### ETHNIC CONFLICT AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF DISPLACED PEOPLE OF SOUTH SUDAN

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# A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTERS DEGREE IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACE BUILDING OF KAMPALA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

#### **DECLARATION**

I, Idra Paul Stephen, hereby declare that this research on Ethnic Conflict and Living Conditions of Displaced People of South Sudan is my original work. It has not been presented wholly or partly in any institution for academic purposes. All references given herein have been duly acknowledged.

Signature:

**IDRA PAUL STEPHEN** 

Date: 19 / 03 / 2019

#### APPROVAL

This is to certify that this thesis has been submitted to the Directorate of Higher Degree and Research of Kampala International University with my approval as the candidate's thesis supervisor.

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Date: 19 / 03 / 2019

#### **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to the Comboni Missionaries of the Heart of Jesus and to my relatives and friends.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to thank God, the Almighty father for the gift of life, knowledge, wisdom and education. I thank him for his love and protection during this period of my studies. Without him I would have done nothing.

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#### TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
APPROVAL	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS	x
ABSTRACT	xi
•	
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.1.1Historical Perspective	1
1.1.2 Theoretical Perspective	6
1.1.4 Contextual Perspective	6
1.2 Problem Statement	7
1.3 Purpose of the study	8
1.3.1 Objectives of the study	8
1.4 Research Questions	9
1.5 The Scope of the Study	9
1.5.1 Geographical Scope	9
1.5.2 Content Scope	9
1.5.4 Time Scope	9
1.6 Significance of the study	

1.7 Definition of the key terms	9
CHAPTER TWO	12
LITERATURE REVIEW	
2.0 Introduction	
2.1 Conceptual framework	
2.2 Theoretical review	
2.2.1 The theory of protracted social conflict	13
2.2.2 Instrumentalism theory	15
2.3 Review of related literature	17
2.3.1 The paradigms that support ethnic conflict and the living conditions of disp South Sudan.	
2.4 Conflict and Displacement	
2.5 Challenges faced by the displaced people	24
2.6 Effect of displacement on the living conditions of displaced people of South S	udan 26
2.7 Research Gaps	27
CHAPTER THREE	28
METHODOLOGY	28
3.0 Introduction	28
3.1 Research Design	28
3.2 Population of the Study	28
3.3 Sample Size	28
3.4 Sampling Techniques	29
3.5 Sources of data	29
3.5.1 Primary source	
3.5.2 Secondary source	30
3.6 Data Collection Instruments	30
3.6.1 Questionnaires	30

3.6.2 Interview Guide Questions	30
3.7 Validity and Reliability of the Instruments	30
3.7.1 Validity	. 30
3.7.2 Reliability	. 31
3.8 Data collection procedure	. 32
3.9 Data analysis	. 32
3.10 Ethical Considerations	. 32
3.11 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study	. 33
CHAPTER FOUR	. 34
PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS	. 34
4.0 Introduction	. 34
4.1 Response Rates of Respondents	. 34
4.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents	. 34
4.3 Gender Characteristics of Respondents	. 34
4.3.1 Description of age groups of respondents	. 35
4.3.2Marital status of respondents	. 36
4.3.3 Qualification of the Respondents	. 36
4.3.4Occupation of Respondents	37
4.4 Descriptive Survey showing the perception of the Respondent's Response on the cause ethnic conflict in South Sudan.	
4.5 The Causes of Ethnic Conflict in South Sudan	38
4.5.1 The challenges faced by displaced South Sudanese as a result of ethnic conflict	41
4.6 The Effects of Displacement on the living conditions of Displaced People of South Sudar	1 44

CHAPTER FIVE	49
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION	49
5.0 Introduction	49
5.1. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents	49
5.2.1 The Causes of Ethnic Conflict in South Sudan	49
5.2.2. The Challenges Faced by the Displaced South Sudanese as a Result of Ethnic Conflict.	. 50
5.2.3 The Effects of ethnic conflict on the living conditions of the Displaced People of Sudan	
5.3 Conclusions	52
5.4 Recommendations	53
5.4.1 Causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan.	53
5.4.2. Challenges faced by the displaced South Sudanese as a result of ethnic conflict	54
5.4.3 The effects of ethnic conflict on the living conditions of the displaced people of S Sudan	
5.5 Contribution to Knowledge	54
5.6 Areas for Further Research	54
REFERENCES	55
APPENDICES	61
APPENDIX I: QUESTIONAIRE	
APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE	64
APPENDIX III: LETTER FOR COLLECTION OF DATA	65
APPENDIX IV: LETTER FROM REFUGEES DESK OFFICER OPM ADJUMANI	66
APPENDIX V: SAMPLE SIZE DETERMINATION	
APPENDIX VI: REFUGEES IN ADJUMANI DISTRICT	69
APPENDIX VII: ACTIVE POPULATION STATISTICS	69

#### LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Population and Sample Size Selection for quantitative data29
Tale 3.2: Cronbach Alpha Reliability of the study instrument31
Table 4.1: Gender Characteristics of Respondents
Table 4.2: Age Bracket of the respondents
Table 4.3: Marital Status of the Respondents
Table 4.4: Academic Qualification of Respondents
Table 4.5: Occupation of Respondents
Table 4.6: The causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan
Table 4.7: Showing the challenges faced by displaced South Sudanese as a result of ethnic conflict
Table 4.8: The effect of displacement on the living conditions of Displaced People of South Sudan

#### LIST OF ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

APA – Arusha Peace Accord

AU – African Union

BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation

CAR - Central African Republic

CPA – Comprehensive Peace Agreement

Dr. – Doctor

DV – Dependent Variable

GONU – Government of National Unity

GOSS – Government of South Sudan

ICC – International Criminal Court

IDMC – Internal Displacement Monitory Centre

IDP – Internal Displaced Persons

IGAD – Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IV – Independent Variable

KIU – Kampala International University

NGOs – Non-Governmental Organizations

OPM – Office of Prime Minister

POC – Protection of Civilians

RPF – Rwandan Patriotic Front

SPLM/A – Sudan People Liberation Movement/Army

SPLM-IO – Sudan People Liberation Movement in Opposition

SPSS – Special Package for Social Sciences

SSLM – South Sudan Liberation Movement

UN – United Nations

UNGPID - United Nations Guiding Principle on Internal Displaced

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

USA – United States of America

WHO - World Health Organization

#### ABSTRACT

The study was conducted on ethnic conflict and the living conditions of displaced people in South Sudan. The study objectives were: to examine the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan; to identify the challenges faced by the displaced South Sudanese as a result of ethnic conflict, and to analyze the effects of displacement on the living conditions of the people of South Sudan. The study was guided by two theories: the theory of Protracted Social Conflict and the Instrumentalist theories of ethnicity. The study population was 222,970, which is the total population of the Internally Displaced Peoples (IDPs) in settlement camps in Adjumani, South Sudan. The sample size was determined using Krejcie and Morgan's table. Considering the population, the sample size was 384 respondents. Furthermore, the data collection methods were survey questionnaires and face-to-face interviews. After collection of data, quantitative data were analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), and the findings were represented using frequency tables and percentages, while qualitative data were analyzed through content analysis, which involved meticulous editing of the interview transcript in order to improve legibility. The study findings revealed that the major cause of the conflict is power tussle among the elites, which they have manipulated to instigated ethnic sentiments along South Sudanese ethnic tribes. The study also revealed that casualties resulting from the conflict, as well as destruction of homes and infrastructures caused displacement of many people who now live in unhealthy conditions in settlement camps. To resolve the conflict, the study recommended that the government of south Sudan should involve the church and religious leaders in the dialogue and reconciliation process. This recommendation is based on the fact that most South Sudanese are Christians, therefore, the church and religious leaders are in a position to intercede and broker peace among the warring factions.

#### **CHAPTER ONE**

#### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Introduction

This chapter covers the background of the study, the problem statement, the study objectives, research questions, scope, and significance of the study.

#### 1.1 Background of the Study

The background of the study covers the historical, theoretical, conceptual and contextual perspectives.

#### 1.1.1 Historical Perspective

The world is a violent place and for various political, economic, religious, ethnic and other reasons, war and conflict are inevitable. In the late twentieth century, ethnicity and ethnic conflict captivate the world's attention like perhaps no other social phenomenon on earth. Even "peaceful" societies like the United States are not immune to it, although it only infrequently erupts into open conflict and violence and then only briefly (Deng FM, Gifford P (2015). Countries like Afghanistan, India, Syria, and Iraq just to mention a few are not excluded from this reality of violent conflict in the recent years.

No continent in the world has ever faced many challenges as Africa in the recent years. One of the challenges affecting this continent is violent conflict. The high level of prevalence of civil wars and violent conflicts in Africa is attributed to ethnic diversity. Though ethnicity by itself is not a problem but ethnicity manipulated by the African politicians and elites for their own political and economic interest.

Rwanda is one of the African countries which was faced by the reality of ethnic conflict for long. In 1994 approximately 800,000 men, women and children were brutally massacred within 100 days. It is estimated that in four months, 1.75 million people, or a quarter of the country's prewar population, had either died or fled the country, (APA, 2013).

In the politics of Kenya, ethnicity plays a big role in who makes it to the presidency in this East African country. According to Barasa, the common ideology, especially among leaders of different political parties, goes thus, the others have eaten, it is now our turn to eat. In essence, Kenyan politics is characterized by parochialism. Governments are formed out of compromise with tribal agenda and forces (Rop, 2016)

After decades of civil war and one of the worst humanitarian crises in Africa, South Sudan became independent in 2011 through a referendum (BBC). The Origin of decades of conflicts and wars in Sudan goes back to the colonial era. Thousands of years before Christ, the Arab traders entered Sudan through Egypt looking for Gold, slaves, ivory and other minerals. They met a lot of resistance from the Funj and Nuba who were the inhabitants of Northern part of the Sudan those days. Conflict continued through the Turko-Egyptian rule in 1822 and British-Egyptian Condominium rule in 1898 to 1955. This struggle would continue through independence to the era of "Arabization" and "Islamization" adopted by successive central governments in Khartoum after the independence of Sudan in 1956, (Beshir, 1984).

The first civil war in the Sudan officially started in 1955 during which the Equatorian Corps of the Sudan Defense Forces composed of mainly Southern Sudanese military officers and personal mutinied in Torit against the government of Khartoum. The mutiny from the 1960s would progressively transform into a secessionist movement led by General Joseph Lagu. The marginalization of the South from the political, administrative and economic life of the country led to this Mutiny. The Mutiny spread from Torit to the other towns of South Sudan and later gave birth to the group of freedom fighters known as Anyanya Movement. The word Anyanya comes from a Madi language which, means snake poison. The said war lasted for 17 years and ended with the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972 (Nyaba, 1997). The seventeen year war between the South and the North was therefore resolved in March 1972 after the Addis Ababa Agreement between President Gaafar Nimeri regime and South Sudan Liberation Movement (SSPM) under the leadership of General Joseph Lagu. The Addis Ababa Peace Agreement guaranteed Southern Sudan autonomy within one united Sudan, a Southern regional Public Service Commission and Southern People's Regional Assembly with legislative powers (Nyaba, 1997).

In 1983, the Addis Ababa agreement which was signed in 1972 in Ethiopia and which established an autonomous government in Southern Sudan was dissolved and president Nimeri imposed Islamic Law nationwide. This led to another civil war, which started in 1983. On 16th May 1983, a liberation movement known as the Sudan People Liberation Movement (SPLM)

and Sudan People Liberation Army (SPLA) was launched under the leadership of Dr. John Garang.

There are several reasons why the southern part of the country took up arms again against the government of Sudan and formed Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). One of the strongest reasons was that President Nimeri declared the whole of the Sudan an Islamic State, introduced Sharia law in 1983 and abolished the autonomy of Southern Sudan that the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 had granted. Other reasons were lack of the implementation of the Addis Ababa Peace Agreement, unequal distribution of power and wealth between the north and south (Nyaba, 1997).

According to Deng (1995), cited in Brosche and Rothbart, (2013), the imposition of Arabic as an official language and Islamic religion remains and continues to be a starting point for conflict in the Sudan. The association of religion and politics and social affairs has complicated coexistence between the North and the South for at least a generation and will likely continue unless Arab Muslims in the North, and Non-Arabs, and Non-Muslims establish a secular system to accommodate all people and beliefs (Bartlet, 2008).

This second phase of civil war lasted for 21 years and ended with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 in Nairobi, Kenya between SPLM/A under the leadership of John Garang and the government of Khartoum, under the leadership of President Omar al Bashir. The CPA of 2005 established two different interim governments, one being the secular government known as the government of National Unity (GONU) in Khartoum and the other, government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) in the South (Collins, 2008). This gave South Sudan the possibility to become politically autonomous and eventually to decide through a referendum whether it wanted independence. Thus 2011 witnessed the separation of South Sudan from Sudan. Hence, South Sudan became an independent country.

When South Sudan gained independence in July 2011, President Omar al Bashir of Sudan looked at its future and hoped, "God willing, this state will be stable and develop." This statement came in reflection after South Sudanese people had experienced over 20 years of guerrilla warfare with the North in which nearly 1.5 million people died (Brenna, 2016).

