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Promoting Resilience through Ongoing Participatory Engagement and Learning



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PROPEL-South Sudan

End-Line Report Executive Summary

“Applying Community-Driven Development to
Strengthen Resilience in a Conflict Setting:
Lessons from South Sudan”

January 31, 2018



Acronyms

CET	Community Engagement Team
CDD	Community Driven Development
CLA	Collaborating, Learning and Adapting
CSO	Civil Society Organization (local)
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
KII	Key Informant Interview
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization (international)
PACE	Participatory Action for Community Enhancement
PROPEL	Promoting Resilience through Ongoing Participatory Engagement & Learning
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPLA-IO	Sudan People's Liberation Army in Opposition
WUC	Water User Committee

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Hygiene Promoters Training in Mingkaman, Aweril

Executive Summary

The USAID Promoting Resilience through Ongoing Participatory Engagement and Learning (PROPEL) program was designed to foster social cohesion and resilience in targeted communities in Jonglei, Lakes, and Eastern and Central Equatoria states in South Sudan through a Community-Driven Development (CDD) approach. PROPEL provided material improvements in the lives of community members and at the same time strengthened the communities' capacity to drive their own development through harnessing their own resources, leveraging other donor-funded programs, and advocating for additional support to implement projects that address priority needs.

The purpose of this document is to share findings that informed a unified CDD methodology for USAID implementing partners in South Sudan (see PROPEL's CDD Methodology for South Sudan¹). This end-line report presents PROPEL's social capital outcomes assessed through a baseline-to-end-line comparison of quantitative and qualitative results. It also addresses six learning questions designed to test PROPEL's development hypothesis, and provide evidence-based recommendations for CDD implementation in varied contexts in South Sudan, also relevant for humanitarian and development interventions.

CDD is important in a conflict-affected context because it builds on existing forms of social capital to address challenges and strengthen leadership to effectively resolve localized conflict. CDD enhances a community's capacity to mitigate and resolve conflict, primarily through the following processes:

- Community-led prioritization of conflict-triggers in project selection (i.e. access to water);
- Conflict-sensitive project implementation (i.e. transparent selection of cash-for-work beneficiaries, including members of different sub-clans in the same cash-for-work projects);
- Conflict-mitigation through sustainability mechanisms (i.e. Water User Committees trained on inclusive mechanisms for adapting bylaws in response to influxes of Internally Displaced Persons).

PROPEL began in September 2015 and ended in January 2018, with a total budget size of \$13 million. Implemented by Global Communities and Catholic Relief Services (CRS), the program's primary objective was to foster social cohesion and capacity for collective action across internal community divides using a CDD approach to address pressing community needs. Led by representative, community-selected committees called Community Enhancement Teams (CETs), and following intensive community-wide deliberations to determine and prioritize needs (notably access to basic services such as clean water, functioning

County	Boma	Borehole	School Rehab	Road Rehab	Community Center Rehab	WASH
Awerial	Aguarkuoth	1		1		
	Hor	2				
	Mingkaman	1				1
	Kalthok	2				
Magwi	Abera	2				
Juba	Jebel	6		1		
	Lologo	2		3	1	
Duk	Patuenoi		1			
	Poktap		1			
	Dorok		1			
	Ayueldit		1			
Bor	Kolnyang	2	2			
	Pariak	1	1			1

primary schools and roads), each PROPEL community selected projects for implementation. PROPEL administered a complementary peacebuilding fund, awarding small grants to local Civil Society Organizations to implement timely activities in PROPEL target communities to promote peace, address conflict triggers, and strengthen local capacity for conflict-resolution.

