



A CONFLICT MAPPING REPORT

*Advancing Peaceful Co-existence & Respect for Human Rights among
Refugees & Host Communities in Northern Uganda. Palebek (Lamwo District),
Rhino (Mad-okollo and Terego Districts) and Bidi Bidi (Yumbe District).*



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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CESCRA	Centre for Economic Social Cultural Rights in Africa
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
FDG	Focus Group Discussion
KRC	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre (KRC Uganda)
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
RWC	Refugee welfare committee
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNOCHA	United Nation's Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
WORUDET	Women Rural and Development Network

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study was commissioned by KRC Uganda working in consortia with the Centre for Economic Social Cultural Rights in Africa (CESCRA) and Women and Rural Development Network (WORUDET) with funding from The European Union. The purpose was to understand the conflict dynamics pertaining the refugee settlements of Palabek, Bidi Bidi and Rhino where they intended to conduct peaceful coexistence activities, with a view to realigning the project to suit the conflict resolution and peace building needs of the target groups. The objectives of the analysis included assessing the nature of conflicts, mitigation and resolution measures to address the conflicts, the existing conflict management infrastructure, the drivers to the conflict, interventions gaps and practical recommendations to address the conflict contexts in the respective settlements. This was premised on the hope that a successful analysis on the basis of the above objectives would guide an effective design and implementation of relevant peacebuilding and conflict management interventions.

The analysis findings are discussed in form of the existing forms of conflicts in the settlements, the drivers, key actors, causes, and the indicators, interventions to address the conflicts, existing gaps conclusions, and recommendations respectively. These components of the analysis were meant to give a clear outlook of the current conflict context, in a way that was simplified enough for humanitarian organizations and other stakeholders to easily understand the issues at hand, the key actors, potential challenges, and practical approaches that could be adopted to effectively address the conflict context.

The different forms of conflicts consisted of Resource based conflicts, mainly concerning access to land, building materials and fuel, Identity conflicts that are mainly ethnic driven, Generational conflicts involving the youth and their adult counterparts, Structural conflicts, and Relationship conflicts. The other forms of conflicts which were mainly influenced by the external actors were still imbedded in ethnicity or resource scarcity among others, as their entry points. The drivers that enable these conflicts to thrive include: ethnic diversity, different forms of livelihood, scarcity of services and limited infrastructure, structural deficiencies, differences in legal regimes the nature of socialization and longtime traumatizing experiences.

The categories of key actors in the conflicts cut across the social sphere. In relationships and gender based conflicts, there different actors such as married couples, individual men and women, young men from the different ethnic groups. In resource based conflicts there are Landlords, government, refugee tenants, Herdsmen/cattle keepers and crop farmers, and host community members. In identity conflicts, ethnic groups of the Dinka, Nuer, Acholi and the Murle were reported to clash. In structural conflicts,

organizational staff, Police, community members, Local leaders and leaders from the central government were the reported actors. In generational conflicts, Children and parents, youth employees and their adult employers, then Child-rights organizations.

The common causes of the conflict include: Crop encroachment and or destruction by animals violation of water fetching queues, selective treatment during delivery of services, unsolicited access for fetching of firewood, timber, grass from other people's land, restriction of children from exploration of available opportunities, unclear land boundaries, water shortage and regulated time for opening taps, manipulation and breach of informal land hire agreements, disrespect for cultural differences, restricted access to information or lack of transparency among the humanitarian organizations, knowledge gaps concerning the Ugandan laws, marginalization of women in decision making, stereotyping, theft and language barrier among others.

The conflict indicators manifested differently at different stages of the conflict. At the latent stage, cold relations among people, formation of particular groups, change of routes or even a service facility such as a health centre. At the escalation stage, quarrels over issues, outbursts in open places, open accusations, reporting issues to police, family and or group meetings, and demonstrations were reported. At the climax or burn out stage, open fights, house burning, suicide, home desertion by the affected parties, waylaying people, and murders among others. At the de-escalation stage, there were calls for dialogue, private conversations, and reappearance in the homesteads, making reference to organizations, seeking help from individuals, extending apologies and seeking forgiveness among others.

Some of the gaps identified include: understanding of the conflict in particular and the conflict context in general and the problem in particular, interventional designs to suit the contextual needs as well as and mode of delivery, resource allocation to the conflict and peacebuilding program activities, identification of the right target groups for activities, human resource capacities to address the various conflict dynamics, coordination and synergy building for delivery and sustainability of the interventions. The other gaps identified were limited capacities both in financial and human resourcing, sustainability strategies and inefficiencies in the kind of tools and approaches employed to address the different conflict contexts/issues.

The analysis concludes that when the resourcing of the peacebuilding interventions is improved in both economic and human resources, a greater reduction of violence and conflict, as well as community transformation, will be realized in both refugee settlements and host communities. It also gives practical recommendations to the government, UNHCR, humanitarian organizations, local leaders and community members. The recommendations given by this analysis emphasize making it practically possible to effectively address the conflict context using the locally generated and locally mobilized resources and means to a greater extent.

1.0

INTRODUCTION

This report gives the contextual analysis of the conflict in the refugee settlements and the respective host communities of Palabek, Bidi Bidi, and Rhino Camp. The key objectives of the analysis were to assess the conflict situations, existing gaps in the mitigation measures and management structures, and suggest practical recommendations in relation to approaches and interventions that can contribute to achievement of Peaceful coexistence in the refugee settlements.

The report explains the characteristics of the existing conflicts, the causes and drivers, the nature of the conflict actors, indicators, what has been done to address the conflict contexts, the gaps thereof and suggests practical recommendations for instituting sustainable peaceful coexistence interventions.

1.1 Background

For over 50 years, Uganda has hosted many refugees from neighboring countries due to endless conflicts in Eastern and Central Africa regions. Currently, Uganda hosts over 1.5 Million refugees, owing to the friendly government policies that allow refugees settle, integrate within the social system and get along with the host communities in observance of their socio-cultural and economic activities. Refugees that are currently in Uganda come from the neighboring countries of Burundi (3%), DRC (29%), Rwanda (1%), Somalia(3%) and South Sudan 62%) among others (UNHCR, 2021). The refugees are settled in Adjumani, BidiBidi, Imvepi, Kampala, Kiryandongo, Kyaka II, Kyangwali, Lobule, Nakivale, Oruchinga, Palabek, Paloringya, Rhino and Rwamwanja refugee settlements. Uganda's refugee policy allows for integration of host communities in the comprehensive refugee response framework. Uganda's integrated refugee response incorporating host communities has been named as a model for the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), adopted in 2016 (UNOCHA, 2017). To a greater extent, this integration influences where the refugees from different countries are settled for it was considered important that refugees are hosted in communities whose culture and social norms are relatively closer to those of the refugees. Consequently, most of the refugees from South Sudan are settled in the northern districts of Arua, Adjumani, Yumbe Moyo, and Lamwo, where the host communities share ethnic identity with some of the refugees. This is thought to enhance positive relations between the refugees and the host communities.

Refugee settlements in Uganda are arranged in zones that may be further subdivided in clusters which are also subdivided in blocks; which blocks could also be called villages. For example, Palabek is made up eight zones, Rhino Camp seven and Bidi Bidi five zones. This set-up helps in the distribution of resources and services like roads,

schools, health centres and water facilities. The occupants of a given zone tend to have common forms of livelihood. For example, most Dinka communities keep cattle while the Acholi do crop farming. Others like Congolese communities are mainly in business. Women, especially, are very enterprising with some involved in tailoring, craft making, ghee making and poultry keeping at a small scale. Facilities such as health centers, schools, markets and social centres are not necessarily in every zone/village, but they are in reachable distances, though some areas are more distant than others. This serves as a pointer to some of the sources of contestations.