Two years following the independence of South Sudan on December 15, 2013, conflict broke out between the country's two most prominent tribes when President Salva Kiir, of the Dinka tribe, removed Vice president Riak Machar, a Nuer, from office and accused him of attempting a failed coup. Violence would continue among Kiir and Machar's respective tribes until August 2015 when international pressure resulted into a ceasefire peace deal between the factions. But over the past year, tensions have escalated into greater ethnic violence, leading the UN to warn the international community of another Rwandan-like genocide (Ibid).

The United Nations further said that, this ethnic violence has included hostile rhetoric, killings, and specified rapes on members of rival ethnic groups. The majority of ethnic violence is instigated by the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), the SPLA in Opposition (SPLA/IO), militias, and unidentified armed groups (Ibid).

Initially the conflict was politically motivated but in the course of time, it took on an ethnic dimension between the Dinka and Nuer, the two main tribes from which President Salva Kiir and Riak Machar respectively come (Noel, 2016).

Since the beginning of the civil war in 2013, at least 1.73 million people have been displaced internally while 1.5 million have sought refuge in neighboring countries, the largest exodus in East and Central Africa after the Rwanda genocide of 1994(Brenna, 2016). Brenna again says, because of the large numbers of refugees, the living conditions in these camps are often very poor. Because of the large number of refugees, health facilities are inadequate, and there is poor sanitation.

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), African Union (AU), Britain, USA and China took the initiative to end the bloodshed in this young nation that already claimed thousands of lives in two years. The international community put a lot of pressure on both the government and the rebels, sanctions and freezing assets have been applied on some government officials and military generals as well as some rebel generals who have been implicated in masterminding the war and the ethnic targeting.

Peace negotiations began in Addis Ababa to resolve the conflict. This paved the way for a peace agreement which was signed in August 2015 between GOSS and the rebel group, an agreement, the government signed with reservations.

South Sudan and the international agencies will faced great challenges during the Post conflict. The current conflict hold back development process, the political institutions are weak, physical infrastructures have been destroyed by the conflict in many part of the country, the problem of economy breakdown and the social infrastructures have been destroyed too. The government and the international agencies would have to work for the establishment of physical infrastructures such as schools, healthcare centres, trauma and healings centres. Peace building, dialogues and confidence building among the South Sudanese during the post conflict period.

When the war seemed to be ending, the South Sudanese government came with an initiative of national dialogue to create peace among the people. This social infrastructure reconstruction and amendments of the broken relationships is an important initiative to create confidence and trust among the different ethnic communities which have lived together in a peaceful ways.

South Sudanese have lived together from time immemorial, bound together by sense of religiosity, sense of identity as South Sudanese facing a common enemy during the struggle for succession from the government of Khartoum. The Catholic Bishops of South Sudan echoed in their message of hope in 25 September 2014 that traditionally, the peoples of South Sudan do not hate each other. While there have been tribal conflicts over issues such as cattle and land, there have been traditional mechanisms to solve those conflict before they get out of control. Our people have inter-married, assisted each other during famines, moved freely around the country, studied together in national boarding schools, lived together in cities, shared their cultural heritage and worked together in many different spheres. We acknowledge the generosity of many who even during the current conflict have welcomed and protected people from other ethnic groups. However, ethnicity has now become a negative issue through throughout our society. Large-scale ethnic killing has created a circle of fear, hatred and revenge. Our politics is becoming ethnic, with perceptions from various communities that one tribe or other is favored, or that one tribe or another in under-represented, or even that one tribe or another deserves to rule. Even within our churches, elements of tribalism are creeping in and creating suspicion, hinder our efforts to work for peace and reconciliation. This is not the way forward. We condemned tribalism and repeat our earlier call for one people from every tribe, tongue and nationality. We are South Sudanese, and we call for the creation of a national identity which builds on but transcends our roots and heritage.

Northern Uganda, Rwanda and Liberia are good examples to look at after the war and see how they established post conflict initiatives for the re-constructions of the communities.

#### 1.1.2 Theoretical Perspective

This study was informed by two theories: the Theory of Protracted Social Conflict and the Instrumentalist Theory.

The Theory of Protracted Social Conflict: This theory was propounded by Edward Azar in 1970. The theory examines the relationship between communal identity, access to basic needs and conflict. The theory argues that when people are deprived of their basic needs, as a result of their common identity, protracted social conflicts are inevitable.

The instrumentalist theory: The theory was propounded by Pierre Duhem in 1906. Afterwards, other authors such as Posen, 1993; Collier & Hoeffler, 1998; 2000; 2004; Chandra, 2004; Ruane & Todd, 2004) have built on the theory and argue that ethnic conflict does not emerge directly from differences in ethnic identity. Rather ethnic conflict arises only when ethnic identities are politicized or manipulated to generate political and socio-economic advantages for an ethnic group at the cost of depriving or neglecting other ethnic groups. Accordingly, instrumentalists point to factors other than ethnic identity to explain ethnic conflicts. Sentiments of discontent underlying these factors suggest that ethnic conflicts under instrumentalism, are commonly motivated by grievances/frustration (Ellingsen, 2000).

#### 1.1.3 Conceptual Perspective

From an etymological perspective, the term ethnicity is derived from the Greek word 'ethnos' which means nation. However, the popular usage of the term points to a people who share common ancestry defined by a distinctive culture. The said group of people, more often than not, strongly identify with one another through a common heritage, for instance, language, culture and tradition of a common ancestry. It is precisely because of this that they can be identified as an ethnic group or ethnicity (Rop, 2016). Ochieng further observed that as long as we view our various ethnicities with condescension, with a negative mentality, as a phenomenon not worth associating with, we are doomed to re-cycle the Rwandese tragedy (Rop, 2016).

According to Crisford Chogugudza (2008), ethnicity is a very broad term which can be defined in different ways depending on the context. However, in this context, ethnicity is defined as a shared cultural identity involving similar practices, initiations, beliefs and linguistic features passed over from one generation to another. In Africa today and indeed elsewhere in the developing world, issues of ethnicity and identity continue to be of great importance in politics and other aspects of life. Ethnicity can also be explained in terms of race, people and ethnic group, these are fundamentals that are at the nucleus of African social, cultural and political organization.

Although ethnicity in African politics is commonly associated with negative connotations, it can also play a constructive role in a post-conflict situation if the nation is reformed. The role of the nation is to engage with different ethnic groups rather than favor some, or exclude others.

Political independence of South Sudan has uncovered buried ethnic sentiments among the South Sudan sudanese people. The long decades of the national liberation struggle prevented South Sudan from looking into its soul to discover its own societal ills. The task of self-reflection and criticism had not been accomplished prior to the declaration of political independence. Instead of moving away from the illusion of tribalism and ethnicity, the political elites of South Sudan reshaped the basis of government. They substituted 'African' racial identity for a multiplicity of ethnicities. The ethnic differences invented by the colonial policy of indirect rule were frozen and maintained by the Government of South Sudan as a political goal. This served as the formal basis for granting or denying access to political and economic power.

#### 1.1.4 Contextual Perspective

This study looks at how ethnic conflict in South Sudan has resulted into the displacement of more than a million persons from their homes and forced them to live under inhumane living conditions in Refugee settlements in Adjumani district situated in the West Nile Region in Uganda. Adjumani district was curved out of Moyo district in 1997, which at independence was known as Ma'di District. Adjumani and Moyo districts are separated by Albert Nile. It is bordered by the districts of Amuru to the east and to the south, Arua to the southwest; Moyo to the west and north; and the Republic of South Sudan to the northeast. Adjumani district hosts huge number of South Sudanese refugees in 19 settlements divided in seven zones.

#### 1.2 Problem Statement

Since the ethnic conflict broke out in December of 2013 between South Sudan's two most prominent ethnic groups the Dinka and Nuer, many South Sudanese have been displaced. Attempts by the United Nations and IGAD to bring stability and peace have been frustrated by the conflicting parties. Numerous ceasefires have been declared, but the warring factions keep on breaching the ceasefire agreements, resulting into the death of nearly 50,000 of people, directly or indirectly from the conflict (Brenna, 2016). This conflict has become a threat to many South Sudanese, especially women and children who are the most vulnerable. A recent report by the UNHCR suggested that the ethnic conflict in South Sudan who has forced more than 1.5 million people to flee to the neighboring countries, creating Africa's largest refugee crisis and the third largest in the world after Syria and Afghanistan (UNHCR, 2017). Furthermore, the report notes that about 1.73 million people have been internally displaced - some living in UN protection camps, whilst other are in other IDP camp across the country (Ibid). The immediate effects of this conflict include loss of lives and properties, destruction of basic infrastructure, economic breakdown, famine, diseases, trauma and other psychological effects. This has created fear and trepidation among the population, forcing many of them to find refuge in IDP camp or cross into neighboring countries to seek refuge where they would feel more secure. This study investigated the living conditions of displaced people in Adjumani settlement camps.

#### 1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was to investigate the effect of ethnic conflict on the living conditions of the internally displaced people in Adjumani settlement camps.

#### 1.3.1 Objectives of the study

- (i) To examine the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan.
- (ii) To identify the challenges faced by the displaced South Sudanese as a result of ethnic conflict.
- (iii) To analyze the effects of displacement on the living conditions of the people of South Sudan.

#### 1.4 Research Questions

- (i) What are the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan?
- (ii) What are the challenges faced by the displaced South Sudanese as a result of ethnic conflict?
- (iii) What are the effects of displacement on the living conditions of the Displaced People of South Sudan?

#### 1.5 The Scope of the Study

The scope of the study included the geographical, theoretical, conceptual, and time scopes that guided the researcher in conducting the study.

#### 1.5.1 Geographical Scope

The research was carried out in Adjumani district situated in the West Nile Region in Uganda. Adjumani district was curved out of Moyo district in 1997, which at independence was known as Ma'di District. Adjumani and Moyo districts are separated by Albert Nile. It is bordered by the districts of Amuru to the east and Arua to the south and Moyo to the west. Adjumani district was chosen for the study because Adjumani district has 19 settlement camps and therefore hosts a huge number of South Sudanese refugees.

#### 1.5.2 Content Scope

The study focused on the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan by assessing the perceptions of the affected population, identified the challenges faced by the displaced South Sudanese as a result of ethnic conflict, and the living conditions of the displaced people of South Sudan.

#### 1.5.4 Time Scope

The study will cover a period from 2013 to 2018. This period was chosen because the ongoing conflict in South Sudan started and escalated within this period. Furthermore, it was in this period 2013 to 2018 that many South Sudanese were forced to move into settlement camps as a result of the conflict.

#### 1.6 Significance of the Study

- The findings of the study will be useful to the government of South Sudan, international agencies and NGOs in formulating policies, initiating intervention plans for IDP camps in South Sudan and specifically in Adjumani settlement camps.
- The study will give voice to the displaced people in Adjumani settlement camps; by presenting in detail their living conditions and daily experiences.
- It will add knowledge to the existing and growing literature on the living conditions of the displaced people.
- It will be a source of reference for future researchers working on the living conditions of IDPs, particularly in South Sudan.
- It helped the researcher to learn and gain experience on how to conduct field research and to fulfill the requirement for the award of Master of Arts Degree in Conflict Resolution and Peace-building of Kampala International University.

#### 1.7 Definition of the Key Terms

Ethnic conflict: This is a conflict between two or more contending ethnic groups. While the source of the conflict may be political, social, economic or religious, the individuals in conflict must expressly fight for their ethnic group's position within society. This final criterion differentiates ethnic conflict from other forms of struggle.

Ethnicity: From an etymological perspective, the term ethnicity is derived from the Greek word 'ethnos' which means nation. However, the popular usage of the term points to a people who share common ancestry defined by a distinctive culture. The said group of people, more often than not, strongly identify with one another through a common heritage, for instance, language, culture and tradition of a common ancestry. It is precisely because of this that they can be identified as an ethnic group. (Rop, 2016).

Displaced persons: Displaced persons under international law are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obligated to flee or to have cause to leave their homes or place of habitual residence in particular, as a result of or in order to avoid the effect of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made

disasters, and they must have either remain within their own national borders (as internally displaced persons) or they must have crossed an internationally recognized state border (as refugees), (Ladan, 2006). Hence displaced persons are of two categories: Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

Internally displaced persons: According to United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, introduction, paragraph 2, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights, man-made disasters, and who have not crossed an international recognized border (UNHCR, 2001).

#### **CHAPTER TWO**

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

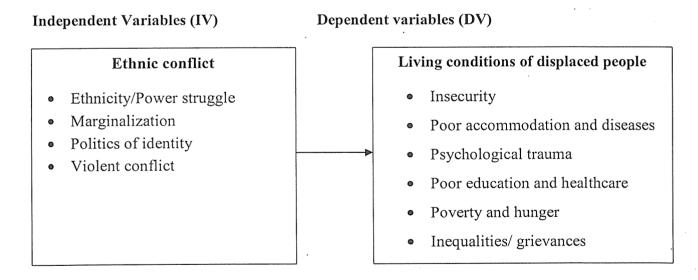
#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the conceptual framework of the study, theoretical review, and review of literatures related to the study variables and objectives. Literatures related to the study were reviewed to explain the views of other authors on the causes of conflict in South Sudan and the living condition of those displaced by the conflict. It also presented gaps in the existing literature.

