depicting faith index towards key institution



3.3.6 Economic Livelihoods

Economic opportunities at individual level translate into incentive for peaceful co-existence. Some of key livelihood indicators as shown below in figure 25 are as follows:

- 66.8% reported to grow some type of vegetable in the allocated plot. Out of this reported figure 37.2% reported that they also sell vegetables. Likewise 53.1% in our sample reported that they grow at least one type of seasonal crop and 23.7% out of this 53.1% reported that they sell some of this crop.
- 26.8% reported they also grow a second seasonal crop and out of this figure 26.9% reported they sell some of this second crop. Lastly 5.7% reported they grow a third crop out of which 27.2% are all sold.
- The right graphs in fig 25 show that 43.85% in our sample reported owning poultry and 32% reported owning goat or pigs. None in our sample reported owning cattle.
- Fig 26 tells us that 28.5% are involved in some kind of income generating activity besides farming and livestock. 18.18% in our total sample said their household owns some kind of instant cash business like a shop or a salon. 14.4% said that they are involved in some cooperative an indication that they own some cash they are able to invest.

Fig 25: Bar charts (left to right) showing agriculture production and poultry/livestock

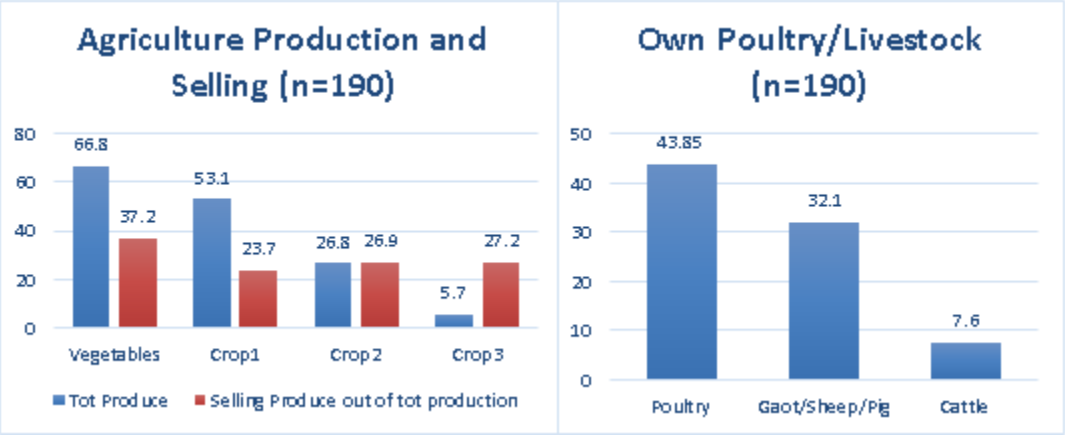
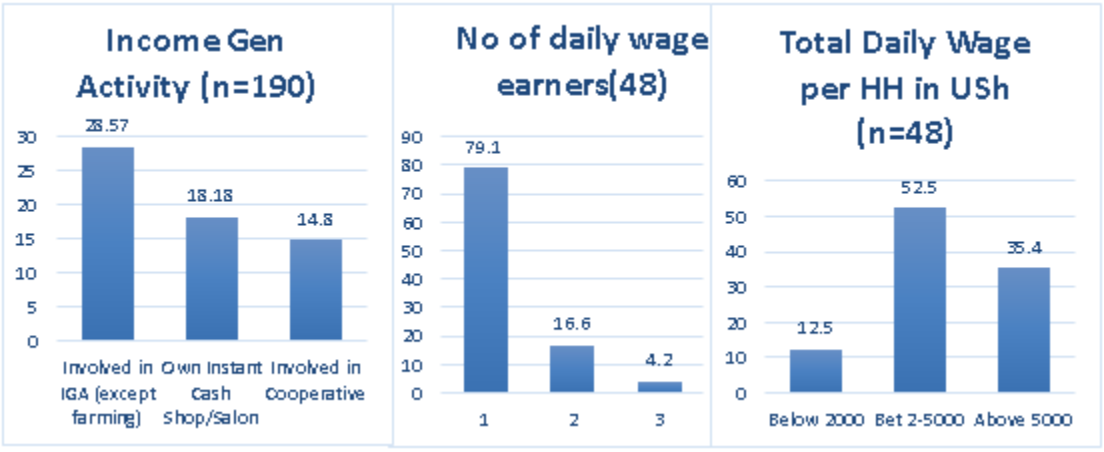


Fig 26: Bar charts depicting income generating activity besides agriculture and livestock

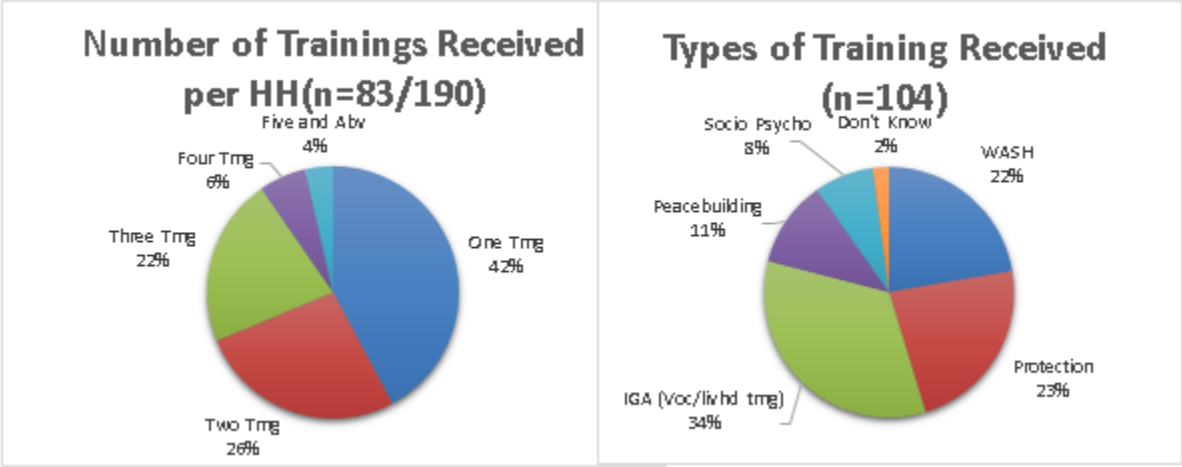


3.3.7 Trainings

Since IPs are heavily involved in engaging the refugees with different trainings and support, figure 27 depicts the numbers and types of trainings reported by our sample.

- 83 subjects out of 190 reported having received training. 42% out of those 83 reported having received one training where as the other 58% received two or more.
- Out of 104 trainings received by the subjects or someone from their HH, 22% were related to WASH, 23% related to protection, 11% peace building, 8% related to socio-psycho and 34% reported having received some kind of IGA vocational training.

Fig 27: Pie charts depicting training per HH and types of training in Adjumani

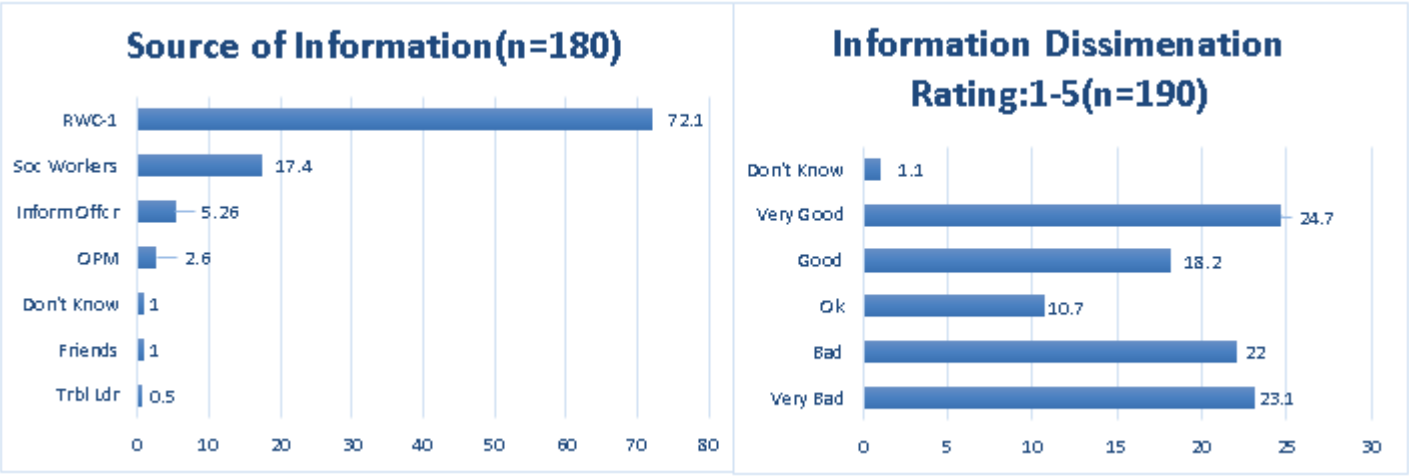


3.3.8 Information Source and Dissemination in Adjumani

We considered sources of information of the refugee population and how the refugees rate their sources for understanding the information dynamics. The findings in fig 28 below are:

- 72.1% form our sample of 180 rely on RWC-1 and 17.4% get their information directly form the social workers. Traditional structures such as tribal leaders and elders as the primary source is only 0.5%.
- 24.7% in our sample rate the information sources to be very good.
- However 22% rate it to be bad and another 23.1% as very bad.

Fig 28: Bar charts (left to right) with source of information and their ratings in Adjumani

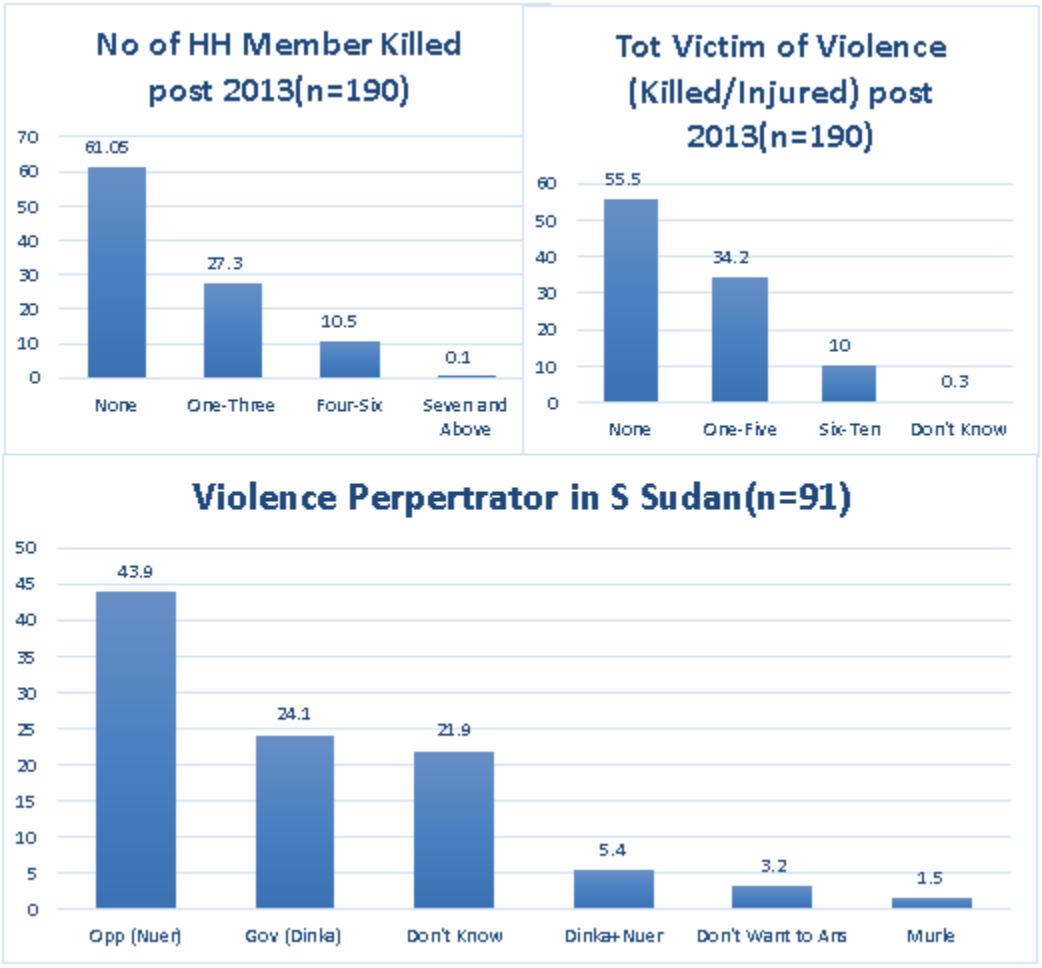


3.3.9 Conflict dynamics from South Sudan in Adjumani

To understand the history of conflict so that it assists in designing project interventions accordingly, we asked a number of questions related to violence in South Sudan. Some findings as shown in fig 29 below are:

- 61.05% of our subjects did not have any members killed after the break out of the 2013 South Sudan Civil War. 27.3% had 1-3 HH members killed, 10.5% between 4-6 and 0.1% with seven and above.
- Only 45.5% of the respondents did not have any member from their HH as a victim of violence -both killed or injured. 34.2% had between 1-5, 10% between 6-10 and 0.3% reported they did not know who the perpetrators were.
- Out of 91 subjects who reported some kind of violence 43.9% blamed it against the opposition group and 24.1% blamed the government. 5.4% blamed it on both the government and the opposition together, and 21.9% did not know who it was.