This analysis was one of the activities of the project on advancing peaceful coexistence and respect for human rights among refugees and host communities in northern Uganda. It is jointly implemented by three (3) consortium organizations namely: Kabarole Research & Resource Centre/KRC Uganda, Centre for Economic Social Cultural Rights in Africa/CESCRA & Women and Rural Development Network/WORUDET; in the settlements of Palabek, Bidi Bidi and Rhino. The project was conceived as a response to the conflict sensitivity, human rights and psychosocial needs in the communities where competition for land, resources as firewood, and water and building materials with host populations, lack of knowledge on rights and policies among refugees and host communities are persistent. The project intervention seeks to address the problem of, psychosocial support, persistent violence including gender based violence and lack of access to justice for women, girls, youth and other refugee communities. The intervention would also address the problem of lack of localized conflict resolution mechanisms and establish strong networks and local platforms in the refugee settlements and host communities to respond to challenges of refugees as they struggle to adjust to new environment and recover from traumatizing conflict experiences leading to the need to flee their original homes, lands and social networks.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The conflict analysis exercise was guided by the following objectives:

1. To analyze the conflict situations, mitigation measures and management structures.
2. Identify the existing gaps in relation to the project objectives.
3. Identify issue specific drivers of conflict so that the planned activities are able to respond to.
4. Suggest practical recommendations in relation to approaches and interventions that can contribute to achievement of Project outcomes.

2.0 METHODOLOGY INCEPTION MEETING AND TASK PLANNING

An inception meeting was convened among the coalition partners to plan the activity and discuss field logistics and the dynamics involved. Among issues discussed were the scope of the work: the areas for data collection, the numbers and categories of respondents, the tools for data collection, and the time scope for accomplishing the assignment, the procedures and ethical issues to be followed in conducting the exercise.

2.1 Sampling

Purposive sampling was carried out in specific zones in the settlements of Palabek, Rhino and Bidi Bidi which are not only dominated by refugees from South Sudan but are also the areas where the respective partners are implementing the project. In Palabek, zones 5, 4 and 8 were sampled owing to reported recurrence of conflict while zone 8 was selected because it was a newly formed zone at the time, and hosted refugees from the DRC that were considered as a minority community in the settlement at the time. In BidiBidi, Yangani – zone five was selected while in Rhino, Omugo and Odobu settlements were selected for data collection. In all the settlements, key staff from relevant organizations were identified for key informant interviews.

Respondents were sampled basing on the fact that they had been exposed to or were knowledgeable about the subject of investigation. Women for instance, were sampled because they were the ones involved in activities most of the issues that trigger conflict like fetching firewood, water, cultivation and sometimes grass for roofing, which were perceived to be the common sources of conflict in the settlements. The youth were sampled because they knew the behavioral patterns of their counterparts and were always often cited in the reported conflicts, especially in print media. They could tell that a conflict was imminent or had deescalated depending on the behavioral trends they observed among their peers. Local government leaders and civil society organizations were sampled because it was assumed they had experience with the diverse conflict patterns within the settlements where they work.

Settlement	Male respondents	Female respondents	Total respondents
Palabek	73	85	158
Bidi Bidi	79	78	157
Rhino	82	78	160
Total respondents	234	241	475

2.2 Data Collection

At the start, contact persons were identified from within both the settlements and host communities with the help of partner organizations who linked the researchers to the communities. The organizations also deployed field staff in the respective settlements to help with mobilization and organization of FGDs. This helped in reaching out to the respondents that were better placed to give reliable information. In-depth interviews were conducted with focus groups and key informants. Respondents of various categories including women, youth, men and girl-children aged 13-17 years were contacted to establish the existing conflict issues, their causes as well as the manifestations.

The interviews also explored the interventions that have been undertaken by different stakeholders to intervene in the prevailing conflicts; and the effectiveness of such interventions. Further inquiry was made about the challenges faced by community members in responding to conflicts and their attendant causes. Interview schedules and interview guides were used to collect data from the various respondents. Analysis was done using the qualitative approach.

2.3 Validation

Upon completion of the data collection, a draft report was compiled and the findings were presented in validation workshops to different groups of representatives from Palabek, Bidi Bidi and Rhino refugee settlements as well as their host communities. Local government leaders as well as leaders of civil society organizations in the respective settlements were involved in the validation workshops. This was done in order to verify the findings of the study as a true representation of the conflict dynamics in the respective settlements. Additional input was provided through participants' feedback from which key issues were documented and integrated into the final report



2.4 The refugee settlement context: Palabek, Bidi Bidi, Rhino

The operational context of the refugee settlements in Uganda is characterized by the presence of numerous humanitarian organizations, some of which are focusing on social protection, with some focusing on conflict management and peacebuilding while the rest are providing livelihood support services. These many relief and development agencies work alongside state agencies and UNHCR to mitigate furtherance of conflicts to address the humanitarian needs of refugees and host communities.

Institutions and organizations within the settlements are properly networked in a way that different mandates are effectively executed. There are referrals for instance where staff of an organization focusing on education interface with a victim of domestic violence and such a person is referred to an organization working on Gender-based violence, while a case that is of a criminal nature is referred to police, yet a civil one would be referred to the Local councils, RWCs or elders according to the nature of the case as guided by the refugee policy, the refugee act and other regulatory guidelines designed for the welfare of the persons of concern living within the settlements.

There is quite an outstanding relationship between the refugees and host communities around the settlements. The two share many things in common for instance, they use the same land for cultivation whereby the host community members rent out plots/ portions of land to refugee cultivators to grow crops. At the same time, the very host community members grow their crops around the same areas of land with the refugees. This means their crops are affected by the same factors such as drought, invasion by stray animals, vermin as well as marauders like monkeys. They both use the same water points, health centres and their children attend the same schools. In some cases they intermarry on one hand among the different refugee ethnic groups and on the other, between refugees and host community families and ethnic groups. In the event of sad moments like the loss of a relative, they condole together by participating in funeral rites and giving support to the bereaved in forms of cash and kind. In happy times like marriages, sports and dancing, they still share, and combine efforts in promoting security measures and dispute settlements whenever they arise within the communities or families.

However, the Palabek, Bidi Bidi and Rhino Camp settlements in which this conflict analysis was conducted are structured in zones which are in form of villages. These zones are populated by different ethnicities of refugees mainly from South Sudan namely: Dinka, Acholi, Langi, Lutugu, Nuer, Murle, Bari among others. There are also ethnicities from the Democratic Republic of Congo. The different ethnic groups enshrine different cultural practices, traditions and value systems which, as a matter of fact, imply diversity of approaches, perceptions, and beliefs in the same communities. For example, in zone 8 of Palabek settlement where there are Congolese, Dinka and Acholi, there is no close relationships among the three. This nature of settlement,

which was not necessarily a policy arrangement, helps on one hand to enhance unity within the ethnic group but on the other hand, can easily facilitate conflict between ethnic groups as they live in different villages. Such diversities are prone to conflict triggers which call for interventions that foster peaceful coexistence, even if there was no pronounced conflict among the communities.

Besides ethnic diversity, the scarcity of resources and distribution of services also serve as conflict drivers in the settlements. In spite of the numbers of refugees and host community populations being on the increase, the resources such as fuel, land for cultivation, pasturelands, and building materials are quite scarce. Besides, services such as hospitals, schools and social centres are equally limited compared to the attendant populations. Relatedly, villages where facilities like water sources are located tend to feel that they own such facilities such that when their neighbors' come to fetch water, they are perceived as outsiders who should look at accessing the services as a favour from the 'owners'; something that is that could easily trigger conflict between people of the different villages. This also affects the perception of the humanitarian organizations that are responsible for establishing such services in particular areas.

2.5 Forms of Conflict Existent in the Settlements

Conflict in the settlement takes different forms including resource related, generational factors, relationships, identity and structural conflicts among others.



2.5.1 Resource based

These conflicts usually occur around access and use of the scarce resources that are expected to be equitably distributed to the population both of refugees and host communities. One of the resources that usually evoke conflict for example is land. Land conflict takes different dimensions; on one hand, there are conflicts over land between the government and the landlords. In Acholi for instance where Palabek settlement is located, land is communally owned but has attendant custodians who are referred to as landlords. In some cases, the landlords accept to give land to government for the settlement of refugees on certain conditions. The most popular conditions are the mandatory provision of labour force from the local population/ host communities on all labor-intensive works such as construction of roads, schools, health centers and community centers; and 50;50% distribution of services, including food and other supplies between the refugees and host community. In most cases, once the government receives land and settles refugees, it reneges on the conditions set by the landlords during land acquisition negotiations.

The other dimension of land conflict is that of access and use whereby the host community members rent out land to refugees for crop farming. When the refugees have grown their crops and they are ready for harvest, there is a common tendency by the host community members to deny the owners of crops access to the land and their crops thus leading to wasted efforts in growing the crops. The frustrated refugee cultivators develop hatred for the host communities.