#### 2.1 Conceptual framework

Conceptual framework is when research conceptualizes the relationship between variables in the study and shows it graphically and diagrammatically. The purpose is to help the researcher quickly see the proposed relationship of the concepts (Mugenda, 1999).

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework



The conceptual framework above shows the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variables. It shows that the independent variables directly affect the dependent variables. Ethnicity/Power struggle, marginalization, politics of identity and violent conflict have direct impact on the living conditions of displaced people through insecurity, poor accommodation, poverty hunger and many more.

#### 2.2 Theoretical review

There are many theories that deal with the question of ethnic conflict and living conditions of the Displaced persons. However, in this study, two different schools of thoughts were examined, namely, the theory of protracted Social Conflict and the instrumentalist theory of ethnicity.

#### 2.2.1 The theory of protracted social conflict

The study is guided by the theory of Protracted Social Conflict developed by Edward Azar in the early 1970s. It generally refers to long lasting, complex, severe, commonly enduring, and often violent conflicts. The theory explains prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition, acceptance, fair access to political institutions and positions, and economic participation (Ramsbotham, 2005). The theory suggests that protracted social conflict is almost inevitable in situations where a group's identity is threatened or frustrated or when their access to basic needs is limited. In this case, hostile interactions between communal or ethnic groups that are based in deep-seated racial, ethnic, religious and cultural hatreds, which persist over long periods of time with sporadic outbreaks of violence, are indications of protracted social conflict (Azar, 1990).

In summary, protracted social conflicts occur when communities are deprived of satisfaction of their basic needs, when there is a feeling of marginalization in the power structure on the basis of communal identity, resulting from colonial legacy, domestic historical setting, and the multi-communal nature of the society. Azar identified four variables, as the predominant sources of protracted social conflict: communal content, deprivation of human needs, governance and the state's role, and international linkages (Azar, 1990).

On the first variable "Communal Content," Azar contends that "multi-ethnicity" is the major cause of protracted social conflict in any given society. Multi-ethnicity, whether as a result of colonial conquest and legacy or historical dominance of one group over other, often creates "disarticulation between the state and society as a whole" (Azar, 1990: 7; Ramsbotham, Miall, Woodhouse, 2011: 101). Azar notes that, "it is the relationship between identity groups and the state that is at the core of the problem." States that are dominated by a single ethnic group or a coalition of a few communal groups that are unresponsive to the needs of other groups in the society usually create an avenue for protracted social conflict. In this respect, one may argue that South Sudan being a country where a certain ethnic group - the Dinka dominates both the

political and economic landscape to their advantage provokes a feeling of marginalization and subjugation among other ethnicities in the country.

Besides, protracted social conflict is usually imminent in multi-ethnic settings, where the governments and leaders are unable, incapable or unwilling to provide basic human necessities to the population. Consequently, individuals turn to their social groups/ ethnicity for sustenance. Such disconnection of the society and the state creates mistrust and apathy for the government by the citizens. In Africa, ethnic segregation is linked to colonial legacy, which, artificially partitioned and imposed European ideas of territorial statehood onto a multitude of communal groups (Ramsbotham, 2005). This resulted in the domination of certain ethnic groups by others. In most cases, the dominant group isolates itself from the needs of other groups, leading to an even bigger separation between groups even within an ethnicity (ibid).

The second variable "Human Needs", deals with accessibility to developmental human needs. Human needs are insatiable and evolve; the satisfaction of a particular need gives rise to another need. The basic needs (food, shelter, clothing, sanitation, education, and healthcare) are the basis of all human needs (Maslow, 1943). Thus, individual or communal survival depends on the provision of their basic needs. However, due to structural scarcity; these basic needs are rarely attainable to a segment of the society, whilst others live in affluence. Consequently, destitution and lack suffered by a segment of the society as against another, paves way for grievances resulting from deprivation. When such grievances are not properly managed, they often degenerate to protracted social conflict. Therefore, the degree to which minority groups can access the market or political institutions is a factor that can avert or induce protracted social conflict. Although physical needs may not be a direct trigger of conflict, they reinforce the dynamics of conflict in societies experiencing severe lack.

The third variable, "Government and the State's Role," examines the role of the state in making sure that all communal groups within its border and jurisdiction are well taken care of, in terms of meeting their basic needs, ensuring fair allocation of resources and access to political power. Azar contends that a common issue with countries experiencing protracted social conflict is that power is dominantly controlled by one identity group. Consequently, the available resources are recycled among the ruling group at the expense of other groups. Besides, conscious efforts are made by the ruling group to hinder other groups from fair access to political power. Thus, there

is a direct relationship between regime type and the level of legitimacy, access to basic needs and protracted social conflict (Azar, 1990: 7).

The last variable "International Linkages," examines how external influence affects communal groups' access to basic needs, security and recognition. Azar identified economic dependency and client relationships as two main factors that weaken the autonomy of a state and thus, affects its overall functionality. In this case, states that depend on others for economic development often experience undue external influence that usually distort their domestic political and economic systems, with inadvertent adverse impact on communal groups access to basic needs in these states. Client relationships, implies where a state entrust its domestic security to another state. In such an arrangement, a state guarantees security to another in return for loyalty. The obvious impact of such arrangement is that the country receiving security guarantee, sacrifices its autonomy and independence, which has an impact on how the needs of the communal groups are addressed.

Furthermore, Azar identified four possible consequences of protracted social conflict as: deterioration of physical security; institutional deformity; psychological ossification and increased dependency and cliency. Observably, all the aforementioned are evident in the present state of South Sudan. Thus, the theory provides a clear background that explains the persistent phenomenon.

#### 2.2.2 Instrumentalism theory

The instrumentalism theory: The theory was propounded by Pierre Duhem in 1906. Afterwards, other authors such as Posen, 1993; Collier & Hoeffler, 1998; 2000; 2004; Chandra, 2004; Ruane & Todd, 2004) have built on the theory and argue that ethnic conflict does not emerge directly from differences in ethnic identity. Rather ethnic conflict arises only when ethnic identities are politicized or manipulated to generate political and socio-economic advantages for an ethnic group at the cost of depriving or neglecting other ethnic groups.

Accordingly, instrumentalists point to factors other than ethnic identity to explain ethnic conflicts. These include, security concerns (Posen 1993); competition and inequality (Gurr, 1993a; 1993b & 1994); and greed (Collier &Hoeffler, 1998; 2000 & 2004). Sentiments of discontent underlying these factors suggest that ethnic conflicts, under instrumentalism, are commonly motivated by grievances/frustration (Ellingsen, 2000). Relative to primordialism,

instrumentalism appears a more nuanced theory as it recognizes the relevance of political and socio-economic structural dynamics to account for temporal and geographical variations in the occurrence of ethnic conflicts. However, while instrumentalism highlights elite manipulation or politicization of ethnicity as the foundational source of grievances which induce ethnic conflicts, it cannot independently explain why people easily, cooperatively, and effectively mobilize themselves along ethnic lines. It must draw on the wisdom of primordialism in recognizing the power of ethnicity to perpetuate a sense of 'common blood', a sense of shared values, shared interests, shared threats, and most fundamentally, a sense of solidarity, which is indispensable for collective action (Che, 2016).

The instrumentalist theory of ethnicity well explains the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan. Available evidence shows that in the current conflict in South Sudan, politicians and elites use ethnic identity as an instrument to politicize or manipulate ethnic groups to generate political and socio-economic advantages for themselves at the cost of depriving or neglecting other ethnic groups in the country. This explains rightly how elites in South Sudan are very rich and they have the political power and influence over some segments of the society.

Instrumentalism is generally applied as a means to illustrate how politicians and elite actors may use ethnicity as an instrument to further their political and economic interests. The factors, which primordialists consider to be the root causes of conflicts such as religion, race and ethnicity, are not exempted by instrumentalists as the causes of conflicts. Factors such as race, religion, or broadly speaking, ethnicity, are instead used as a force with which to mobilize people, a means to gain support for and justify the conflict. On its own, ethnicity is not seen as the cause of conflict. Instead, instrumentalists argue that the true and underlying causes of most violent conflicts are the result of political and economic factors, with politicians often being the actors behind the scene. Looking at the true motives for war, the instrumentalists would argue that factors such as power and wealth play a much greater determining role, as opposed to cultural differences (Coetzee, 2009).

The manifestation of ethnic antagonism with regard to state politics and political power in South Sudan is predominant in the intra-ethnic rivalry between the Dinka Bahr el Ghazal and Dinka Bor, and the inter-ethnic competition between the Dinka (Dinka Bahr el Ghazal and Dinka Bor) and Nuer ethnic groups, wherein the Nuer contest the domination of political and economic

space by the Dinka. These inter-ethnic conflicts are perpetuated on the premise that the priorities of central and state governments are primarily centered on privileging and promoting the interests of SPLM members and its military wing – organizations that heavily draw their membership from the Dinka, to the exclusion of other ethnic groups (Shulika & Uzodike, 2012).

In many post-conflict situations, elites have drawn on the political capital of their ethnic affiliations and loyalties to perpetuate political and governance control. According to David and Patrick, ethnic divisions and mobilization along new politically based identities is a feature of transitional societies, where human and civil populations are able to respond to changes in political power. Given this, they argue that when states are faced with the relatively important and daunting responsibilities of political and economic liberalization and development, ethnic resentment can be nurtured and ethnic animosity further influenced by institutional, political and international decision-making and relations.

In South Sudan, ethnic discord remains among the major challenges impacting on the effectiveness of the country's transformation and peace building efforts. High levels of poverty, the relatively high dependence on oil resources as a main source of revenue, and the limited political and economic opportunities accessible to the many but small ethnic groups play a crucial role in fuelling ethnic tensions in South Sudan (Shulika & Uzodike, 2012).

#### 2.3 Review of related literature

The dynamics and patterns of war have increasingly changed and the most affected are civilians and the civil society (Nordstrom, 2004: 58). The concept of "new" wars, explains a new pattern in wars and violent conflicts that are commonly fought by non-state actors, fighting for identity and extensively affecting the population, making them a pawn in the conflict, which often lacks clear objectives (Kaldor, 2013). Naturally, this has consequences on how the peace-building, including reconciliation, Justice, Truth and Mercy should be handled in the affected societies (Lederach, 1997: 28-29). The recent civil war of South Sudan is a typical "new" war given the fact that most of the actors are not representing any government or state, as well most of the targets or affected individuals are civilians. In addition, there is lack of clear objectives from the warring factions. To reach sustainable peace in such setting there is need for a link with peace-building from below, where the peace process will be initiated by the population.

Sustainable peace therefore requires that long-time antagonists not merely lay down their arms but that they achieve profound reconciliation that will endure because it is sustained by a society-wide network of relationships and mechanisms that promote justice and address the root causes of enmity before they can regenerate destabilizing tensions (Lederach, 1997). To reach sustainable peace there is a need to include all levels in the society, from top to bottom. Ripsman, (2016) argues that peacemaking is most successful with the bottom-up process, when key societal actors or society as a whole embrace conflict resolution for economic, political, or normative reasons and then oblige their political leaders to negotiate and facilitate peace. Thus, peace-building from below, which means initiating peace process by the population, is an inclusive approach acknowledging the importance of the ground level to be able to reach sustainable peace.

In state building and facilitation of durable peace in a conflict infested state, it is important that the population from the bottom level is fully incorporated. According to Benjamin Miller violent conflict is likely to occur when a single state contains many nations Ripsman, (2016). To resolve such conflicts there is a need to acknowledge the ostracized nationalities to create balance in the society (Ibid.). South Sudan got the status of an independent state, however the country still contains many nations hence Miller's assertion can be a tool for understanding the conflict and possible means for peace. Apparently, State building does not only refer to representation and territory but also accessible institutions and basic services (Hanagen and Tilly, 2010). In the end, it comes down to inclusion of all groups or tribal identities and building relations in-between.

Coming back to Lederach, who is an advocate for the importance of building relationships for reconciliation (Lederach, 1997), building relationships is facilitated by openness and values; therefore, another important bottom-up approach is implementation of peace-building education. Basically, teaching of critical thinking, celebration of diversity and non-violent measures can help to solve conflict. The aforesaid is crucial in protracted violent context like South Sudan. Peace-building takes time and getting the fundamental rights is most exigent. Thus, inculcating peace education in the peace process is of great importance in societies experiencing protracted violent conflict.

