Community Reconciliation and Resilience Building in Bolori II

NORTH-EAST NIGERIA, BORNO STATE, MAIDUGURI – BOLORI II

JULY, 2019

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Executive Summary

Introduction

In February to May 2019, communities in Mobbar, Kukawa, Konduga, Jere, Mafa, Gubio and Monguno local government areas (LGAs) of Borno state, witnessed sustained attacks from Armed Opposition Groups (AOG), which lead to displacement of people from their communities to other communities to other LGAs in Borno state. The displaced persons were forced to move to internally displaced persons (IDPs) camps or are accommodated in different settlements by host communities. Bolori II community of Maiduguri Metropolitan Council (MMC) continues to be a host to a large number of internally displaced persons from communities ravaged by AOGs since 2014. Some of these displaced persons are accommodated at Real Foam and Imimi camps of Bolori II community. Though not government approved camps, Real Foam and Imimi settlements are informal camps that still have a structured camp leadership. Despite residing in these camps, the IDPs have continued to interact with members of the host community, as other IDPs are resident in other parts of Bolori community as well.

Search conducted the first conflict scan in Bolori II community in December 2018. The scan was aimed at measuring the level of social interactions between IDPs and host communities (HC), and emerging/existing conflicts in Bolori community, especially conflicts that impact the relationship between IDPs and HC. Clashes at water points, unregulated increase in house rent, and alleged diversion of aid by community leaders and humanitarian workers were identified as ongoing conflicts and potential conflicts that widens the rift between IDPs and members of the host community. As a result of the findings, Search commenced community transformative dialogues, training of selected youth, women and IDP leaders in Bolori as Peace Champions. These champions facilitated community cohesion initiatives to foster social cohesion and resilience between IDPs and members of Bolori community. Furthermore, Search trained humanitarian, development and peacebuilding actors on Conflict Sensitivity and Do No Harm to enhance their capacity to prevent and mitigate potential conflicts that could arise as a result of their work in communities and with beneficiaries.

In order to measure the level of social cohesion and identify recent conflicts that might have emerged as a result of interactions between IDPs and members of the host community in Bolori II, Search conducted the second conflict scan in Bolori II. The scan seeks to measure the level of success in addressing threats to social cohesion identified in the first scan. Findings of the scan would provide opportunities to further strengthen social cohesion between members of the host community and internally displaced persons many of whom seems to have fully settled in Bolori with no intention of returning to the communities they were displaced from.

1 In this report, Armed Opposition Groups (AOG) is adopted and refers to both Islamic State in West African Province (ISWAP) and Jamā’at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da’wah wa’l-Jihād (JAS), popularly called Boko Haram.
This conflict scan found that intergroup\textsuperscript{2} marriages between host community members and IDPs are reportedly evident in Bolori, as many both IDPs and Community leaders have reported increase in the number of marriages between the two groups. Many IDPs are also said to be acquiring houses and businesses which indicates a possible permanent settlement in the Bolori community. The scan also provides insight on how resilient residents (IDPs and HC) of Bolori community are becoming even in the face of threats to peace and security especially as both groups are reportedly said to be working together to address criminalities that are reported in the community, and respond to other early warning signs of violence. Social problems such as limited availability of and accessibility to social amenities including schools and water facilities remain potential causes and triggers of violent conflicts if not addressed. While perceptions are largely said to be subjective, however, findings from the scan has shown consistent accusations and counter accusations on alleged diversion of aid by some community leaders and aid workers, which shows the negative impact of contestations over limited resources (especially relief materials).

**Objectives**

The scan was carried out in May 2019 at Bolori II community of Maiduguri Metropolitan Council, Borno state, with the objective to identify conflicts that might have risen since the first scan conducted in November 2018. The findings of the first scan informed community based interventions such as transformative dialogues, participatory theater and other social cohesion focussed initiatives to address the identified threat to peace, this scan will therefore also evaluate the impact of the initiatives on the context and cohesion between in members of Bolori community and the displaced persons.

The findings of this scan would also informed humanitarian and development actors working in Bolori II, especially Premiere Urgence Internationale (PUI), of the current conflict dynamics and impacts of their activities on social cohesion among groups in the community. This would provide these organizations feedback to stimulate reflection and possible review of their current strategy mainstreaming conflict sensitivity and Do No Harm in their programing. At a broader level, the scan provides opportunity for information sharing among humanitarian-development-peacebuilding (H-D-P) actors working in Borno state targeted at strengthening the nexus amongst these actors for closer collaboration and higher impact.