Land conflict between the refugees and host communities. For instance, among the refugees it's mainly about the boundaries and the host is mainly concerned with the hire agreement period where the same land is hired to more than 1 person. Land conflicts between the host community and the Refugees.

The other resource-based conflict is where refugees are denied access to building materials particularly grass and trees by the host communities. Whereas the refugees expect to access these materials free of charge, the host community members demand much money for the items which the refugees cannot afford.

2.5.2 Identity conflicts

These are mainly driven by ethnicity whereby people of a similar cultural or ethnic grouping tend to associate more amongst themselves in exclusion of the other cultural grouping. In this, the members of one ethnicity often express a sense of unity during open activities be they political, social or economic while expressing visible disassociation with people of another ethnic group in the same activities. In some cases, people tend to ethnicize service areas such as water sources, grazing grounds and grass collection areas. This usually comes about when such a facility is located in a

place where a certain ethnic group is dominant in population. When a different group comes in to access similar services, they are perceived as 'intruders', which attitude often triggers misunderstandings between the different groups.

The other common manifestation of ethnic related conflict is for example, when a young man of a different ethnic group attempts to get into a marriage relationship with a young woman of a different ethnic group. This usually manifests in the response of the young men from the lady's family, clan or at the larger grouping of ethnicity; who are often opposed to the relationship, and sometimes this response results that has sometimes escalated to violence.

There is also a tendency for other tribes or ethnic groups to blame their woes on the Nuer and Dinka ethnic which dominate the top political leadership positions in South Sudan; both in the government and the opposition. This usually leads to cold relations between the two ethnic groups on one hand and between them and other ethnic groups on the others. Interestingly, some ethnic groups identify with others, the political factor in South Sudan notwithstanding, owing to certain factors such as numerical strength in certain settlements. For example, in zone 8 of Palabek settlement, the Dinka closely associate more with the Congolese ethnic groups as opposed to their Acholi counterparts because the former regard themselves as the smaller tribes in this zone or village while the latter are the majority. There were also reported conflict cases of an ethnic nature in Katiku 3, and in Tika Zone, involving the Kakwa, Dinka and Nuer due to disagreements related to payment of dowry.

2.5.3 Generational conflicts

There were reported cases of conflict between the youth and their adult counterparts in Omugo settlement. Cases where such conflicts have manifested mainly the youth doing work while being supervised by the adults. In some cases the youth have not been paid for the work they did. This was mainly attributed to the negative attitude that adults exhibit towards they youth, as a people who are not serious or committed to what they do and therefore they do not deserve payment for the work done. The youth are accused of being impatient and unwilling to work for the common good. This often breeds poor relations between the youth and their adult counterparts over work related issues.

The other generational aspect was found to be between the children, especially the girl child, and their parents. It was found out to be common place that many parents segregate their children when it comes to availing education opportunities where the boys are more given opportunities to attend school than their girl counterparts. This pitted girl-children against their parents who preferred trading their daughters for cows in form of dowry (gifts) in marriage at the expense of their education. Many girls were found to be unhappy with their parents who denied them the opportunity to

attend school. Some of the girls were reported to have deserted their homes to charity organizations that could support them acquire education than stand the pressure from their parents to get married at an early age.

2.5.4 Structural conflicts

These are mainly concerned with power dynamics among the organizations working in the settlements. For example, there are lead agencies and other organizations in each sector. It was reported that some of the lead agency organizations tend to demand for budgets and programs from other organizations in the sector while for them they do not share theirs with those organizations in the sector. This leads to withdrawal and broken or ineffective communication among the respective organizations thus affecting harmony and ultimate impact on the target audiences.

In other cases, there are perceived capacity gaps in programming and personnel deficiencies in sector programming interventions which hinders effectiveness in coordination and thus affect harmonious operations within given sectors. Consequently, you find disjointed efforts between lead agencies and other organizations, community members, local leaders and other actors in interventional planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the different projects. The resultant effect of this is inappropriate programming, poor project designs low value for money and recurrent conflicts among the actors.

2.5.5 Relationship conflicts

These take different dimensions, in some cases refugee women get men friends from the host community which triggers conflict between the refugee women and the wives of their men friends, then between the men and their wives on one hand. On the other hand, the same relationships trigger conflicts between the respective men and refugee men who are related to the affected refugee women either owing to their family/clan relations or even the fact that they have a refugee identity where the refugee men feel despised as 'their women' are taken over by the host men.

The other dimension involves mainly young men and women whereby the men from different ethnic groups, and sometimes nationalities fall in love with young women from other ethnic groups. It was reported that there is a common tendency by the brothers of the young ladies to oppose such relationships, often triggering clashes between the young men courting the young women and the brothers. It was further reported that such conflicts are mainly driven by the different cultural practices and values espoused by the different ethnic groups regarding marriage. Whereas such conflicts may be triggers interpersonal, sometimes they escalate to involving families, whole clans or interethnic groups.

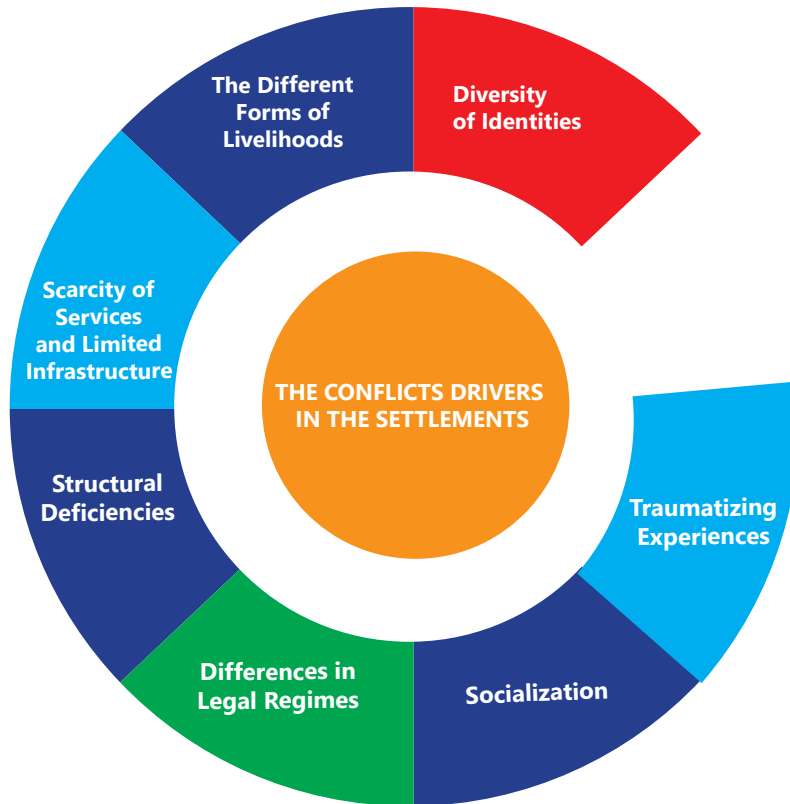
2.5.6 Gender based conflicts

These commonly occur within the family context across all the settlements visited. Some of the conflicts with gender dimensions revolve around management, access and use of family resources. For example, it was reported that men in host communities rent out land family land to refugees without the consent of their wives; later on, they do not put the proceeds of the rent to family use thus edging out women from the decisions concerning their family land. In other cases, men sell out food supplies from the apportioned rations that were meant for family consumption and when their wives raise their voices on the issue, they are sometimes beaten or even chased out of their homes. In other cases, women are denied the opportunity to engage in business by their husbands. This makes it difficult for women to sustain their livelihoods yet they are mainly left with the responsibility of feeding their families.

The other dimension of gender based conflicts concerns the children and their parents. It was reported that there is a discriminative tendency against the girl-child by many parents when it comes to children accessing education opportunities. The girls reported that their parents urge them to stay at home and get married rather than go to school because the parents can get gifts of money and cows in form of bride price when their daughters get married. Some of the girls were reported to have escaped from their legitimate homes owing to the pressure from their parents to get married and abandon education. There was a serious outcry from the girls who participated in the FGDs that organizations should help them to sensitize their parents about the benefits of education for the girl child and save them of the torment they go through at home as the parents prefer sending the boy child to school as opposed to their girl counterparts.

