



SOUTH SUDAN DISPLACEMENT TRENDS ANALYSIS

SOUTH SUDAN

REPORT

APRIL 2015



Funded by:
EU Humanitarian Aid
and Civil Protection

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more effective
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Cover photograph: Mingkaman site, March 2015 © REACH

About REACH

REACH is a joint initiative of two international non-governmental organizations - ACTED and IMPACT Initiatives - and the UN Operational Satellite Applications Programme (UNOSAT). REACH's mission is to strengthen evidence-based decision making by aid actors through efficient data collection, management and analysis before, during and after an emergency. By doing so, REACH contributes to ensuring that communities affected by emergencies receive the support they need. All REACH activities are conducted in support to and within the framework of inter-agency aid coordination mechanisms. For more information please visit our website: www.reach-initiative.org. You can contact us directly at: geneva@reach-initiative.org and follow us on Twitter @REACH_info.

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SUMMARY

More than a year since the start of the on-going conflict in South Sudan, over two million individuals have been displaced, including over 500,000 refugees, and an estimated 1.5 million internally displaced persons (IDPs).¹ In December 2013, political disagreements within the ruling party sparked violence in Juba, which quickly spread to other parts of the country. Civilians were targeted throughout the country based on their location, ethnicity and gender, with hundreds of thousands fleeing their pre-crisis homes in search of safety.² The mass displacement that followed was rapid and chaotic, with thousands fleeing to the bases of United Nations peacekeeping forces (UNMISS) in search of protection; others forming spontaneous sites in areas perceived as safer; and the vast majority fleeing to rural areas “in the bush”.³ While the security situation has somewhat stabilised during recent months, the total number of internally displaced persons continues to increase due to on-going localised shocks, and relatively few returns have been witnessed to date.

Developed by REACH and funded by the European Commission's Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection department (ECHO), this study examines the profile of displaced persons in ten Protection of Civilians (PoC) sites and informal settlement sites in the six most conflict-affected states: Central Equatoria, Jonglei, Lakes, Unity, Western Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile. Based on primary data collected through household level surveys, complemented by information from key informant interviews, community group discussions, and secondary data, this report addresses the need for a broad review of internal displacement in South Sudan over the past year, and examines the current situation and intentions of IDPs, many of whom have been displaced for over a year.

The population of the assessed sites was found to be young and predominantly female, with a high proportion of single headed households. Most families were displaced as a direct result of the crisis, the majority reporting the destruction of their homes and assets due to conflict, and many families becoming separated as a result of displacement. While many families fled due to insecurity, the most commonly reported reason for choosing a displacement site was the presence of humanitarian aid. Having seen their homes and assets destroyed, IDPs had few resources and were in desperate need. The majority of IDPs had arrived at their displacement sites from rural areas, many travelling long distances to the site by foot. Most had been engaged in rural livelihood activities, such as agriculture, or tending livestock prior to the crisis. Households from urban areas were found to be more likely to seek refuge in PoC sites than in informal settlements. These households had higher levels of education, and were more likely to be employed in salaried or skilled work prior to the crisis.

Over a year on from the start of the current crisis, protracted displacement is becoming a reality for many IDPs. Significant humanitarian assistance has been provided to improve the situation within displacement sites, but conditions remain challenging, with the majority of sites still failing to meet emergency standards for overcrowding, and access to basic sanitation, healthcare and education. Despite this, when asked about their intentions in a number of possible scenarios, a significant proportion of IDPs reported that they would stay at the same site even if humanitarian assistance were to stop — this was reported by the majority of households in five of the ten sites assessed. The only scenario in which IDPs overwhelmingly reported that they would return to their pre-crisis or ancestral homes was “if peace comes to South Sudan”, indicating that an end to the conflict is seen as a pre-condition for return for most displaced families. In spite of this, some returns have been recorded, notably from Mingkaman informal settlement site to the surrounding areas. Possible reasons for this include a range of inter-connecting factors, which should be explored further to better understand the conditions needed for future returns.

While the situation appears to be stabilising in some parts of the country, the number of internally displaced persons continues to grow.⁴ IDPs in displacement sites have ongoing humanitarian needs that will be further complicated by the approaching rainy season. Meanwhile, IDPs outside major displacement sites, who are often dispersed across large areas accessible only by air or by foot, may face even more precarious conditions and are in desperate need of humanitarian assistance. While little is known about this population as a whole, this assessment includes information about IDPs in eight “hard-to-reach areas” in Jonglei, Unity and Lakes States, to highlight the humanitarian situation of some of these IDPs, and the lack of comprehensive information about their needs.

¹ OCHA, [South Sudan Situation Report no.79](#) (19 March 2015), March 2015

² Huser, [Displacement: An Auto-protection Strategy in Unity State](#), March 2015

³ According to OCHA and IOM, as of February 2015 an estimated 254,391 individuals were living in identified sites and the remaining 1.2 million were displaced elsewhere in the country.

⁴ OCHA, [South Sudan Key Figures](#), March 2015

List of Acronyms

CCCM	Camp Coordination and Camp Management
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
DSWD	Department for Social Welfare and Development
FDG	Focus Group Discussion
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRNA	Initial Rapid Needs Assessment
KI	Key Informant
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODK	Open Data Kit
PoC	Protection of Civilians (site)
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene

Geographical Classifications

State	Highest form of governance below the national level
County	States are divided into counties
Payam	The second-lowest administrative division below counties
Boma	Payams are sub-divided into a variable number of bomas

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INTRODUCTION

An estimated 2 million individuals have been displaced since the start of the current crisis in South Sudan⁵, which broke out in Juba in December 2013 and quickly spread throughout much of the rest of the country. While 505,298 individuals fled to the neighbouring countries of Uganda, Ethiopia, Sudan and Kenya⁶, the majority were internally displaced, many moving to Protection of Civilians (PoC) sites on the bases of United Nations peacekeeping forces (UNMISS), and informal settlements for internally displaced persons (IDPs).

Humanitarian actors have provided an estimated 3.6 million people with lifesaving assistance⁷, and significant efforts have been made to improve the humanitarian situation in displacement sites. Despite this, many sites remain overcrowded, and displaced populations are highly reliant on humanitarian aid. Due to ongoing insecurity and access constraints, much of the humanitarian response is focused on the larger concentrations of IDPs in PoC sites, informal settlements, and collective centres, with little information available about the situation of displaced households outside these areas.⁸

More than a year on from the start of the current crisis, an estimated 1.5 million individuals remain internally displaced.⁹ While the security situation has stabilised in some parts of the country, the situation remains fragile¹⁰ and there have been relatively few voluntary returns from displacement sites. There is increasing pressure to relocate IDPs from PoC sites, but most IDPs are reluctant to leave these sites until peace is restored throughout the country.

This report addresses the need for a comprehensive review of country-wide displacement in South Sudan and provides an overview of the demographic profile and intentions of internally displaced persons living in ten of the major displacement sites. In the midst of ongoing discussions over the relocation of IDPs in PoC sites, this study was developed to examine the extent to which displacement patterns and intentions are affected by a range of factors. In the short term, the analysis presented in this report provides detailed information at community level to inform advocacy around returns and relocations, and in the longer term to inform durable solutions.

Funded by the European Commission's Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection department (ECHO), the study examines displacement in ten PoC sites and informal settlement sites in the six most conflict-affected states: Central Equatoria, Jonglei, Lakes, Unity, Western Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile. This report examines household level data about the displacement history, socio-economic profile and intentions of IDPs in ten major displacement sites (six PoC sites and four informal settlements). While these sites, together with a small number of collective centres and other informal settlements, are the focus of the humanitarian response, the vast majority of those displaced are estimated to reside elsewhere, many in "hard-to-reach" areas about which little information is known. Based on community-level data provided through key informant interviews and focus group discussions in eight sites in hard-to-reach areas in Unity, Jonglei and Lakes States, this data can only be indicative of the situation for other IDPs, but clearly demonstrates the need for more comprehensive information about the large numbers of IDPs who are rarely reached by humanitarian assistance. In all cases, primary data is triangulated with reliable secondary sources of humanitarian information, such as biometric registration data, reports from inter-agency assessments, UN agencies, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and other analysts.

This report begins with a detailed description of the methodology used for this study, and then outlines the key assessment findings, organised into three main sections. The first section examines the demographic and socioeconomic profile of IDPs in displacement sites. The second section describes the key displacement trends since December 2013, including analysis of why people decided to flee to each of the ten displacement sites assessed. The final section examines the push and pull factors affecting intentions and returns. Annexe one includes an overview of key findings related to the origin and demographic profile of displaced households in each of the assessed sites, and Annexe two contains general infrastructure maps of each of the ten sites assessed.

⁵ OCHA, note 1 *supra*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Based on the total estimated of the total number of 1.5 million IDPs from (OCHA, note 1 *supra*) and the 254,391 IDPs in identified sites (IOM, [South Sudan's Crisis Response Displacement Tracking Matrix](#) February 2015), an estimated 1.2 million households are likely to be displaced outside these sites.