PROPEL's cumulative project impact and results include: 48,102 persons received tangible benefits through improved access to basic services; 124 activities were designed and implemented to promote or strengthen the civic

¹ PROPEL adapted Global Communities' CDD Participatory Action for Community Enhancement (PACE) methodology to the South Sudan context. PACE is a dynamic process of building the capacity of local communities to mobilize resources and address self-determined priority needs through participatory democratic practices. The CDD Methodology for South Sudan is a PACE manual adapted for South Sudan based on PROPEL's two years of piloting and refining the methodology for the local context.

participation of women; of the active participants in community project prioritization 76% represented marginalized groups; 64% of CET members in all targeted communities represented marginalized groups; and 1,309 CET members and PROPEL stakeholders were trained in PACE participatory and inclusive community-driven development processes, including various project sustainability processes. PROPEL achievements included assisting 13 target communities in Awerial, Bor, Duk, Juba and Magwi counties to identify, prioritize and develop CDD projects designed to improve community resilience; completing 34 CDD projects; and completing two conflict mitigation and peacebuilding activities in Awerial and Juba.

Due to insecurity and changes in the national situation over the life of the project, PROPEL's approach to Collaborating, Learning and Adapting (CLA) was predominantly informed by lessons learned and end-line data collection in eight of the original 16 target communities—in Awerial, Bor and two neighborhoods in Juba. PROPEL contributed to statistically significant increases on three key indicators of community resilience in agro-pastoralist communities, and communities with IDP settlements (six total in Awerial and Bor): levels of participation in community projects (3% increase), capacity to deal constructively with shared challenges (8% increase), and participation in decision-making and accountability mechanisms (7% increase).² PROPEL also contributed to statistically significant increases on capacity for conflict resolution in Awerial and Bor, both internal (6% increase) and external (11% increase).

PROPEL communities formed four clusters, reflecting some key features of South Sudan

- Agro-pastoralist communities (youth live in cattle camps, making service delivery challenging; conflict between sub-clans and neighboring tribes is common);
- Communities with Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) settlements (tensions between hosts and IDPs pose an obstacle to effective aid implementation, especially as hosts and IDPs belong to different sub-tribes);
- Communities with greater and lesser levels of government- and NGO-provided services such as police protection and food security programs;
- Urban communities with dense, ethnically diverse and frequently changing demographics; a public space dominated by military presence and government institutions, yet plagued by high rates of crime and corruption.