2.6 The conflicts drivers in the settlements

Conflict drivers are factors that constitute the context of the subject in focus or question. They include the services infrastructure, the social construction or constitution of the communities, the settlement patterns, the policies, laws and customs of the people as well as the political and economic practices of the concerned population. In other words, they create ground for causes and triggers of conflict.



The population in the refugee settlements is characterized by **diversity of identities** which include ethnicity, nationality, religion, gender among others. These diversities come with a difference in values, beliefs, practices and approaches. As a social phenomenon, when people of related values and beliefs meet or live in a given community, they tend to form spontaneous groupings and associations that are influenced by the social similarities. With time these groups grow stronger and closer thus making blocks that visibly differentiate them from others. It is such formations that are found in the refugee settlements and their host communities. In Palabek settlement for example,

the Acholi and Murle were reported not to have good relations while the Dinka and Congolese refugees tended to relate more closely, allegedly because they were minority groups in the settlement.

In a related development, it was noted that when people come together and live together for some time, they tend to closely associate with some people more than the others due to the existing commonalities and differences between them. This is what happened to the Congolese refugees in Palabek. Whereas they were of different ethnic identities, they tended to associate as one, brought together by their national identity because they were smaller numbers. In refugee settlements therefore, there are diversities which people identify with to the extent that they regard each other as brothers and sisters such that if something affects one person, the others of a similar identity get concerned or affected. This was also exemplified in Omugo settlement where a member of the Dinka community in Odoibu one explained that some of the conflicts between the Dinka youth and other ethnicities are triggered by young men from other ethnic groups attempt to court Dinka girls in public places, which is considered as an insult to their culture as a Dinka girl should be courted in her parents' house, not in the open.

It is upon this background that identity and relationship conflicts mainly revolve as when a member of that 'community' gets a problem of any kind, they tend to draw sympathies from their kindred, workmates, countrymen and women by looking at the other parties as their problem or enemy. The most common form of identity that will likely feature in a conflict is ethnicity.

The different forms of livelihoods among the settlement populations also act as conflict drivers in some instances. People do different forms of business such as retail selling of domestic items: soap, salt, utensils, operating small bars and restaurants while others keep a few animals, yet others grow crops for subsistence. The forms of livelihood are the basis for people's interests because their survival/lifeline is vested in the kind of business they do. Therefore, anything that affects the livelihood is a potential source of conflict. For example, there are cattle keepers and crop farmers among refugees living in the same community, which forms of livelihood are potential sources of conflict between the owners should the livestock stray into a crops garden. In a related way, a bar or shop operator whose services are not paid by a client at a given time may react harshly, thus triggering conflict. It was noted that such conflicts could begin between individuals but often easily escalated to involve bigger groupings such as ethnicity or some other shared interests.

Scarcity of services and limited infrastructure such as water collection points, health centres and other service centres are some of the drivers of conflict. It was noted for example, that a health center both in Palabek and Yangani settlements was serving more than thirty thousand people, yet it was understaffed. Diseases like Malaria and other diseases among children were common that the health centers would be overwhelmed by the number of patients on certain days. Whereas the lean staff on the health centers

were far outweighed by the big numbers of patients and could not perform effectively, the dissatisfied patients thought they were marginalized. It so happened that most of the health workers are Ugandan nationals while the highest number of patients were refugees. Any ineffectiveness in performance by the health workers could be mistaken for the frustrated refugee patients.

The scarcity of services in a big and yet growing population implies that a big number of people will converge on the few facilities to obtain services. The water collection points in Omugo settlement were reported to be common sources of clashes among refugees. This was because the times for opening the taps were specific and at a given hour, everybody in a given zone would gather at the water collection center for the taps would be closed at a given time. This led to the convergence of the different ethnicities at the same point and those with domineering characters would force their way on top of the line which triggered clashes that in most cases escalated beyond the watering points. When the population outgrows the capacity to provide services, it becomes a rallying point for conflict because in the scramble for services, clashes are bound to be a potential ground for conflict.

Structural deficiencies in the settlements is another driver of conflict. There are numerous institutional structures and respective linkages where different duty bearers are required to enforce laws and regulations; different stakeholders such as Police, LCs, RWCs and 'special-focus' organizations are expected to address various issues, some of which involve referrals and direct interventions. It so happens that much as the respective institutions are charged with the different duties and responsibilities, they in most cases have capacity gaps thus inability to effectively perform their duties. Failure to perform to their expectations becomes ground for potential conflict among the concerned parties.

Differences in legal regimes between the countries of origin of refugees and asylum seekers and the country of asylum is another driver of conflict. In some communities from South Sudan for example, people believe more in their traditional administration by the elders who address most of their issues without using local political councils. On the other hand, most of the critical decisions in Uganda are guided by the written policies and laws enforced by political structures. Besides, the areas of emphasis for the law for example, on issues of child or early marriages, gender based violence among others may not be in harmony whereby Uganda considers the age of 18 years as the age of consent for the girl-child which may be a different case in South Sudan. This becomes potential ground for conflict for the refugees from South Sudan who have to adjust to the laws of Uganda.

Socialization is another kind of conflict driver whereby children are prepared right from childhood, to be defensive, resilient and fierce, especially, in circumstances involving other people. For example, most South Sudanese tribes bring up the boy child as a fighter who must defend his family, clan and property at all times. However, they are not prepared in nonviolent and peaceful ways resolving their differences without putting up a fight. This

kind of upbringing creates ground for conflict whenever there are interfaces involving people of different families, clans and ethnicities because the young men have been prepared to always be on the defensive, implying the interfaces with others would most likely be offensive.

Traumatizing experiences for a long time also makes individuals and communities prone to conflict. This is because the affected persons' lives become very sensitive to anything that can affect their lives in form of deprivation, denial or discrimination among other provocative issues. For example, the Acholi community where Palabek settlement is hosted experienced violent conflict for a period of more than two decades thus displacing people and depriving them of most of the privileges as citizens. On the other hand, the refugees from either South Sudan or the DRC who are settled in the same settlement have experienced the effects of violent conflict for a long time still counting. This makes them sensitive to anything that can trigger a conflict, even if it is a mere work that may be perceived as labeling, spiteful or discriminative. For instance, the Acholi in the host communities are concerned that whereas they have been affected by the LRA conflict with its devastating effects, they have not been given as much attention as the refugees in their midst who are given food, water and social services. This affects their behavior when the refugees come to them for firewood, building materials, land among other services.

2.7 Key actors and their relationships in the conflicts

In relationships and gender based conflicts, there are different categories of actors such as married couples, individual men and women, young men and their suitors, then relatives of the ladies being courted. **Couples** usually conflict over decision making in the home, especially in Palabek settlement. Most of their conflicts revolve around allocation and use of resources, education of their children, and alcoholism. Given that both the refugees and host communities are patrilineal societies, the men usually dominate the women in issues under contention, even when the latter is on the right. This perpetuates domestic related conflicts. In Omugo for example, **Young men** usually clash with their contemporaries from different ethnic groups who attempt to court the former's **sisters**. It was reported that clashes usually occur between young people of the different ethnicities over courtship, either with intent to marry or for casual dating. In most of the settlements visited, **Refugee women** clash with their **host community** counterparts over relationships between the former and the husbands of the latter. On the other hand refugee men with their host community counterparts (locally referred to as 'ambassadors'), over access to refugee women by the latter. Relationships develop between refugee women and host men mainly when the latter get involved in supporting the former on housing construction during the settlement of refugees.

In resource based conflicts: Landlords conflict **with government** on one hand and **refugee tenants** on the other hand, mostly over land hire agreements. This was more pronounced in Yangani settlement. **Refugees** conflict **with host community** members over access to firewood, grass and other building materials, as well as cultural differences. **Neighbours** fight over encroachment on land boundaries. **Herdsmen/cattle keepers** fight with crop farmers over straying animals that destroy crops.

In identity/ethnic conflicts: Refugees, especially Dinkas and Nuer in Bidi Bidi and Omugo especially, fight over historical conflicts over leadership while the Acholi conflict with the Murle over dominance of the latter, in Palabek settlement. Whereas these differences trace their roots to their home country back in South Sudan, the same has been carried to the refugee settlements to the extent that a small issue like skipping the queue at a water collection point can spark a full scale inter-ethnic conflict in the community.