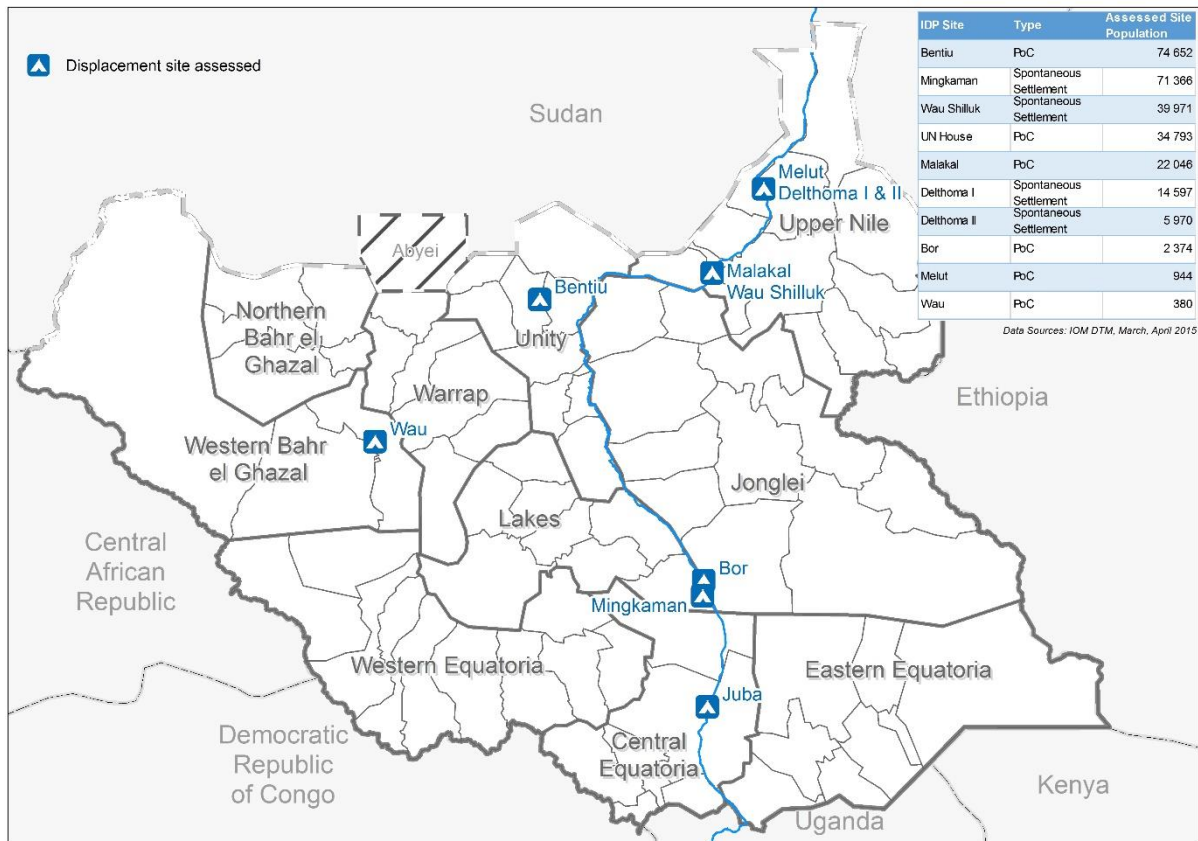
⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ International Crisis Group, [Sudan and South Sudan's Merging Conflicts](#), 29 January 2015

METHODOLOGY

This assessment uses a mixed methods approach to data collection, using a combination of quantitative and qualitative primary data, triangulated with data from reliable secondary sources of humanitarian information, including biometric registration data,¹¹ reports from inter-agency assessments, UN agencies, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and other analysts. Information was collected at both household level, using a survey, and at community level, through key informant interviews and community group discussions, in order to understand wider trends as well as detailed demographic and socioeconomic information about displaced families in ten displacement sites. In addition, key informant interviews and community discussions were conducted in eight hard-to-reach areas, in Jonglei, Unity and Lakes States, to gain an overview of the situation for vulnerable populations in areas with little humanitarian access.

Map 1: Location of assessed sites



The study was focused primarily on major displacement sites in six states in South Sudan: Central Equatoria, Jonglei, Lakes, Unity, Western Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile, which are also home to the largest concentrations of internally displaced persons. This study draws on primary data collected between September 2014 and February 2015, with the majority of data collected in December and January.

The assessment methodology and tools were developed with input from several clusters including Protection, Education, and WASH, who provided sector-specific questions to understand humanitarian needs in the assessed sites. These ongoing discussions ensured that the assessment would address priority needs from a range of operational humanitarian actors. Cleaned and anonymised datasets for each site are available on request from REACH.

Three tools were developed for primary data collection: a household survey, which included a set of core questions for each displacement site; a focus group discussion tool; and a key informant interview tool. The household survey was administered using smartphones, so that the information collected could be uploaded directly to a central database, where unexplained outliers could be identified and cleaned prior to analysis. Mobile data collection removes some of the errors inherent in transcribing paper forms and allows the collection of GPS data at the

¹¹ IOM conducts regular biometric registration and monitoring of displacement sites across South Sudan.

location of each assessed household. Since a random sample of respondents was selected from within each displacement site, this GPS data was useful for checking the spread of samples across each site. Before data collection, tools were piloted to ensure that questions were fully understood and well translated. Following pilot exercises, the household questionnaire and focus group discussion tool were modified to clarify some questions.

The ten assessed sites were purposefully selected to provide an overview of the profile and intentions of IDPs in major displacement sites. In each site, household surveys were conducted by teams of trained data collectors, supervised by an assessment officer and a field team leader, who ensured that enumerators were randomly selecting households within their assigned areas of the site. Teams of 12 data collectors were recruited at each displacement site and undertook a one day training, which was led by an assessment officer and translated when necessary. The sample size was determined based on camp registration data to ensure that a statistically representative sample of IDPs was interviewed in each site, with a confidence level of 95% and a margin of error of 5%. This means that while the number of IDPs interviewed in each site was different, the results remain comparable.

In eight hard-to-reach areas in Unity, Lakes and Jonglei States, community group discussions and key informant interviews were conducted instead of household surveys. Community group discussions were transcribed on a standard form, with answers ranked based on consensus within the group. In six sites of the eight hard-to-reach sites assessed, separate group discussions were held with groups of women and groups of men, in order to compare the perspectives from both groups and ensure that all members felt comfortable to speak. Key informant interviews were conducted with knowledgeable individuals, such as boma (community) leaders, who have a good general knowledge of the issues affecting their communities.

Challenges and Limitations

Due to the wide targeted geographic area, household surveys were conducted over the course of several months. Data was collected in Mingkaman in September 2014; in Bentiu PoC, Melut PoC, Delthoma I, Delthoma II and Bor PoC in December; in Wau Shilluk and Malakal PoC in January 2015; and in Juba PoC (UN House PoC 1) and Wau PoC in February 2015. While some sites have changed relatively little since data collection, Bentiu has seen significant numbers of new arrivals, and others, such as Bor and Mingkaman, have seen the site population decrease as a result of relocations and returns, at the time of drafting. Arrivals and departures occur for different reasons, and will therefore affect the demographic makeup of the sites where this occurs. As a result, recent trends for some sites will not be captured by the household survey data. Significant changes to site populations are discussed, where applicable, with reference recent registration data and information from other secondary sources.

Access to communities was also challenging, with access to one site, UN House Juba, limited to only one of the three PoC sites on this base. Community leaders in PoCs 2 and 3 refused to give permission for data collection and these areas were therefore not included. While the populations of the different PoCs on UN House site are not homogenous—PoC 2, for example includes a number of foreign nationals—the 559 households assessed still provide a representative sample of the 2,647 households in PoC1, and data remains indicative of the demographic profile and displacement history of many of the IDPs on this site. The timing of the household surveys may also have affected the data collected. In some locations, large numbers of IDPs were found to leave the displacement site during the day. In the small number of cases where no household members were left behind, these individuals were not able to be included in data collection, which took place during the day.

Finally, while efforts were made to hire both men and women to conduct data collection in each displacement site, it was rarely possible achieve a mixed team of enumerators. Few women presented themselves as potential candidates, in part due to a lack of education and qualifications, and in part due to the fact that many were already occupied with other activities or household tasks. For a quantitative survey without open-ended questions, this is unlikely to have a serious impact on the quality of the data collected, however, that lack of female key informants in hard-to-reach areas means that issues particularly affecting women may have been under-reported.

The purposive selection of sites for assessment, particularly in hard to reach areas, was based on accessibility rather than a random sampling methodology. The information in this report is therefore a snapshot of the situation for IDPs in PoC sites and large informal settlements, but does not provide a statistically representative sample of IDPs outside these major sites. Information about IDPs in hard-to-reach areas can only be indicative of the situation of other IDPs in such areas. Further comprehensive information is required about these IDPs, who may be more or less vulnerable than those included in this assessment.

CONTEXT

Since the outbreak of violence in Juba in mid-December 2013, which quickly spread through much of the rest of the country, an estimated 2 million individuals have been displaced, affecting all ten of South Sudan's states to a greater or lesser extent.¹² The estimated 1.5 million internally displaced persons account for more than one in seven of South Sudan's population and the number of internally displaced persons has continued to increase over the past 13 months.¹³ By February 2015, an estimated 254,391 displaced individuals were registered in displacement sites, including 5,394 in collective centres, 136,319 in informal or spontaneous settlements, and 112,391 in Protection of Civilians (PoC) sites.¹⁴ Together, these figures represent less than 17% of the total estimated caseload of IDPs, with the remainder believed to be living in dispersed settings in rural or hard-to-reach areas.