\textsuperscript{2} Intergroup here refers to both inter-ethnic and different social class. The IDPs are predominantly Kanuri, Shuwa and Margi, who are also very poor from rural communities before their displacement.
Local Context

Social Cohesion

The attempted insurgent attacks on military base in Bolori in the early hours of the Presidential Election Day on February 29, 2019 caused panic in the community, however, the situation did not degenerate into violence and displacement of people. Since the February incident, Bolori community and its immediate environ has not witnessed attacks from AOGs. This could in part be credited to the fact that some of the IDPs in the community have joined the Civilian Joint Task Force to collaboratively provide community level security in the community.3

Unlike when IDPs first arrived Bolori ll in 2013, the scan observed a stronger bond between the IDPS and HC, increased trust and peaceful coexistence. Prior to now, IDPs are suspected to be insurgents and criminals, as reported in the first Conflict Scan Report. Due to mistrust and suspicion, there were many reported cases of clashes at water points between IDPs and HC members. But over time, through dialogues and collaborative approaches to resolving conflicts, clashes at water points are reported to have reduced. ‘Now the trust between us and the host community is strong because of information and the knowledge we have been receiving on peaceful co-existence’ (IDP Women Leader, May 2019). These collaborative approaches have contributed to strengthening intergroup relations and social cohesion in Bolori community. Strong social ties seem to exist in the community as both IDP and HC affirmed that they help each other in solving problems and HC sometimes support IDPs with food items. HC members have been said to have accommodated some IDPs who were unable to pay house rent free of charge in their houses and in some of their stores. Some IDPs in the community reportedly cannot afford the high cost of accommodation as a result of indiscriminate increase in cost of house rent by some landlords. Despite this strong social ties, some host community members are reportedly not willing to mingle with the IDPs in the community. A HC respondent aptly puts it as “in some instances, they are living in the same houses with some of us but some of our community people use to tell their children not to mingle with them (IDPs)”4. This could be attributed to the initial suspicion that some host community members have about IDPs are were seen as suspected Boko Haram.

A. Access to water

Some of the tensions that occurred at water points apart from outright intimidation of IDPs by HC members is alleged theft of water jerry cans by IDPs. In many cases IDP youths were frequently accused of stealing jerry cans at water points, but this occurrence seems to have reduced compared to what was observed at the last conflict scan. Only a few people in the community still do not

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3 This statement was confirmed during an FGD session with Youth Males of the host community.
4 Respondent C, FGD Youth Females HC
trust the IDPs as some of them are still seen as insurgents, as such they keep a distance from them and treat them with suspicion.

B. Demand for accommodation

The initial high demand for accommodation (houses) as a result of the influx of IDPs from 2014 into the community which led to a sharp increase in house rents for both HC and IDPs is said to have reduced in general, as many IDPs are said to have either returned back to their communities of origin or have re-settled in other communities. However, with the recent attacks (from February – May 2019) in communities of northern and southern Borno, many IDP are said to have come back to Maiduguri which reportedly led to increase in demand for accommodation. IDPs especially those at Imimi camp\(^5\) have continued to raise concerns about the high cost of rent charged by landlords who are mostly host community members. This could be as a result of an influx of new entrants into the camp\(^6\).

C. Language barrier

A significant barrier to social cohesion between HC and IDPs seems to be language. Many of the IDPs from villages are said to understand little or no Hausa language. As such, interaction between HC and IDPs have remained very difficult in a cosmopolitan community like Bolori. Sometimes IDPs who do not understand Hausa language think some HC members want to cheat them whenever they speak the Hausa language to them. It takes interpretation sometimes for them to get the message that they want to pass across them. However, some IDPs have reported few cases and instances where they were cheated because of the language barrier.

D. Illiteracy

Illiteracy amongst both HC and IDPs have been identified as a divider in facilitating the language barrier between the two groups in Bolori II community. Other social vices identified in the community can also be attributed to illiteracy. Both IDPs and HC noted that Bolori community have a high number of out of school children. An IDP leader had once lamented about the state of out of school children in their camp and called for support to both enrol their children in schools and establishment of Non Formal Learning Centers in their camp\(^7\).