In structural conflicts: staff from sector-lead organizations conflict with staff from other organizations in the sector over the mode of operations. Police conflict with individuals and community over the manner in which police handles the cases referred to them. In most cases the community complain about delayed redress of the cases and sometimes unfairness in rendering service. Institutional staff as well as organizational staff conflict with the community members over the delivery of services. Some of the refugees complained that they perceived negatively by organizational staff and were eventually not accorded deserving treatment. Local leaders think that sometimes leaders from the central government assume their roles and interfere with their work while the community also thinks both local and government leaders are not doing enough to provide welfare to the community members.

In generational conflicts: Children have conflicts with their parents on the issues of education, marriage and work. In this situation, children find themselves playing the victim while the parents are perpetrators. It was reported that most children are denied educational opportunities by their parents, some because they want their daughters to get married so they can get dowry while others do not have money to spend on their children's education. Other parents want their children and go to work for pay so that they can supplement the family income while the children would like to pursue further education. Employees, who are mainly young people, have misunderstandings with their employers, who are mainly old people, over conditions of work and terms of employment. There were reported complaints of youth employees in certain projects where the employers either underpaid their youth employees or did not pay them at all for the work done. Some reported that they were treated like slaves at work and they were openly told that they did not have powers to do anything about their oppressive employers. Parents had misunderstandings with Child-rights organizations over issues of child labour and early marriages where the parents looked at their children as human resources while others looked at their daughters as sources of wealth in dowry.

Table of key actors and their relationships in the conflicts

Form of Conflict	Key Actors	Relationships in Conflict
Relationships And Gender Based	Married Couples, Individual Men and Women, Young Men and Women Suitors, and Relatives.	Conflict over decision making in the home, allocation and use of resources, education of children, alcoholism and courtship
Resource Based	Landlords, Government, Refugee Tenant, Host Community, Neighbors, Herdsmen/ Cattle Keepers and Crop Farmers	Conflict over land hire agreements, access to firewood, destruction of crops, cultural differences, encroachment on land boundaries, straying animals, grass and other building materials
Identity/ Ethnic	Refugees, especially Dinkas and Nuer and also Murle and the Acholi	fight over historical disagreements over leadership, dominance (Whereas these differences trace their roots to their home country back in South Sudan, the same has been carried to the refugee settlements) usually the spark of the escalations of conflict stem from a small issue like the skipping of the queue at a water collection point
Structural	staff from sector-lead organizations, staff from other organizations, Police individuals, Institutional staff, organizational staff, Local leaders leaders from the central government and community members	Conflict over the mode of operations, the manner in which police handles the cases, delayed redress of the cases, unfairness in rendering service, the delivery of services, negative perception of refugees, interference in roles and duties and not doing enough to provide welfare to the community
Generational	Children, parents, Employees, employers and Child-rights organizations	Conflict over the issues of education, marriage and work, misunderstandings with employers, underpayment for labor provided, slaves-like treatment, oppressive employers, issues of child labor and early marriages laws and the perception of daughters as a sources of wealth in dowry

2.8 Causative factors to the conflicts



Crop encroachment and or destruction by animals. In almost all the villages in the settlements of Palabek, Bidi Bidi and Rhino, both refugees and host communities practice mixed farming where some people keep goats, pigs and cows, others grow crops while others do both. In the event that someone's animals encroach on or unfortunately destroy the neighbour's crops, usually a conflict is triggered and sometimes it escalates to confrontations between the owners of the livestock and those of the crops.

Violating the queue. On water collection points was also reported as a common trigger of conflict. Whereas the population in the refugee settlements continues to increase over time, the water collection points do not increase thus resulting in scarcity and scramble for water. Besides, water is programmed to be opened at specific times hence, everyone goes to fetch water at that particular time. This creates long queues on the water points. Some people become so impatient that they skip the long line to secure an advantageous position in front of others so that they don't take long to get water. This often enrages the people who came before the violators thus sparking quarrels and fights.

Selective treatment. During delivery of services causes conflict not only between the service provider and the client but also between the favored and the discriminated clients. Selective treatment was reported to be common at health centres but also in other activities like food distribution. When the service providers see members of the host community in the line, they tend to serve them first, leaving us aside even when we came before them. They usually give the excuse that they do not understand our language even if we can speak some English, they say they have to first seek the services of a translator. (FGD participant at yangani on 25/9/2021). Sometimes the discrimination takes gender dimensions when a service provider gives selective treatment owing to the client's gender.

Unsolicited access for fetching of firewood, timber, grass. From other people's land also causes conflict between the land owners and the refugees that fetch the materials. The refugees require firewood for cooking, grass and timber for house construction, which are not found on the small plots of land they allocated for settlement. Consequently, they go out to the fields to find such resources. Whereas it would be appropriate to seek permission from the owners of the land from which they pick the items, it is often not the case. Most of them simply get to the bush and either cut grass, poles of firewood. This pits the refugees against the owners of the land, who also use the same materials for the same purposes. It is important that before anyone gets into the bush to fetch firewood or cut down poles, they request the owners of the land from the host community for permission in order to avoid conflict.

Restriction of children. By parents from exploration of available opportunities was reported by girl children in focus group discussions in palabek settlement. The children, especially the girl children reported that their parents and caretakers prevented them from accessing a number of things including: school, work, and social events such as sports and dancing. Parents and children have competing values, interests and perceptions regarding education, work and socialization. Whereas some parents value education and would like to support them to go to school, their children may want to drop out of school and go for payable work or marriage. On the other hand, some parents want their children, especially girls to abandon school and get married so that they can fetch wealth for their parents in form of cows from dowry while the children would actually want to go to school. In other cases, the parents want children to work and earn money while the children would like to pursue education. Sometimes the parents restrict their children from going to social activities like sports and dancing while the children perceive these as opportunities to network and get relief from general pressures. The above scenarios trigger serious conflicts in families to the extent that some children have been excommunicated, others have run away from their families while in extreme cases, others commit suicide.

Unclear land boundaries. In areas where cultivation is practiced also lead to conflicts among neighbors. It should be noted that refugee population grows and as a means to cater for the growing population in the families and given that the food rations provided are not enough, many refugees have resorted to farming. It so happens that in most refugee settlement areas, there are no clear marks for land boundaries. This becomes quite tempting to the cultivators who sometimes go beyond the respective boundaries of the land portions they were allocated for crop farming hence encroaching on the neighbors. This encroachment often leads to conflict between the neighbors.

Water shortage and regulated. Time for opening taps. Due to scarcity of water and the need for easy management in ensuring water access in the settlement, the taps are opened at regulated times. This means everyone in a given zone or village using a certain water point has to fetch water at one given time of the day. This causes long queues of those fetching water. Consequently, there is temptation for competition with some skipping the queue, taking advantage of others thus triggering clashes and quarrels that sometimes lead to serious conflict. Sometimes individuals team up with members of their ethnic groups and force their way to fetch before the others thus fueling conflicts as the affected ethnicities feel despised.

Manipulation and breach. Of informal land hire agreements. Many refugees who practice crop farming hire land for agriculture from the host communities. Due to language challenges and limited education of the parties involved, the hire agreements are usually informal. Because of such informality, the landlords tend to breach to agreements and cheat the refugee tenants by taking some of the harvest, some go an extra mile and take the whole harvest without leaving anything for the tenant. This creates bitterness and eventual conflict between the landlords and tenants, something that has long term implications on the relations between the refugees and host communities.