Fighting had been ongoing in South Sudan for over 20 years until the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005, when an interim government was put in place. South Sudan gained independence in 2011, although conflict and displacement continued in the country, with an estimated 180,000 internally displaced prior to the outbreak of the current conflict, due to multiple causes including fighting between armed opposition groups, inter-tribal conflict, food insecurity, flooding and drought.¹⁵

Since December 2013, thousands of civilians have been targeted and killed by a proliferation of armed groups.^{16,17} The largest recorded spikes in displacement occurred between December 2013 and January 2014, between July and September 2014, and between December 2014 and January 2015.¹⁸ On 11th February 2014 the humanitarian situation was declared a Level 3 emergency, the highest level of humanitarian crisis. The initial declaration was extended for a further six months until November 2014¹⁹ and remains in effect at the time of writing.

While many humanitarian actors were already operational in South Sudan prior to the current conflict, the humanitarian response has faced huge challenges, notably with regards to access and logistics. South Sudan has only 200 miles of paved road and experiences significant flooding during the rainy season, which can render major access routes unusable and leave many parts of the country either inaccessible or "hard-to-reach" for some or all of the year.²⁰ Outside the urban centres of Juba, Bor, Bentiu and Malakal, much smaller numbers of humanitarian actors are operational.²¹ Since March 2014, a Rapid Response Mechanism (RRM) has existed to provide assistance in remote areas, mainly by air. However, this too has been plagued by challenges including logistics, ongoing insecurity and a lack of funding.²² Finally, the arrival of displaced persons at the bases of United Nations peacekeeping forces (UNMISS) was unprecedented. These sites were unprepared to host the thousands of individuals who arrived there and basic infrastructure had to be rapidly constructed to meet growing needs. Defining the roles and responsibilities of UNMISS and humanitarian actors proved to be challenging, and with the onset of the rainy season in April 2014, the flooded and cramped conditions in many of the PoC sites were described as "appalling"²³. Since the end of the rainy season, significant efforts have been made to improve conditions in PoC sites, with major extensions and infrastructural improvements to several. However, according to IOM, five of the seven PoCs remain overcrowded, and the situation in many of sites, including spontaneous settlements and collective centres fails to meet minimum SPHERE emergency standards.²⁴ While Initial Rapid Needs Assessments (IRNAs) have been conducted in several hard-to-reach areas during the past months, the needs, vulnerabilities and intentions of the estimated 1.2 million displaced persons outside identified displacement sites remain a key information gap.

¹² OCHA, note 1 *supra*

¹³ OCHA, note 4 *supra*

¹⁴ IOM, [South Sudan's Crisis Response Displacement Tracking Matrix](#) February 2015. The total number of individuals is greater than the combined population of the assessed sites.

¹⁵ IDMC, [New displacement adds to critical humanitarian situation in the country since independence](#) June 2012

¹⁶ International Crisis Group, note 10 *supra*

¹⁷ Refugees International, [South Sudan: A Nation Uprooted](#) 12 March 2015

¹⁸ OCHA, note 4 *supra*

¹⁹ UN Economic and Social Council, [Implementation of integrated, coherent and coordinated support to South Sudan by the United Nations system](#) 18 September 2014.

²⁰ Refugees International, note 17 *supra*

²¹ OCHA, [Operational Presence](#) (March 2014)

²² Refugees International, note 16 *supra*

²³ International Crisis Group, note 10 *supra*

²⁴ IOM, note 14 *supra*

FINDINGS

This section of the report presents the main findings of the study and is split into three main sections:

- An overview of the demographic and socio-economic profile of IDPs in displacement sites
- An examination of the factors that influenced initial displacement, including a discussion of reported reasons for displacement and examination of displacement trends by area of origin.
- An discussion of some of the factors influencing intentions and returns

Demographic and socio-economic profile of IDPs in displacement sites

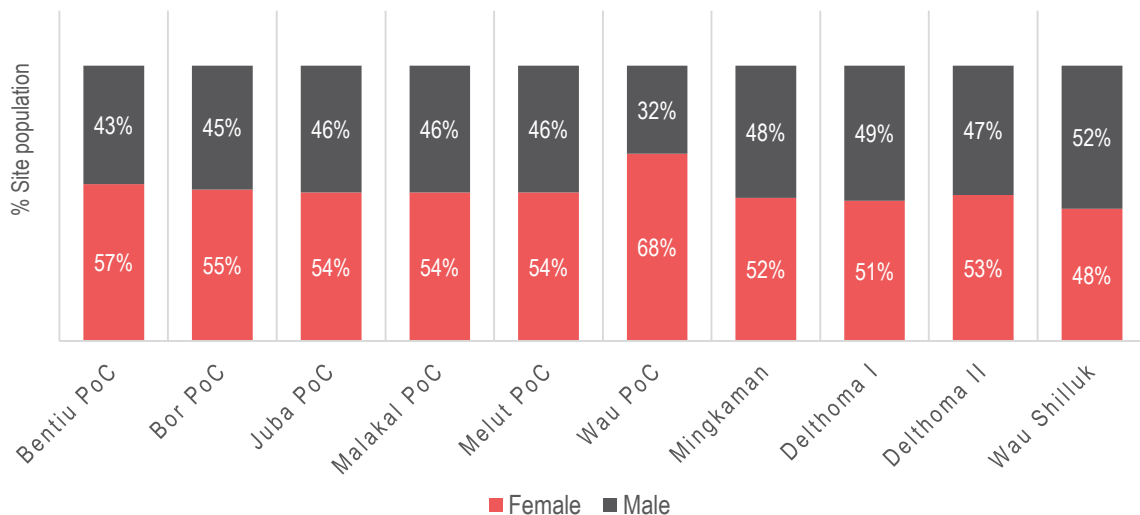
According to the latest country-wide registration data from IOM in February 2015, a total of 254,391 individuals were currently registered in displacement sites across South Sudan. In February, the sites assessed by IOM include 10 collective centres, 7 Protection of Civilians (PoC) sites and 21 spontaneous or informal settlements.²⁵ This study looks in-depth at the populations of ten of these sites—six PoC sites, and four informal settlements—which together cover six of the most conflict-affected states.

At the time of writing, a total of 267,093 IDPs were registered in the ten assessed sites: Bentiu PoC, Bor PoC, Malakal PoC, Melut PoC, Juba PoC(also known as UN House), Wau PoC, Delthoma I, Delthoma II, Mingkaman, and Wau Shilluk.²⁶

Demographics

The population of these displacement sites is predominantly young. According to biometric registration data from IOM, 56% of the population of PoCs under the age of 18.²⁷ While the overall population of these displacement sites is predominantly female, the REACH assessment found that the proportion varied considerably between the ten assessed sites, with females found to represent between 48% and 68% of the site population at the time of assessment.

Figure 1: Proportion of males and females at each assessed site



The higher overall proportion of women (55%) than men (45%) may be due to a number of reasons: absent males were reportedly herding cattle, supervising assets at home, or engaged in the ongoing conflict. The outbreak of fighting caused many families to separate prior to or during displacement. In some cases women and children were

²⁵ Ibid.

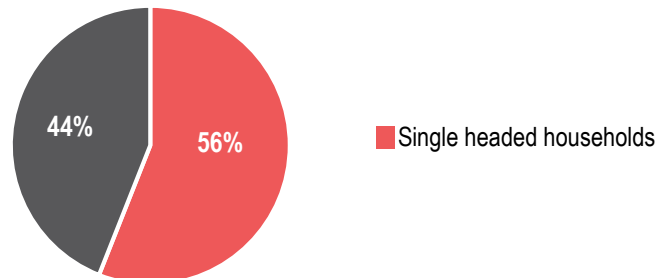
²⁶ All figures from IOM.

²⁷ IOM, registration data as of April 2015. The latest population figures of Wau Shilluk Spontaneous settlement are correct as of March 2015. The fact that the total population of these ten sites alone is now greater than the total number of identified IDPs in February 2015 is indicative of the extent to which the internally displaced population continues to increase.

sent to safer areas in anticipation of violence while men stayed behind; in other cases, whole families fled together, but males kept a distance from women and children, believing that they would be less likely to be targeted.²⁸

Family separation has resulted in a high proportion of single-headed households, both male and female, in displacement sites. Across the sites assessed, 56% of households were found to be single-headed, with the percentage of single-headed households ranging from 34% in Bentiu up to 85% in Wau Shilluk.

Figure 2: Percentage of single-headed households across assessed sites



In South Sudan, displacement is closely linked to tribal affiliation, which is often tied to ancestral homelands and traditional grazing areas. The country has traditionally had a highly mobile population, with many herders undertaking seasonal migration as a result of cattle grazing. Natural hazards, particularly flooding, cause regular disaster-induced displacement, while more recent conflicts, as well as rural-to-urban migration have caused many people to live in a location that is different to their ancestral home.²⁹ With this in mind, the household survey asked IDPs to distinguish between their ancestral and pre-crisis homes, in order to test this difference and understand the impact of ancestral links on displacement patterns. IDPs in the assessed sites often reported different locations when asked about their ancestral home and pre-crisis location, which are mapped for each site in annexe 1. While 99% of the population of Delthoma II IDP site and 97% of the population of Delthoma I reported arriving directly from their ancestral home, in other IDP sites, especially those with higher urban populations, a significant proportion of IDPs were found not to be living in their ancestral homes prior to displacement. It is also important to note that the idea of an ancestral home is not necessarily related to the place where a person grew up, and in a small proportion of cases, had never been visited.³⁰ In the majority of displacement sites, tribal composition is almost entirely homogenous: in nine of the ten displacement sites assessed, between 93-99% of IDPs reported belonging to the same tribe, and within that, a mixture of sub-tribes. Malakal was the least homogenous of the sites assessed, containing significant displaced populations from three different tribal groups. This may be due to the fact that Malakal PoC received an unusually high proportion of displaced persons from directly adjacent areas: over 80% of IDPs in Malakal arrived from the same or neighbouring counties.