Fig 29: Bar charts (left, right and bottom) with numbers killed, total victim of violence and violence perpetrator in the civil war in South Sudan among refugees in Adjumani



3.3.10 Conflict Dynamics with Host Community Members in Adjumani

In order to understand the conflict dynamics between the host population and the refugees, we surveyed 90 host community members from nine different host communities neighbouring refugee clusters in Adjumani. Some of the findings as shown in fig 30-32 are as follows:

- 50% of our HC respondents were males with 31% being in the 31-45 age bracket. The major ethnic groups were the Madi 89% and Acholi 6%. The remainder of the 5% were from other four groups.

Fig 30: Pie charts (left to right) with demographics and ethnic make up of HC members in Adjumani

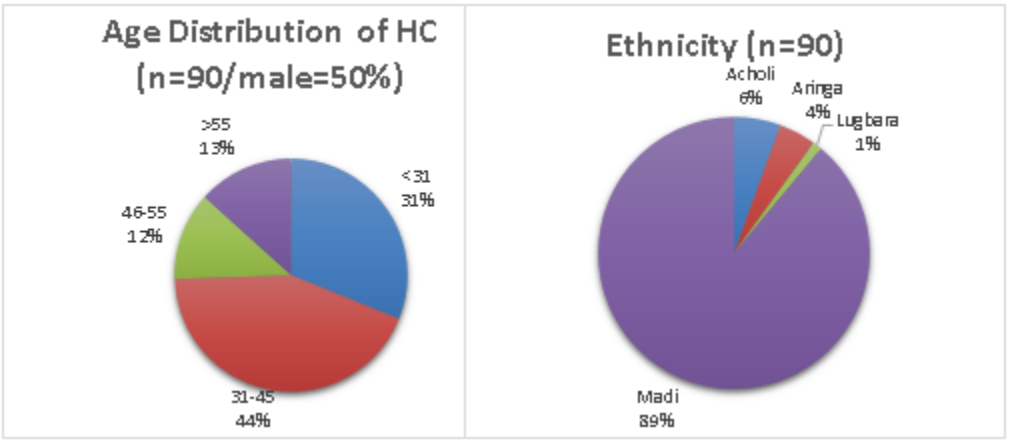


Fig 31: Bar charts (left to right) with types of quarrels and results of the quarrels reported by HC in Adjumani

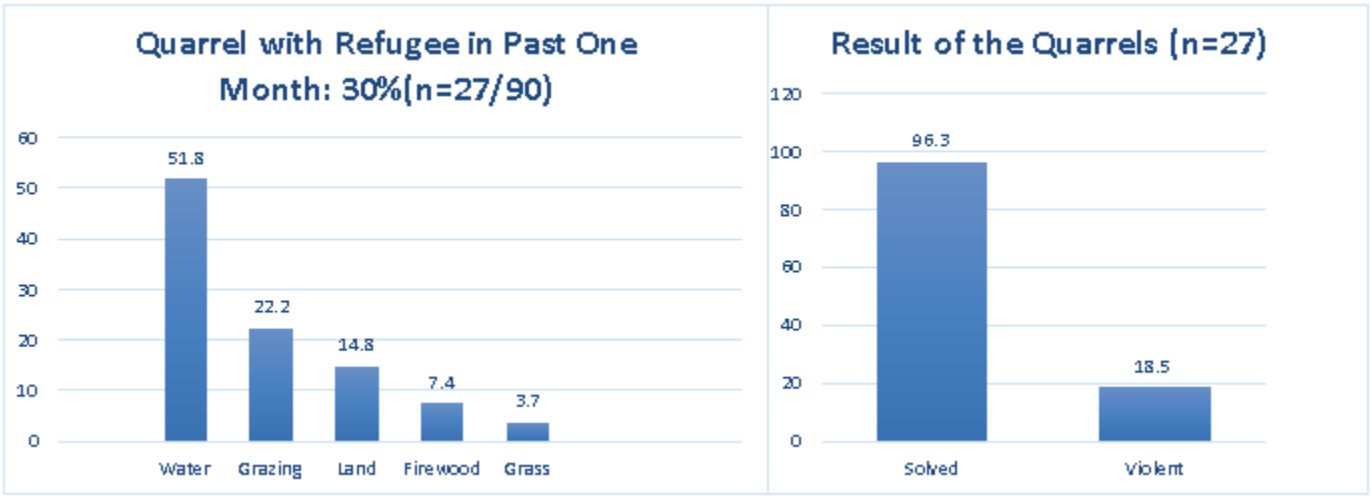
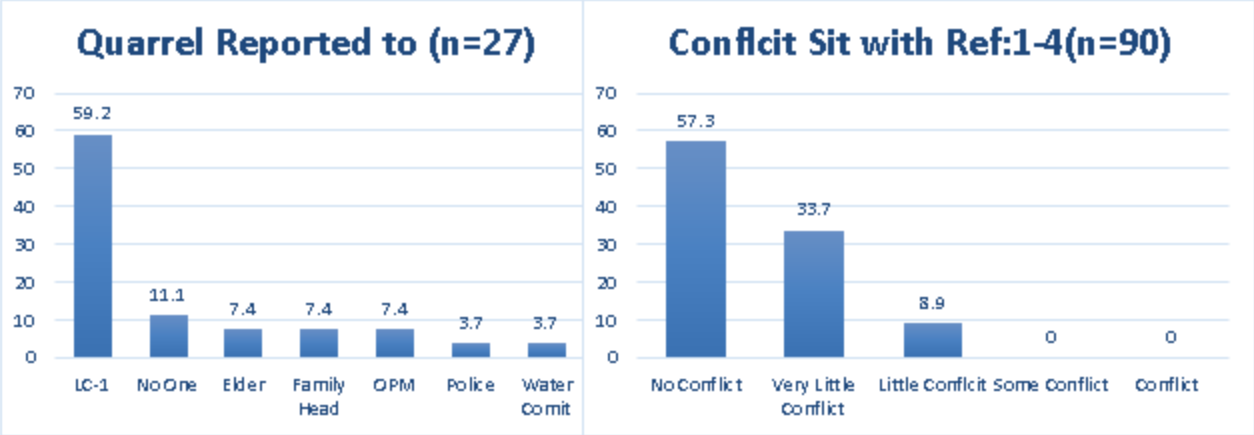


Fig 32: Bar charts (left to right) with who the HC reported to and the level of conflict reported with the refugee communities as reported by HC in Kiryandongo



- As fig 31 shows, 30% of our HC respondents reported that a member from their community had some kind of quarrel with the refugee population in the past one month.
- Out of those quarrels, 51.8% were over water, 22.2% over food and 14.8% over land. As the chart on the right of fig 29 shows, 18.5% turned violence and 96.3% got solved.
- As fig 32 shows, 59.2% of those quarrels were reported to the LC-1, 11.1% to no one, 7.4% each to the elders, family heads and the OPM. 3.7% each were reported to the police and the water committee.
- When asked to rate the level of existing conflict between the two communities, 57.3% reported no conflict at all, with another 33.72% reporting very little conflict, 8.9% some level of conflict and no one reporting any high level of conflict.

3.4 RHINO

3.4.1 Demographics and Socio-Economic Data

Summary statistics for the different variables of interest are presented in table 4. The summary statistics reveal several interesting patterns about our subjects, who represent sampled individuals from 18 villages, n=180, that were randomly selected from all six zones from the total population of "refugees" in Rhino.

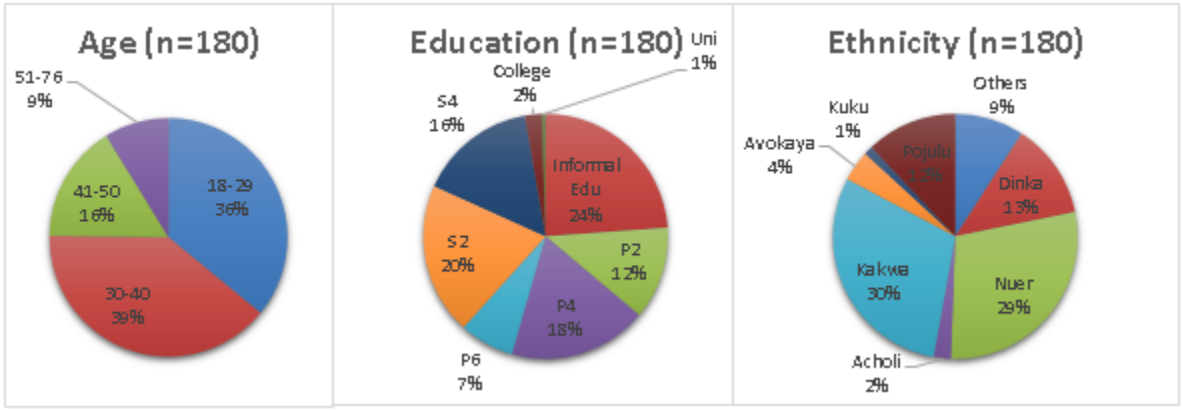
- 42% of our subjects are males with the average age of 35 and average education of P-3.
- 95% of refugees are Christians and 83% are married but only 51% of those married have their spouse present with them.
- The average HH size in Rhino is 8.6 with the average male number 4 as opposed to the female number of 4.7.
- 98% of the total refugees are new in the sense arrived from South Sudan post the 2013 civil war and have lived in Rhino on average for 20 months.
- 66% of the refugees have children attending school which is significantly less than the other two camps. This is because Ofuwa settlement, established around September 2016 and comprising of almost 20,000 refugees, does not have schools yet.
- 63% have at least one cell phone in the household.

Table 4: Rhino summary statistics

Summary statistics of Key Demographic Variables in Rhino

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Age	35.31	11.97	20	76	180
Male	0.42	0.49	0	1	180
Education (0=Iltrt/8=Uni)	3.45	1.91	0	8	180
Religion	0.95	0.21	0	1	180
Married	0.83	0.37	0	1	189
Spouse Present	0.51	0.50	0	1	166
Household Size	8.64	5.58	1	21	180
Male Hshld No	4.03	2.72	0	10	176
Female Hshld No	4.7	3.44	0	12	180
Refugee Post 2013	0.98	0.10	0	1	180
Children attend Schl	0.66	0.36	0	1	180
Cell Phone in HH	0.63	0.41	0	1	180
As Refugee in Months	20.74	22.13	2	223	180

Fig 33: Pie charts disaggregating (left to right) age, education and ethnicity



- 36% of the refugees in our sample from Rhino are between 18-29, 39% between 30-40, 16% between 41-50 and 9% above the age of 51.
- 24% reported receiving some kind of informal education which should be equal to very basic education. Another 37% received some level of primary education, 36% receiving some level of secondary education and 3% receiving above secondary education.
- 13% of our respondents are Dinkas and 29% Nuers. The remaining 57% of the refugees are from the three Equatorial regions with Kakwa being the highest with 30%, followed by Pojulu 11.3%, Avokaya 4% and Acholi 2%. We have another 9% of different Equatorial tribes in our sample which is representative of the actual population from Rhino.