Disrespect for cultural differences. Causes conflict, especially ethnic conflict. The refugees in the settlements come from a diversity of ethnic groups which profess different traditional values and cultures. It therefore takes one to understand, appreciate and respect other people's cultures if one were to live peacefully with them. For example, among the Dinka ethnic group, if one wanted to court a young lady for marriage, they would do it in her father's house, not on the roadside or the market place as may be the case with other ethnic groups. In the event that a young man from a different ethnic group attempted to court a Dinka lady without following the expected cultural norms, it would most likely attract a harsh response from her brothers who might attack the man for despising their culture and 'shaming' their sister by courting her in a public place outside her father's house. Such clashes could attract – and this has actually happened in various settlements – a whole ethnic group within the settlement

and beyond. *'In the dinka culture, you do not court a girl by the roadside. If you are interested in having a relationship with a Dinka girl, you talk with her in her parents' house, not anywhere else'. Participant in the fgd, Odoibu settlement – Rhino 28/9/2021*

Restricted access to information or lack of transparency. Among the humanitarian organizations in the settlements. The structural arrangements are such that there is a lead agency in every sector, say peacebuilding, livelihoods or psycho social support. The lead agencies have other organizations serving in the same sector as they offer closely related interventions. It was reported that some of the lead agencies require other organizations to share information about their budgets and programs with the lead agency while the latter does not do the same even when it is expected to behave like others. This brings about skepticism between the lead agency and other organizations within the sector. Besides, some of the organizations do not involve community members or direct beneficiaries in the planning and design of interventions. This not only leads to distrust between the organization and the target communities but also sometimes bring in projects that do not correspond with the needs of the target group. Such conflicts could be avoided by ensuring transparency and involving the target stakeholders in the different stages, especially planning and implementation of the interventions. For example, there are organizations that were providing reusable pads yet the people's need was food for their families. Another example was where a child-rights organizations stopped children from working in the market to sell items yet to the children and their parents; that was an innovative way of finding alternative livelihoods to the family that was already vulnerable.

Knowledge gaps concerning the Ugandan laws. Many refugees in the settlements are ignorant of the law of Uganda; a phenomenon that often puts them on collision course with their Ugandan counterparts. Consequently, when they engage in negotiated agreements and they are accused of breach of the agreements, they are not able to defend themselves against such accusations. This leads to manipulation by those who are knowledgeable about the laws and eventually conflict develops between the two parties. Another example cited was that of the age of consent, especially for the girl-child. In Uganda, any girl below the age of eighteen years is considered underage in regard to marriage and or engagement in sexual relations. Therefore, any man who engages her in sex whether in marriage or outside marriage is considered to have defiled her. In South Sudan on the other hand, this is not the case. In fact, it was reported that girls as young as twelve years of age can be taken into marriage with the consent of their parents, and this is acceptable to them as there is no legal problem with it. In the event that a refugee from South Sudan falls in love with a sixteen year old Ugandan girl, he will be at risk of defilement charges, should he engage with her in sexual relations. This brings about conflicts between Ugandan parents and authorities with South Sudanese refugees in that respect.

Marginalization of women in decision making. In the communities around the refugee settlements, both for refugees and host communities; the men take a central role in decision making. Even in situations where the woman has planted and harvested food crops like beans and maize, it is the man who decides what to sell and what not to sell. In making land hire agreements, it is the men who are invited to sign the agreements when actually the women are the ones going to use the land for agricultural production. Widows are forced to seek the help of a man to stand in for a land hire agreement to be signed. This leads to many domestic conflicts especially when the men resort to selling all the farm products, especially food stuffs and leave nothing for food at home. When the women ask for the proceeds of the sales, they are instead beaten. Our husbands sell the food we harvest from the garden, they take the money to bars and take a lot of alcohol. When you ask for accountability or for home supplies after the sales, you will be thoroughly beaten and chased out of the home. FGD participant in Palabek settlement 21/9/2021

Stereotyping. Is another common cause of conflict in refugee settlements. This happens both within the refugees themselves then between the refugees and host communities. The common stereotypes amongst the refugees are that the murle are aggressive and domineering people, the nuer are arrogant while the dinka are dangerous. The host community people perceive the refugees as dirty, illiterate, the women are prostitutes among others. Such stereotypes shape the way the people living in same or neighbouring communities perceive one another. This perception also influences the kind of relationships that can develop among such neighbours. Given that most of the stereotypes in these communities are negative, even simple differences can trigger a conflict. It is necessary to put in place initiatives that can diffuse the stereotypes so as to promote peaceful coexistence.

Theft was also cited as one of the causes of conflict in the communities. Theft was found to trigger inter-personal, inter family and at some point structural conflicts. Most of the items stolen include: goats, chicken, household items and food among others. Once a theft has occurred and there suspects within the area, the process of getting justice long and slow, with hardly any success registered in getting justice for the victim. The victims often run to police for help but they are hardly helped. A male participant in an FGD in Yangani had this to say: *'someone stole my goats and I reported to Police. Even when the suspect was known in the community, not much was done. Police arrested him. However, he was soon released by the police without proper explanation to me to date. Yangani 26/9/2021*

Language barrier. Is another; different communities in the refugee settlements speak different languages. Although it is common to use arabic among the south sudanese, the same is not true with host communities or refugees from the DRC. On the other hand, whereas a reasonable number of host community members can speak and understand english language, most of the refugees do not speak or understand english.

This hinders communication between the groups, which hampers a lot of business transactions, raises suspicion and facilitates mistrust. In a situation where refugees are negotiating land for rent for instance, it becomes difficult to get a fair deal. This leads to disputes between the concerned parties. Besides, some of the staff among the humanitarian agencies in the settlement are neither arabic speakers nor any of the local languages, except for a few cases. This makes it difficult for refugees to express themselves before the service providers on the one hand and from service providers to explain the services such as drugs prescriptions on the other. This is where suspicion and mistrust are bred thus conflict.

2.9 Indicators/Manifestations of the Conflict

The conflict indicators in the settlements, like any natural conflict, manifest differently at different stages of the conflict. These manifestations occur at the latent, escalation, burn out and de-escalation stages.

At the **latent stage**, cold relations tend to evolve, people stop greeting each other, they start forming particular groups, some change routes when going to certain places, others seek treatment from a more distant health facility while others change schools.

At the **escalation** stage you see people picking up quarrels over issues, outbursts in open places, open accusations, reporting issues to police, family and or group meetings, demonstrations among others.

At the **climax or burn out** stage there are open fights, house burning, suicide, home desertion by the affected parties, waylaying people murders among others.

At the **de-escalation** stage, there were dialogues, private conversations, and reappearance in the homesteads, making reference to organizations, seeking help from individuals, extending apologies and seeking forgiveness among others.

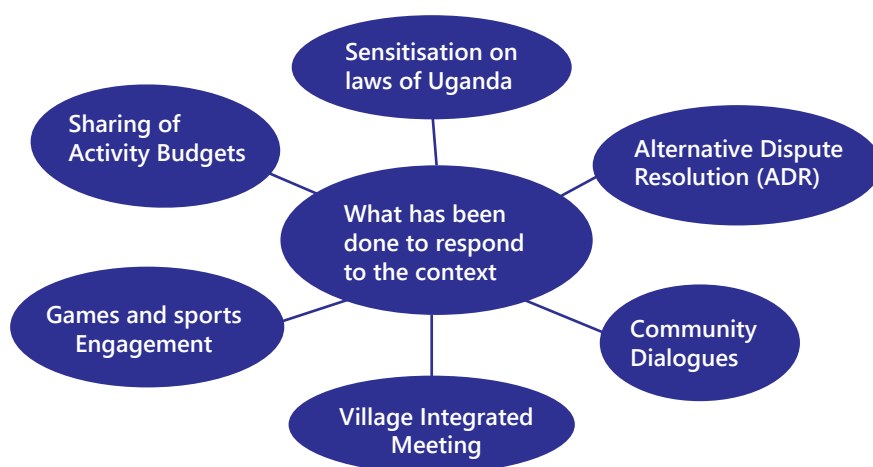
Table summarizing the indicators

Conflict Stages	Indicators/Manifestations
Latent	Cold relations, no greeting, people change routes, take long distances to receive services from far off health facilities
Escalation	Quarrels, demonstrations, warnings, outbursts, reporting to police
Climax/Burnout	Fights(amongst individuals, clans/tribes), house burning, suicide
De-escalation	Dialogues and mediations

2.10 Interventions to Respond to the Conflict Context

Conflict can be addressed at different stages namely: pre-conflict, during conflict and post conflict. During the pre-conflict stage, preventive interventions which include detection of early warning indicators and putting in place early response mechanisms should be instituted. During the conflict, conflict management, settlement, peacemaking and conflict resolution are expedited to address the conflict. In the post-conflicts context, transitional justice and conflict transformation interventions are instituted.

The participants during the mapping exercise expressed appreciation for the sensitization of community members on the various laws of Uganda, the quarterly village integrated meetings, games and sports competitions for both the host communities and the refugees, as well as community dialogues.