E. Humanitarian activities/distributions

Despite efforts made by community leaders to sensitize IDPs and HC members on distribution activities by humanitarian organizations, community leaders are still perceived and alleged to have either diverted aid or replace beneficiary names with that of their relatives. ‘\textit{Tensions around humanitarian activities happen because whenever they come to register people, they interchange

\(^{5}\) As stated previously, Imimi camp is a not a government recognized camp. Its a mini estate of about 20 rooms that was previously occupied by Igbos (formerly known as Igbo quarters) before they fled as a result of the crisis.

\(^{6}\) Imimi camp do receive new arrival of IDPs from time to time.

\(^{7}\) The IDP leader of Real Foam camp made this call during a Transformative Dialogue in April 2019.
the names or the picture whenever they come to do distribution and this is usually done by the Bulama’s. They usually replace our names with that of their relatives from town.” However, host community members have also alleged that most problems around perceived diversion of aid is as a result of ‘inconsistency in supply of aid from humanitarian organizations. Some times when 100 IDPs are identified and registered to receive aid, only 40 IDPs end up receiving the aid.”

Some respondents noted that humanitarian organizations work with only what they hear or receive from community leaders, as such are seen as innocent. The absence of positive leadership on the part of community leaders have remained the bane in communities and at humanitarian activities. Despite the challenges faced, both IDPs and HC rate the level of their social cohesion to be very high. Some respondents noted that some of the challenges faced are normal in any society owing to the fact that many are affected by the crisis in the state one way or the other. Findings from the scan have shown that there seems to be a stronger bond between IDP and HC adults compared to the bond among children of the two groups. Which usually is not the case, as children are usually known to bond across divides than with adults. Lack of trust, suspicion and negative perceptions about IDPs could be factors that facilitates the division amongst the children than the adults who possibly are more restraint when provoked and explore other means of resolving conflicts other than violent means that causes more divisions.

**Conflict Identification, Risk and Effects**

Conflicts around humanitarian activities are said to have reduced as activities such as distribution of food items, registration and vouchers have reduced drastically unlike when the IDPs newly arrived Bolori II community and the situation was an emergency. Most activities identified in the community are centred on protection and WASH services which have not been reported to have caused any form of conflict. Many of the issues reported as conflict are more of social problems rather than conflicts in the actual sense.

I. **Education**

The concern of inadequate schools with infrastructure, high number of out of school children is a concern in the community, this situation was reportedly caused by the parents’ lack of resources to procure school items and pay other forms of fees such as PTA aside the formal school fees which has been waived by the state government. This concern was the most significant challenge identified by many respondents in this scan. Thus high number of out of school children in Bolori II still poses a risk to peace and security, as AOG and other criminal groups could easily find and recruit these children into their groups.

II. **Access to water**

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8 Respondent, youth female FGD
9 Respondent 1, Host Community Male Adult, FGD
Limited water facilities have remained a social problem in Bolori II community, which is also a cause and a driver of conflict at water points as identified previously. Though outright confrontation between IDPs and HC is said to have reduced, competition over access to the few available water facilities continues to generate tensions that could lead to violent conflicts.

III. Humanitarian distributions

Tensions and conflicts around humanitarian activities especially food distribution tend to remain evident in Bolori II community. Host community respondents have continued to highlight that distribution of food items emphasizing more on IDPs as beneficiaries than the HC widens the dichotomy between IDPs and HC members. Suspicious diversion of aid by community leaders has remained a concern by both IDPs and HC. HC have alleged that some members of other communities do participate and receive aid during distributions in Bolori II community. This they said contribute in raising tensions in the community which could lead to outright confrontation and violent conflicts amongst different groups.

IV. Theft and other criminal activities

There have been reported cases of increased criminality and criminal activities such as theft, house burgling and snatching of bags in both IDP camps and within host communities. ‘Some of the tension we have experienced in the last three months is robbery within the area, even this morning we heard that they have caught one boy stealing’\(^\text{10}\). This is not farfetched as it is one of the effects of violent conflicts in and around communities that have both witnessed displacement and receiving high influx of persons into communities. These criminal activities have continued to lead to mistrust and suspicion between IDPs and HC members and in some cases led to accusations and counter accusations amongst different groups. Therefore, this could serve as a trigger to violent conflicts in the community. Many of the conflicts seem not to be violent that draws so much attention, which provides more opportunities for conflict prevention and mitigation mechanisms.

Opportunities for Peace

Peace Mechanism

Traditional approaches to conflict resolution remain the top identified mechanism of resolving conflict in Bolori II community. Many respondents identified community leaders as the key actors they approach in order to prevent or mitigate tensions that arise either in intra- or intergroup conflicts. Respondents added that other approaches such as dialogues and joint problem solving are better options than adopting adversarial approaches to resolving conflicts. They noted that only in very rare occasions, in which it is difficult for community leaders to resolve a conflict, are issues taken to the security forces for interventions.