Education, Livelihoods and Assets

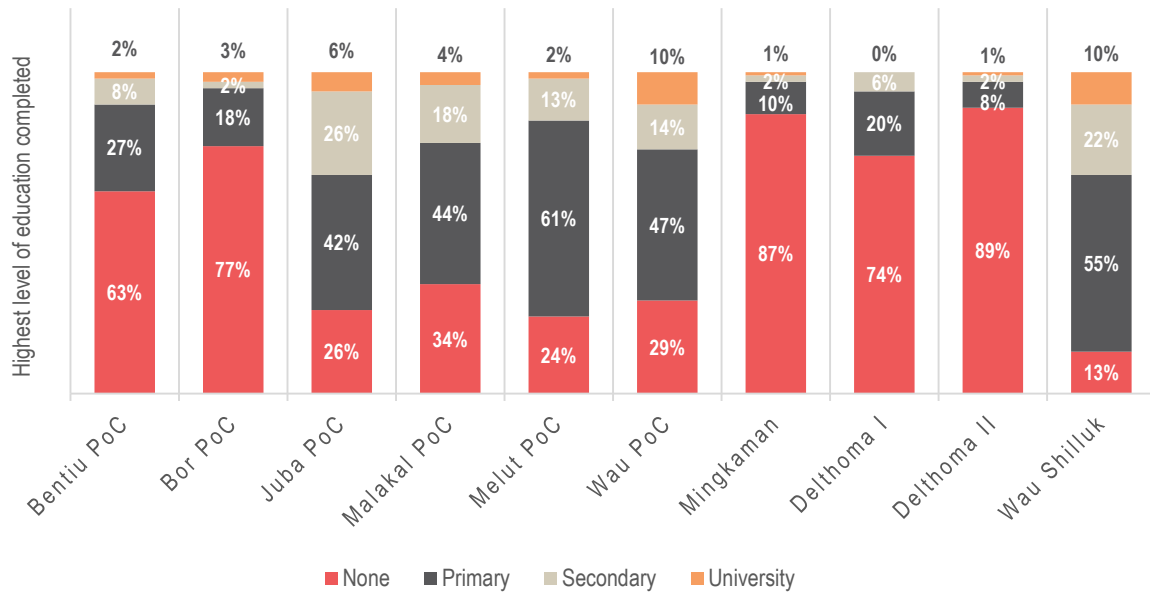
Overall, the vast majority of IDP heads of household reported having completed either primary education (33%) or none at all (52%). Considerable variation was found between heads of households from urban and rural areas. In sites with a high proportion of IDPs from urban areas, such as Juba, Wau, Malakal, Melut and Wau Shilluk, heads of household were more likely to have completed primary and secondary education, and for some, university. It should also be noted that the children of IDPs were much more likely to have attended school prior to displacement than their parents.

²⁸ Huser, note 2 *supra*

²⁹ IDMC [South Sudan: greater humanitarian and development efforts needed to meet IDPs' growing needs](#), July 2014

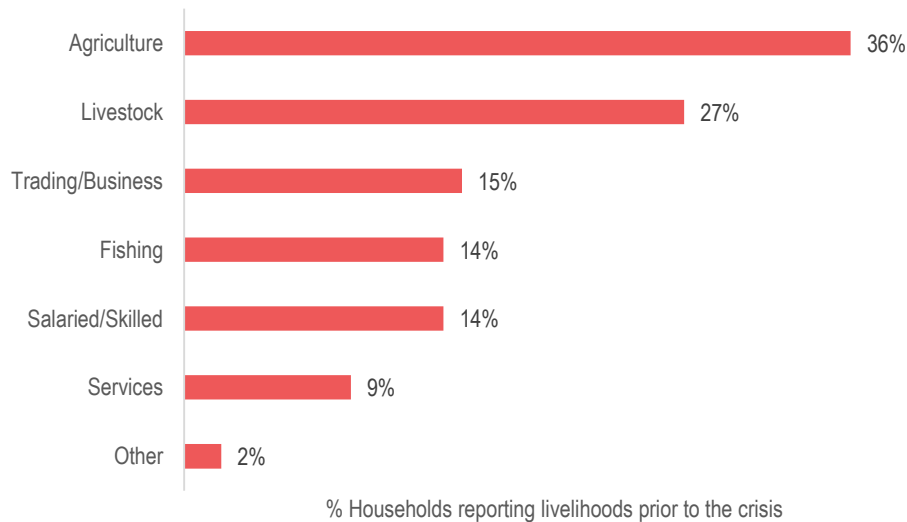
³⁰ Using Juba as an example, REACH's household survey data shows that 47% of IDPs in Juba's PoC1 reported that they were not living in their ancestral homes at the onset of the crisis, and 4% of IDPs had never been the location they reported as their ancestral home.

Figure 3: Highest level of education completed by household heads in each assessed site



Prior to displacement, the most commonly reported livelihood of IDPs across all sites was agricultural production (36%) or tending livestock (27%). Consistent with their higher recorded levels of education, and their largely urban pre-crisis homes, IDPs staying in Juba PoC Site (UN House PoC1) were more likely to have been engaged in salaried or skilled work (42%), and trade or business (31%). To a lesser extent, this trend is reflected in other displacement sites with large populations from urban centres, including Malakal and Wau Shilluk (all hosting significant proportions of IDPs from Malakal), Bentiu (with a significant population from Rubkona, in which Bentiu town is situated), Melut, and Wau (both with significant percentages of IDPs from towns of the same name).

Figure 4: Reported main pre-crisis sources of livelihood across assessed sites³¹

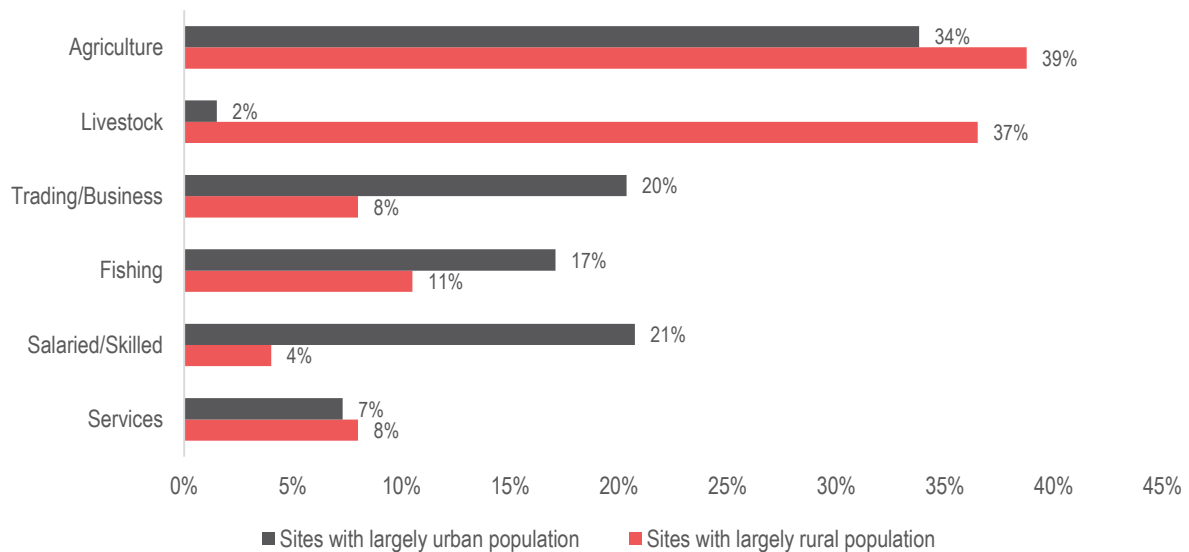


In contrast, the PoC Site in Bor (a large town prior to the crisis) contained a lower than average proportion of inhabitants involved in salaried or skilled work (4%), and business or trade (11%). Bor also contained a significant proportion of IDPs reporting no livelihood prior to the crisis (24%) and a small proportion of students (3%) who had been studying in Bor prior to the crisis.³² This is consistent with findings that the majority of those who fled to Bor PoC arrived from outside Bor South county, coming instead from predominantly rural areas elsewhere in Jonglei state, Unity State, and southern parts of Upper Nile state. Mingkaman, Delthoma I and Delthoma II informal settlement sites also contain IDPs from almost exclusively rural areas.