The affected population can be divided into different levels (top-middle-grassroots) depending on their influence in the society but also their numerical size. The top level is the smallest section - the elite of the country, while in contrast the grassroots is the biggest segment constituted by the majority of the population (Lederach, 1997). Different levels have different position and authority in the peace process. Actors are also affected differently: "Unlike many actors at the higher levels of the pyramid, the people in the grassroots experience and witness firsthand the deep-rooted hatred and animosity on a daily basis (Ibid. 43). This highlights the importance of including all levels, but particularly the middle level and the grassroots otherwise known as the civilian population. Obviously, a signed peace agreement will not by itself address the emotions and the grievance in a population. In fact, inherent factors in a violent conflict such as destitution may occupy the grassroots, as they will be more concerned with ensuring day to day basic needs and prioritize survival in place of the peace building process (Anderson and Olson, 2003).

Lederach argues that the level with the prime opportunity to facilitate peace-building is the middle one, this is because being in the middle means having links to both the elite and the community (Lederach, 1997). There is evidence that in most cases people in the grassroots have stayed peaceful despite being surrounded by violence (Mac Ginty, 2015). According to Nordstrom (2004), "People stop war by creating peace, not by fighting war better or harder or meaner" (Nordstrom, 2004: 179). Thus, in a society engulfed with violence, the peaceful segment is the fundamental pillar needed for reconciliation and peace-building. In the case of South Sudan, the peace-building process evidently neglects the grassroots and the peaceful segment of the population and thus, it has failed to deal with the sentiments of each level and hence reconciliation and peace-building has remained a mirage despite numerous ceasefires and peace agreements.

## 2.3.1 The paradigms that support ethnic conflict and the living conditions of displaced people of South Sudan.

#### **Politics of Identity**

The term politics of identity is used here in reference to ethno-politics and other policies that are designed to be exclusionary aimed to further the objectives of a selected few usually at the expense of the majority. In south Sudan, the politics of identity has been adopted from successive regimes in old Sudan which has successfully used it as means to divide and rule the country by creating a competing ideology tainted with a concept of "us versus them identity paradigm". In this context religious sectarianism created frictions not only between Muslims and

Christians but also between Muslims who claim to be more Islamic than others in the Sudan. Nonetheless, Arabism as an ideology that sought to promote Arab nationalism at the expense of the African identity was introduced as yet another racial divide mechanism that widened the gap between Sudanese Arabs and Africans in the south, east and western Sudan. In its genesis, these politics of identity have fractured Sudanese society so deeply that it resulted into conflicts between the central and marginalized ethnic groups in Darfur, southern Kordofan, Blue Nile, red sea hills and southern Sudan then. Therefore, it is fair to say that South Sudan has modeled the politics of identity adopted from the Sudan after its independence and after deviating from the SPLM vision of rebuilding a just and free democratic society. South Sudan is a country of over sixty tribes but only two ethnicities Dinka and Nuer dominated the government until the outbreak of 15th civil war and the subsequent massacre of the Nuer in juba. The politics of identity and tribalism posing challenges to south Sudan constituting triggers of potential division capable of undermining the fabric of the south Sudanese. The politics of identity not only favor certain groups in South Sudan but also redefines the composition of South Sudan's society and construct the image of the country as being made up of the two competing tribes, (Dinka-Nuer). Nonetheless, these localized ethnocentric policies created suspicions, resentments and conflicts making it difficult to promote a national identity and socio-political cohesion. Traditionally, political cleavages in Latin America were understood in terms of class rather than ethnicity, despite ample "raw material" for ethnic politics in the form of socially relevant ethnic distinctions in most countries (indigenous versus mestizo versus whites, and in some cases intraindigenous ethnic distinctions). It is an interesting question why Latin American countries have seen so little politicization of ethnicity in the form of political parties and movements, especially when political and economic benefits have long been allocated along ethnic lines in many countries of the region. Middle Eastern and North African countries with marked linguistic or religious heterogeneity such as Cyprus, Lebanon, turkey, Iraq, and Iran have experienced political mobilization along ethnic lines, while in many countries in this region politics among Arabs is structured by clan and tribal distinctions (Fearon et al., 2003).

In the politics of Kenya, ethnicity plays a big role in who makes it to the presidency in this East African country. Kenya is a home to more than 40 tribes and competition for political seats has never been more serious with most Kenyans getting behind candidates from their ethnic groups. The five largest ethnic groups- the kikuyu, Luhya, Kalenjin, Luo and Kamba-make up nearly 70

percent of the country's 48 million population, according to the country's last population census in 2009. Most of the leaders who play an important role in deciding the outcome of the election come from the above mentioned tribes.

Currently, the country remains polarized along the tribally skewed political parties. Political parties in Kenya lack a national outlook in terms of manifests and leadership composition. Every party's leadership is associated with particular ethnic groups. Conversely, ethnic violence has increased ethnic animosity and normalized tribal politics. According to Barasathe common ideology, especially among leaders of different political parties, goes thus, the others have eaten, it is now our turn to eat. In essence, Kenyan politics is characterized by parochialism. Governments are formed out of compromise with tribal agenda and forces (Rop, 2016).

Ethnically based parties are common in Sub Saharan Africa, and access to political and economic benefits is frequently structured along ethnic lines. This is also the case for most of the more ethnically diverse countries of South and South East Asia. Ethnic parties are less common in Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and North Asia. However, at least during the communist era the allocation of political and economic benefits was often formally structured along ethnic lines in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (Slezkine, 1994; Suny, 1993); the same seems true, more informally, of China, Korea, and Japan. Ethnic parties are rare in the more homogenous western countries, except Belgium and to a lesser extent Spain, Britain, and Canada. Access to political and economic benefits can certainly be influenced by ethnicity in the western countries (for example, in labor markets and often in urban politics), though to an extent that generally seems small when compared to most countries in other regions.

In 1994 in Rwanda, approximately 800,000 men, women and children were brutally massacred within 100 days. It is estimated that in four months, 1.75 million people, or a quarter of the country's pre-war population, had either died or fled the country. The massacre escalated into a genocide that started on April 7, 1994 resulting into the death of up to one million people. This horrifying event affected mainly agriculture, the main occupation of the population, as civil strife heightened in the middle of the growing season. Non-government organisation estimated that the overall loss of harvesting during the period of the genocide was as high as 60 per cent. Rwanda, commonly referred to as the land of a thousand hills, is populated by three ethnic groups: 84 per cent Hutu, 15 per cent Tutsi and 1 per cent Twa. Historically, Hutus have been mainly

agricultural laborers while the Tutsis were landowners. The Rwandan civil conflict can be traced back to the Belgian colonial rule of 1916-1962 which was characterized by poor or dissimilar divisions between the two principal ethnicities by the colonial administration. Tutsis were favored in terms of education and employment over the Hutus who were neglected.

Also, the Belgian administration introduced identity cards to distinguish one's ethnic origin. These acts unsurprisingly led to tensions between the Hutus and Tutsis. In 1959, civil war led to the overthrow of the then ruling Tutsi king, and the granting of independence three years later paved way for a Hutu-led government. Over the next several years, thousands of Tutsis were killed, and an estimated 150,000 fled to neighboring countries. The children of these exiles later formed the rebel group Rwandan patriotic front (RPF) which was predominantly Tutsi. In 1990 RPF invaded Rwanda in the name of democracy, good governance and the right of refugees displaced from earlier violence to return to Rwanda. The war waged by RPF continued until 1994. In a bid to solve this conflict, the government and the RPF entered into Arusha Peace Accord (APA) in 1993.

#### 2.4 Conflict and Displacement

The displacement of people and communities has been one of the challenges facing the livelihoods of people of lately. Some people for one reason or the other are being deprived of their places of abode. The displacement of people renders them homeless and out of business. According to the Social and Human Science website, the displacement of people refers to the forced movement of people from their locality or environment and occupational activities.

According to Internal Displacement Monitory Centre (2018) South Sudan has a long history of underdevelopment and conflict, and the multiple causes of displacement in the country make for complex dynamics that frequently overlap. Some key drivers can be identified in escalating armed conflict and recurrent, slow-onset natural hazards such as drought, which are further complicated by lack of inclusive governance and by socioeconomic marginalization. Violence has intensified throughout South Sudan since the outbreak of civil war on 15 December 2013, and famine has been declared in parts of the country after years of instability supply because of conflict and drought.

More than three years of civil war in south Sudan has forced 1.5 million people to flee into neighboring countries, creating Africa's largest refugees crisis and the third largest in the world

after Syria and Afghanistan, the UN refugee's agency reports (UNHCR, 2017). the report further explains that since fighting erupted between the government of president Salva Kiir and rebel forces led by first vice president Riek Machar in December 2013, the United Nations estimate more than 3.5 million people have become homeless, more than 2 million people have been displaced within the country and the rest or more than 1.5 million have taken refugee's in six countries, Uganda, Ethiopia, Sudan, Kenya, Democratic Republic of Congo and central African Republic.

It is important to note that population displacement forms an important aspect of the new wars with devastating effect on ordinary civilians. Firstly it may involve the systematic murder of anyone who is labeled differently. This was exactly what happened during the Rwanda genocide with the Tutsi population being killed on a systematic basis. Secondly, it may involve ethnic cleansing or forcible population expulsion and thirdly, it may involve the rendering of an area as uninhabitable. This last strategy is perhaps the most commonly used and may involve acts such as the use of land mines or through the use of bombs and missiles aimed at civilian targets such as homes and hospitals. It may also be done via economic means such as forced famines and depriving people of their livelihood (Batware, 2012).

#### Internal Displacement.

According to United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, introduction, paragraph 2, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights, man-made disasters, and who have not crossed an international recognized border (UNHCR, 2001).

Three years after the outbreak of civil war in December 2013, South Sudan has been experiencing some of the world's biggest population movements. Many people have crossed into neighboring countries, particularly Uganda, which is home to one of the largest refugee camps in the world. There was a significant increase in displacement in 2016, particularly following clashes in the capital, Juba, and the number of IDPs in the country topped two million in the first half of 2017. The figure decreased slightly toward the end of June 2017 to about 1.94 million, 85 per cent of which were living outside of civilian protection sites and other protected areas. About

163,000 new displacements caused by conflict were registered in the first half of 2017. The number of displaced people was expected to increase during the rest of 2017 with influx to the existing protected sites and collective centers, and new displacement sites are expected to be established (IDMC, 2018).

#### 2.5 Challenges faced by the displaced people

The evaluations revealed a strong vein of objection, not only to the treatment of IDPs as a separate category but even to their separate identification amongst all actual and potential vulnerable groups. The strength of such objections was somewhat surprisingly considered the widely held view that IDPs had been a relatively neglected group and the participation of many humanitarian agencies in efforts to address such neglect over the last decade. Such objections reflect an apparent unease within the humanitarian sector with the notion of IDPs as a separate category and this needs to be thought through and resolved by the sector (Hamm, B. I., 2001),

Many of those interviewed by the USAID DRC evaluation cited inadequate funding for humanitarian agencies as a key constraint on their work. Despite significant increases in funding by USAID and ECHO (the two principal donors) the overall funding levels did not match the rapid rise in the numbers of IDPs and the cost of responding to their needs. The 2004 CAP received only 44% of the amount requested. As of March 2004 of the 1.1 million IDPs in the four eastern provinces of DRC that were deemed "accessible" only 45% were actually receiving assistance, though the report does not indicate to what extent this could be attributed to funding shortfalls, inadequate capacity or problems in actually identifying the IDPs (Ganesan, et al, 2007),

For the Netherlands Somalia evaluation, the 'non-development' of most of the country for well over a decade has resulted in such low levels of public service provision that attainment of the sphere standards is denied to many Somalis regardless of whether they are IDPs or not. In relation to humanitarian programmes it concludes "very few of the programmes reach the standard associated with the Sphere project, since there is neither the stability nor the cash to reach sphere quality thresholds. Apparently however, the problem was due "not so much to a lack of funds as the failure to ensure that they were provided in a way that made their object sustainable". Apparently, the annual (or in ECHO's case 6-monthly) budgeting/spending cycle had led to breaks in the funding of a number of projects. Such breaks were dispiriting for staff of

the implementing agencies and damaged the relationship between the agencies and the project beneficiaries (Hart & Lo Forte, 2010).

Thus, for reasons which are not explored in the report, the WFP Eritrea evaluation refers to "slow donor response" and "shortfalls in resourcing of earlier EMOPs" as being mainly responsible for food aid supply shortfalls which saw WFP food aid fell from 167,000 tonnes to 39,000 tonnes during "the worst drought since independence" which "significantly affected the number of general feeding beneficiaries supported by WFP" (Jahan, 2004).

The SIDA Indonesia evaluation found that programmes were heavily influenced by the ease of access to an area, the leverage the population had on national and international political actors, media coverage, and donor preferences resulting into a focus on some areas and the relative neglect of others – leading to inconsistencies in standards of humanitarian assistance provided. For instance, the evaluation found out that this combination of factors had contributed to an "exceptional focus" on two islands and noted that most of the Dutch humanitarian aid provided over the five year period being evaluated had been earmarked to two provinces because of historical and parliamentary ties to the population of those islands (Robeyns, 2000).