3.4.2 Conflict and Security

Surveys questions collected data on the key conflict dynamics believed to affect refugee settlements. Respondents were asked a detail question related to each of the seven types of conflict most prevalent in the settlements. [9] For example, the question asked was, " if in the past one month how many times you, any member from your household or an immediate neighbour have had a serious argument/quarrel over aid," and so on. As fig 34 below shows:

[9] We chose the seven headings based on pilot tests with refugees and also after detailed discussion with both IPs and different refugee committees.

- The top three types of conflict most prevalent in Rhino are related to natural resources, aid and access to social services.
- 52% has witnessed conflict over natural resources within the past one month; 43% over aid and 26% over access to social services.
- In fig 35, out of 137 reported conflicts related to natural resources, 69% reported it to be over water; 31% over firewood.
- Likewise in fig 35 out of 109 reported cases of conflict over aid, 58% reported it over food and 31% over NFIs.
- Out of 23 reported cases over land, 61% reported it to be over boundary and 39% over ownership.
- Of the total 80 incidents reported over social services, 85% was over health and 15% over school.

Fig 34: Bar Charts disaggregating the most prevalent types of conflict (top to bottom)

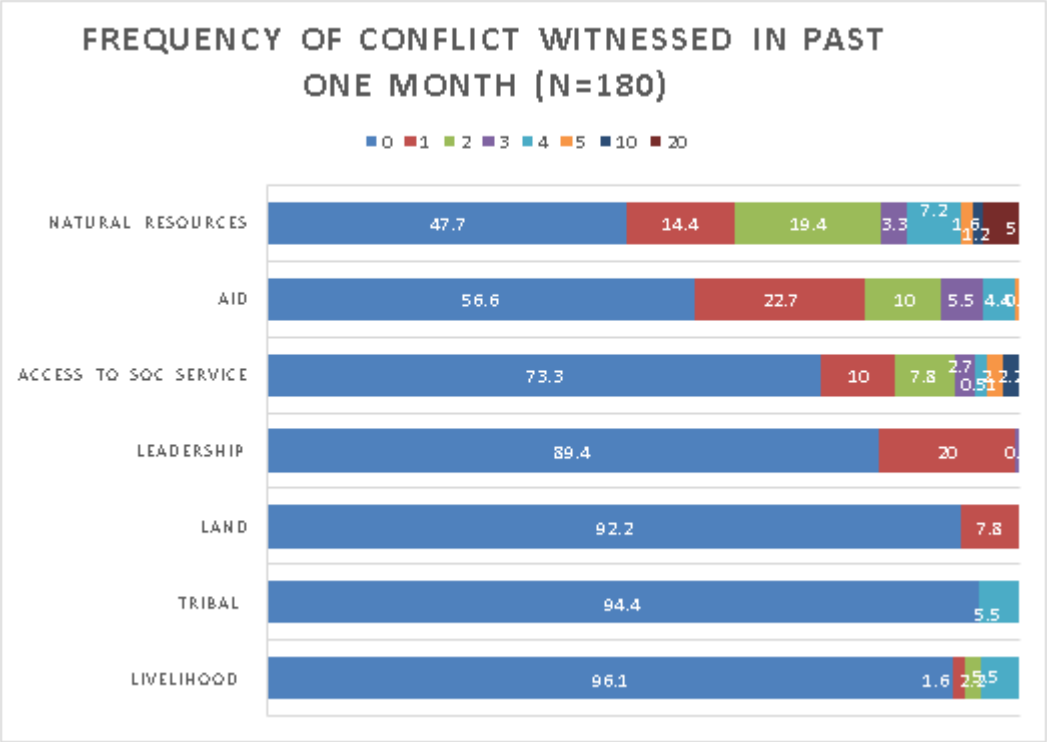
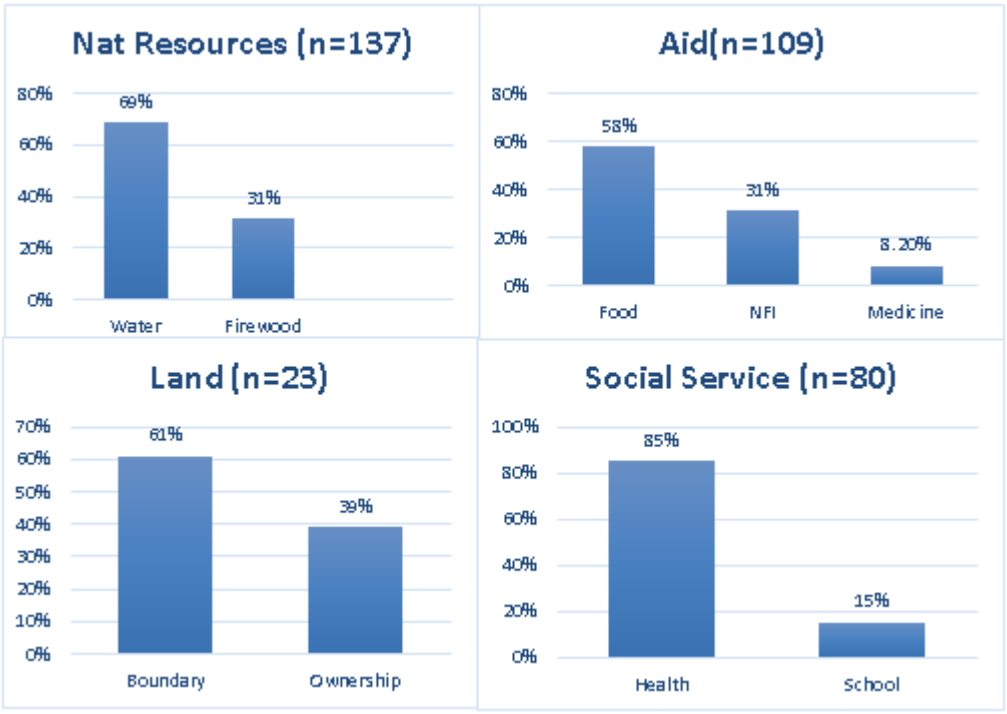


Fig 35: Bar charts showing disaggregating four common types of conflict



3.4.3 Land Dynamics in Rhino

Since land is directly related to economic opportunities, we asked more questions on land The followings as shown in fig 36 were some key findings related to land:

- 93.2% have their land clearly demarcated; 17.9% of the refugees are renting land from the hoc community; 23.7% reported that their land is not accessible which can be an indication that this 23.7% may have moved to other plots from those assigned by the OPM. 18.9% reported that they also rent land from other refugees and only 1.1% reported that they have some kind of land documentation which was mostly a land number.
- 3.9% reported that they had faced some kinds of threats of eviction from their land. 6.9% reported that the original size of their plot had decreased and almost 5% reported that their plot for cultivation is not adjacent to their house.

Fig 36: Bar charts disaggregating info related to land (left to right)- land facts, quality of land and land registration in Rhino

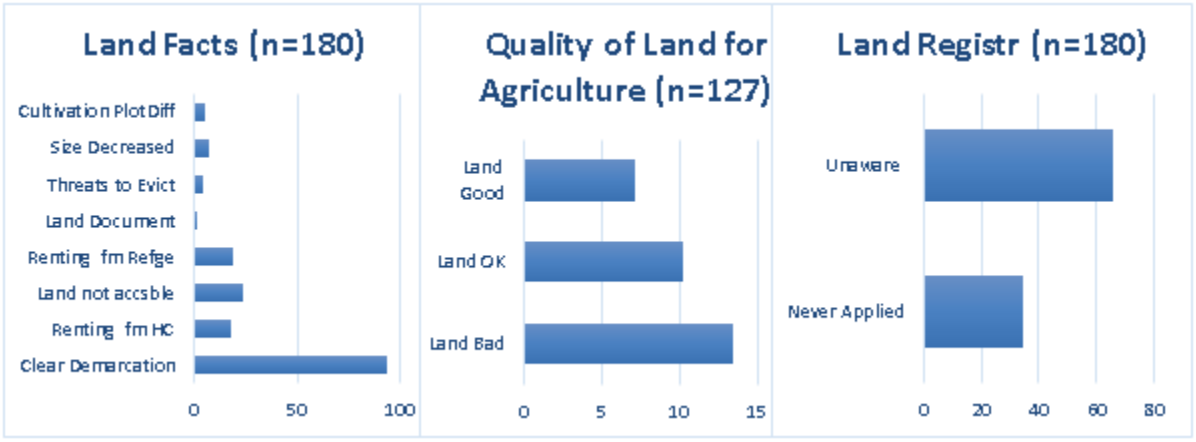
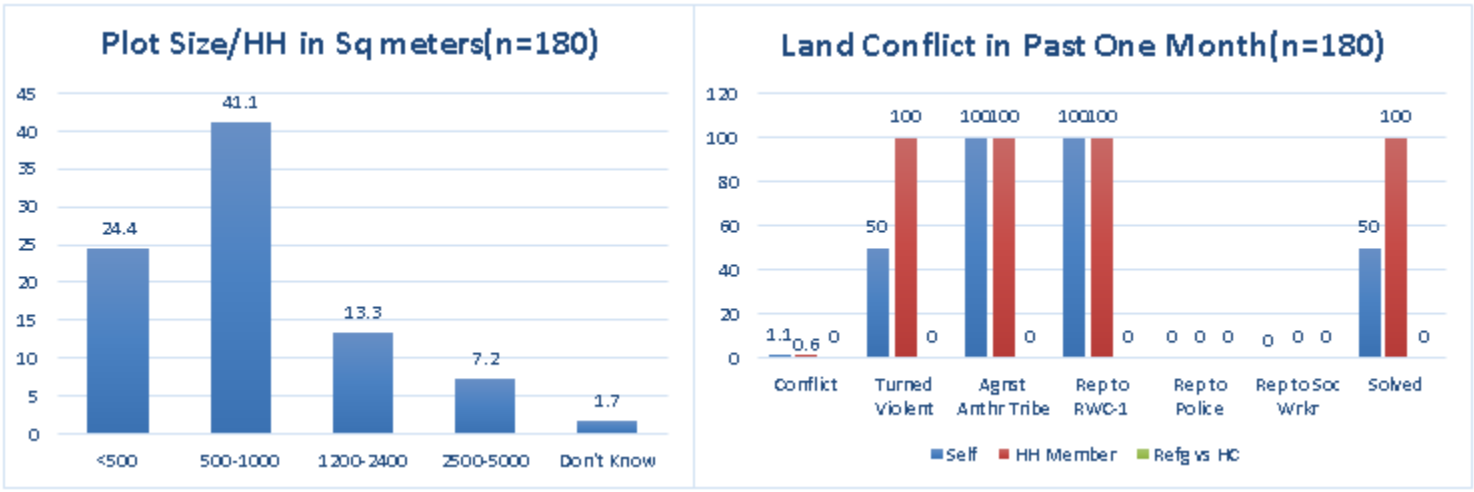


Fig 37: Bar charts disaggregating info related to land (left to right)- land plot size and land conflict in Rhino



- In fig 37, we see 24.4% reported having a plot size of less than 500 square meters; 41.1% have a size between 500-1000 sq mtrs; 13.3% own a plot between 1200, 5000 sq mtrs, 7.2% reported a size between 2500-5000 sq mtrs and 1.7% reported not knowing the approximate size of their plot.
- When asked to disaggregate land conflict according to- if the individual, a HH member or someone from the community against a Ugandan host community member was involved, we find that only 1.1% had some type of quarrel and only 0.6% reported that someone from their household had a quarrel related to land in the past one month. No one reported that their community members had any quarrels related to land with the host community.