³¹ IDPs were allowed to give multiple answers to this question

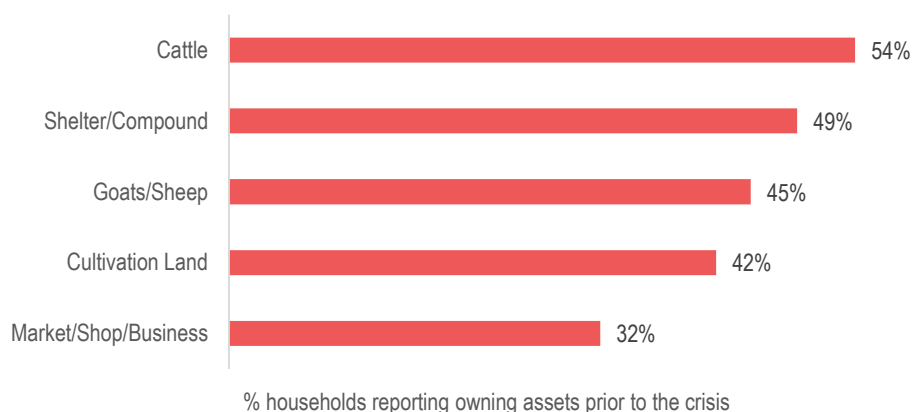
³² These categories appear as "other" in figure 4.

Figure 5: Reported pre-crisis livelihoods by urban/rural population³³



As would be expected from a largely rural displaced population that was primarily engaged in agricultural activity and livestock herding, the majority of IDPs reported owning cultivation land, cattle, goats or sheep and a shelter or compound. IDPs in Juba (many from Juba) were more likely to own market stalls, shops, or small businesses (46%).

Figure 6: Reported pre-crisis assets across all assessed sites³⁴



Access to services in displacement sites

Despite significant efforts to address infrastructure and drainage in many PoCs, particularly to improve conditions during the rainy season, most sites fail to meet basic SPHERE standards for emergency response across a sectors, and many still fall short of agreed minimum standards for South Sudan.³⁵

Due to an increase in the number of new arrivals, many sites remain overcrowded, and given the lack of alternatives, many displaced households continue to depend heavily on humanitarian aid. While the REACH assessment provided data related to the demographic profile and intentions of IDPs, some sector-specific data was collected in response to requests from specific clusters. This data is largely supported by a broader assessment of conditions within displacement sites, conducted by the CCCM Cluster and IOM in the last two rounds of the Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM): in September 2014, and in February 2015.³⁶ This information is summarised in the table

³³ IDPs were allowed to give multiple answers to this question

³⁴ IDPs were allowed to give multiple answers to this question

³⁵ In some cases, agreed minimum emergency standards for South Sudan are lower than SPHERE minimum standards.

³⁶ IOM, [South Sudan Crisis Response Displacement Tracking Matrix Round VI Report](#) September 2014 and IOM [South Sudan's Crisis Response Displacement Tracking Matrix](#) February 2015

below, which compares access to basic services by sector, across all displacement sites in which registration currently takes place (source: IOM)³⁷:

	September 2014	February 2015
CCCM	51% sites are reportedly overcrowded	45% sites are reportedly overcrowded
Shelter	28% IDPs live in self-made shelter	38% IDPs live in self-made shelter
WASH	24% of sites reportedly have no functional latrines 93 persons per latrine overall 51 persons per latrine in PoCs 84% sites have access to an improved water source, bottled or trucked water	32% of sites reportedly have no functional latrines 64 persons per latrine overall 57 persons per latrine in PoCs 55% sites have access to an improved water source, bottled or trucked water
Health	IDPs have access to healthcare services at 83% sites	IDPs have access to healthcare services at 78% sites
Food	27% IDPs on average access food distributions in each state	34% IDPs on average access food distributions in each state
Education	55% sites reportedly provide access to education 46% PoCs provide access to education	47% sites reportedly provide access to education 75% PoCs provide access to education

Displacement Trends

This section outlines displacement trends from pre-crisis homes to each of the displacement sites assessed. It includes discussion of the reported reasons for displacement and for choice of displacement site.

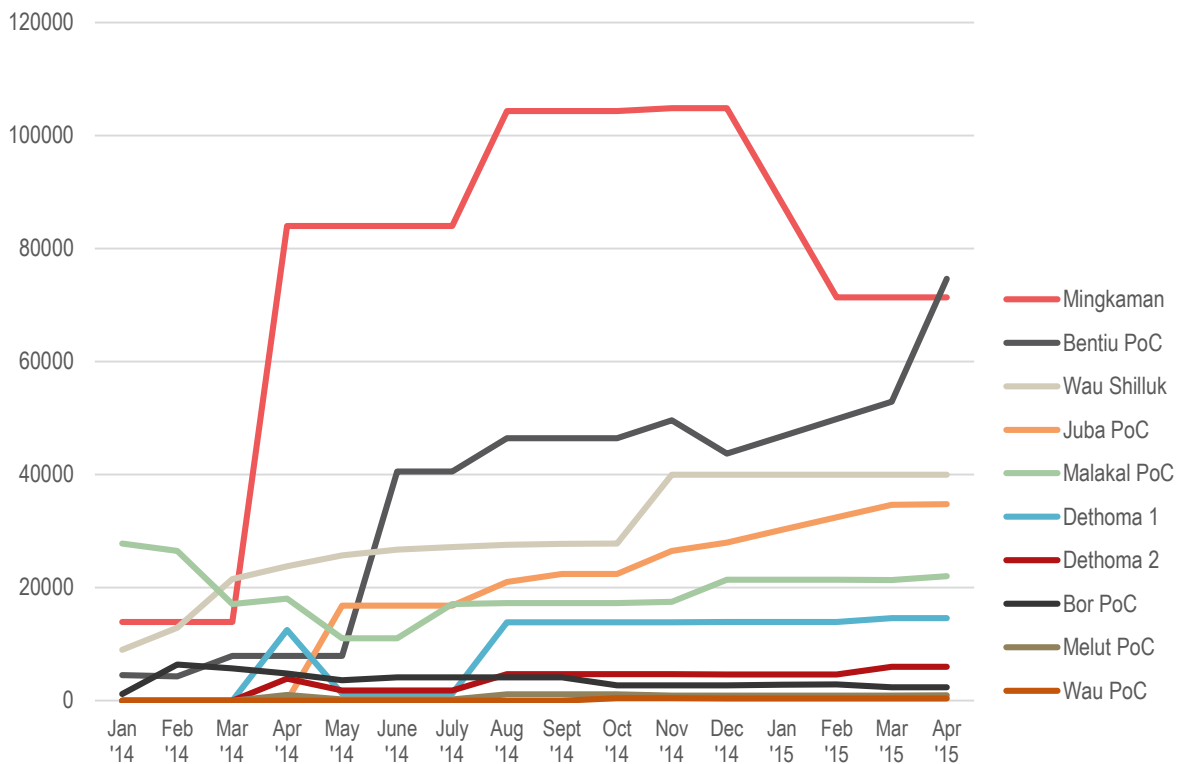
The graph below shows the changing population of the assessed sites over time, based on site registration figures from IOM and the reported dates of arrival by IDPs in each of the assessed sites. While the population size of individual sites varies considerably, it is possible to see several major spikes in arrivals: January to March 2014 in Mingkaman, during which an estimated 70,000 IDPs arrived; May to June 2014 in Bentiu, during which around 32,500 IDPs arrived; and October to November 2014 in Wau Shilluk, when the site received an estimated 12,800 new arrivals.

While IDP numbers have fluctuated in some sites—notably Malakal, Delthoma I and Delthoma II—the only significant decrease in population can be observed in Mingkaman, between December 2014 and February 2015.³⁸

³⁷ Figures in this table were compiled from IOM's DTM in September 2014 and February 2015. Ibid. Every attempt has been made to reference comparable indicators.

³⁸ Due to changes in the way the site population was estimated by IOM, the recorded change in the population of Mingkaman between December 2014 and February 2015, may not be as significant as figures suggest.