Within the significantly under-resourced response in DRC, the USAID evaluation notes disproportionate responses to particular events that received international media attention and thus additional resources from official, as well as private, sources. The Goma crisis illustrates the impact the media can have in making a difference. Donations of over \$33 million were pledged within three weeks, more than one-third of the sums pledged for the total inter-agency CAP (2002) for the entire country. Many interviewees felt that the response was disproportionate to the needs, particularly since the relative need on almost every indicator was greater in rural areas in North and South Kivu. Similarly, the 2003 Ituri crisis grabbed international attention and blindsided assistance actors to the persistent unfolding crises in other parts of the country, such as in Maniema and the Kivus (Collignon, S., 2001).

The Netherlands Somalia study highlighted the importance of the peace process efforts to achieve stability and restart development activities which have in effect been frozen for the last 15 years. Indeed it saw maintaining western presence and engagement in the peace process as a critical motivation of the humanitarian assistance provided to Somalia. "Interventions were

chosen and designed, not in the light of an analysis of the conflict, but of the Peace Process (Heppner, 2005).

Responsibility for assisting and protecting IDPs lies with the national authorities. But in situations of armed conflict, national authorities are frequently either unable or unwilling to meet their responsibilities and in some contexts may actually be responsible for causing the displacement. In addition, national laws may be overruled by the introduction of martial law or the declaration of a state of emergency, as was the case in Indonesia, and this may have important implications for the status and rights of IDPs and on assistance provided by international agencies (Harper, 2008).

The Netherlands Somalia study highlighted the importance of the peace process to efforts to achieve stability and restart development activities which have in effect been frozen for the last 15 years. Indeed it saw maintaining western presence and engagement in the Peace Process as a critical motivation of the humanitarian assistance provided to Somalia. Interventions were chosen and designed, not in the light of an analysis of the conflict, but of the peace process.

In a world of different values, and desperate cultures, there are disagreements over the status and relevance of rights relative to other principles, the content of 'rights', the universality of rights, implementation and the meaning of justice (Gasper, 2007). Universal human rights have not been accepted and ratified by all states which has led some to discard the case for human rights altogether simply by pointing to the possibility that human rights are not taken seriously in oppressive or socially repressive regimes (Sen, 2005). Sen further suggests that even so, monitoring these violations and raising awareness can be an effective deterrent.

# 2.6 Effect of displacement on the living conditions of displaced people of South Sudan.

According to WHO (2013), there is a looming risk of disease outbreaks especially water borne diseases. The WHO report explained that the poor water, sanitation and hygiene conditions in the camps, coupled with a shortage of health workers\healthcare providers, poses health risks to thousands of displaced persons in the UN camp bases.

Even with the tremendous efforts made by health partners, sanitation conditions are still inadequate largely due to the large number of people sheltering in UN bases which have

insufficient space to house these numbers. Coupled with poor water and sanitation conditions, overcrowding in the camps may create conditions ripe for disease outbreaks.

A shortage of health care workers in the settlements makes the quality of primary health care a challenge, delivering health service especially for those patients requiring acute care for their survival, such as trauma patients, pregnant women, youth, elderly and children under five is inadequate. WHO is working hard to cover the existing gaps in collaboration with health cluster partners. The agency calls for more health partners to collaborate and support the displaced people of South Sudan. (Ibid).

#### 2.7 Research Gaps

A careful review of the above literatures brought to the fore pertinent issues and gaps, which require further consideration and commentary by future researchers. Though most of the literature put in great efforts in analyzing the variables under considerations in this study, the majority of the studies focused on some aspects of Ethnic conflict and/or displacement. And again the reviewed literatures conducted their studies on Kenya, Rwanda, and Africa as a whole, while this study had a focus on South Sudan and specifically on Adjumani settlement camps, which allowed for a deeper study of the extent to which ethnic conflict in South Sudan affects the living conditions of displaced people. This study therefore, intended to bridge this information gap.

#### **CHAPTER THREE**

#### **METHODOLOGY**

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design, the study population, sample size, sampling techniques, data collection instruments, validity and reliability of the instruments, data collection procedures, data analysis, ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

# 3.1 Research Design

The study adopted a descriptive research design, specifically cross-sectional survey design. Descriptive study allowed the researcher to collect information/ data from a cross-section of the study population or a representative subset. Also, it provided objectivity and in-depth study within a limited time frame. Furthermore, the study utilized a mixed method. Accordingly, both qualitative and quantitative approaches in data collection were used. The quantitative research involved the collections of numerical, averages and other statistics in order to explain the study variables, while a qualitative research involved mainly capturing a descriptive voice, words and other expressions of participants

## 3.2 Population of the Study

The study population explains the total population under survey, from which the researcher scientifically/ logically draws his/her sample size. The population of the study is 222,970, which is the total number of displaced people in Adjumani settlement camps (see appendix VII).

# 3.3 Sample Size

The sample size for this study was 382. This was based on Krejcie and Morgan (1970) sample size table, which recommended that for a population of 222,970 the appropriate sample size is 382. However, for qualitative data (key informant interviews) additional sample size of 15 respondents were determined purposively by the researcher. The respondents include religious leaders, Office of the Prime Minister and officials of NGOs. In total, the study had a sample size of 397 respondents.

Table 3.1: Population and Sample Size Selection for quantitative data

S/N	Refugees settlements according to zones	Population	Sample Size
1	Mirieyi Zone settlement camps	. 4,424	10
2	Alere Zone settlement camps	10,354	20
3	Olua Zone settlement camps	62,871	100
4	Maaji Zone settlement camps	36,921	55
5	Elema Zone settlement camps	56,027	90
6	Dzaipi Zone settlement camps	32,012	77
7	Mongula Zone settlement camps	5,972	30
An	Total	222,970	382

Source: Field survey, 2018

# 3.4 Sampling Techniques

The sampling techniques for the respondents for quantitative survey were selected using Simple Random Sampling. Thus, the 382 respondents that were administered questionnaires were selected through Simple Random Sampling. However, 15 key informants were selected purposively for interview.

## 3.5 Sources of data

The study employed both primary and secondary sources of data

# 3.5.1 Primary source

Primary data deals with new evidence or information gathered in the field during the course of research. It is data collected afresh and for the first time, which has not been processed (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). Primary data were gathered through questionnaires and interview.

## 3.5.2 Secondary source

Secondary data is documented evidence or information by other researchers. It is mainly data collected earlier by other researchers. The study utilized secondary sources of data such as academic journals, books and news articles that deal with displaced people and their living conditions.

#### 3.6 Data Collection Instruments

The study utilized two data collection instruments: questionnaires and interview guide questions.

# 3.6.1 Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a research tool with items seeking for data that a respondent is expected to react to in writing (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2000). The use of questionnaire enables the collection of information from a large population over a short period of time. Besides, it is the quickest instrument for collecting data from a population (Sarantakos, 2000). Thus, the researcher used questionnaires to elicit data from some respondents – displaced people in Adjumani settlement camps. A total of 382 respondents were given questionnaires.

### 3.6.2 Interview Guide Questions

The researcher conducted face to face interviews with key informant. Five (5) government officials from the office of the Prime Minister, five (5) officials of NGOs, and five (5) religious leaders were interviewed. The key informants were selected because they have good knowledge of the subject under study.

## 3.7 Validity and Reliability of the Instruments

# 3.7.1 Validity

Validity of the instruments was ensured through expert judgment. The researcher gave the instrument to the supervisor and two other lecturers in the department of development studies who validated the instrument.

CVI = Number of items decleared valid by the judges

Total number of items in the instrument

$$CVI = \frac{13}{15} = 0.87$$

# 3.7.2 Reliability

The study employed a pilot study, using the test- retest method. In doing so, 4 people were administered the questionnaire and after two weeks, the same respondents were administered the same questionnaire. Cronbach alpha was then used to test the reliability of the data that was collected. Based on the rule of thumb, when the Cronbach alpha valve is greater than 0.90, then it was interpreted excellent, greater than 0.80, it was interpreted good, greater than 0.70 acceptable, greater than 0.60 it was interpreted questionable, greater than 0.50, it was interpreted poor while less than 0.50 was interpreted unacceptable (Glien & Glien, 2003). The instrument as adjudged to be reliable because the coefficient was found greater than 0.75 (Amin, 2005). This was shown in a table below.

Tale 3.2: Cronbach Alpha Reliability of the study instrument

Constructs	EXP1	EXP2	EXP3	EXP4	Average	Interpretation
The causes of	0.80	0.65	0.78	0.82	0.76	Acceptable
ethnic conflict						
the challenges	0.75	0.80	0.85	0.80	0.80	Good
faced by the						
displaced South						
Sudanese						
the effects of	0.70	0.85	0.85	0.80	0.80	Good
displacement on						
people of South						
Sudan						
Total	0.75	0.77	0.83	0.81	0.79	Acceptable

Source: Field Survey, 2018

#### 3.8 Data collection procedure

The researcher collected a letter of introduction from the Directorate of Higher Degree and Research of Kampala International University (KIU), granting him the permission to proceed with data collection from the field. This letter was presented to the officials in the Office of the Prime Minister, (OPM) in Adjumani District. Consequently the researcher received permission from the OPM to conduct a filed study in the refugee settlement camps in Adjumani. The researcher gave out the questionnaires to the respondents and retrieved them back after 2 days. The data was then sorted, analyzed and interpreted. As for the key informants, the researcher scheduled appointment with each of them for face to face interview.

## 3.9 Data analysis

The essence of data processing and analysis is to verify the value of the information gathered during a research. The process involves assessment of the accuracy and uniformity of data generated in the field. In addition, it enables the researcher to delete and eliminate possible errors that would potentially manipulate the results of the study.

Quantitative data: Data gathered through questionnaires was sorted and entered into SPSS version 22.0, for analysis. Then the result was presented infrequencies, percentages and standard deviations.

Qualitative data: Qualitative data was analyzed using content analysis, which involved editing of the interview transcript. In the case of this study, some of the respondents were interviewed in their native dialect and therefore, their answers were translated from native dialect to English language. Given the above, the interview transcript were meticulously edited in a way to improve legibility and at the same time, it reasonably maintained the views of the respondents

#### 3.10 Ethical Considerations

This involved getting the consent of the respondents. The names or identifications of the respondents were anonymous and the information that was collected from them was treated with confidentiality. Respondents and participants were fully informed of the entire purpose of the research, and their consent was received before conducting interviews. Permission was sought from the university administration and from the Office of the Prime Minister before carrying out

the research. The researcher acted with honesty, fairness and respect to all the participants that were involved in the study. Finally, the researcher acknowledged all authors and the sources data used in the study.

# 3.11 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

The researcher was limited by some attitudes and behaviors of the respondents. Lack of cooperation by some of the respondents posed constrain to the researcher. Due to fear or lack of honesty, or due to sensitivity of the research topic, some respondents were not willing to take part in the study. However, the researcher explained to them the purpose of the study and made them to understand that the study is purely for academic purpose and that their identities will be confidential.

#### CHAPTER FOUR

# PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

#### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the data and interpretation of results. It gives the demographic characteristics of the respondents and the variables informed by the research objectives.

#### 4.1 Response Rates of Respondents

Response rate also known as completion rate or return rate in survey research refers to the number of people who answered the survey divided by the number of people in the sample. It is expressed in form of a percentage. A low response rate can give rise to sampling bias if the non-response is unequal among the participants regarding exposure and /or outcome (Dubrin, 2016). In this study, the sample size was 382 respondents and the study managed to access all the respondents.

# 4.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

This section determines the demographic characteristics of the respondents. To achieve this, questionnaires were administered to capture the responses of the respondents. Frequencies and percentage tables were employed to summarize the demographic characteristics of the respondents in terms of gender, age, marital status, qualifications and occupation are presented in tables below.

## 4.3 Gender Characteristics of Respondents

The study examined and described the gender details of respondents and details of their respective gender as presented in table 2 below.

Table 4.1: Gender Characteristics of Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	92	24.1
Female	290	75.9
Total	382	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018

The result of the study from the table 4.1 above showed that the respondents who participated in the study 290 (75.9%) were female and the rest 92 (24.1%) were male. This implies that the majority of the respondents who participated in the study are women, this is likely because the majority of the refugees in Adjumani Refugee Settlements are women and children.

# 4.3.1 Description of age groups of respondents

Table 4.2: Age Bracket of the respondents

Frequency	Percent
67	17.5
152	39.8
85	22.3
78	20.4
382	100.0
	67 152 85 78

Source: Field Survey, 2018

The results in the table 2 above show that an overwhelming majority, 152 (39.8%), falls within the age bracket of 26-35 years. Another group were in the age bracket of 36-45 years 85 (22.3%). Age bracket of above 45 had 78 (20.4%) and finally the minority of respondents were 19-25 years and they consisted of 67 (17.5%). This indicates that the majority of the respondents are in their youthful age.

# 4.3.2 Marital status of respondents

Details about the marital status of respondents were obtained and the results are revealed in Table 3 below.

Table 4.3: Marital Status of the Respondents

Marital Status	Frequency	Percent
Married	225	58.9
Single	95	24.9
Divorced	62	16.2
Total	382	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Finding from the above table 3 showed that most of the respondents on the study were married and accounted for 225 (58.9%), followed by single, 95(24.9%) and finally divorce represented by 62 respondents with 16.2%. This result implies that the majority of the respondents were married.