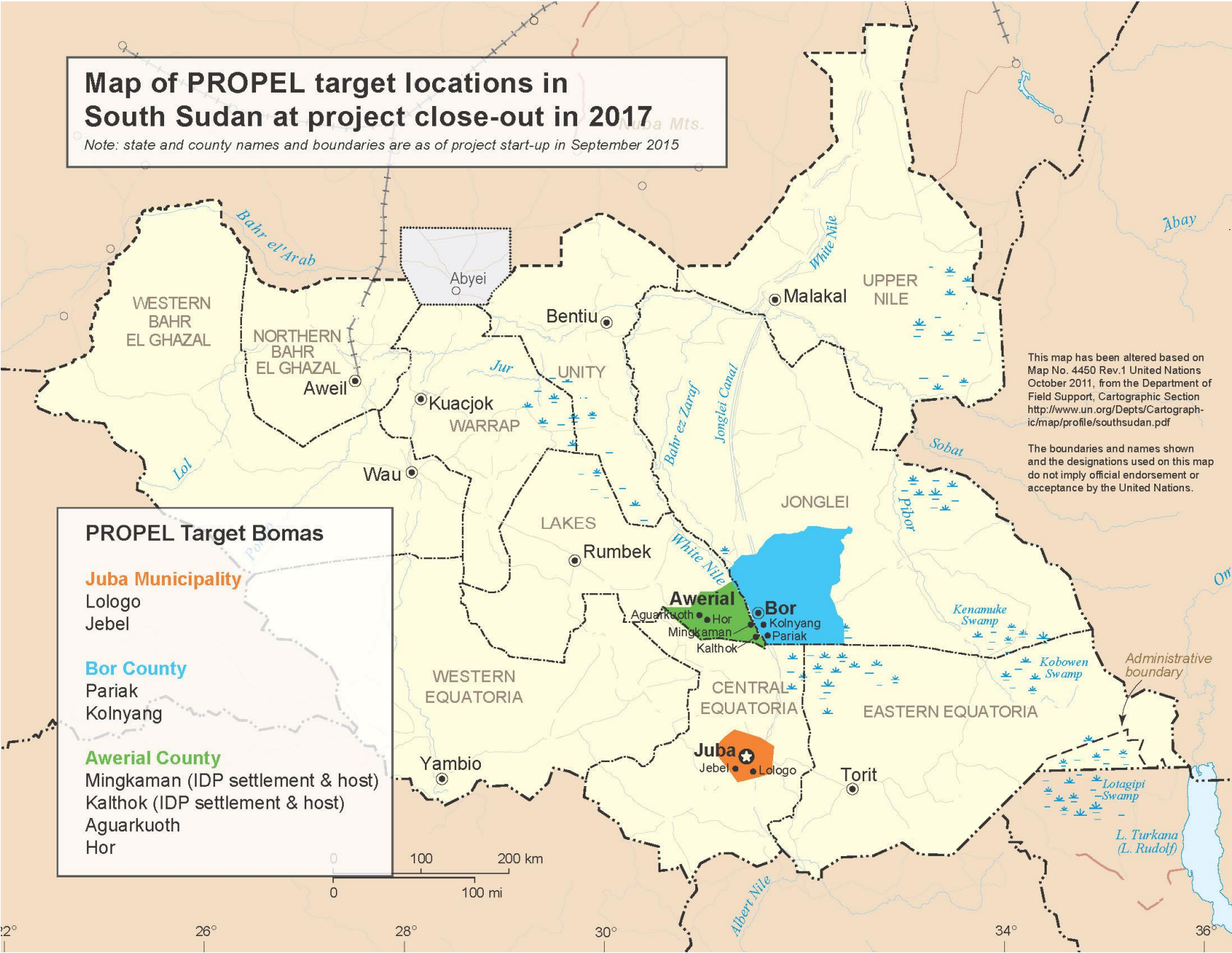
However, PROPEL activities in Juba were not on an adequate scale to off-set the challenges of the urban environment. Nuanced qualitative data from each community revealed the contributions of PROPEL to positive changes, and the contextual factors that led to declines on a boma-by-boma³ level.

County	Cluster	Agro-pastoralist	Urban	Peri-urban	IDP-settlements	Low level of services	Strong NGO presence	Ethnic diversity	High crime rates	Inter-ethnic conflict
Juba	Lologo & Jebel		●		●	●		●	●	
Awerial	Mingkaman & Kalthok	●		●	●		●			●
Awerial	Hor & Aguarkuoth	●				●				●
Bor	Kolnyang & Pariak	●					●			●

² We report the percentage change, rather than the percentage difference between baseline and end-line results in order to reflect the varying starting points of different counties (a smaller percent difference may be more significant when starting from a low baseline than a larger percent difference when starting from a high baseline). The number of stars corresponds to level of statistical significance: 95% (*), 99% (**), 99.9% (***).

³ A boma is the smallest administrative district in South Sudan, administered by traditional leaders (executive chiefs and sub-chiefs) who coordinate with government administrators at the payam level. The payam falls under the county. In Juba, a boma is administered by a Quarter Council.

Figure 1: PROPEL Map of Target Locations



PROPEL Methods

PROPEL conducted end-line data collection across eight target communities in Awerial (four communities surveyed in April 2017), Bor (two communities surveyed in July 2017) and Juba (two communities surveyed in August 2017). The end-line household survey used a stratified random sampling method (men, women, IDPs and hosts) with a robust sample size of 1,644 households, as well as quota sampling to ensure vulnerable households, female headed households and households with disabilities were represented. PROPEL conducted 36 focus group discussions and 40 key informant interviews with members of different community segments, and stakeholders including male and female thought leaders, traditional and government leaders, and IDP leaders. At project startup, PROPEL conducted a baseline survey (February-April 2016) using the same sampling methodology with 2,200 households across sixteen target communities and close to 150 focus groups and key informant interviews.