The preventive interventions that have been implemented in the settlements include sensitization meetings at the zone and community levels about the laws governing refugees, the different actors i.e. institutions and organizations responsible for delivering specific services, the regulations that should guide the community members conduct in their day to day life and how to go about getting the required services. Some organizations have conducted conflict resolution training for leaders in Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanisms with the intent to equipping them with skills to address a conflict that may be brought to their attention. Meetings with Local leaders both from the Host communities about the policy and peaceful coexistence.

In situations where **open conflicts have occurred**, community dialogues have been conducted by the different actors including government, UNHCR, and NGOs calling for peaceful coexistence and avoidance of violence. Individual organizations have also attended to individual cases on domestic violence, child labour among others.

The RWCs, Police and LCs are also addressing specific conflict cases brought to them at different times. Some of the cases are arbitrated locally while others are referred. The elders in the communities are also arbitrating conflicts especially at family level.

In the post-conflict context, number of conflict transformation interventions were conducted by different organizations. These include games and sports – both friendly and competition arrangements, cultural galas, as well as quarterly village integrated meeting organized by OPM in which both the host communities and refugees are invited to attend. In such meeting the members jointly review the conflict context and draw a way forward.

2.11 Gap Analysis of the Conflict Versus Interventions

Whereas there are very constructive and integrative efforts put in place to address conflict at the different stages, there still exist gaps that should be filled if sustainable peaceful coexistence is to be achieved. The existing gaps in promoting peaceful coexistence include understanding the conflict in particular and the conflict context in general, programmatic and interventional designs to suit the contextual needs as well as and mode of delivery, resource allocation to the conflict and peacebuilding program activities, identification of the right target groups for activities, human resource capacities to address the various conflict dynamics, coordination and synergy building for delivery and sustainability of the interventions.

One of the existing gaps in addressing conflicts in refugee settlements in Uganda is understanding the conflict at hand. Whereas there are some organizations that plan and commit resources to addressing conflict and peace building in the settlements, little conflict analysis has been done to appreciate what the real conflict that needs addressing. It was not surprising for instance when some of the respondents were asked to mention some of the common conflicts in the settlements they would quickly answer, 'poverty, alcohol, overdrinking, drug abuse, lack of food, among others. A little probe into the issue for instance, do we have examples of clashes or quarrels over poverty? Some people would not respond to that, but instead try to make long explanations to justify how poverty could be linked to the conflicts affecting the communities in question. It was therefore clear that there is need to do thorough analysis and dissemination so that stakeholders, be it the staff of organizations, leaders and community members can understand the difference between a conflict, its causes, its indicators, pillars or facilitating factors, effects and the parties involved. Without clear conflict analysis, the context will continue to be complex for the stakeholders to put up meaningful interventions whether to prevent, resolve or transform the conflict context.

The second gap that was identified was the programmatic interventional designs. Conflict management and peaceful coexistence interventions should be designed in such a way as to have conflict prevention, conflict resolution and conflict transformation

mechanisms in place, if they are to effectively address a conflict context. The program should be designed in such a way that it has mechanisms for detecting conflict early warning indicators, early response or resolution for those that would escalate to open conflict, and those for restoring and rebuilding communities in a post conflict situation. It was reported that whenever conflicts occur in the communities, organizations and leaders often conduct sensitization meetings to respond to the conflicts. In order to realize meaningful impact, there is need to conduct context analyses as well as assess a particular conflict to understand the dynamics therein such that the response undertaken appropriately responds to the respective dynamics. Therefore, a program design that will successfully address a conflict context should provide for pre-conflict assessments, in-conflict activities and those that will bring about justice and peace after the conflict such as reconciliation activities.

The third gap identified in addressing conflicts and peaceful coexistence was resource allocation. Much as peacebuilding in conflict affected communities should be at the heart of humanitarian assistance besides the basic needs of food, shelter and health services, humanitarian organizations allocate the least of resources to peacebuilding activities. For example, there was an organization in Palabek settlement that programmed to conduct mediation training in their peacebuilding program. Whereas mediation training should take 90 training hours or at least 30 contact hours for elementary training for basic skills, the financial resources allocated to the mediation training activity could cover a maximum of 6 training hours which was one training day. This makes it difficult for the implementing organization and staff to design or conduct any meaningful activities to promote peaceful coexistence among refugees.

The other challenge characterizing the interventions was target groups for the activities. The community members were complaining that all organizations were training only leaders, leaving out the community members who are affected by the conflicts. Some organizations could target the same category of people, one year after another, even when there was no provision for the same group reaching out to the communities with the same skills. In the first place, targeting only leaders for say conflict resolution skills training, leaving out the women and youth who constitute the biggest population in the settlements and are most affected by conflict both as primary and secondary actors, one would be building capacity to resolve conflicts by a certain category of people but would not be taking care of other areas like conflict prevention and conflict transformation respectively, because the leaders do not necessarily constitute the body mass of the community, they are just one pillar. Secondly, a certain category of leaders like the political elect are not necessarily popular in the wider part of the community. Some members would rather take their conflict issues to their relatives or elders for settlement, which elders and relatives are not the prime target of the peacebuilding organizations in capacity building. This leaves ownership and relevance gaps of the interventions in the communities.

Capacity was found to be another glaring gap, yet very important in implementing peacebuilding interventions. This capacity ranges from program design to implementation. As mentioned earlier, designing and planning peaceful coexistence interventions requires technical knowledge, where one is capable of assessing the conflict context and design programs that will transcend the lifetime of the intervention and get engrained in the communities thereafter. It was observed that most of the organizational staff deployed as peacebuilding program officers were not necessarily trained peace and conflict experts. Some were recruited in the organization for different engagements but they are deployed on peacebuilding programs when the organization identifies a need in the area. This affects the design of appropriate interventions and in due course it impacts on effectiveness of the intervention. In such contexts, it would be essential to build the capacity of organizational staff in applying approaches that enhance positive relations such as Do no harm or conflict sensitivity in their programming. In a situation where such important tools/approaches are not streamlined, it may be difficult to successfully address structural conflicts. What happens in the circumstances is that they simply raise awareness but do not conduct training in the actual sense.

Another important gap identified was that of sustainability of the interventions. Most of the peacebuilding interventions are project based, which means they are not sustainable. The activities are one-off, they are either dialogues or training workshops which are conducted for a few days. The implication is that even the target groups would soon disintegrate after the dialogue or training workshop. If the program were to be effective, it would have interventions stretching from the early warning indicators and their corresponding interventions, through conflict resolution to post conflict activities, following through the same communities with a target of the essential population categories. Such an intervention would not only have sustainable impact on the population of concern, but would also be owned by the benefiting communities in the long run, and it becomes their way of life. Most of the interventions are reactive and occasional, which decapitates their potential to predict and preempt potential conflicts.

The other important gap identified in dealing with the conflict was the tools or approaches used by the different conflict forms that are persistent in the settlements. The conflicts identified in the settlements, be it resources, identity and relationships, and have aspects of values, beliefs and interests which are best addressed by behavior and attitude change of the individual persons involved. In order to address conflicts involving individual values and perceptions that affect one's behavior, it is always appropriate to use tools that employ methods that have a personal touch to the individual persons involved in the conflict, especially, primary stakeholders. Such conflict resolution tools as restorative dialogue, alternatives to violence, nonviolent communication and mediation could be appropriate because they emphasize reflective practices of the parties, which can facilitate attitudinal change. Besides, community

driven conflicts could have early warning and early response, neighborhood watch platforms, conflict sensitive approaches, and cross-cultural communication tools that would not only help to prevent conflict but also transform them and promote harmony and peaceful coexistence in post-conflict contexts.