\(^{10}\) IDP Women leader, Key Informant Interview
The scan identified Search’s platforms such as the Community Response Network and transformative dialogue as a peace mechanism for preventing and resolving conflicts, especially between IDPs and HC members. Respondents added that through the platform, a number of tensions that arose in both Imimi and Real Foam camps were settled amicably.

Other community platforms created by Norwegian Refugee Council, Danish Refugee Council and World Food Program were also identified as mechanisms and actors of resolving conflicts in communities. The actors were also said to have trained community leaders and members on conflict resolution mechanisms. The Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) were further identified as key actors in resolving conflicts in communities, especially criminal activities such as theft and house burgling. The scan showed that many respondents identified the CJTF as first responders to criminal activities compared to security forces. Respondents added that only criminal cases that are beyond them are reported to security forces (Nigerian Police). Respondents also added that resolving conflicts by involving the police have been identified as an adversarial approach that in many cases leads to strained relationships amongst the conflicting parties. As such, exploring other non-adversarial approaches in resolving conflicts.

**Conclusion and Recommendations**

While this scan is a snapshot of findings in where Search works in Bolori II community, the findings may not necessary represent a true reflection of the general situation in the community. However, the above findings revealed how collaborative approaches facilitate social cohesion in any heterogeneous society. Therefore, the following below are recommended:

**For the community**

Respondents identified the traditional methods of conflict resolution as a key mechanism through which they resolve conflicts that arise in the community, hence the need for continuous support and strengthening of community structures in preventing, managing and resolving conflicts, especially using collaborative approaches. Community leaders should continue to demonstrate capacity in preventing and mitigating tensions and conflicts that arise in their respective communities. Social inclusion which is an integral part of achieving positive peace in societies should be encouraged by community leaders, especially in communities like Bolori II that are heterogeneous in nature.

In order to curb criminality. Community vigilante groups and Civilian Joint Task Force should be encouraged and supported, especially in the absence of formal security agencies like the Nigerian Police and Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps. Where such agencies are present, synergy and cooperation with such agencies should be strengthened. Community leaders should further encourage sharing of early warning signs and responding appropriately to reports received.
For SFCG

With the increased and strong sense of social cohesion identified in the scan, there is a need to promote more activities that promotes and strengthens inter group relations and resilience. More sensitization programs on peaceful coexistence were suggested in this second scan in order to consolidate the gains of the improved social cohesion. Inter-cultural activities, sporting events and inter-religious activities are suggested as they provide good opportunities for facilitating peace in communities.

More trainings for humanitarian, development and peacebuilding organizations on conflict sensitivity and do no harm is encouraged in order to build the capacity of these actors in order to prevent doing harm in communities like Bolori II community where they work.

For Government

Government efforts in the provision of educational services in communities in order to continue reducing the number of Out of School Children in communities like Bolori II will need to be intensified. Factors militating against the enrolment and retention of children in schools needs to be addressed holistically by the government (local and state). Government are further encouraged to work closely with Non-Governmental Organizations in supporting them to continue programs on education in emergencies in order to make available access to education (both formal and non-formal) to these children.

Secondly, government should fast track efforts in provision of amenities such as pipe borne water or boreholes in Bolori II community in order to reduce the competition and tensions over access to water by both Internally Displaced Persons and host community members.

For Other Humanitarian and Development Actors

In order to possibly prevent and mitigate tensions and violent conflicts around humanitarian distribution of aid, a clear sensitization on identification, selection criteria and how aid is distributed is seen as a prevention and mitigation strategy of allegations of diversion of aid during distribution. A joint monitoring of aid by both community leadership and humanitarian organizations would also curb the menace of diversion of aid to the barest minimum.

While humanitarian needs remain enormous and unending, humanitarian organizations are further encouraged to compliment government efforts in the provision of water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) services in Bolori II community. This would further reduce tensions at water points and competition over such limited resource.

Mainstreaming conflict sensitivity and do no harm in programing (cycle) should be encouraged in every organization, especially those working not only in Bolori II community but in communities across North East Nigeria. Where there are capacity gaps, organizations should explore trainings
conducted by other organizations like Search, on Conflict Sensitivity and Do No Harm. Especially were such capacity gaps are identified amongst field level staff.