PROPEL's CLA approach is driven by a learning agenda intended to test the following **development hypothesis**:

IF community members are engaged in identifying, prioritizing, and responding to their development challenges through an inclusive participatory methodology that puts them at the forefront of decision-making, THEN community resilience capacities to respond to natural and conflict-related shocks and stressors will improve, and peace will be promoted through improved inter- and intra-communal relationships.

To test this hypothesis, PROPEL assessed whether and how much communities showed progress on seven outcome indicators over the life of the project. The indicators measured community resilience capacities in terms of increased social cohesion and capacity for collective action, increased capacity for managing internal and external conflicts, as well as perceptions of economic well-being.

PROPEL Results

Indicator #3: Percent of community members reporting increased participation in community projects

PROPEL bomas in Awerial and Bor realized a small but statistically significant increase in levels of participation and willingness to participate in community activities (3% increase over the baseline), driven largely by a strong increase in Kalthok boma. In Juba, results were negative (7% decline over the baseline), driven by a strongly significant decline in Lologo boma.

Indicator #3	Baseline	Endline	Percentage Change
Total (Awerial & Bor)	69.8%	72.0%	3.15% **
Total (Juba)	60.7%	56.5%	-6.91% *

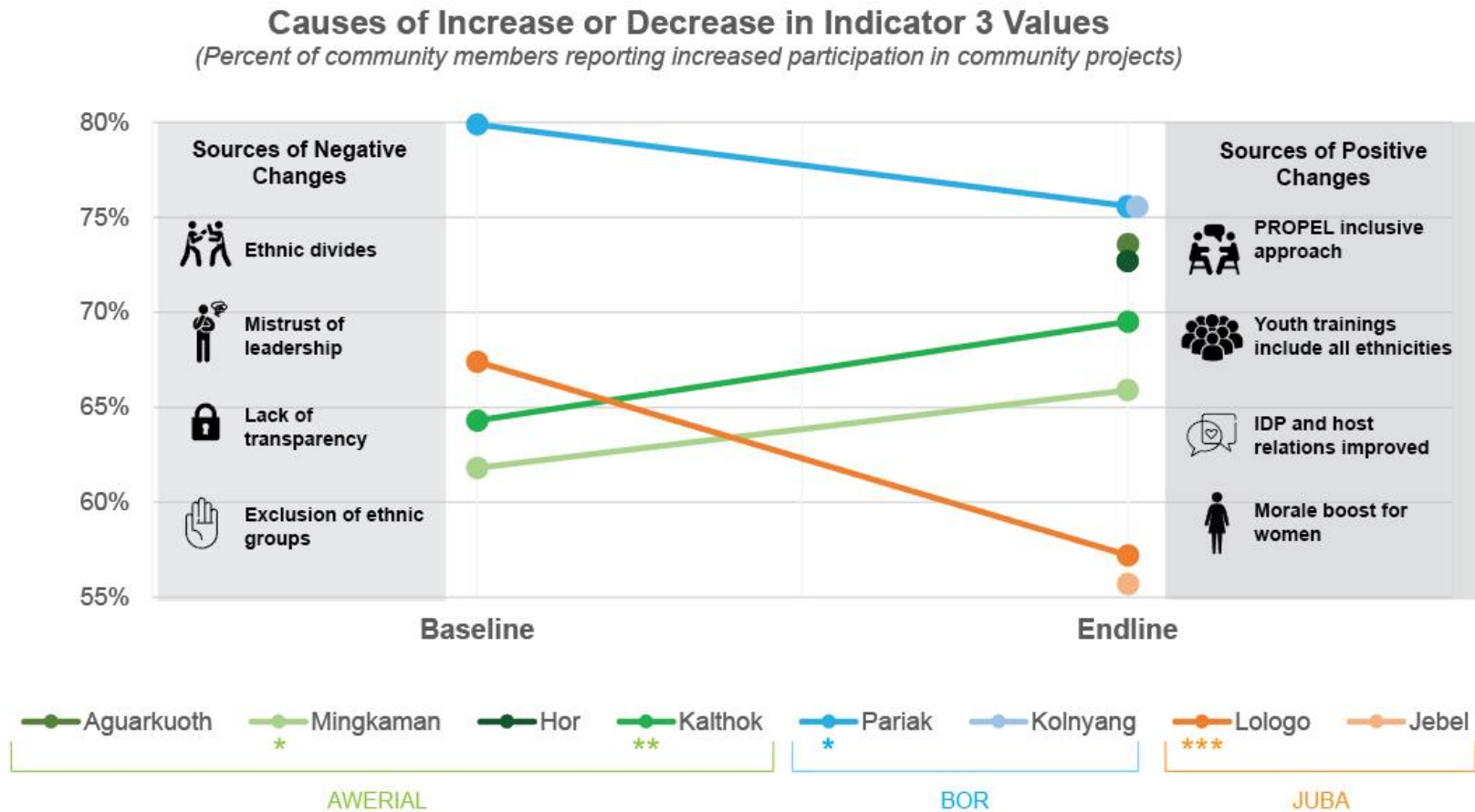
The qualitative data sheds light on an important difference between the experience of Lologo and that of Kalthok (also shared by Mingkaman boma): namely, one of **exclusion versus inclusion**. In Lologo, some focus groups expressed discontent over perceived exclusion from the benefits of PROPEL cash-for-work opportunities, as well as reported failure to give advance notice of meetings. In contrast, Kalthok and Mingkaman emphasized the **inclusiveness of PROPEL's approach**, specifically the marked changes in women's inclusion in decision-making. Change among male youth was also an important driving factor: male youth stated they were motivated to participate because of PROPEL's decision to train everyone regardless of their "cultural background." Further, respondents described an improved relationship between IDPs and the host community, supported by coordination between respective leaders.