# 4.3.3 Qualification of the Respondents

Details about the education levels of respondents were obtained and the results are revealed in Table 4 below.

Table 4.4: Academic Qualification of Respondents

Academic Qualification	Frequency	Percent
Primary	67	17.5
SSCE	123	32.2
Diploma	95	24.9
Degree	65	17.0
Master/PhD	32	8.4
Total	382	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2018

According to the results in Table 4 the majority of the respondents, 123 (32.2%), were educated up to South Sudan Certificate of Education (SSCE) level, 95 (24.9%) were Diploma holders, 67 (17.5%) were educated in primary or elementary level, and 65 (17.0%) were at Degree level, and finally Masters/PhD represented 32 (8.4%). This implies that the majority of the study respondents that participated in the study are reliable informants since they have South Sudan school certificate of education.

# 4.3.4 Occupation of Respondents

**Table 4.5: Occupation of Respondents** 

Details about the Occupation of respondents were obtained and the results are revealed in Table 5 below.

Occupation	Frequency	Percent	
Business	134	33.5	
Farmers	128	35.1	
Civil Servants	70	18.3	
Others	50	13.1	
Total	382	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Results from Table 5 show that the majority of the respondents were business owners 134 (34.1%) followed by farmers 128(33.5%), civil servants represented by 70 (18.3), and the others 50 (13.1%). The findings show that most respondents were business owners implying that they find it easy to stay in the refugee's settlements due to the fact that they could do small business for their living since the cost of living in the refugee settlement is expensive and the distribution of food items is not enough.

# 4.4 Descriptive Survey showing the perception of the Respondent's Response on the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan.

In this section, descriptive statistics are presented. The descriptive statistics used are frequencies and percentages.

## 4.5 The Causes of Ethnic Conflict in South Sudan

The first objective of the study was to examine the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan. The respondents were asked to respond to a number of issues regarding the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan by indicating their views using a four-point Likert scale of SA=Strongly Agree (4), A=Agree (3), D=Disagree (2) and SD = Strongly Disagree(1) as shown in Table 8. The responses are summarized in the table below.

Table 4.6: The causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan

Politics of identity has been used as means to divide and rule in South Sudan	Frequency	Percent	Mean
Strongly Disagree	. 22	5.8	
Disagree	20	5.2	
Agree	112	29.3	3.42
Strongly Agree	228	59.7	
Total	382	100.0	
Ethno centric politics created suspicion and conflict making it difficult to promote a national identity and socio-political cohesion	1		
Strongly Disagree	15	3.9	
Disagree	. 28	7.3	· \
Agree	124	32.5	3.41
Strongly Agree	215	56.3	
Total	382	100.0	

Factors such as ethnicity, economic disparity and marginalization were some of the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan			
Strongly Disagree	46	12.0	
Disagree	17	4.5	3.26
Agree	109	28.5	
Strongly Agree	210	55.0	
Total	382	100.0	
Politicians and elites in South Sudan used ethnicity as an instrument to manipulate politics and socioeconomic to become rich			
Strongly Disagree	24	6.3	
Disagree	93	24.3	3.07
Agree	97	25.4	
Strongly Agree	168	44.0	
Total	382	100.0	
Displacement of most South Sudanese to the neighboring countries is due to ethnic targeting			
Strongly Disagree	40	10.5	. ,
Disagree	20	5.2	3.39
Agree	73	19.1	
Strongly Agree	249	65.2	
Total	382	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2018

To analyze the findings, respondents who strongly disagreed and those who disagreed were combined into one category of those who opposed the items. In addition, respondents who strongly agreed and those who agreed were combined into another category of those who

coincided with the items. Thus, the two categories of respondents were compared. Interpretation was then drawn from the comparisons of the two categories as shown in the following paragraph.

The study findings in Table 6 show the factors towards the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan (aggregate mean=3.31). A comparison on these items shows that the percentage of respondents that opposed the system ranged from 11.0% to 30.6% while the percentage of those who concurred ranged from 63.3% to 89.2%. From these comparisons, it can be seen that the range of percentages of those that opposed are lower compared to those who concurred. Thus from this analysis, the following is the interpretation:

The respondents noted that Politics of identity has been used as means to divide and rule in South Sudan (mean=3.42), the respondents also agreed that

Ethno centric-politics created suspicion and conflict making it difficult to promote a national identity and socio-political cohesion (mean= 3.41).

Ethnicity, economic disparity and marginalization were some of the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan (mean = 3.26).

Politicians and elites in South Sudan used ethnicity as an instrument to manipulate politics and socio-economic to become rich (mean=3.07).

And finally displacement of most South Sudanese to the neighboring countries is due to ethnic targeting (mean = 3.39).

On the basis of semi-structured interview from the qualitative approach to deepen the understanding of the causes of conflict as uncovered using the quantitative method, the people responded to this question: 'What are the causes of conflict in South Sudan?' From the conversations, many of the interviewees noted that there were many causes of ethnic conflicts in South Sudan. One of the causes that featured very prominently was the struggle for control of power between the politicians of the main ethnic communities namely, the Dinka and Nuer who dominated the government and the military of South Sudan over the years. One respondent has this to say, 'The monopoly of political and military power by the two communities has led to land grabbing. This is what I see as one of the main causes of violent conflicts in South Sudan'. This explains the findings in the survey, where 59.7% of the respondent strongly agreed that politics

of identity is the cause of violent conflict. This shows that the monopoly of power has a rational basis. It is instrumental to obtain the two access economic resources, in this case land.

Likewise ethnocentrism also has been cited as the causes of violent conflict in the survey result. 56.3%% strongly agreed while 32.5% agreed. Ethnicity and economic disparity scored 55% strongly agreed and 28.5% agreed. The use of ethnicity as an instrument for economic gain also scored highly with 44% strongly agreed and 25.4% agreed. So in total the response of the respondent cited above linked politicized ethnicity to economic interest by the competing ethnic groups; and this is the cause of violent conflicts in South Sudan. These findings of both quantitative and qualitative methods, point squarely to instrumentalism theory as presented by Che (2016) and Coetzee (2009). From these findings, the elites, especially politicians are the ones manipulating ethnicity for their economic interests.

# 4.5.1 The challenges faced by displaced South Sudanese as a result of ethnic conflict.

The second objective of the study was to identify the challenges faced by displaced South Sudanese as a result of ethnic conflict. The respondents were asked to respond to a number of statements regarding the challenges faced by displaced South Sudanese by indicating their views using a four-point Likert scale of SA=Strongly Agree (4), A=Agree (3), D=Disagree (2) and SD = Strongly Disagree(1) as shown in Table 7. The responses are summarized in the table below.

Table 4.7: Showing the challenges faced by displaced South Sudanese as a result of ethnic conflict.

The displaced persons in the camps live in poor shelters and accommodations	Frequency	Percent	Mean
Strongly Disagree	10	2.6	
Disagree	27	7.1	3.48
Agree	115	30.1	
Strongly Agree	230	60.2	
Total	382	100.0	
The sanitations are very poor in the displaced camps			

Strongly Disagree	4	1.0	
Disagree	21	5.5	3.57
Agree	109	28.5	
Strongly Agree	· 248	64.9	
Total	382	100.0	
One of the challenges faced by the displaced persons is the issue of insecurity in the camps	Frequency	Percent	
Strongly Disagree	19	5.0	
Disagree	22	5.8	3.38
Agree	136	35.6	
Strongly Agree	205	53.7	
Total	. 382	100.0	
The displaced persons and the host communities have poor relations			
Strongly Disagree	3	0.8	
Disagree	84	22.0	3.29
Agree	95	24.9	
Strongly Agree	200	52.4	
Total	382	100.0	
	i		
Trauma and diseases are some of the challenges faced by the displaced persons			
		0.5	
faced by the displaced persons		0.5	3.51
Strongly Disagree	2		3.51

Total	382	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2018

To analyze the findings, respondents who strongly disagreed and those who disagreed were combined into one category of those who opposed the items. In addition, respondents who strongly agreed and those who agreed were combined into another category of those who coincided with the items. Thus, the two categories of respondents were compared. Interpretation was then drawn from the comparisons of the two categories as shown in the following paragraph.

The study findings in Table 7 show that though there were few misunderstandings among the displaced persons in Adjumani, still there are challenges faced by the displaced persons mostly South Sudanese in Adjumani (aggregate mean=3.45).

A comparison on these items shows that the percentage of respondents that opposed ranged from 6.5% to 87.0%, while the percentage of those who concurred ranged from 77.3% to 93.0%. From the perception of the respondents, it can be seen that the range of percentages of those that opposed are lower compared to those who concurred. Thus from this analysis, it can be noted that:

The displaced persons in the settlements live in poor shelters and accommodations (3.48).

The sanitations are very poor in the refugee settlements (3.57).

One of the challenges faced by the displaced persons is the issue of insecurity in the settlements (mean = 3.38).

The displaced persons and the host communities have poor relations (3.29).

Trauma and diseases are some of the challenges faced by the displaced persons (3.58).

To explore the challenges faced by the displaced people as a consequences of the violent conflict, the qualitative interviews question posed was, 'What are the main challenges faced by the displaced people in Adjumani refugee settlement?' The responses pointed to the fact that this conflict has caused a lot of destructions to South Sudanese Society. The immediate effects are massive destruction of infrastructure like schools, health centres, and all the social services and economic infrastructure. The community cultural infrastructure like family and clan which are

the known environment for normal human nurturing have also collapsed. Families are separated, people, especially children have been exposed to extreme violence, causing deep trauma. Many youth no longer see their future as bright and so sink into heavy alcohol consumption. Hence one of the biggest challenges is how to cope in this kind of multiple and complex social pathologies.

One respondent listed the social pathologies they are facing as 'Due to suffering, trauma and the psychological effects on the displaced persons in the settlements many people are affected psychologically and others are traumatized, especially young men and women. The rate of consumption of alcohol among young men and women is very high in refugee settlements'. Another one said, 'for us in the settlements, food shortage and poor health are some of the challenges to be overcome'. Heavy consumption of alcohol creates its own set of problems like domestic violence, broken health and death in the families which even drain more resources that could be put to productive use. The result is the families sink deeper into poverty and become dysfunctional thus creating more social pathology.

The other challenge that appeared of concern is the lingering sense of insecurity. The respondent perceive their security as not guaranteed because they said the risk of being abducted by South Sudan Security operatives from the refugees settlements and taken to South Sudan are high especially after some South Sudanese were kidnapped from Kenya and taken to Juba in 2017 as gathered from anecdotal stories. One respondent said, 'There has been a regular presence of South Sudanese government soldiers in the different refugee settlements which create a lot of fear among the refugees.' The presence of South Sudanese soldiers in the settlements is the factor that deepened people's sense of insecurity.

The challenges displaced persons face in the refugee settlements are directly linked to the ethnic violence in South Sudan. But the conditions the refugees face in Uganda also creates separate sets of problems. The net effects are the several layers of problems and effects that become very difficult to untangle.

# 4.6 The Effects of Displacement on the living conditions of Displaced People of South Sudan

The third objective of the study was to analyze the effects of displacement on the living

conditions of Displaced People of South Sudan. The respondents were asked to respond to a number of statements regarding the effects of displacement on the people of South Sudan. The findings are summarized in Table 8.

Table 4.8: The effect of displacement on the living conditions of Displaced People of South Sudan.

•			
The conflict in South Sudan has limited citizens access to basic services and resources	Frequency	Percentage	Mean
Strongly Disagree	20	5.2	
Disagree	34	8.9	_
Agree	112	29.3	3.37
Strongly Agree	216	56.5	_
Total	382	100.0	
Ethnic conflicts caused trauma and othe psychosocial effects on many people in Sout Sudan particularly women and children	ł.		
Strongly Disagree	10	2.6	
Strongly Saught	10	2.0	
Disagree	40	10.5	
			3.39
Disagree	40	10.5	3.39
Disagree Agree	40 122	10.5	3.39
Disagree Agree Strongly Agree	40 122 210 382	10.5 31.9 55.0	3.39
Disagree  Agree  Strongly Agree  Total  Ethnic conflict in South Sudan has destroye most infrastructural facilities, thus making the	40 122 210 382	10.5 31.9 55.0	3.39
Disagree  Agree  Strongly Agree  Total  Ethnic conflict in South Sudan has destroye most infrastructural facilities, thus making the population displaced and vulnerable.	40 122 210 382 d	10.5 31.9 55.0 100.0	3.39

Strongly Agree	235	61.5	
Total	382	100.0	•
One of the effects of the ethnic conflict affecting	,		
the displaced persons is insecurity			
Strongly Disagree	6	1.6	
Disagree	38	9.9	
Agree	97	25.4	3.50
Strongly Agree	241	63.1	
Total	382	100.0	
Ethnic conflict in South Sudan displaced millions and making communities vulnerable to food		, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	
shortages, diseases and violence			•
Strongly Disagree	3	.8	
Disagree	7	1.8	-
Agree	110	28.8	3.65
Strongly Agree	262	68.6	3.03
Total	382	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2018

The study findings in Table 8 show that displacement of people of South Sudan has got multiple effects towards refugees in Adjumani refugee settlements (aggregate mean =3.57). A comparison of these items shows that the percentage of study respondents that opposed ranged from 2.6% to 14.1% while the percentage of those who concurred ranged from 85.6% to 97.4%. From these comparisons, it can be seen that the range of percentages of those that concurred are much higher compare to those who opposed.