**For Donor Organizations**

As humanitarian, development and peacebuilding organizations continue to carry out interventions to help communities recover and rebuild from violent conflicts, more funding should be given for activities that promote social cohesion and other peacebuilding initiatives. Donor organizations should allocate more funds for conflict scans and assessments across communities and states in the north east. As these scans and assessments have proven to be useful tools (providing information and data) for supporting organizations to effectively carry out other interventions in communities, especially helping them to be conflict sensitive when conducting their activities.
Annex 1: Questionnaires

Questionnaire for- Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

A. Instructions

Listen actively:
● Allow enough time for the group to answer each question and to elaborate on answers.
● Listen to identify the perceptions, ideas, and themes that participants are discussing.
● Show interest: 'shake your head', 'I see', 'yes', 'it is useful to know'
● Clarify the meanings of the answers and ask for details.

Encourage participants to include details without influencing responses:
● Repeat part of the question.
● Paraphrase the response to the respondent to confirm the interpretation.
● Ask neutral questions: "Can you tell me more about that?", or "Can you give me an example?"

Inclusive participation:
● Encourage the participation of each member of the group.
● Allow multiple people to answer each question to hear different perspectives and encourage discussion among participants and not just between participant and facilitator.
● If one person dominates the discussion, facilitate inclusive participation: "Thank you for your contributions to the discussion, but we want to hear from someone or someone who has not spoken yet."

Note taking:
● Record responses as much as possible, word-for-word, and include additional comments provided.
● Directly after the discussion, review the notes and fill in the missing information.

B. Information

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| FGD of:         | a) Adult males  
b) Adult Female  
c) Young Adult male  
d) Young Adult Female  
e) Selected school ages children |
C. Introduction

Hello,

We thank you for receiving us today and for devoting some of your valuable time.

My name is _______________________________. In a nutshell, the interview we invite today is part of an investigation initiated by Search For Common Ground. Search is an international NGO that aims to transform how conflicts are managed. We are conducting a research to gather information to identify and understand the changing context of conflicts, tensions and risks in this site. We seek to better understand and obtain your opinion and perspective on these issues.

The information we collect will help a range of national and international actors who are active in the site to understand and find solutions to current problems. The main purpose of these interviews will be to gather your ideas, opinions, perspectives and suggestions as an individual in this community about these issues.

You have been selected for this survey in order to collect your personal perception and your analysis on this subject as well as your proposals of solution. **We will not pay for your participation today, but the information you provide will be taken into account to improve Search and others humanitarian organizations interventions in your community.**

The information provided about you and your community will be kept confidential and anonymous and will only be used in the professional context.

While counting on your availability, we assure you that participation in this survey is voluntary. If it happens that I ask a question that you do not want to answer, tell me and I will go to the next question; you are free to suspend the interview at any time.

The duration of the discussion is approximately 1 hour.

**Do you consent to participate in this discussion?**

**YES / NO  (Circle the answer)***
Before we start do you have questions to ask me?

Questions

**For the investigator:** There are basic questions proposed here and which are followed by examples and additional explanations in *italics* and parentheses and *italicized* questions to continue the conversation. Familiarize yourself with all the questions. It is important that this guide serves as a basis for discussion, and the questions serve to guide you. However, YOU DO NOT NEED TO READ ALL THE QUESTIONS ALOUD.

**Introduction - icebreaker:** *(do not exceed 2 minutes)*

*Put the participants in groups of two to introduce themselves to each other for a few minutes, then each participant introduces his partner to the group.*

**Security context and social cohesion:**

1. So far, how are you finding your stay in this camp?

2. What are the specific tensions around?
   a) **Trust**, that have happened in your community in the past 3 months.
   b) **Water points** that have happened in your community in the past 3 months.
   c) **House rents** that have happened in your community in the past 3 months.
   d) **Education** that have happened in your community in the past 3 months.
   e) **Relationship with NGOs and Government** that have happened in your community in the past 3 months that you would like to share?

3. Do you cooperate peacefully with your hosts? Whether “yes” or “no”, could you describe your answers in detail? *(for enumerators: ensure you utilise the terms – what, who, when and how, in probing further as these will be relevant in cognate eliciting answers).*

4. How do you rate the level of social cohesion in your community? Explain your answer *(On a scale of 1 to 5, 1 being a sense of complete lack of social cohesion and 5 a sense of complete social cohesion where one feels a sense of unity and trust with other community members within the community)*

5. **Answer :** *(circle the number that corresponds to the answer)*

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Complete lack of social cohesion complete social cohesion
**Conflict identification, risks and effects:**

6. Could you explain in more details what is currently happening between your community and the NGOs?

6.b. Why do you think these conflicts exist? (If any)

6. C. What would you suggest as a way out of this problem (if any)?

**Peace mechanisms:**

7. Do your community resolve issues by involving the bulama, involving the security personnel and avoiding potential causes of conflict? (Yes? or No?)