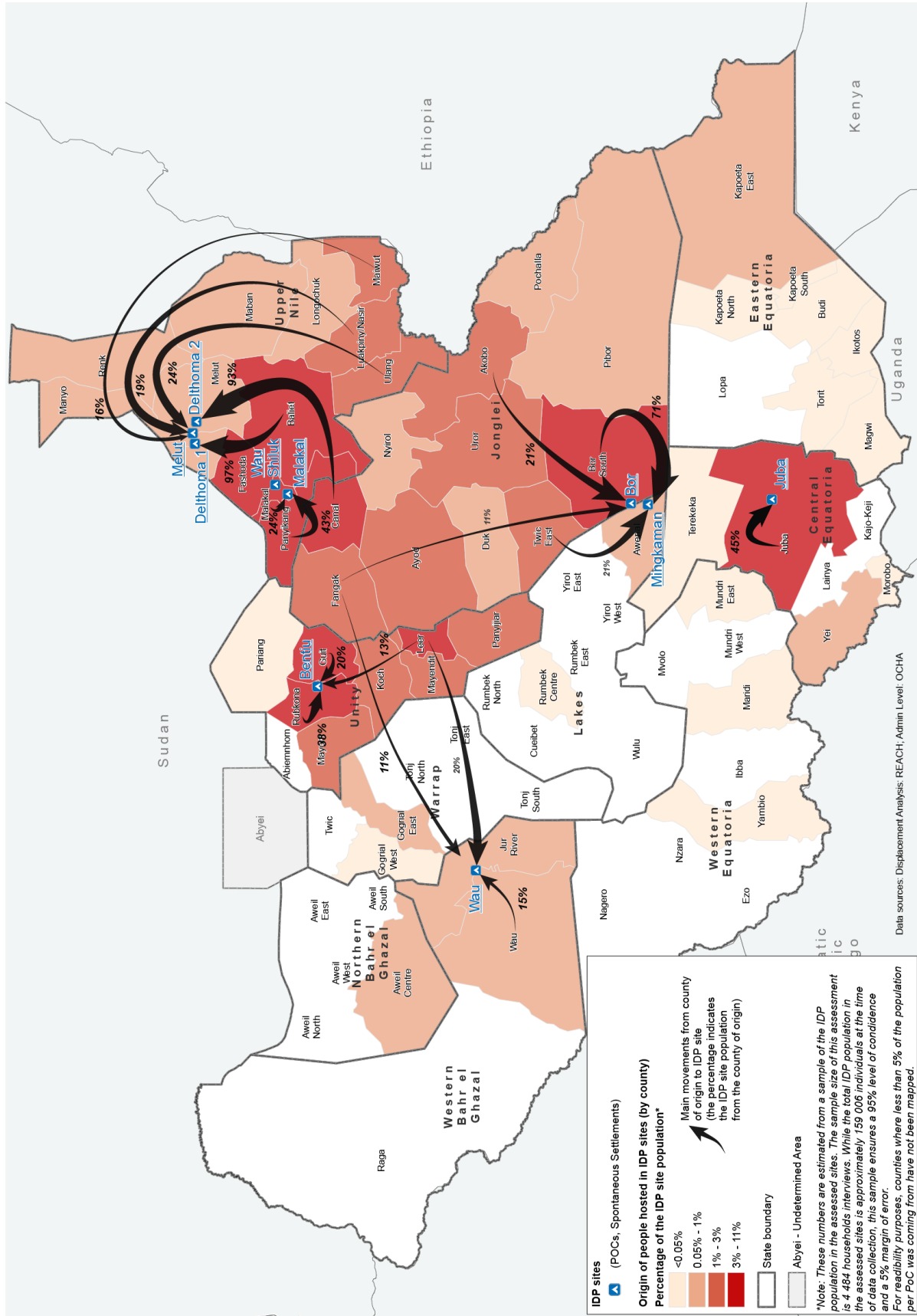
Figure 7: Population of assessed IDP sites from January 2014 to April 2015³⁹



Map 2, on the following page, shows the major population movements from pre-crisis locations to each displacement site. Many of the assessed households had travelled long distances to reach their displacement sites, most commonly travelling by foot for all or part of the journey (65%). For Mingkaman, the majority of displaced persons reported arriving by boat (84%), having crossed the Nile to get to relative safety. It is also clear from the map that displaced households did not always flee to the nearest displacement site from their pre-crisis location. This is illustrated further in annexe 1, which includes more detailed maps of population movement to each of the assessed sites. Possible reasons for this are discussed further in the following pages.

³⁹ Population figures are based on registration data provided by IOM as of April 2015, complemented by arrivals data from REACH assessments.

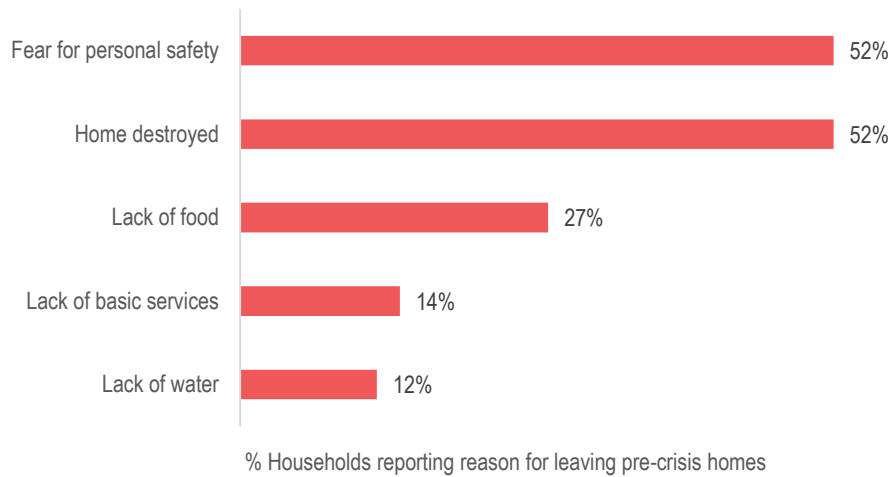
Map 2: Country-wide displacement trends



Reasons for displacement

The majority of IDPs fled as a direct result of the conflict. When asked to give reasons for leaving their pre-crisis homes, the primary reported reasons included fear for personal safety and destruction of homes as a result of the conflict, both reported by 52% IDPs overall.⁴⁰

Figure 8: Overall reported reasons for leaving pre-crisis homes



While reported reasons for leaving varied between sites, respondents in all but one site reported leaving as a direct result of the conflict, either due to the destruction of their home or fear for their personal safety. Other reasons reported by IDPs included a lack of food, water and basic services, which were the three primary reasons for leaving, according to IDPs in Wau Shilluk Informal Settlement Site.

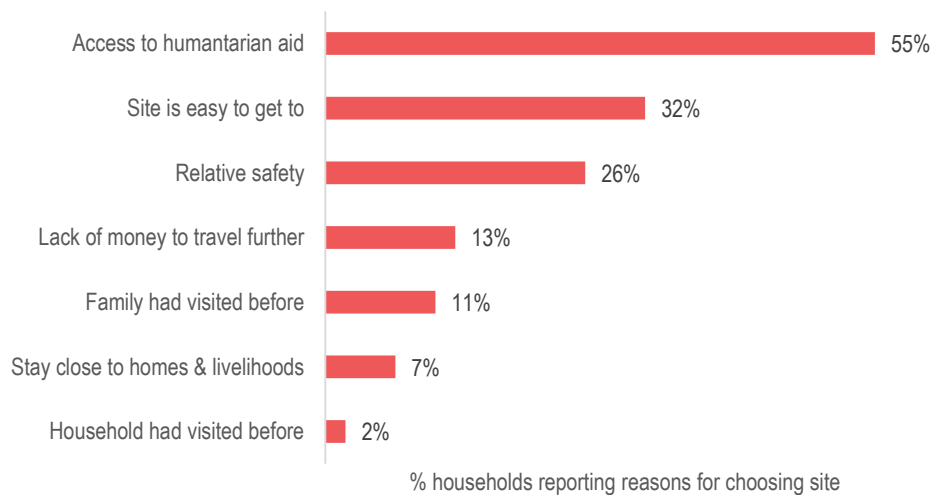
Figure 9: Reported reasons for leaving pre-crisis homes by site

	Home destroyed	Fear for safety	Lack of food	Lack of basic services	Lack of water
Bentiu PoC	68%	62%	55%	0%	0%
Bor PoC	21%	76%	0%	4%	0%
Malakal PoC	53%	37%	31%	13%	0%
Melut PoC	61%	86%	22%	20%	8%
UN House PoC	15%	66%	1%	5%	5%
Wau PoC	7%	93%	0%	0%	0%
Delthoma I	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%
Delthoma II	77%	0%	27%	0%	27%
Mingkaman	56%	89%	48%	37%	18%
Wau Shilluk	37%	29%	57%	43%	47%

⁴⁰ Respondents were allowed to give multiple reasons for leaving their pre-crisis homes.

When asked why they had chosen their current displacement site, IDPs reported several reasons. Access to food, shelter and aid, was the most commonly reported reason overall, given by 55% of IDPs. 32% reported that the site was easy to get to, and 26% that the site was safer.

Figure 10: Overall reported reasons for choosing displacement site⁴¹



Several differences can be observed between reported reasons for fleeing to PoC Sites and informal sites. IDPs staying in informal sites were less likely to choose the site because of its safety, and more likely to report having no money to go further. While very few households had visited their displacement site before, almost 1 in 5 IDPs arriving at informal sites reported that they had chosen the site because their family had visited previously. This was true for 37% of households arriving at Wau Shilluk, which suggests the location may have been known as an alternative location in times of hardship.

The strategy of fleeing to known locations, with connections to extended family and communities, was described as one of two core “displacement strategies” in a recent study conducted in Unity State.⁴² In many cases, rural IDPs explained that they chose to go towards the homes of their parents or to places that they had heard were safe, even if they had never been there themselves. In contrast, the option to go to the UNMISS base in Bentiu—apparently little known by many IDPs prior to the crisis—was seen as a particularly attractive option for urban IDPs, who were unwilling to hide in the bush.⁴³ While household survey data collected by REACH shows that a significant population of IDPs arrived at Bentiu from urban locations such as Bentiu and Rubkona, a significant proportion reported agriculture, tending livestock and fishing as their pre-crisis livelihoods, suggesting that decisions were more complex than simply an urban/rural split.

Returns to date

Many IDPs have now been displaced for over a year, and while the situation has stabilised and security has improved in some areas of the country, sporadic ongoing violence continues, and the sustained high numbers of IDPs across nearly all sites indicates that many remain reluctant to leave. One UNMISS site in Juba, Tomping, was officially closed in early 2015, but the remaining population was moved to UN House PoC rather than returning to their pre-crisis homes.⁴⁴

Another site that has seen a significant decrease in its population since December 2014 is Mingkaman. According to figures released in March 2015, the population of this large informal settlement decreased by 33,508 over a three month period.⁴⁵ Exit monitoring of individuals leaving the site is being conducted by the CCCM cluster,⁴⁶ while small numbers of returns from the site, as well as new arrivals, have been reported as early as October 2014.⁴⁷

⁴¹ IDPs were allowed to give multiple reasons for their choice.