Conflict – intervention gap matrix

Form Of Conflict	Intervention	Gaps Identified	Addressing Gaps
Resource Based	Sensitization trainings aimed at conflict prevention, management and resolution	Values and interests may not be addressed because the interventions may sometimes not address behavior and attitude change	For the interventions to work sustainably there is need for conducting context analyses and dialogue that is restorative in nature.
Identity	Sensitization and Community Dialogue	Clashes over livelihoods. The interventions don't enable parties in the conflict understand each other and it keeps the conflicts recurring	The interventions should consider joint analysis by the parties so as to find the points of connection and separation to guide them towards getting solutions.
Generational	Dialogue and Training in Labor Laws and Human Rights	The intervention does not directly benefit the befitting beneficiaries. Whenever there is a training in human rights and laws it is the leaders who are called for the training, leaving out the community members	There is need for both parties to understand labor laws and human rights in regard to work.
Structural	Sectoral and Multi-Sectoral Meetings	Communication is top down lead partners in the different sectors tend to look down upon the other partners. The interventions do not address the cold relations among the organizations. The interventions tend to enhance cracks among the organizations	To address the gaps its essential to build the capacity of organizational staff in applying approaches that enhance positive relations such as "Do no Harm" or conflict sensitivity in their programming

Form Of Conflict	Intervention	Gaps Identified	Addressing Gaps
Relationship	Community dialogues and sensitization meetings	Interventions lack element of personal touch The parties do not feel involved.	Interventions should have aspects of a personal touch and be restorative
Domestic	Sensitization through awareness creation on gender and the relevant laws that govern gender relations	Sometimes the interventions do not consider direct involvement of the Concerned parties. The interventions do not address the hurt inflicted on victim, nor does it help parties know how to manage the conflict triggers like anger	The concerned parties should be equipped with skills for handling violence and managing anger so that they are able to prevent, proactively manage the conflict or even resolve it peacefully
Capacity Related	Training in conflict resolution approaches such as mediation and negotiation	Money allocated for the trainings cannot efficiently run the trainings. The trainings activities are merely raising awareness but do not conduct address practical issues in the actual sense. The trainings target only leaders, leaving out potential conflict preventers and transformers in the community	The planning and Implementation of training activities should have practical budgets targeting better training outcomes. They should also target stakeholders across the board as participants in the trainings.

3.0

CONCLUSIONS

There are existing conflicts in the refugee settlements as well as their attendant host communities. Some of the conflicts have historical overtones of ethnic differences while others arise out of the day to day interactions of the affected people, as they go about their businesses. Most of the conflicts are inter-personal in nature, albeit with a variety of dimensions ranging from competition for the scarce resources to interpersonal relationships in social matters. The existence of these conflicts in the refugee settlements has not passed unattended to. There are initiatives in place intended to address conflicts by the different stakeholders including the government of Uganda, UNHCR, NGOs and the communities in their respective structures. The interventions undertaken to address the conflicts so far include sensitization, community dialogue and training of local leaders in basic skills of conflict resolution.

Whereas most of the conflicts are inter-personal in nature, and would best be addressed using approaches that have an element of personal touch, where the parties feel involved, making the concerned parties part of the solution to the problem, the approaches commonly used to address conflict situations such as community dialogue and community sensitization lack that personal touch, thus unable to effectively address the conflict. Tools like restorative dialogue would be and case by case mediation would be more appropriate in handling interpersonal conflicts. Such tools help the parties to have appreciate the problem, analyze details and understand their role in problem, find the points of connection and separation to guide them towards getting solutions. Community dialogues and sensitization may be appropriate for conflicts that have collective characteristics such as intercommunity or intergroup dimensions. The current interventions have largely ignored the aspect of interpersonal conflicts which constitute over 90% of the conflicts prevailing in the refugee settlements and their host communities.

The organizations and institutions that have that are implementing conflict resolution and peacebuilding in the refugee settlements did not have expertise in the respective fields among their staff attached to the peace projects. Besides, little has been done to build the capacity of the same staff, when deployed in the departments to undergo skills training in conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Relatedly, the leaders among the RWCs, LCs and the relevant government departments are not trained in peacebuilding and conflict resolution skills.

This partly accounts for the shortcomings in the resourcing, program designs and implementation of peacebuilding and conflict management interventions in the refugee settlements and host communities.

Targeting leaders for the community interventions while leaving out the ordinary community members does not necessarily make the intervention grassroots based. Whereas it was true that the organizations conducted community dialogues and trainings, it was reported that most of the participants, for the greater part of those meetings are the community leaders, not the ordinary community members. It should be noted that the common triggers to the conflict and violence were anger, traumatic experiences and substance abuse among others. These are quite personal in nature and attempts to address the vices should majorly target the real culprits, not their supervisors, for it is by change of behavior of the actors that would transform the context. Therefore, targeting leaders and not the real victims and perpetrators at the community level contributed to the perpetuity of the conflicts rather than their transformation.

4.0

RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 To the government

- * The government of Uganda has a duty to rehabilitate and provide services to the Acholi in the host communities of Palabek who, having suffered from violent conflict for more than twenty years and are suffering the effects of forced displacement deserve specialized services Just as the refugees who have been settled in their midst, yet they are perceived to receive preferential treatment.
- * The government of Uganda should involve host community members, not only landlords, during the negotiation of land agreements for refugee settlements because the activities of the refugees on the land such as farming, collection of firewood and building materials affects the ordinary community members around the settlements.
- * The government should, by affirmative action, ensure that there are employment opportunities for local/host community people on development projects implemented in the settlements. Besides, scholarship opportunities should be extended to the host communities just as is the case with refugees because both communities have been affected by conflict for a long time.
- * The government of Uganda should translate policy and regulatory documents into local languages such that they are easily understood by both refugees and host communities.

4.2 UNHCR should:

- * Increase allocation of financial resources to supporting peacebuilding and conflict management interventions in the refugee settlements.
- * Support capacity development for staff of partner organizations through training in peacebuilding and conflict management skills.
- * Support development and translation of information and communication materials in the local languages so that they are easily understood by the refugees and host community members.
- * Humanitarian organizations should:

- * Build capacity of their staff in peacebuilding and conflict management skills so as to facilitate appropriate peacebuilding and conflict management designing and programming.
- * Integrate conflict sensitive programming in all their interventions for purposes of preventing and addressing conflict proactively.
- * Develop and translate information materials into the local languages to enable effective communication with the direct beneficiaries of project interventions.
- * Build the capacity of their relevant staff, local leaders and community members in peaceful approaches to conflict resolution which have a personal touch such as Alternatives to Violence and Trauma healing which can facilitate personal and community transformation.
- * Align project designs and programming to the peacebuilding and conflict management needs of the intended beneficiaries for the respective interventions.
- * Involve the direct beneficiaries in project inception, planning and implementation of their undertakings.
- * Promote awareness of the policies, laws and regulations governing refugees in the country in the local languages.
- * Increase the involvement of community members in training activities to break the monotony of training only leaders all the time.

4.3 Local leaders should:

- * Lobby government and land lords for friendly terms of land access and use for both individuals and groups requiring land for agriculture among the refugees.
- * Promote platforms for Cultural heritage preservation so as to foster unity in a diversity of ethnic groups, and stem ethnic-riven conflicts.
- * Support community initiatives by fully participating as members not only to encourage others but also to monitor their effective implementation.
- * Follow up on matters of community members that are referred to higher authorities.

4.4 Community members should:

- * Constitute livelihood and welfare committees that should meaningfully lobby the government and landlords to allocate those who are privately in livestock and crop farming, more land for agriculture.
- * Promote environmental preservation and sustainably measures, including cultural heritage materials found within the natural environment, when collecting building materials, fuel, and medicine.
- * Constitute inter-cultural associations that enhance peaceful coexistence through joint engagement and participation in activities that keep their cultural heritage and value systems alive, as well as in community development initiatives.
- * Engage with organizations in designing and planning interventions to ensure that such interventions suitably address their needs.
- * Develop community action plans at the village level that should inform the design of incoming interventions.
- * Constitute neighborhood watch associations for purposes of conflict prevention, conflict early warning and early response information sharing in the communities.
- * Ensure that their children access education, health and psychosocial support services in order to prevent them from the negative effects of trauma.

4.5 General conclusion

The existing conflicts in the refugee settlements of Palabek, BidiBidi and Rhino Camp are mainly interpersonal, and accrue from day – to – day interactions. The interventions undertaken to address the conflict context have reasonable impact on community awareness, reduction of inter-community violent clashes and leadership involvement in dispute settlements. However, they were not found effective in resolving inter-personal conflicts which require personal involvement of the primary or direct parties to the conflict in determining the solutions to the problems. If approaches, especially those with a personal touch to the primary stakeholders in conflict, were adopted, more capacities built in the respective skills, covering a greater part of the communities, better results would be realized. When the resourcing of the peacebuilding interventions is improved in both financial and human resources, a greater reduction of violence and conflict, as well as community transformation, will be realized in both refugee settlements and host communities.

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