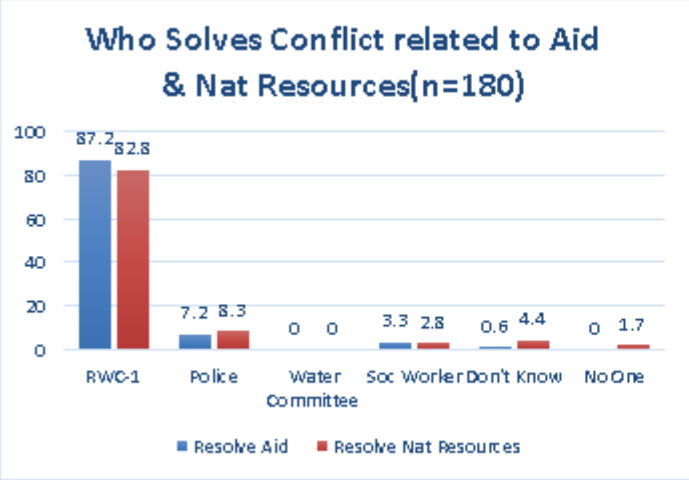
- Out of these reported land conflicts, 50% individual and 100% involving a HH member turned violent. The other bar graphs on the right in fig 39, depict who the refugees reported to during these conflicts. All quarrels are reported to existing institutions prevalent in the camps such as the RWCs.
- Likewise 50% of the conflicts involving the individual subjects were solved were as 100% of the conflicts the subjects reported which involved another HC member were solved.

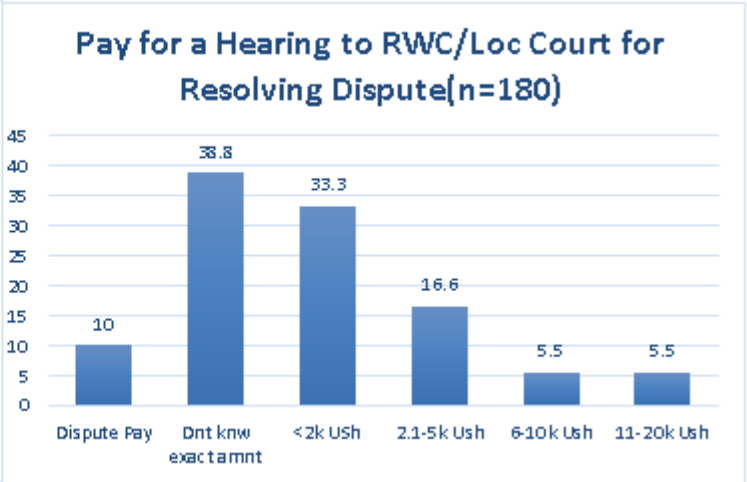
3.4.4 Conflict Resolution

Since conflict related to aid and natural resources are the most prevalent, we asked who the refugees rely on to solve such conflicts. Fig 38 tells us that:

- Refugees rely on their RWC-1 the most with 87.2% and 82.8% being solved by RWC for conflict related to aid and natural resources.
- 10% of our sample also reported of knowing someone from their community having to pay to RWC-1 or the local court for a hearing.
- Out of this 10% who reported this practice, 38.8% reported not to know the exact amount. 33.3% reported that the amount is usually less than 2000 USh; 16.6% reported it being between 2 and 5,000 USh; 5,5% each between 6-10000 and between 11-20,000 USh.

Fig 38: Bar charts disaggregating info related to actors in conflcit resolution



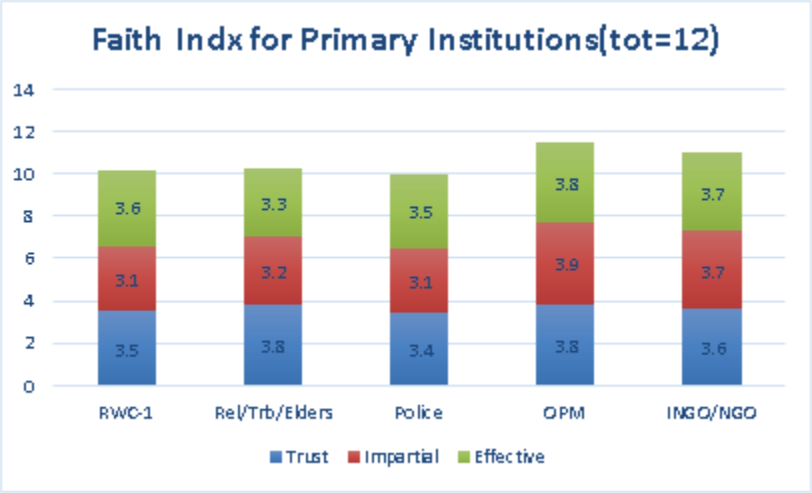


3.4.5 Faith Towards Key Institutions inside the Settlements

In order to measure faith towards key institutions, each refugee was asked to rate, out of 1-5, how they feel about these institutions in terms of trust, impartiality and efficiency which is depicted in figure 39.

- The top institution that refugees in Rhino ranked is the OPM followed by the Implementing Partners(IPs) and then the religious/tribal leaders. Note that this is the only camp where refugees ranked traditional institution over RWC-1.
- The RWC-1 is ranked fourth followed by the police.

Fig 39: Bar charts of faith index towards key institutions



3.4.6 Economic Livelihoods

Economic opportunities at individual level translate into incentive for peaceful co-existence. Some of key livelihood indicators as shown in figure 40 are as follows:

- 32.95% reported to grow some type of vegetable in the allocated plot. Out of this reported figure 12% reported that they also sell vegetables. Likewise 19% in our sample reported that they grow at least one type of seasonal crop.
- 4.94% reported they also grow a second seasonal crop and out of this figure 12.5% reported they sell some of this second crop. Lastly 0.5% reported they grow a third crop which they reported are all sold (100% out of 5.6%).

- 34.4% in our sample reported owning poultry and 24.4% reported owning goat or pigs. None in our sample reported owning cattle.
- Fig 41 tells us that 18.8% are involved in some kind of income generating activity besides farming and livestock. 9.4% in our total sample said their household owns some kind of instant cash business like a shop or a salon. 14.4% said that they are involved in some cooperative, an indication that they own some cash they are able to invest.

Fig 40: Bar charts of agriculture production and poultry/livestock

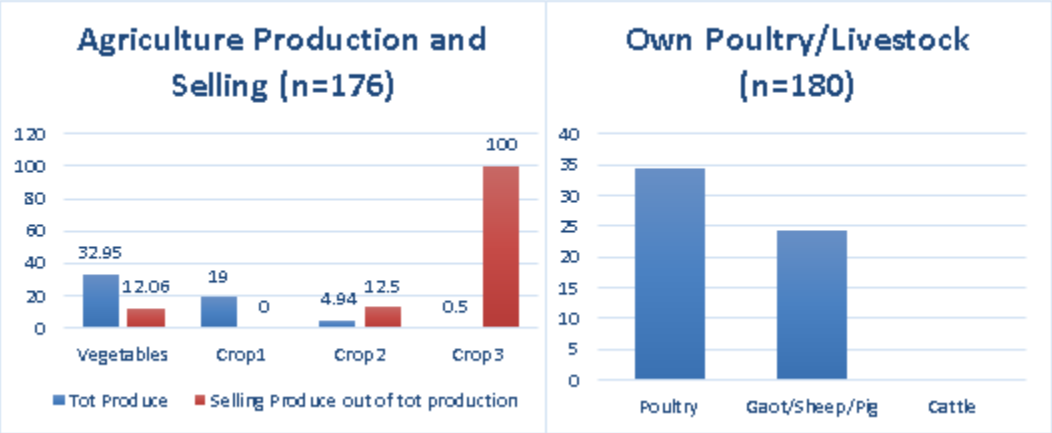
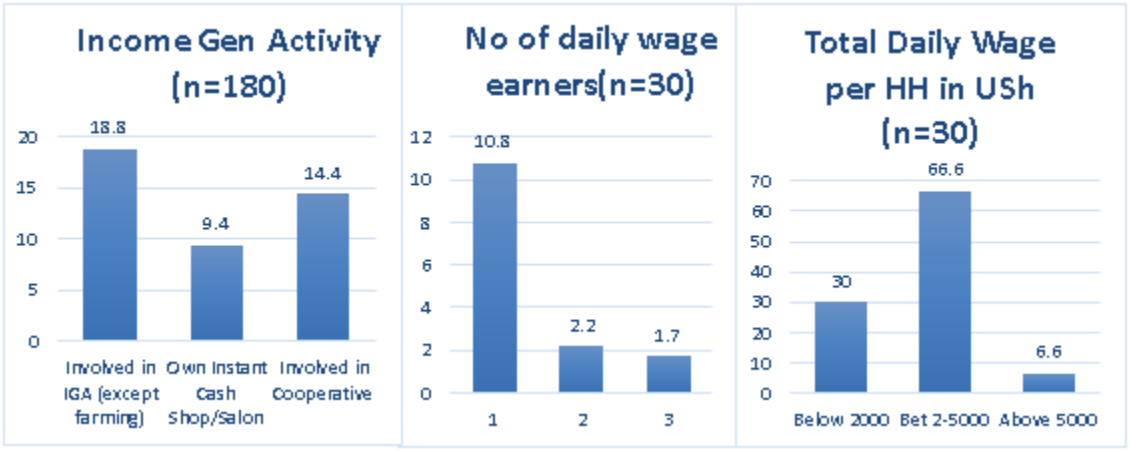


Fig 41: Bar charts of income generating activities (IGA)

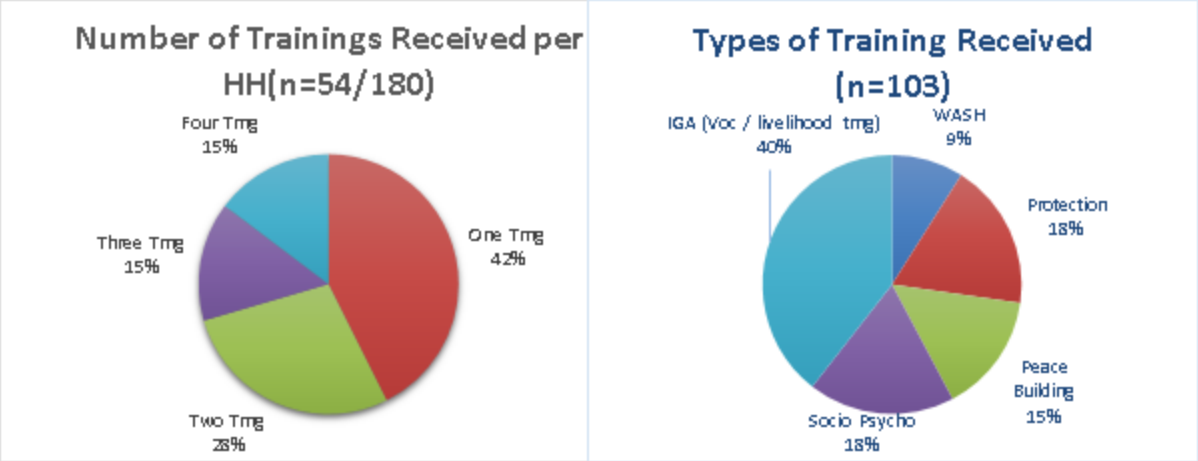


3.4.7 Trainings

Since IPs are heavily involved in engaging the refugees with different trainings and support, figure 42 depicts the numbers and types of trainings reported by our sample.

- 54 subjects out of 180 reported having received training. 42% out of those 54 reported having received one training where as the other 58% received two or more.
- Out of 103 trainings received by the subjects or someone from their HH, 9% were related to WASH, 18% related to protection, 15% peace building, 18% related to socio-psycho and 40% reported having received some kind of IGA vocational training.