⁴² This study was based on 215 semi-structured interviews with randomly selected individuals in Unity State. See: Huser, [Displacement: An Auto-protection Strategy in Unity State](#), March 2015

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ At the time of writing, approximately 3,000 IDPs were estimated to be remaining in the arrivals area at Tomping, pending transfer to UN House PoC.

⁴⁵ IOM, Mingkaman Biometric Registration Data, February 2015.

⁴⁶ OCHA [South Sudan Crisis Situation Report no. 71](#), 23 January 2015.

⁴⁷ OCHA, [South Sudan Crisis Situation Report no. 57](#), 9 October 2014.

In the case of Mingkaman, the majority of the departing population is thought to have returned to safe, nearby areas of the same ethnicity, information which is supported by a recent intentions survey, in which the majority of IDPs stated that they intended to return to their pre-crisis homes in the neighbouring county of Bor South, Jonglei State.⁴⁸ Among those to have left Mingkaman are an estimated 5,000 individuals, who were reportedly registered in Bor town by the South Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (SSRRC).⁴⁹ Others were reportedly travelling between Mingkaman and Bor on a daily basis, taking time to reconstruct homes and businesses in town, without officially leaving the security of Mingkaman.⁵⁰

IDPs outside major displacement sites

To understand the situation for IDPs outside some of the major displacement sites assessed, a series of community group discussions and key informant interviews were conducted in eight hard-to-reach areas in Jonglei, Unity and Lakes States, in parallel with multi-sector Initial Rapid Needs Assessments (IRNAs). The findings here provide information about the displacement history of a very small proportion of the estimated 1.2 million IDPs in remote areas across the country, which are described as “hard-to-reach” due to either a lack of infrastructure, ongoing conflict and insecurity, or seasonal flooding. The IDPs interviewed in different locations shared many common experiences, which may be indicative of trends elsewhere. The information in this section provides a snapshot of the situation for some of the 1.2 million IDPs estimated to be living in such areas.⁵¹

Many IDPs had fled with most or all of their community from their pre-crisis homes. In some cases, communities from several different locations had grouped together during displacement, most commonly reporting that this was in order to join a certain ethnic group in search of safety. While large proportions of IDPs in a given site were found to be likely to come from the same tribe, groups were not necessarily homogenous. Members of other tribal groups reported having arrived at their displacement site as a result of following groups of another tribe or ethnicity with whom they felt comfortable.

While many IDPs fled as whole communities, others had separated. Since many IDPs reported having undergone multiple displacements, some were reported to remain in the previous site of displacement, while others had stayed closer to home, either because they were unable to keep up during the journey, or because of a desire to stay closer to their assets. Many communities who owned cattle had taken herds to another location perceived as safer.

Initial rapid needs assessments (IRNAs), carried out by a range of humanitarian actors in parallel with the community group discussions, depict thousands of displaced households in desperate need. Many households lacked adequate shelter and basic non-food items, sleeping under trees, in schools, or under the sheltered verandas of municipal buildings.⁵² Food was found to be a particular concern in many areas, with displaced persons reportedly eating wild fruit, leaves and water lilies due to a lack of alternatives.⁵³ In some locations where IRNAs have been conducted, communities had reportedly received no humanitarian aid since the start of the current conflict and food shortages were deeply concerning.⁵⁴

Despite fleeing together as a community group, very few of the IDP key informants interviewed stated that they intended to continue moving as one community. The decision to move elsewhere, or to return, was reported to be the sole responsibility of each family or household. Consistent with other similar studies, women tended to be more concerned than men about insecurity⁵⁵, saying that even if aid stopped they would be more likely to stay in the same location due to its relative safety.⁵⁶ When asked about what they would do if the security situation were to deteriorate further, many responded they would “go into the bush to hide”.

⁴⁸ IOM, note 37 *supra*

⁴⁹ VOA, [Displaced Return to Rebuild Lives in South Sudan's Bor](#), 24 October 2014

⁵⁰ OCHA, note 48 *supra*

⁵¹ With the total number of displaced persons estimated to be 1.5 million (OCHA, note 1 *supra*) and the total number of identified IDPs in sites at

⁵² IRNA, [Initial Rapid Needs Assessment in Amongpiny, Lakes State](#), June 2014

⁵³ IRNA, [Initial Rapid Needs Assessment in Nyanapol Boma, Wau Payam, Ayod County, Jonglei State](#), January 2015

⁵⁴ IRNA, [Initial Rapid Needs Assessment in Kotdalok](#), January 2015

⁵⁵ Huser, note 2 *supra*

⁵⁶ This question was not asked in locations where no humanitarian aid had been received.

Factors influencing displacement, intentions and returns

As the overall population of internally displaced persons in South Sudan continues to grow, there is increasing pressure to relocate IDPs from overcrowded displacement sites. This section examines the push and pull factors that have been shown to influence displacement to date, and how they relate to future intentions.

Push and pull factors

Based on the household surveys, community group discussions, key informant interviews and secondary data review, several push and pull factors have been identified as affecting IDPs' decisions to come to displacement sites, or to leave. The following table identifies the most common push and pull factors reported by IDPs. Text in bold indicates key deciding factors according to data collected, while other reasons, despite being commonly reported, may be considered as contributing factors rather than significant reasons for movement on their own.

	Pull factors	Push factors
Displacement site	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Humanitarian aid (particularly food and water) - Security - Improved conditions - Joining Family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Insecurity within displacement site - Poor conditions - Family elsewhere - Lack of humanitarian aid - Lack of livelihood
Home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased security - Livelihoods and assets (particularly land) - Existing home/ ability to rebuild - Psychological factors associated with home - Tribal harmony 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ongoing violence and insecurity - Assets lost or destroyed - Poor harvest/ lack of access to food - Presence of other ethnic groups - Home occupied by armed groups or other IDPs

Some of the most commonly reported deciding factors are discussed in more detail below.

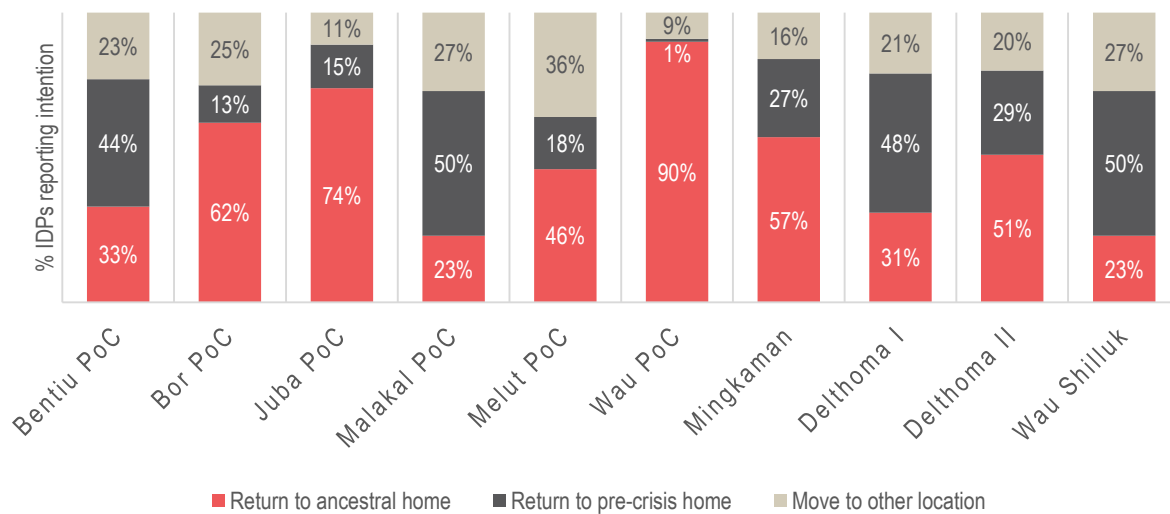
Security

The majority of IDPs fled their homes as a direct result of the conflict, either in anticipation of violence, or having seen their homes or assets destroyed. These were the primary reasons reported by IDPs in all but one of the assessed sites, and by all of those interviewed in hard-to-reach areas. The relative security of their displacement locations, either due to the presence of peacekeeping forces in the case of UNMISS sites, or due to the physical location of informal settlement sites, was also an important factor in IDPs' choice of where to flee.

When asked what they would do if their current location were to become insecure, the largest proportion of IDPs in four displacement sites (Malakal, 45%; Juba 38%, Bentiu, 34%; and Delthoma II, 47%) reported that they would stay at the same site. It is unclear whether this is because respondents were more afraid to leave than to stay, or whether they had witnessed violence at the site before, and felt able to cope with the consequences. For the other sites, IDPs most commonly reported wishing to return to their ancestral or pre-crisis home.

When asked what they would do if peace came to South Sudan, the vast majority of all respondents (79%) stated that they wished to return home, either to their ancestral home (49%) or to their pre-crisis location (30%). While the proportion of IDPs stating that they preferred to return to their pre-crisis or ancestral home varied significantly between sites, as shown in figure 11 below, the proportion of IDPs reporting their intention to move to another location remains fairly stable. "Other" intended locations, which account for between 9-36% of the site population, included staying in the displacement site, moving elsewhere in South Sudan, or leaving the country.

Figure 11: Reported intentions of IDPs if peace comes to South Sudan



A lasting peace agreement, or the end of the war, is a key factor for many IDPs in their decision to move from their current location. While many report wanting to leave displacement sites, few feel sufficiently safe to do so while the conflict remains ongoing.