According to the results above, the respondents reported that the conflict in South Sudan has limited citizens' access to basic services and resources (Mean=3.37), ethnic conflicts caused trauma and other psychosocial effects on many people in South Sudan particularly women and children who are vulnerable (Mean=3.39), ethnic conflict in South Sudan has destroyed most infrastructural facilities, thus making the population displaced and vulnerable (Mean=3.46), One

refugees do not have money to buy drugs'. One woman I interviewed said she had to go back to Nimule in South Sudan to deliver and come back. When I asked why, she said, 'I had no money and my husband is not here. When I was about to give birth, I knew I am a cesarean and when I told the doctor so during my last antenatal clinic, he told me to pay 300,000/= (three hundred thousand Ugandan Shilling). I did not have the money. So I went to Nimule and I was attended for free'. Health services have a big impact on the welfare of the refugees. Such cases as refugees going back to Nimule for health care are not rare among refugees. This contravenes the international laws on refugees and asylum seekers.

One religious leader presented very clearly the situation of the refugees in the settlements. According to this individual, among all other effects, the loss of agencies was the most important one. He said, 'My brother our people used to be in control of their own destiny and families. They worked for themselves and got things done. But look at them now. They have to depend on food handouts. They even quarrel and fight over this handouts. It is shameful'. The loss of control of one's future and sinking into total dependence renders the conditions of the refugee inhuman. This is perhaps a very strong observation I have encountered. Some refugee suffer from this loss of their agencies in important matters like feeding one's family, providing for the community and participating in decisions that affect their lives.

#### **CHAPTER FIVE**

# DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

#### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the discussion of the findings guided by the study objectives. The discussion was done by exploring the research findings relative to what other researchers in the field have confirmed corresponding to the variables. The study was concluded and appropriate recommendations were made based on the research findings. Contributions of study to knowledge as well as the areas for further studies are presented.

# 5.1. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The study findings showed the factors towards the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan (aggregate mean=3.31). A comparison on these items shows that the percentage of Respondents that opposed ranged from 11.0% to 30.6% while the percentage of those who concurred ranged from 63.3% to 89.2%. From these comparisons, it can be seen that the range of percentages of those that opposed are lower compared to those who concurred. Thus, from this analysis, the following is the interpretation. The study respondents noted that Politics of identity has been used as means to divide and rule in South Sudan (mean=3.42), the respondents also agreed that Ethno-centric politics created suspicion and conflict making it difficult to promote a national identity and socio-political cohesion (mean= 3.41), respondents also agreed that factors such as ethnicity, economic disparity and marginalization were some of the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan (mean = 3.26). The study respondents also agreed that Politicians and elites in South Sudan used ethnicity as an instrument to manipulate politics and socio-economic to become rich (mean=3.07) and finally displacement of most South Sudanese to the neighboring countries is due to ethnic targeting (mean = 3.39).

#### 5.2 Discussion of Findings

The findings of the study were presented following the three objectives that guided the study.

#### 5.2.1 The Causes of Ethnic Conflict in South Sudan.

The first objective of this study is to examine the causes of ethnic conflict. Based on the findings from both qualitative and quantitative study conducted in the preceding chapter revealed that

while South Sudanese have lived together from time immemorial, bound together by sense of religiosity, ethnicity and common enemy, politics has become a divisive factor. It is worth noting that some degree of tribal, religious affiliations are all cropping up as factors of further division. Politics of identity has been used as means to divide and rule in South Sudan, ethnocentric politics created suspicion and conflict making it difficult to promote a national identity and socio-political cohesion and factors such as ethnicity, economic disparity and marginalization were some of the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan. Politicians and elites in South Sudan use ethnicity as an instrument to manipulate politics and socio-economic interests to become rich.

Historically, the wars in Sudan and now in South Sudan which seceded from Sudan are caused by politics of identity as opposed to politic of issues, first the wars in Sudan namely the Anyanya war which started in the 1960s and the Sudan People's Liberation Army struggle started in the 1980s were identity based wars. So, even the current war is a replica of the past in the sense of instrumentalisation of ethnicity for both political and economic gain as already indicated in chapter one under the heading 'Historical perspective'. As at one time, the South Sudanese people complained that the Arabs north exploited and oppressed them, now the same complain arose but this time, the perceptions is that the Dinka have replaced the Arabs. Both perceptions lead to identity based wars. But identity politics has a rational basis. The elites politicized ethnicity to access power mainly to acquire economic gains.

The findings on this aspect are in line with Coetzee, (2009) who urged that ethnicity is not seen as the cause of conflict. Instead, he argues that the true and underlying causes of most violent conflicts are the result of political and economic factors, with politicians often being the actors behind the scene. When looking at the true motives for ethnic conflicts, Coetzee, (2009) would argue that factors such as power and wealth play a much greater determining role, as opposed to cultural differences. So the politics of identity is just a cover or a strategy to access power for economic gains.

# 5.2.2. The Challenges Faced by the Displaced South Sudanese as a Result of Ethnic Conflict.

The second objective of this study was to identify the challenges faced by the displaced South Sudanese as a result of ethnic conflict. The study found that the fact of being in refugees settlements has multiple challenges and effects on the refugees and displaced persons. Among other challenges, this research has established housing, sanitation, health related problems, trauma and other psychological effect, lack of adequate facilities for quality education and sexual immorality as some of the critical challenges confronting the displaced people. According to a research done by the Refugee Law Society in (2015), up to 80% of South Sudanese refugees suffer from mental health conditions whose main causes are: depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety and alcohol abuse. It is clear that the refugees are laboring under very difficult situations to overcome multiple problems. The challenges of raising families and overcoming these obstacles absorb all their time and resources. Few may succeed by many can only barely make it.

Notwithstanding the tremendous efforts made by the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), different humanitarian organizations and health workers, the condition of sanitation still leaves much to be desired given the overwhelming numbers of refugees not to mention the possibility of outbreak of diseases as succinctly observed by Abdi (2013). There are questions that beg for answers. The number of agencies intervening in refugee settlements are many and yet the refugees expressed a situation that appear not to be improving since their arrival in Uganda. The basic needs such as food, security, health care and sanitation have been cited by respondents as still not adequately covered. The effectiveness of aid mobilization and delivery have to be questioned.

The evidence from the presentation of the Office of the Prime Minister suggests, that the problem could lie in the response of the international community to refugee appeal. Accordingly, the refugee appeal in 2017 for Uganda Chapter was only 17% funded. This seems to suggest that the gap in service delivery could be explained by lack of financial resources to provide adequate services for refugees (Government of Uganda, 2017). A further question could still be asked whether this gap in funding which is phenomenal was due to donor fatigue or other political agenda that are hidden. This is a matter for more research.

# 5.2.3 The Effects of ethnic conflict on the living conditions of the Displaced People of South Sudan.

In one sentence, the effect of displacement is the long list of vulnerabilities refugees found themselves in. They are vulnerable to diseases, famine, poverty, violence, abuse human rights,

economic exploitation and the list goes on. The South Sudanese Refugees are not different from other refugees who face all these vulnerabilities. Although the various vulnerabilities have been uncovered in the research both from the quantitative and qualitative models, the discussion here will target health issues.

As presented in the National Health Policy II 2010, there are many determinants of health. These include housing conditions, nutrition, education, environment, social and economic status, etc. (Government of Uganda, 2010), in most of these determinants, refugees are at disadvantage. Their economic status is low. As pointed out in the document of the Uganda Solidarity Summit on Refugees, they came to Uganda without economic assets (Government of Uganda, 2017). This means they cannot pay for their health care. So they have to depend on the public health care which often lacks the essential medicines and supplies. Furthermore the same document stated that 43% of the health facilities in the refugee settlements are made of temporary construction materials. As such, vaccines cannot be stored in these structures. That means vaccination for children is not efficient. And no doubt, respondents to the semi-structured interview have pointed to health as one of the difficult challenges they are facing.

It is therefore quite understandable that a person could risk and go back to Nimule in South Sudan to seek health services in matters as serious as delivery by cesarean section. In the same way the response to the question in the survey on vulnerability in food shortages, diseases and poverty, and violence scored 68.6% strongly agreed. These three are matters of real concern for the respondents. Of course the loss of agencies and total dependence on handouts is one effect that cannot be forgotten. The philosophy of humanitarian intervention is to quickly restore the dignity of the people affected to be able to take control of their future. If the dependence lasts too long, it becomes another pathology and dehumanizes people.

#### 5.3 Conclusions

The general objective of this study was to investigate the effect of ethnic conflict on the living conditions of the displaced people in Adjumani Settlement camps. The study found that indeed the ethnic conflict in South Sudan has generated so much violence that it accounts for the current squalid living conditions of Displaced South Sudanese in Refugee Settlements in Adjumani District. This study was conducted using three objectives which have been fully fulfilled, thus making it possible to make the above conclusion.

In the first objective the study focused on the causes of ethnic conflicts in South Sudan. The findings pointed not only to politicized ethnicity but to how ethnicity has been instrumentalised for political and economic power by the elites, especially the politicians. So it is not important to focus on ethnicity as the basis of conflict, but rather on the tools and strategies used by politicians to protect their interests by setting one ethnic group against another. In the second objective on the challenges of the people displaced people as a result of this conflict, the study found that the main problem was service gaps. Service gap is linked to limited resources mobilized for response. The cause of the inability to mobilize adequate funding is intriguing. Lastly the effects of displacement on the living conditions are multiple. In summation, this is described as exposure to different vulnerabilities. Exposure to diseases was looked into and it is one of the serious vulnerability that may have far reaching effects, not least because refugees are very low in health determinants. This also means addressing disease vulnerability by improving health care requires paying close attention to several determinants including education, shelter, nutrition, economic status, social status and environmental health. It makes resource mobilization a key factor in addressing the problems affecting refugees.

#### 5.4 Recommendations

The recommendations were made based on the three objectives that guided the study.

#### 5.4.1 Causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan.

The government of South Sudan should work closely with the religious institutions and IGAD to promote peace through reconciliation and dialogue.

The government should work for the unity of the South Sudanese people, promoting the politics of national identity and solidarity. National identity and solidarity should take precedence over ethnicity. Selfish political interests should be avoided for the good of the people, the interest of the nation and the suffering people should be put first.

It is also recommended that ethnic prejudice, negative identity and hate speeches should be avoided by the politicians and by the church leaders, instead they should promote unity and goodness of ethnic diversity. Diversity is a beautiful thing when it can constantly enter into a process of reconciliation and seal a sort of cultural covenant resulting in a reconciled diversity. As the bishops of Congo have put it, our ethnic diversity is our wealth. It is only unity, through

conversion of hearts and reconciliation that we will be able to help our country to develop on all levels (Francis, 2014).

## 5.4.2. Challenges faced by the displaced South Sudanese as a result of ethnic conflict.

Establish an integrated approach to enable effective access to resources for refugees and the host population. Adjumani is a relatively poor district which is itself recovering from decades of conflict. All those in the district face challenges accessing services. Although refugees are particularly vulnerable, many of the challenges they face, for example access to medicine and health care, and are also relevant for the local population. Leveraging support from refugee assisting agencies, the government of Uganda should seek to improve access to services for refugees and host populations alike by ensuring assistance through integrated services that address both the refugee and host communities (rather than creating parallel services for refugees).

# 5.4.3 The effects of ethnic conflict on the living conditions of the displaced people of South Sudan.

Given the current experience of the refugees, the research findings recommend that pastoral, healing and psycho-social care be designed for the psycho-somatic need of the people of South Sudan following their traumatic experience as a result of conflict and displacement.

# 5.5 Contribution to Knowledge

The study made a significant contribution to knowledge by relating the theory of Protracted Social Conflict and Instrumentalist Theory to the conflict in South Sudan. Furthermore, the study provided relevant information about the living conditions of displaced people in Adjumani settlement camps. In addition, it highlighted the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan, and identified the challenges faced by displaced people in Adjumani settlement camps.

#### 5.6 Areas for Further Research

The researcher suggests that future research should be conducted on the following areas:

- The role and potentials of the church and religious leaders in conflict resolution in South Sudan.
- The role and potentials of South Sudanese women in resolving the conflict in South Sudan.

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#### APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I: QUESTIONAIRE

# Dear Respondent,

I am Idra Paul Stephen a student of Kampala International University Kampala, Uganda, pursuing a Master's Degree in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building. I am conducting a research on "Ethnic Conflict and Living Conditions of Displaced People of South Sudan." In meeting this objective you have been selected as a participant in the study. The information collected will be used solely for academic purposes and your responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in advance for sparing your time to provide this needed information.