Fig 42: Pie charts depicting training per HH and types of training in Rhino

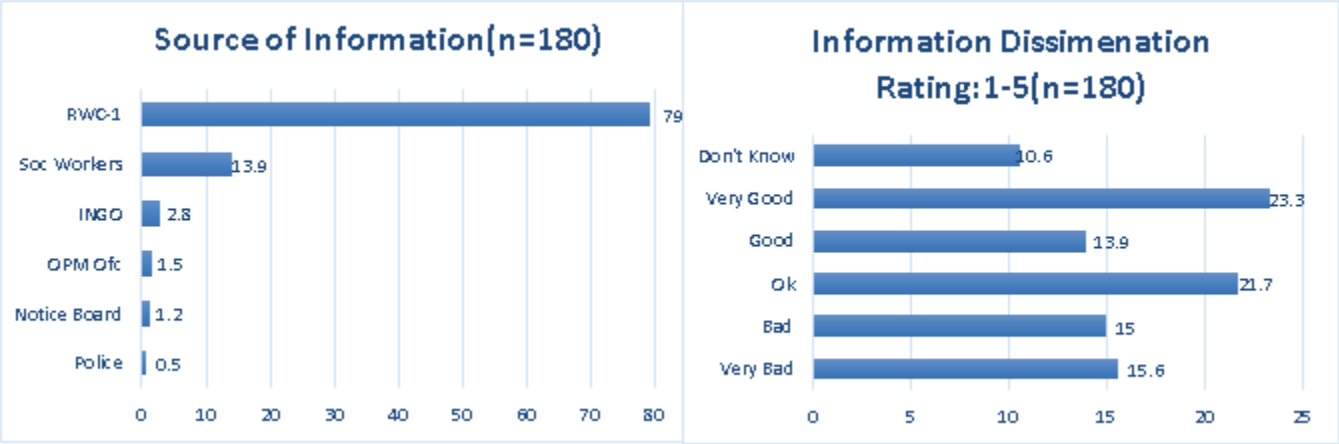


3.4.8 Information Source and Dissemination in Rhino

We considered sources of information of the refugee population and how the refugees rate their sources of information. The findings as fig 43 below show were:

- 79% form our sample of 180 rely on RWC-1 and 13.9% get their information directly form the social workers.
- 23.3% in our sample rate the information sources to be very good. However 15.2% rate it to be bad and another 15.6% as very bad.

Fig 43: Bar charts (left to right) with source of information and their ratings



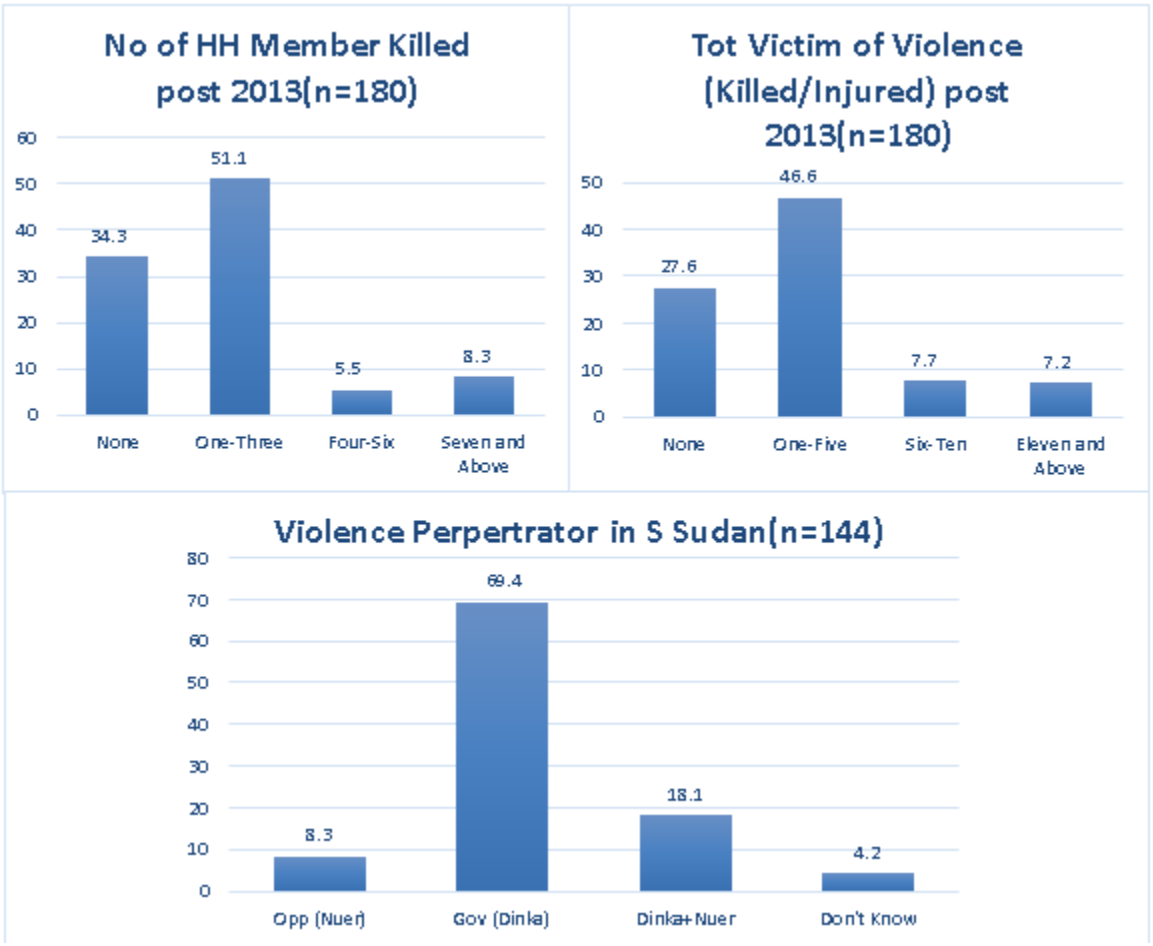
3.4.9 Conflict Dynamics from South Sudan in Rhino

To understand the history of conflict so that it assists to design project interventions accordingly, we asked a number of questions related to violence in South Sudan. Some findings as shown in fig 44 below are:

- 34.3% of our subjects did not have any members killed after the break out of the 2013 South Sudan Civil War. 51.1% had 1-3 HH members killed, 5.5% between 4-6 and 8.3% with seven and above.
- Only 27.6% of the respondents did not have any member from their HH as a victim of violence -both killed or injured. 46.6% had between 1-5, 7.7% between 6-10 and 7.2% reported eleven and above.

- Out of 144 subjects who reported some kind of violence 70% blamed it against the opposition government with only 8.3% saying the opposition was responsible. 18.1% blamed it on both the government and the opposition together. 4.2% did not know.

Fig 44: Bar charts (left, right and bottom) with numbers killed, total victim of violence and violence perpetrator in the civil war in South Sudan among refugees in Rhino



4. COMPARING THE THREE CAMPS

4.1 Measurement with Behavioral Games

There have been recent critiques in the development literature that respondents during surveys feel compelled to give the "desired" answer to questions with the hope that more aid agencies follow suit (Cilliers et. al., 2015). To overcome this measurement problem, we used an additional novel measurement technique involving behavioural games, in a lab in the field setting to measure effects on inter-personal trust, which can be critical in shaping cooperation, social cohesion and economic outcomes. Laboratory activities have provided tremendous insight into motivations guiding behaviour in various post conflict settings all over the world (Humphreys et. al., 2014; Gilligan et. al., 2015).

In order to allow us to measure trust among the three camps, we conducted two behavioural games in a group setting where per each session ten refugees played these games with each other.[10] The first game activity called the pay-it-forward game. Each refugee ***i*** was given 600 Ugandan Shillings (USH) in six 100 coins in an envelope and randomly and anonymously paired with two other refugees ***j*** and ***k*** (where $j \neq i$, $k \neq i$, and $j \neq k$). Refugee ***i*** was given the opportunity to send any amount of that 600 USH (in 100 USH coin denominations), including zero, to ***j*** and we would triple the amount sent. Meanwhile ***k*** would send some amount, including possibly zero, to ***i*** and we would tripe the amount that ***k*** sent to ***i***. Under rational self-interest there should be no incentive for anyone to give.

However, in such trust games experiments conducted across a variety of contexts, subjects in fact exhibit degrees of pro-sociality in that they typically give some positive amount

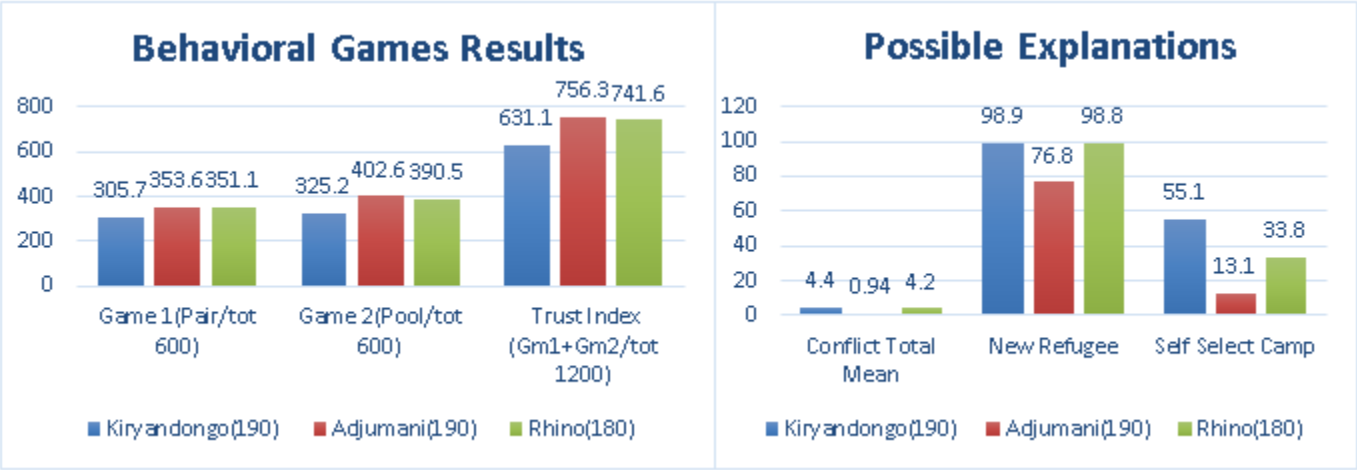
[10] In total we conducted 56 such games sessions.

(Henrich et al., 2004). The design of the game was motivated by two interests. First was to prime group-level norms instead of focusing the subject's attention solely on a single recipient. Second, this implementation allowed all subjects to play the role of a dictator in a simultaneous play fashion.

The second laboratory activity was a standard "public goods" game. Each subject ***i*** was again given 600 USH in 100 USH coins in an envelope and was told they can donate any amount of that 600 USH, including zero, in 100 coin denominations to the group. For each 100 USH donated, everyone in the group, including ***i***, would receive a payout of 50 USH or 50% of the donated amount. Groups always consisted of 10 refugees so each 100 USH donation reaped 500 USH for the entire group. This presents a classical public goods provision problem (Olson, 1965), and under rational self-interest, the incentives of this game are such that free-riding should prevail. At the same time, the group nature of the game is expected to prime group level norms, should they exist.

We believe the combined outcomes from the two games described above will allow us to measure seemingly unobservable components of conflict and social cohesion that are difficult if not impossible to capture solely by descriptive statistics. Using simple two sided *t*-tests we were also able to compare and contrast, if differences between our primary interest variables in the three settlements are statistically significant.

Fig 45: Bar charts (left) showing games results and (right) possible explanations for the variation observed (n=560).



***Note*:** Figure on the left- Y axis is the total possible amount that each subject can send which is between 0-600 USH for each game. The index (right hand most graph of the left figure) is a combination of the two games. The right figure are descriptive statistics related to total conflict reported, percentage of new refugees and percentage that self selected into the camps- all possible hypotheses as to why there is less social cohesion in Kiryandongo.

Table 5: Table showing results of comparison of **"trust"** between the three camps using ***t*** tests

Comparing Trust Between the Three Camps using Two-sample t Test with Equal Variances

Camps	Mean 1	Mean 2	Difference	Std. Err.	*p* Value
1. Kiryandongo vs Adjumani	631	756	125	27.9	0.0000***
2. Kiryandongo vs Rhino	631	741	110	28.5	0.0001***
3. Adjumani vs Rhino	756	741	14	27.1	0.5905

The Trust Index of refugees in Kiryandong is statisticcally significant below 0.01% than the other two camps while Rhino and Adjumani are not different from each other.