(If yes) Are these mechanisms effective for you and what can be done differently?

(If No) What are the ways of resolving issues in your community?

8. Which other actors contribute to conflict resolution? How?

9. What advice would you give to resolve conflicts and tensions that may arise in the future?

10. Is there anything else you would like to add?
Questionnaire for Key Informant Interviews (KII)

A. Instructions
Listen actively:
● Allow enough time for the interviewee to answer each question and to elaborate on answers.
● Listen in order to identify the perceptions, ideas and themes addressed by the interviewee.
● Show interest: 'shake your head', 'I see', 'yes', 'it is useful to know'
● Clarify the meanings of the answers and ask for details.
Encourage the interviewee to include details without influencing responses:
● Repeat part of the question.
● Paraphrase the response to the respondent to confirm the interpretation.
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Note taking:
● Record responses as much as possible, word-for-word, and include additional comments provided.
● Directly after the interview, review the notes and fill in the missing information.

B. Information
The table below must be completed before the interview without interaction with the interviewee.

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<td>(d) Returnee; coming from __________________</td>
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C. Introduction

Hello,

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My name is _________________________________. In a nutshell, the interview we invite today is part of an investigation initiated by Search For Common Ground. Search is an international NGO that aims to transform how conflicts are managed. We are conducting a research to gather information to identify and understand the changing context of conflicts, tensions and risks in this site. We seek to better understand and obtain your opinion and perspective on these issues.

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The information provided about you and your community will be kept **confidential and anonymous** and will only be used in the professional context.

While counting on your availability, we assure you that participation in this survey is voluntary. If it happens that I ask a question that you do not want to answer, tell me and I will go to the next question; you are free to suspend the interview at any time.

The duration of the discussion is 45 minutes to 1 hour.

**Do you consent to participate in this discussion?**

**YES / NO** *(Circle the answer)*

Before you start do you have questions to ask me?
Questions

For the investigator: There are basic questions proposed here and which are followed by examples and additional explanations in italics and parentheses and italicized questions to continue the conversation. Familiarize yourself with all the questions. It is important that this guide serves as a basis for discussion, and the questions serve to guide you. However, YOU DO NOT NEED TO READ ALL THE QUESTIONS ALOUD.

Security context and social cohesion:

1. So far, how are you finding your stay in this camp?

1. (a) So far, how has it been hosting the IDPs in your community? (Enumerator: Which ever answer they give, please probe further)

2. What are the specific tensions around?
   f) Trust, that have happened in your community in the past 3 months.
   g) Water points that have happened in your community in the past 3 months.
   h) House rents that have happened in your community in the past 3 months.
   i) Education that have happened in your community in the past 3 months.
   j) Relationship with NGOs and Government that have happened in your community in the past 3 months that you would like to share?

3. Do you cooperate peacefully with your hosts? Whether “yes” or “no”, could you describe your answers in detail? (for enumerators: ensure you utilise the terms – what, who, when and how, in probing further as these will be relevant in cognate eliciting answers).

4. How do you rate the level of social cohesion in your community? Explain your answer (On a scale of 1 to 5, 1 being a sense of complete lack of social cohesion and 5 a sense of complete social cohesion where one feels a sense of unity and trust with other community members within the community)

5. Answer: (circle the number that corresponds to the answer)

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Complete lack of social cohesion complete social cohesion

Answer: (note how many people give each answer)
Conflict identification, risks and effects:

6. Could you explain in more details what is currently happening between your community and the NGOs?

6.b. Why do you think these conflicts exist? (If any)

6. C. What would you suggest as a way out of this problem (if any)?

Peace mechanisms:

7. Do your community resolve issues by involving the bulama, involving the security personnel and avoiding potential causes of conflict? (Yes? or No?)

(If yes) Are these mechanisms effective for you and what can be done differently?

(If No) What are the ways of resolving issues in your community?

8. Which other actors contribute to conflict resolution? How?

9. What advice would you give to resolve conflicts and tensions that may arise in the future?

10. Is there anything else you would like to add?