# SECTION A: RESPONDENTS BIO DATA

Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Religious Leaders and Refugees in Adjumani District.

#### Instructions

Please state your answ	wer by <b>ticking(✓)</b> in tl	he box provided	
1. Gender: 1. Male [		2. Female	
2. Age bracket:	1. 19-25 2. 26-3	3. 36-45	4. 46 and above
3. Marital status:	1. Married	2. Single	3. Divorced
4. Qualifications:	1. Primary 2. SS	SCE 3. DIP	
	6. Degree	7. Master/PhDs	
5. Occupation:	1. Farmer	2. Business	3. Civil servants
4. Others specify			

You are required to tick in the box that contains the right rating of your choice using the given scale.

# 4 = Strongly Agree (SA), 3= Agree (A), 2=Disagree (D) and 1= Strongly Disagree (SD).

S/N	INDICATORS	4=SA	3=A	2=D	1=SD
	SECTION B: EXAMINE THE CAUSES OF ETHNIC CONFLICT IN SOUTH SUDAN				
1	Politics of identity has been used as means to divide and rule in South Sudan.				-
2	Ethno centric politics created suspicion and conflict making it difficult to promote a national identity and socio-political cohesion.				
3	Factors such as ethnicity, economic disparity and marginalization were some of the causes of ethnic conflict in South Sudan.				
4	Politicians and elites in South Sudan used ethnicity as an instrument to manipulate politics and socio-economic to become rich.			ŵ	·
5	Displacement of most South Sudanese to the neighboring countries is due to ethnic targeting.				
	SECTION C: TO IDENTIFY THE CHALLENGES FACED BY DISPLACED SOUTH SUDANESE AS A RESULT OF ETHNIC CONFLICT.				
6	The displaced persons in the camps live in poor shelters and accommodations				
7	The sanitations are very poor in the displaced camps				
8	One of the challenges faced by the displaced persons is the issue of insecurity in the camps		·		·
9	The displaced persons and the host communities have poor relations			•	
10	Trauma and diseases are some of the challenges faced by the				

	displaced persons.		
	SECTION D: TO ANALYSE THE EFFECTS OF DISPLACEMENT ON PEOPLE OF SOUTH SUDAN		
11	The conflict in South Sudan has limited citizens' access to basic services and resources.		
12	Ethnic conflicts caused trauma and other psychosocial effects on many people in South Sudan particularly women and children.		
13	Ethnic conflict in South Sudan has destroyed most infrastructural facilities, thus making the population vulnerable and displaced.		
14	One of the effects of the ethnic conflict affecting the displaced persons is insecurity.		
15	Ethnic conflict in South Sudan displaced millions and making communities vulnerable to food shortages, diseases and violence.		

# APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE

- 1. What are the causes of conflict in South Sudan?
- 2 What are the main challenges faced by displaced people in Adjumani settlement camps?
- 3 What will you recommend the government of South Sudan and other interest group to do in order to improve the welfare of displaced people?
- 4 In what ways have churches mosques helped displaced people in Adjumani settlement camps?
- 5 What is the current status of security and other basic needs in the settlement camps?
- What are the impacts of ethnic conflict on the living conditions of the displaced people in Adjumani Settlements camps?

# APPENDIX III: LETTER FOR COLLECTION OF DATA



Ggaba Road, Kansanga \* PO BOX 20000 Kampala, Uganda Tel: 0772365060 Fax: +256 (0) 41 = 501974 E-mail: dhdrinquiries⊚kiu.ac.ug \* Website: http://www.kiu.ac.ug

# Directorate of Higher Degrees and Research Office of the Director

Our ref. 1163-06286-0543

Friday 4th May, 2018

Dear Sir/Madam,

#### RE: INTRODUCTION LETTER FOR IDRA PAUL STEPHEN REG. NO. 1163-06286-0543

The above mentioned candidate is a student of Kampala International University pursuing a Master's Degree in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building.

He is currently conducting a research for his dissertation titled, "Ethnic Conflict and Displacement in South Sudan".

Your organization has been identified as a valuable source of information pertaining to the research subject of interest. The purpose of this letter therefore is to request you to kindly cooperate and avail the researcher with the pertinent information he may need. It is our ardent belief that the findings from this research will benefit KIU and your organization.

Any information shared with the researcher will be used for academic purposes only and shall be kept with utmost confidentiality.

I appreciate any assistance rendered to the researcher

Yours Sincerely

Dr. Claire M. Muga

Director

.e. DVC, Academic Affairs

Principal CHSS

"Exploring the Heights"

# APPENDIX IV: LETTER FROM REFUGEES DESK OFFICER OPM ADJUMANI

To: All ASC/RWCs Affinan Settlements
P.O. BOX 14, ADJUMANI
Sate: 11. May. 2018  Feb.: Research (Fro Paul Stephen)
This Student/Ruest has been granted permission to do Research with the Tellements
Please allow access to him with all his Respondents accordingly and where Needed avail him information Thank you relevant
Thank you.

. 49 mesh the Idea foul stephen may sold bad min I am washing for your positive reply. The followers in Halmerin. allow top to conduct this research in I round be very grateful if you could South Braker. on Ethnic confish and aliphocenical in building. I am to conduct my research Drance in Conflict Actabulian and prace musely tranpola pushing a mater John State of Hampela Intendend Wednesday to the contest mussiamental I am I de paul stephen stephen good Lealth. Checking of the sound to the sound of the park milester with ed 250ml. Depugee Dest 8three 2-100/5/6

# APPENDIX V: SAMPLE SIZE DETERMINATION

Table for Determining Sample Size from a GivenPopulation

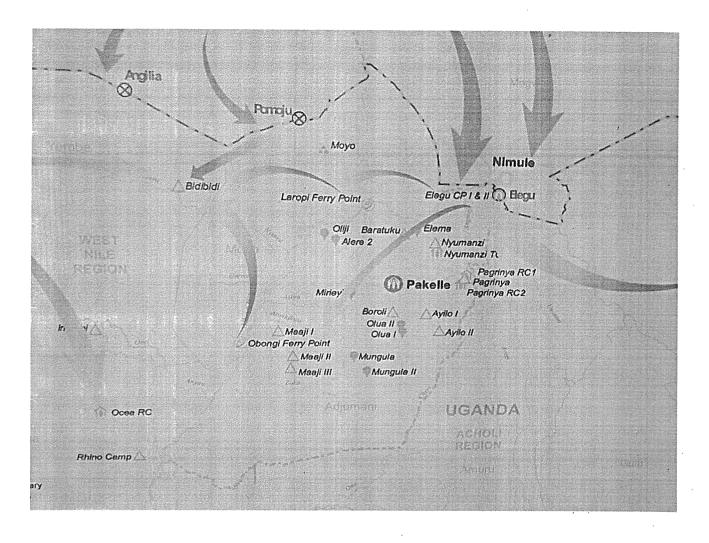
N	S	<i>N</i> .	S	N	S
10	10	220	140	1200	291
15	14	230	144	1300	297
20	19	240	148	1400	302
25	24	250	152	1500	306
30	28	260	155	1600	310
35	32	270	159	1700	313
40	36	280	162	1800	317
45	40	290	165	1900	320
50	44	300	169	2000	322
55	48	320	175	2200	327
60	52	340	181	2400	331
65	56	360	186	2600	335
70	59	380	191	2800	338
75	63	400	196	3000	341
80	66	420	201	3500	346
85	70	440	205	4000	351
90	73	460	210	4500	354
95	76	480	214	5000	357
100	80	500	217	6000	361
110	86	550	226	7000	364
120	92	600	234	8000	367
130	97	650	242	9000	368
140	103	700	248	10000	370
150	108	750	254	15000	375
160	113	800	260	20000	377
170	118	850	265	30000	379
180	123	900	269	40000	380
190	127	950	274	50000	381
200	132	1000	278	75000	382
210	136	1100	285	1000000	384

Note:

N is population size.

S is sample size.

# APPENDIX VI: REFUGEES IN ADJUMANI DISTRICT



# APPENDIX VII: ACTIVE POPULATION STATISTICS



#### Active Population Statistics by Settlement, Sex and Age Group as of 31st March 2018

OPM Site:										ADJUMA	N UGAM6						
Zoning Settlement		0-4yrs		0-4yrs	5-11	yrs	5-11yrs	12-1	7yrs	12-17yrs	18-5	9yrs	18-59yrs	60+	yrs	60+yrs	Grand
ZUIIII B	Jettienien.	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Total
Mirievi	Adjumani TC	13	7	20	82	87	169	98	108	206	276	214	490	26	7	33	918
Mirieyi	Mirieyi T C	196	227	423	489	551	1,040	417	379	796	749	411	1,160	70	17	87	3,506
Mirieyi_Tota	History standard of the intradiction of	209	234	443	<sup>2 1</sup> 2571	638	1,209	515	487	1,002	1,025	625	1,650	96	24	120	4,424
	Agojo	249	284	534	361	401	762	255	286	541	671	425	1,096	70	23	93	3,026
Alere	Alere 1	179	147	326	428	424	852	270	329	599	563	340	903	65	27	92	2,772
,	Alere 2	173	197	370	437	482	919	344	389	733	682	429	1,111	56	25	81	3,214
	Oliji	65	51	. 116	175	145	320	132	126	. 258	345	250	595	33	20	. 53	1,342
Alere_Total		666	679	1,346	1,401	1,452	2,853	1,001	1,130	2,131	2,261	1,444	3,705	224	95	319	10,354
,	Ayìlo I	1,504	1,642	3,146	3,394	3,513	6,907	2,382	2,593	4,975	4,967	2,377	7,344	652	186	838	23,210
	Ayilo II	765	829	1,594	1,535	1,669	3,204	1,135	1,288	2,423	2,403	1,272	3,675	269	92	364	11,260
Olua	Boroli	956	. 930	1,886	1,868	1,896	3,764	1,337	1,460	2,797	2,478	1,201	3,679	186	44	230	12,356
	Olua 1	297	317	614	842	880	1,722	542	634	1,176	699	460	1,159	82	35	117	4,788
	Olua 2	316	310	626	753	944	1,697	535	708	1,243	564	397	961	67	29	96	4,623
	Olua_No address	284	330	614	1,166	1,208	2,374	672	722	1,394	1,072	979	2,051	141	60	201	6,634
Olua Total	ostorium pagrigam par El agricult Car	4,122	4,358	8,480		10,110	19,668	6,603	7,405	14,008	12,183	6,686	18,869	1,397	446	1,846	62,871
	Maaji 1	38	34	72		81	165	87	60		173	118	291	13	7	. 20	695
Maaji	Maaji 2	1,326	1,358	2,684	2,622	2,709	5,331	1,818	1,945	3,763	3,536	1,693	5,229	240	87	327	17,334
	Maaji 3	1,432	1,450	2,882	2,584	2,706	5,290	1,518	1,773	3,291	3,041	1,494	4,535	188	57	245	16,243
	Maaji_No address	334	338	672	472	475	947	243	275	518	264	205	469	30	13	43	2,649
Maaji_Tota	·	3,130	3,180	6,310	5,762	5,971	11,733	3,666	4,053	7,719	7,014	3,510	10,524	471	164	635	36,921
	Nyumanzi 1	3,172	3,364	6,536		6,994	13,713	4,176	4,303	8,479	8,298	4,862	13,160	1,098	406	1,504	43,392
Elema	Baratuku	576	673	1,249		1,368	2,729	789	. 795	<del></del>	1,374	723	2,097	151	83	234	7,893
	Elema	60	51	121	90	78	168		65	<del></del>	156	103	259	27	11	38	719
	Elema_No address	297	313	610	-	405	826	275	398	673	1,071	682	1,753	125	36	161	4,023
Elema_Tota	1	4,105	4,411	8,516	<del></del>	8,845	17,436		5,561	10,869	10,899	6,370	17,269	1,401	536	1,937	56,027
Dzaipi	Pagirinya	2,759	2,835	5,594	4,526	4,689	9,215	3,121	3,145	6,266	6,403	3,654	10,057	627	253	880	32,012
Dzalpi_Tota		2,759	2,835	5,594	4,526	4,689	9,215	3,121	3,145	6,266	6,403	3,654	10,057	627	253	880	32,012
	Mongula 1	313	. 334	647	777	740	1,517	481	481	962	903	603	1,506	113	54	167	4,799
Mongula	Mongula 2	61	75	136		127	287	115	. 110	225	262	231	493	24	. 8	. 32	1,173
Mongula_T		374		783	937	867	1,804	596	591	1,187	1,165	834	1,999	137	62	199	5,972
No Address		757	878	1,635		2,097	4,097	1,440	1,592	3,032	3,171	2,048	5,219	301	105	406	14,389
<b>Grand Tota</b>		16,122	16,984	33,107	33,346	34,669	68,015	22,250	23,964	46,214	44,121	25,171	69,292	4,654	1,685	6,342	222,970
Pending v	erification and up	date in R	IMS,					Ayer Hange II			en	- 100	J. J. Marie		programme	21,567	rent daga kanggan. Sanata Kelabahan