4.2 Findings from Behavioral Games

Some key findings from the ***t*** tests are :

- Refugees in Kiryandongo are giving less in both the games, with a combined total of 631, than the other two camps.
- Refugees in Adjumani have the highest trust index-756 which is the combined amount sent in game1 and game 2. Refugees in Rhino rank second with 741 followed by Rhino with 631.
- Table 6 tells us that our trust index is statistically significant when comparing trust index between a) Adjumani and Kiryandongo and also between b) Rhino and Kiryandongo. This implies that refugees in Kirayndongo on average have less social cohesion.
- However, the trust index is not statistically significant when comparing between Adjumani and Rhino implying that the level of social cohesion in these two settlements on average is the same.

In order to address any concerns related to results from the behavioural games, we asked each subject two standard questions related to co-operation which was scaled from 1-4. The questions were: What do you think of the statements below. Please rank them from 1-4 with 1 being the least and 4 being the strongest in terms of how much you agree with the statement.

    - It is good to cooperate.
    - It is good to be fair to fair people.
- The results from the two statements were added to make a cooperation index.
- This cooperation index is strikingly similar to the behavioural games results.
- Adjumani ranked first in the cooperation survey index with 7.7 out of a possible 8, followed by Rhino with 7.27 and Kiryandongo ranked last with 7.25.

We further ran regressions with controls to exactly measure the magnitude and direction of the trust index/social cohesion between the three camps. We ran an Ordinary Least Square (OLS) model with the combined amount of game 1 and game 2, a proxy for trust or social cohesion, as our primary outcome of interest. The independent variable was which refugee camps the refugees come from. We added several controls which might bias our results and the standard errors were clustered at the village level in order to address concerns related to village level correlations. Some findings from our regression models were:

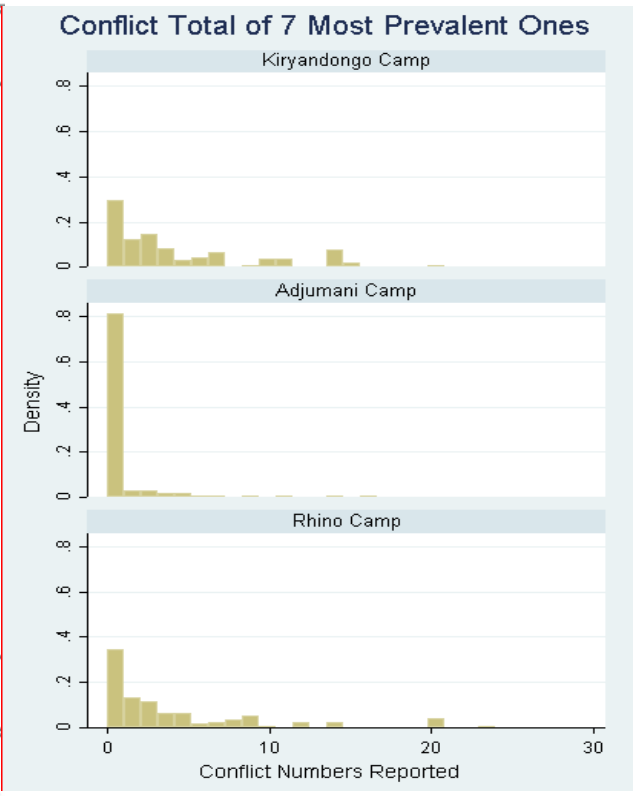
- Model 1 in table 6 shows refugees in Adjumani give 132 USH more than refugees in Kiryandongo and this result is statistically significant at 0.01%.
- Model 2 in table 6 shows refugees in Rhino give 54 USH more than refugees in Kiryandongo and this result is statistically significant at 0.05%.
- Model 3 in table 6 show there is no statistically significant difference in giving between refugees in Adjumani and Rhino.
- The results tell us that trust or social cohesion is significantly higher in Adjumani and Rhino than Kiryandongo.

Table 6: Regression results (left) and histogram of total conflicts reported by each refugee

Regression Results of Trust Index

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Trust Indx	**Trust Indx**	**Trust Indx**
Kiryan vs Adjm	132.28***		
	(30.57)		
Kiryan vs Rhn		53.88**	
		(20.27)	
Adjm vs Rhn			-16.58
			(45.75)
Age	0.75	0.49	0.15
	(1.34)	(1.34)	(1.07)
Sex	-66.77*	-35.33	-66.43**
	(33.39)	(34.71)	(30.47)
Christian	61.60	-72.47	-49.80
	(57.91)	(83.76)	(57.34)
Education	4.51	-1.97	8.32
	(6.78)	(8.05)	(7.56)
Constant	424.24***	653.25***	832.71***
	(67.37)	(108.39)	(147.34)
N	378	369	369
R^2	0.06	0.05	0.02

Standard errors in parentheses. Robust standard errors clustered by village.(p-values are for two-sided tests.)* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$



4.3 Possible Explanations

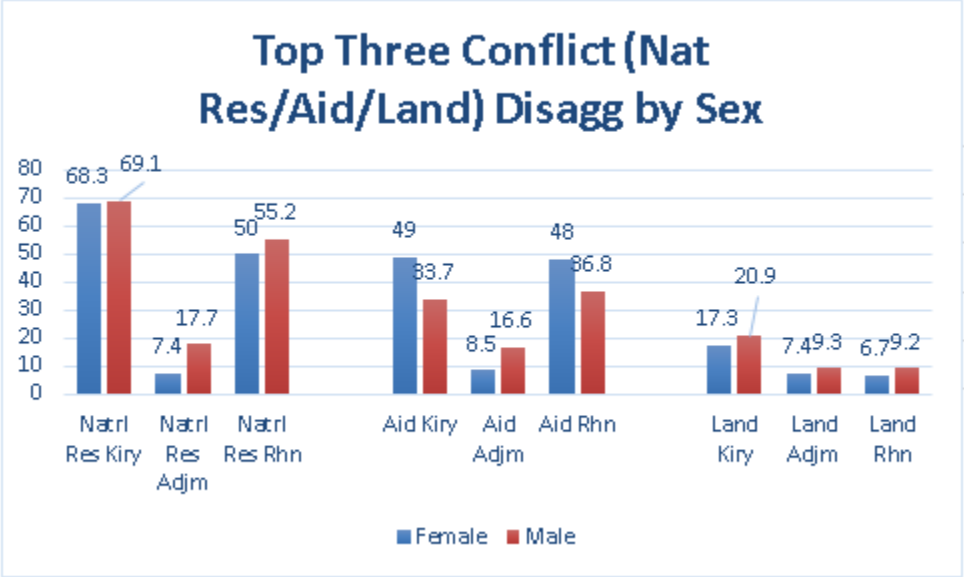
Some possible explanations are:

- As the right bar charts on fig 45 show the combined reported conflict numbers are higher in Kiryandongo, followed by Rhino and Adjumani exactly what the games results reflect which is an indication of less social capital due to existing conflict in Kiryandongo.
- Another possible explanation could also be that refugees in Kiryandongo are more opportunistic since 55% of the refugees from Kiryandongo self-selected the camp- an indication that they exhibit behavioral traits for optimizing self-interest.
- Another likely explanation is that Adjumani houses more old case refugees that never returned to South Sudan after the 2011 independence. Hence the level of trust between these old cases might be driving the result.
- However, the conflict mechanism seems more persuasive since the Ugandan host community members also reported higher level of conflict in Kiryandongo than in Adjumani.
- We additionally carried out several statistical tests to see if the opportunistic and old caseloads hypotheses hold and did not find any empirical evidence.
- A plausible explanation could also be that DRC's involved in Adjumani stands out in comparison to Kiryandongo. Though DRC is heavily involved in Rhino, it is still not as much as it's involvement in Adjumani. Hence the games results may be a simple reflection of DRC's existing involvement in these three camps.

To compare some main outcomes of interests we further compared a few key variables and additionally disaggregated them by sex. Some findings as shown in fig 46 are:

- Kiryandongo has highest numbers of conflicts reported followed by Rhino and Adjumani.
- In Kirayndongo 68.3% of female and 69.1% of male from our sample reported witnessing at least one quarrel related to natural resources in the past one month. The figures were 7.4% of female and 17.7% of female in Adjumani and, 50% of female and 55.2% of male in Rhino.
- Likewise 49% of female and 33.7% of female from our sample in Kiryandongo reported witnessing at least one quarrel related to aid and so on.

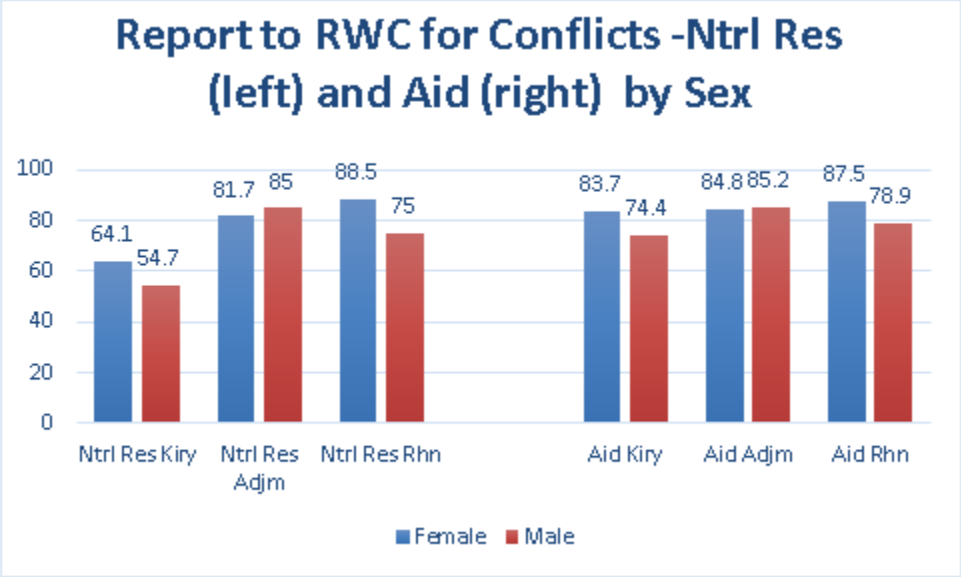
Fig 46: Bar charts showing what percentage of female and male witnessed at least one conflict related to natural resources (left; aid (middle) and land (right).



Also, to find out what percentage reported to RWC for conflicts related to natural resources and aid, we compared the three camps together. The findings are presented in fig 47 below.

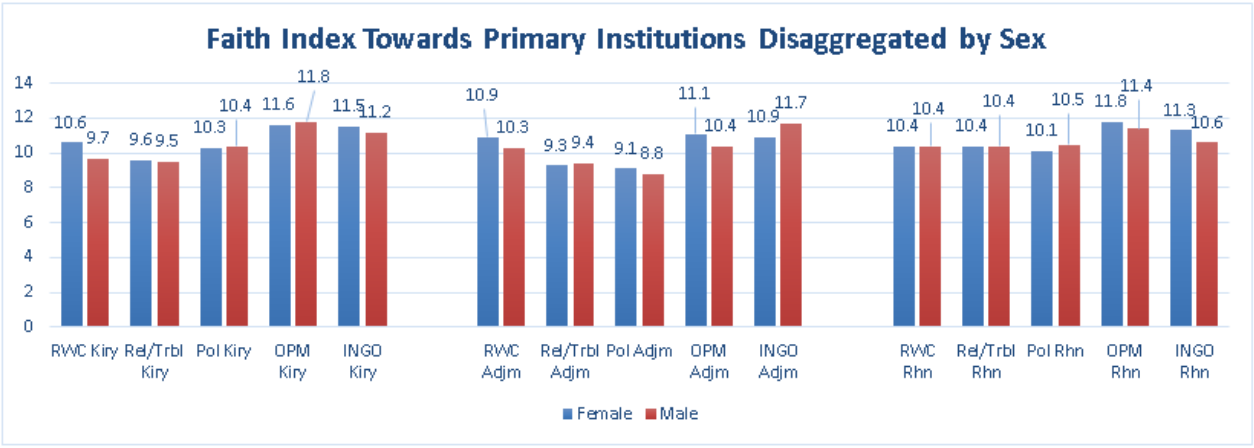
- When refugees are involved in conflicts related to natural resources, then 64.1% of female and 54.7% of male rely on RWC to solve the conflict where as in Adjumani and Rhino the figures are much higher.
- Likewise for conflict related to aid figures are represented in the right hand side bar charts.
- The remaining percentage that don't rely on RWC go to different institutions ranging from the police, community workers to traditional intuitions.