Despite this, spikes in returns throughout the past year, and particularly during the last few months from Mingkaman, demonstrate that end to all conflict in South Sudan is not a pre-condition for all households wishing to return. This group should be studied further to understand why they decided that the situation was sufficiently safe to return, and to more accurately identify the circumstances which facilitated return.

Humanitarian aid

The presence of food, shelter and humanitarian aid was the most commonly reported reason for choosing a displacement site, according to IDPs in seven of the ten sites assessed. While IDPs at only one site—Wau Shilluk—reported a lack of food, water and basic services as their primary cause of displacement, IDPs in other sites frequently reported a lack of food as among their reasons for displacement, as well as for choosing their displacement site.

Given that much of South Sudan suffers from high levels of food insecurity⁵⁷ it is not surprising that access to food would play an important role in any decision surrounding displacement. With 36% of all households engaged in agricultural activity prior to the crisis, and a large proportion of IDPs in all sites reporting that their assets had been damaged or destroyed as a result of the conflict, many households lost primary means of producing and purchasing food.

When asked what they would do if humanitarian aid were to stop at their displacement site, IDPs in half of the assessed sites reported that they would stay in their current location. This indicates that while many IDPs remain highly reliant on humanitarian aid, the suspension of humanitarian assistance is unlikely to be a significant push factor on its own.

Assets and livelihoods

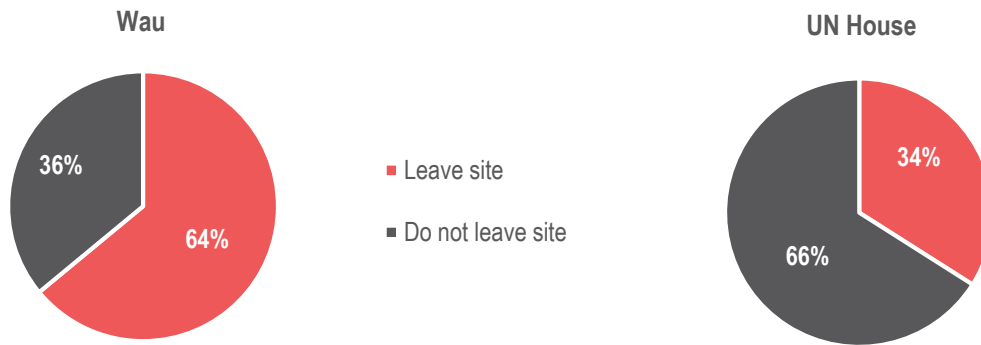
Many IDPs in displacement sites reported that they know that their assets (homes, land, livestock and business) have been damaged or destroyed. As most were highly dependent on these assets for their livelihood, return would place them in a very vulnerable position.

While many IDPs do not feel safe enough to leave the site permanently, many displaced persons in open sites leave during the day, with the numbers of IDPs doing so reportedly increasing. The ability to visit the host community and other nearby areas allows IDPs to work, generate income, and reduces reliance on humanitarian aid. If sufficiently close, leaving the displacement site also allows IDPs to check on the status of their homes and assets and make a more informed decision about whether they feel more secure.

⁵⁷ According to the [South Sudan Food Security Cluster](#), without humanitarian assistance, an estimated 2.5 million people are projected to be in crisis or emergency food security phase between January and March 2015.

IDPs were observed to be returning from Mingkaman informal settlement site to Bor town during daylight hours, during which they could start to rebuild homes and businesses, without giving up their shelters in Mingkaman. During the assessment, IDPs in two of the assessed sites (Wau and UN House) were asked whether they ever leave the site during the day, and if so, for what purpose. In Wau, 64% of IDPs reported leaving the site during the day, compared to only 34% of IDPs in UN House PoC 1.⁵⁸

Figure 12: Percentage of IDPs reporting having visited town during the day



While the proportion of IDPs reporting to leave the site varied considerably between Juba and Wau, the reasons given for visiting town were largely consistent. Of those who left their displacement site in Wau or Juba, the overall majority (85%) reported leaving to buy food and other goods. Others reported working or seeking employment (7%), or attending school or university (4%).⁵⁹

As well as the chance to repair and rebuild physical assets, peaceful interactions between displaced persons and host communities in markets and other public places can help to restore ties in divided communities and increase trust.⁶⁰ Camp managers reported that the number of IDPs leaving sites throughout the day has gradually risen during the past months, which indicates that perceptions of security may be changing for some IDPs.

There is some evidence, such as the high number of returns reported from Mingkaman to Bor town, and the significant proportion of IDPs in employment in Malakal⁶¹, that IDPs displaced from urban areas have found it easier to re-establish livelihoods than those from rural areas. This may be due to the reduced need for land, which is a pre-requisite for pursuit of a rural livelihood, and may explain in part why so few IDPs have returned overall. Until a solution is found to enable the many IDPs who formerly pursued livelihoods in agriculture or rearing livestock to access land once more, large scale returns for these individuals remain unlikely.

⁵⁸ It should be noted that IDPs reporting leaving the site in the REACH survey did *not* necessarily do so on a regular or daily basis.

⁵⁹ Respondents were allowed to provide multiple reasons.

⁶⁰ United States Institute for Peace, [Return and Resettlement of Internally Displaced Populations](#)

⁶¹ In a flow survey of daily movement to and from Malakal PoC site, conducted by DRC in March 2015, “employment” was the second most commonly reported reason for going out of the site, reported by 17% of the random sample of 222 individuals assessed passing in or out of the site gates.

CONCLUSION

More than a year on from the outbreak of violence in South Sudan in December 2013, an estimated 1.5 million individuals are internally displaced. The situation for IDPs in displacement sites remains extremely difficult, with few sites meeting minimum emergency standards, and the coming rainy season due to bring further flooding. Outside displacement sites, the vast majority of those affected by the conflict are largely inaccessible to humanitarian actors, and little is known about their situation and needs.

While in many parts of the country, the security situation has somewhat stabilized, the context of the conflict remains fluid and relatively few returns have taken place to date. This is due to a mixture of interconnected factors:

1. There is still no political solution to the conflict and many fear the conflict will re-ignite. This is supported by the continuing increase in the number of internally displaced persons, and the steady stream of new arrivals at displacement sites. Since for many, peace is a pre-requisite for return, few IDPs feel sufficiently safe to leave their displacement sites.
2. Internally displaced persons are highly reliant on humanitarian aid, and the presence of food, water and shelter was an important factor in the choice of displacement site. Indeed IDPs in one of the assessed sites, Wau Shilluk, reported a lack of food, water and basic services as the primary reason for their displacement. The presence of aid within displacement sites, and the lack of assets and livelihoods elsewhere, remain important pull factors for IDPs to remain in displacement sites.

The factors above point to a situation in which many IDPs do not feel safe outside displacement sites and are reluctant to return in the short term. Despite extensions and other improvements to PoC sites over the past year, conditions for IDPs within displacement sites remain below emergency standards for humanitarian response.

Displaced families should not be encouraged to return while they do not feel sufficiently safe to do so. Instead, continued support is required to IDPs in all displacement sites, especially in preparation for the rainy season. Support to build skills and re-establish livelihoods will help to make sites more sustainable in the short term, and prepare IDPs for life after displacement. In the longer term, support will be required to ensure that IDPs who leave displacement sites have sufficient access to land and resources for return to remain sustainable.

Outside PoC Sites, informal settlements, and collective centres, we still have little information about the situation of internally displaced households and other vulnerable communities who have been affected by the ongoing conflict. Multi-sector Initial Rapid Needs Assessments have found communities where populations have little to no access to humanitarian assistance, information which was supported by community group and focus group discussions a conducted by REACH. Humanitarian actors need to make coordinated efforts to move away from a supply-driven approach to aid, and improve access to these hard-to-reach areas. Through the use of verifiable humanitarian sources to better understand the situation in remote locations, and through negotiation of physical access with parties to the conflict and communities, more information can be gained about the situation and needs of hundreds of thousands of individuals. Such information would not only inform immediate life-saving interventions where they are needed, but could also serve as a powerful tool for advocacy.

ANNEXES

Overview of Preliminary Findings for Assessed Sites

[Bentiu Protection of Civilians Site Overview of Key Findings](#)
[Bor Protection of Civilians Site Overview of Key Findings](#)
[Juba Protection of Civilians Site Overview of Key Findings](#)
[Melut Protection of Civilians Site Overview of Key Findings](#)
[Malakal Protection of Civilians Site Overview of Key Findings](#)
[Wau Protection of Civilians Site Overview of Key Findings](#)
[Delthoma I Informal Settlement Site Overview of Key Findings](#)
[Delthoma II Informal Settlement Site Overview of Key Findings](#)
[Mingkaman Informal Settlement Site Overview of Key Findings](#)
[Wau Shilluk Informal Settlement Site Overview of Key Findings](#)

Maps of Assessed Sites

[Bentiu Protection of Civilians Site Shelter Count](#)
[Bor Protection of Civilians Site Map](#)
[Juba Protection of Civilians Site \(UN House\) POC3 Map](#)
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[Malakal Protection of Civilians Site Map](#)
[Delthoma I Informal Settlement Site Map](#)
[Delthoma II Informal Settlement Site Map](#)
[Mingkaman Informal Settlement Site Facilities Map](#)