Fig 47: Bar charts (left) showing percentage who rely on RWC for conflicts related to natural resources and (right) conflict related to aid



Also, to compare the faith towards the primary institutions disaggregated by sex, we combined three variables – trust, impartial/accountable and effective to build a faith index out of a possible total of 15. The findings are presented in fig 48 below.

Fig 48: Comparison of faith index between the three camps disaggregated by sex



5. RECOMMENDATIONS

This micro-level conflict analysis shows that ongoing interventions have adequately addressed current needs and current sources of conflict and also the drivers of potential future insecurity. Therefore, the focus should be on strengthening existing community level

structures to further strengthen the refugee population's capacity to resist pressures, and prevent and resolve behaviours which contribute to violent conflict. Few recommendations are as follows:

- Because of the scarcity of natural resources and its impact on the environment, the OPM should advocate to donors to scale up existing projects for alternative energy. In particular, the focus should be on provision to change roofs from grass to sheets, energy efficient stoves as well as developing skills for construction of such stoves, and sustainable forest management through organized and regulated tree cutting.
- Since the study found strong correlations between existing low level conflicts and social cohesion, there is still room for innovative strategies to strengthen social and economic linkage between refugees and also between refugees and host communities so that this promotes peaceful co-existence refugees.
- More capacity building for RWCs and LCs for holding local courts for matters between host and refugee in term of alternative dispute mechanisms and legal process. However, there is also a need for awareness campaigns to ensure that the local courts avoid adjudicating beyond their jurisdiction.
- There is a window of opportunity for collaboration between relevant stakeholders involved in education, livelihoods and conflict management in implementing overlapping projects. This will help avoid duplication of work, remove refugee fatigue towards IPs and save substantial amounts of resources.
- A strong development and practice of synergy is required and recommended to avoid any duplication of effort and rationalize every available resource towards the lowest level possible in the refugee communities. For eg refugee farmers project which rents land from Ugandan host communities is an example where refugees, host community are both involved in generating income of the refugees but also having direct impact on social cohesion.

Fig 49: Refugee farmers' livelihood project (renting land from HC) supported by DRC in Rhino

6. CONCLUSION

It is clear that in all the three refugee settlements, the IPs continue to offer excellent tried-and-tested interventions, based on the community's own plans, in the sectors of conflict prevention and reduction, and community based alternative dispute mechanism. However, in terms of aid and social services, the refugee communities feel the IPs are not providing. New case load refugee populations in the settlements, especially in the outermost areas, remain mostly ignorant of the role and mandate assigned to different implementing partners. Reliable and timely access to information still has room for innovative new ideas, and is necessary to improve service delivery and accountability of all humanitarian organizations to the communities.

But most notably conflict, except small scale violence at the micro-level, mostly related to water, is distinctly absent at the macro level. The ongoing community level engagements by DRC appears to have caused refugee communities to host more collective behaviour, measured in terms of the absence of violence and the functioning of community organizations. These macro-level findings from FGDs and interviews with different stakeholders are matched by micro-level effects of cohesion seen, measured through the surveys and behavioural games.

Although conditions are normal, the situation in the outermost communities, especially in Adjumani and Rhino because of the large geographical spread of the villages, still remains fluid, especially in areas where new caseloads of refugees were brought in. Because new caseloads of refugees bring existing prejudices against other community members, the biggest challenge, however, will remain to constantly foster cooperation and reconciliation between refugees as this builds social cohesion which ensures peaceful and secure communities.

7. REFERENCE

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http://www.unhcr.org

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8. APPENDIX

Fig 50: Google map of the layout of Kiryandongo Camp

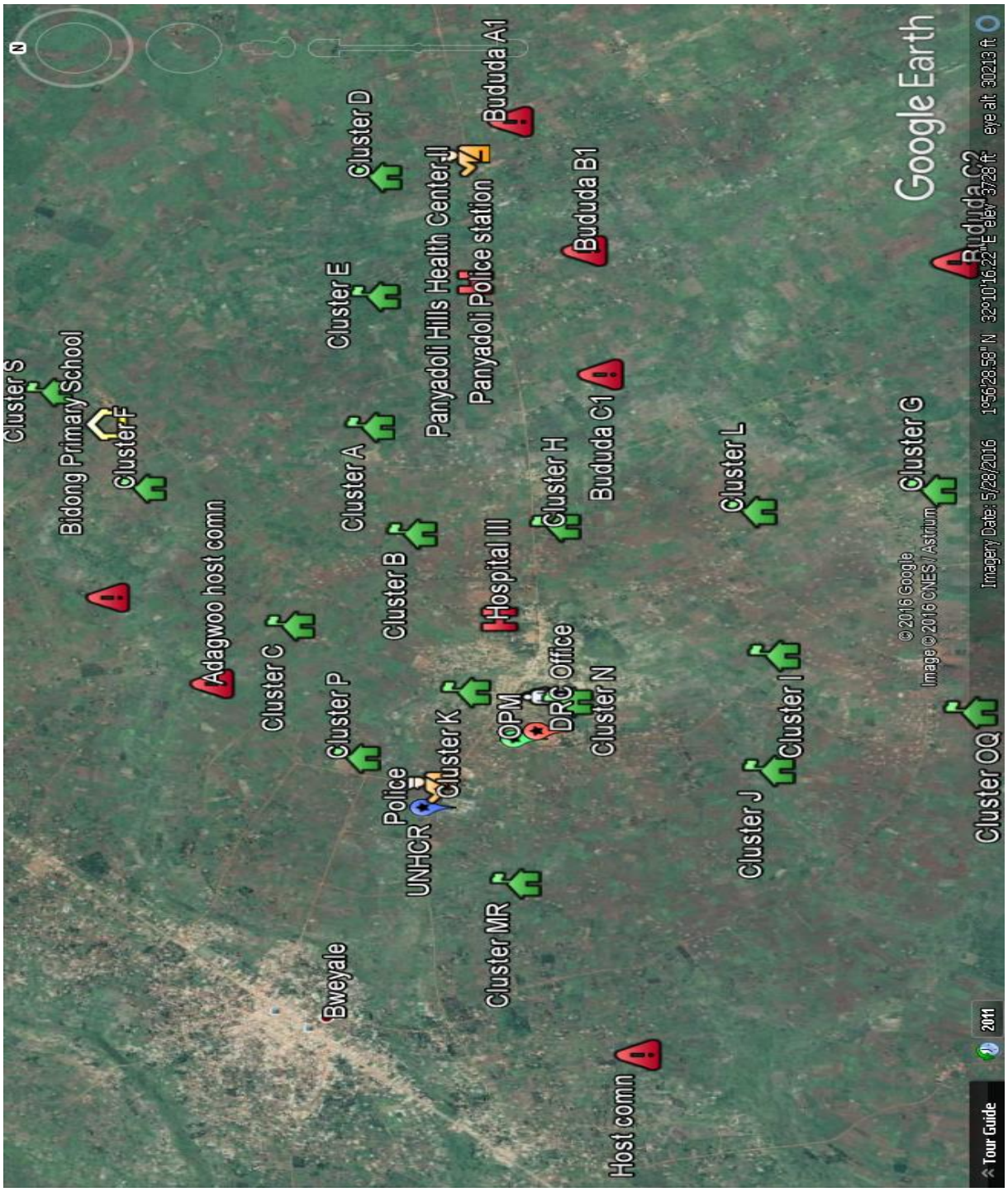


Fig 51: Google map of the layout of Adjumani Camp

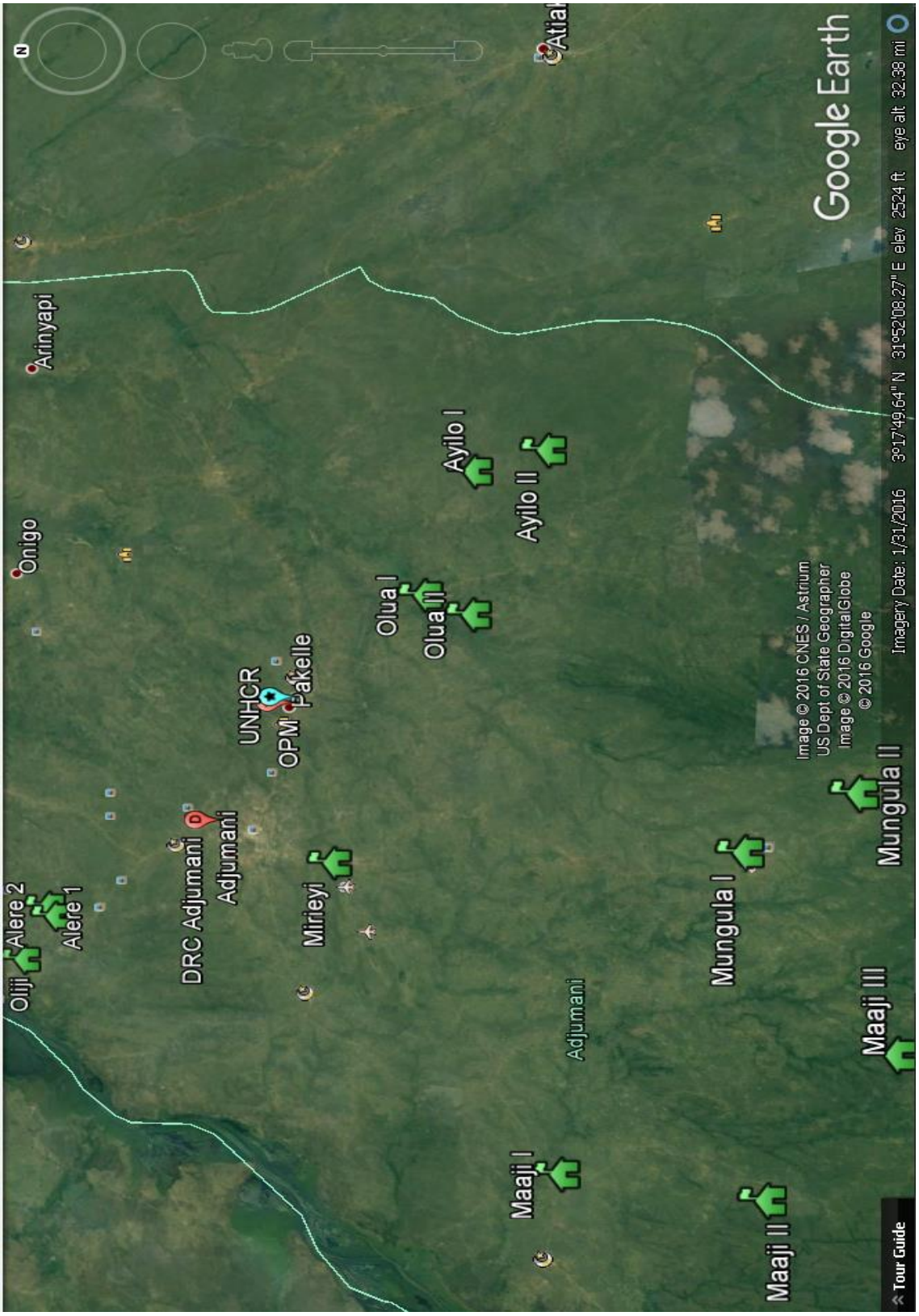
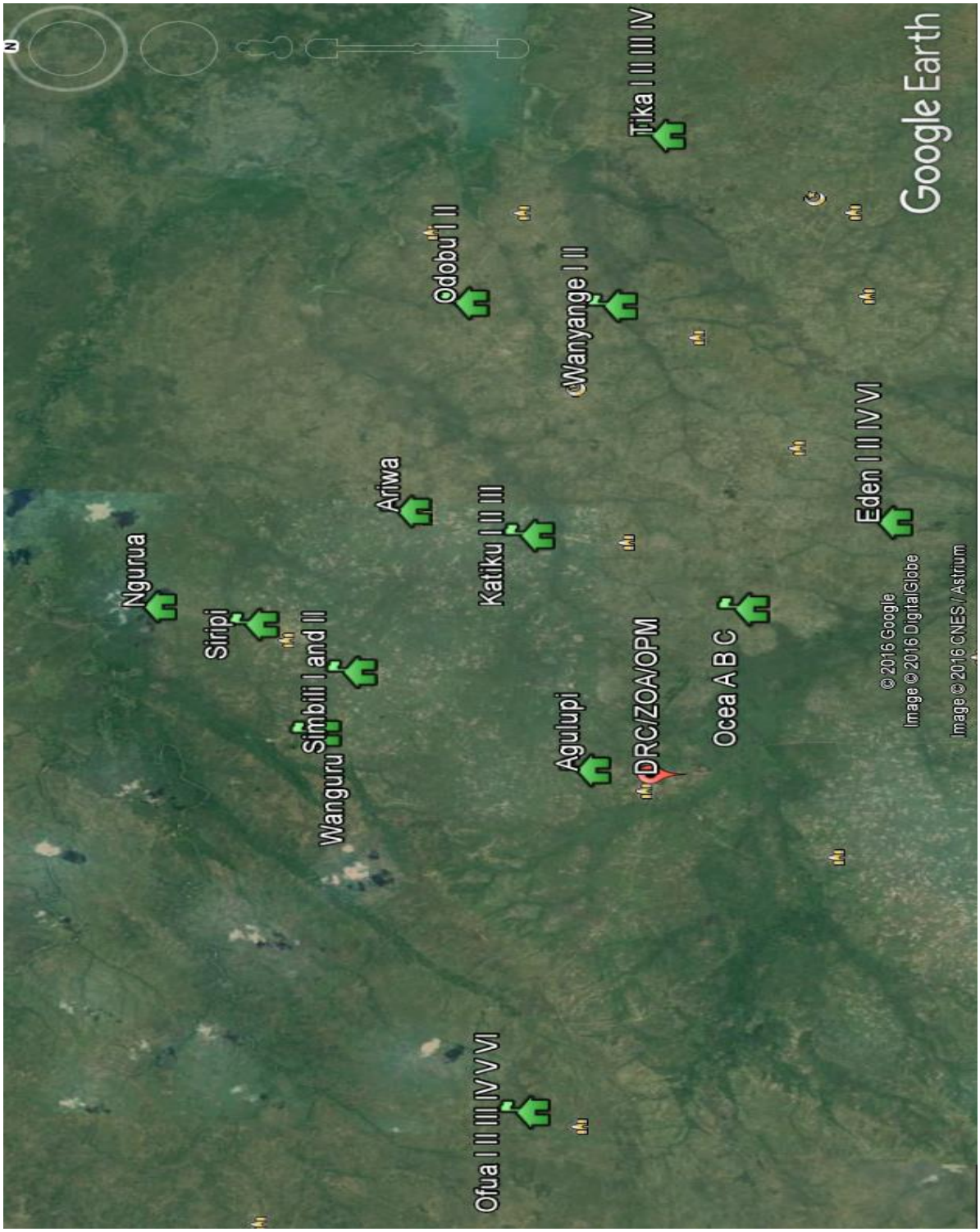


Fig 52: Google map of the layout of Rhino Camp



Name:	Tribe:	Sex: **M** **F**	Age:	Married: **Y** **N**	Religion: **C** **M** **O**	Your spouse with you here **Y** **N**
Number in your household here:		Total male numbers:		Total female numbers:		
Number in your household in South Sudan:		How many got killed after 2013 war:		How many are unaccounted for:		
How many decided to stay back in S. Sudan:		How many members of your family were victims of violence in South Sudan:		Which group committed the violence:		
Your highest education:		If you were employed in South Sudan what was your main job:		Boma in Sudan:	County in Sudan:	State in Sudan:
How many members of the family earned wage in South Sudan:		Total daily household wage in South Sudan:		From 1-5 how would you describe your economic situation in South Sudan (1 very poor 5 rich):		
SETTLEMENT QUESTIONS						
Besides farming are you involved in any income generating activity here? **Y** **N**		Does your household here own a shop or small business like vegtable selling or salon? **Y** **N**		How many adults from your household here in the settlement earn daily wage:		
IF they earn daily wage, what is the type of job:		If there is earning here, how much daily wage for the entire household (on average per day):		Household involved in co-operative? **Y** **N**		
How many members in your house sleep under the mosquito net?		How many children in your household below age of 18 go to school?				
Total number of cell phones in your household:		Total number of radios in your household:				
CHILDREN						
How many children did your household have in South Sudan: 1) Below 10 years:				2) 10-15 years:		3) 15-17 years:
Did any of your children get associated with armed groups? **Y** **N**				If YES, how many boys:		How many girls:
Age of boys who got associated: Boy 1: Boy 2: Boy 3:				Age of girls who got associated: Girl 1: Girl 2 :		
How did they get associated:	Abduction : **Y** **N**	Volunteer : **Y** **N**		Community Decision: **Y** **N**		Friends Influence: **Y** **N**
Which group was the children associated with	GOV Forces: **Y** **N**			Opposition Forces **Y** **N**		Others: .....
Were the children paid by the group? **Y** **N**	If Yes- How much:			How many children are still with the group in S. Sudan?		
LAND Conflict						
How many times in the last 1 month **did you (the subject)** have a serious argument with another refugee in your community regarding land?						
How many of those became violent?		Was it with your own tribe? **Y** **N**				
What was it over exactly regarding land? Boundary or Ownership	Where did the conflict exactly take place?			Which structure did you report this land conflict to?		Did it get solved **Y** **N**
How many times in the last 1 month did **a member of your hsehold** have a serious argument with another refugee in your community regarding land?						
How many of those became violent?		Was it with your own tribe? **Y** **N**		Was it with a different tribe than yours? **Y** **N**		
What was it over exactly regarding land? Boundary or Ownerhsip	Where did the conflict exactly take place?		Which structure did you report this land conflict to?			Did it get solved **Y** **N**
How many times in the last one month did some one from your community have a serious argument with a **Ugandan host population** over land?						
How many of those became violent?			Number of parties involved in the conflict:			
What was it over exactly regarding land? Boundary or Ownerhsip	Where did the conflict exactly take place?.....		Which structure did you report this land conflict to?			Did it get solved **Y** **N**

Attitudinal Survey (1 -4 check codes)	1:	2:	3:	4:	5:	6:	7:
Psychological Survey (1 -4 check codes)	1:	2:	3:	4:	5:	6: 7:	8:
Experimental Questions: (1 -5 check codes)	Control/ Treathment	Question ONE:			Question TWO:		
In the last 1 month, how many times did you/ member of your household have a serious argument with another refugee over these issues?	**Aid**	**Leadership**	**Access to Social Services**	**Land**	**Tribal Conflict**	**Other Livelihood sources**	**Natural Resources** .....
If reported then name what it was over? (types of conflict under the main heading)							
Where did these types of conflict take place (Write the Spot/Location?							

If there is conflict involving **aid** services in your household with another household, who is likely to solve it?	If there is conflict involving **access to natural resources** in your household with another household, who is likely to solve it?	The last time there was a conflict involving land that got solved in your community, do you know if they had to pay for a hearing? **Y N** **If YES, how much**	Do you have documentation of your land rights? **Y N** If so what kind of documentation?
Land size in the settlement your household owns for house plot: .....X.....mtrs	Has the size of your land, since the first time you were given the land decreased in size? **Y N**	Is there a demarcation boundary between your land and your neighbor's land? **Y N**	Are other refugees in your community renting land to or from **other refugees**? **Y N**
Plot size for cultivation: .....X.....mtrs	Distance of harvesting land from your house .....km/mtrs	Productivity of your land → 1 Bad 2 Ok 3 Good	Are other refugees in your community renting land to or from **host community**? **Y N**

Type of Crop you produce in your land	**Vegetables:**	**Crop One:**	**Crop Two:**	**Crop Three:**	**TOTAL USH after selling**
Total Yield/Quantity per season					X
How much is it used for your household consumption					X
How much is it used for selling					..... USH

To what extent do you feel that the refugee council (RWC-1) has the same issue priorities as you do? (1-5 with 1 being the least to 5 the best):	**Is the RWC-1 head from your tribe? Y N** **Is the RWC-1 head from your household? Y N** **Is the RWC-1 head related to you? Y N**				**Number of RWC-1 members from your tribe?**	**Number of RWC-1 members from your household?** .....
To what extent do you feel that your tribal leader has the same issue priorities as you do? (1-5 with 1 least to 5 the best):	Is the tribal leader from your household? Y N Is the tribal leader related to you? Y N				Number of community workers from your tribe?	Number of community workers from your household? .....
Date you arrived in the settlement: Month: Year:	I will now name FIVE institutions that are involved in your wellbeing in the camp from service provision, aid to camp management to dispute resolution Please rank them in terms of..... **1 lowest, 2 low, 3 so so, 4 high, 5 highest**.					Who is the primary source for any information related to aid and services in your community? .....
Did you choose settlement? **Y N**		RWC-1	Rel/Tribal Ldrs	Police	OPM	INGOs
Did you choose village? **Y N**	**Trust**					
Did you choose your plot? **Y N**	**Impartial**					
	Effective					

In a reconciliation process, victims describe the violence they experienced, and perpetrators of violence admit to crimes and often seek forgiveness for these crimes. If a reconciliation process were held in your community, would you participate? **Y N**			
After your arrival have you changed from one **settlement** to another? **Y N**	Since your arrival in this settlement have you changed/ moved village? **Y N**		
Does your community/village have your own village security group? **Y N**			
Number of Pots and Jerry cans your household owns in the refugee settlement:	Number of Poultry your household owns in the refugee settlement:	Number of goats/pigs/sheep your household owns:	Number of cattle:
Has any members of your household (including yourself) received some kind of training from the Implementing partners here in the camp? **Y N**			
If YES how many?	What type of training: Training One:	Trng Two:	Trng Three:
Imagine the last time when you receive information on Food Distribution/NFI Distribution/ Other services. Do you think it was being done timely and fairly? (1-5 with 1 being the least to 5 the best) :			
To your knowledge, can you access your land freely without interference by family members according to the law of Uganda? **Y N**	Can women own land? **Y N**	Can you be evicted from your land by the government without compensation? **Y N**	
Who needs to consent to transaction/gift/lease or sub divide your land?	Have you applied for your land to be registered? **Y N**		
Because of the conflict do you feel the need to check your boundary frequently? **Y N**	Because of the conflict, do you feel insecure for your personal safety? **Y N**		
Because of the conflict, how is your livelihood affected? Crops destroy **Y N**	Property destroy **Y N**	Relation with comunty affected **Y N**	Income lose **Y N**
Did you have any land that you were unable to access/cultivate because of conflict within the last year? **Y N**	If YES what is the size of this land .....X.....mtrs		
Has anyone ever come and made threats to you or to a member of your household that you could be evicted from your land? **Y N**			
Are you concerned that your household could be asked to leave your land? **Y N**	Do you think your household will continue to have the same level of access and control over these plots of land in 5 years? **Y N**		
Are YOU likely to lose access to your land if you have a disagreement with your family? **Y N**			
How likely are you to engage in the following activity? (1-3 with 1 least to 3 high)	Tree planning-orange, mango etc :	Planning of crops-maize, cassava, sorgum, beans :	Building construction:
What is most likely to make you lose access or control over your land? (refer to code):			

NETWORK SURVEY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Are you family members										
2. Are you neighbors										
3. Do you buy or sell products with them										
4. Do you go to the field to harvest crop together										
5. Do you attend the same temple, church, mosque or other religious service together										
6. Do you exchange hands together										
7. How many are from your tribe										
8. How many here come to the refugee camp together from S. Sudan										
9. Do you leave your children behind when you go to fetch water										