While PROPEL did not successfully establish a reputation for inclusiveness in Lologo, qualitative data reveals **widespread mistrust** of their own leaders, as well as a history of exclusion along ethnic lines. In order to overcome these entrenched challenges, CDD implementers in urban areas will need to place greater emphasis on communications strategies, and regularly provide opportunities for communities to air grievances.

Key takeaways:

- It is essential to foster bridging social capital between tribes for successful CDD work in an urban setting;
- Strengthening transparent leadership is central to CDD outcomes.

Figure 10: PROPEL Indicator #3 Infographic



Only changes from baseline to end-line values that are significant at the 95% level or higher are included in the graph, along with end-line values for bomas where no statistically significant change was found. Number of stars corresponds with level of significance.

Number of stars corresponds with level of significance: 95% (*), 99% (**), 99.9% (***).

Indicator #4: Percent of target beneficiaries who report their communities are better able to resolve internal conflicts

PROPEL communities in Awerial and Bor realized a statistically significant increase on this indicator, driven by Mingkaman and Kalthok bomas. In Juba, results were negative, driven by a strong decline in Lologo boma.

Indicator #4	Baseline	Endline	Percentage Change
Total (Awerial & Bor)	62.2%	66.2%	6.43% ***
Total (Juba)	51.2%	46.3%	- 9.57% **

The key driver of statistically significant increases in Mingkaman and Kalthok was **improved relations between IDPs and host communities**. This improvement was based on effective resolution of disputes between the two groups through meetings and dialogue, improved coordination between leaders and better attitudes between hosts and IDPs more generally. PROPEL activities such as wrestling for peace were popular and reportedly helpful in reducing tensions between host and IDP youth.

In Awerial, PROPEL's **inclusion of youth in the CET**, in community meetings with elders (where they could hear decisions first-hand and take advice), as well as the opportunity to engage in productive activities contributed to positive change. Women in Hor noted that including youth in peacebuilding and road rehabilitation activities changed their attitudes, leading to a reduction in cattle raiding.

Reconciliation across ethnic lines was also important in Pariak, Bor County, because it helped to sustain a high baseline value through to end-line. PROPEL's inclusive process for selecting cash-for-work beneficiaries was helpful in the case of a naming dispute over a local school. Key informants described feuding sub-clans working together on school renovation, and a government official stated that the PROPEL rehabilitation "brought unity between people of that community."

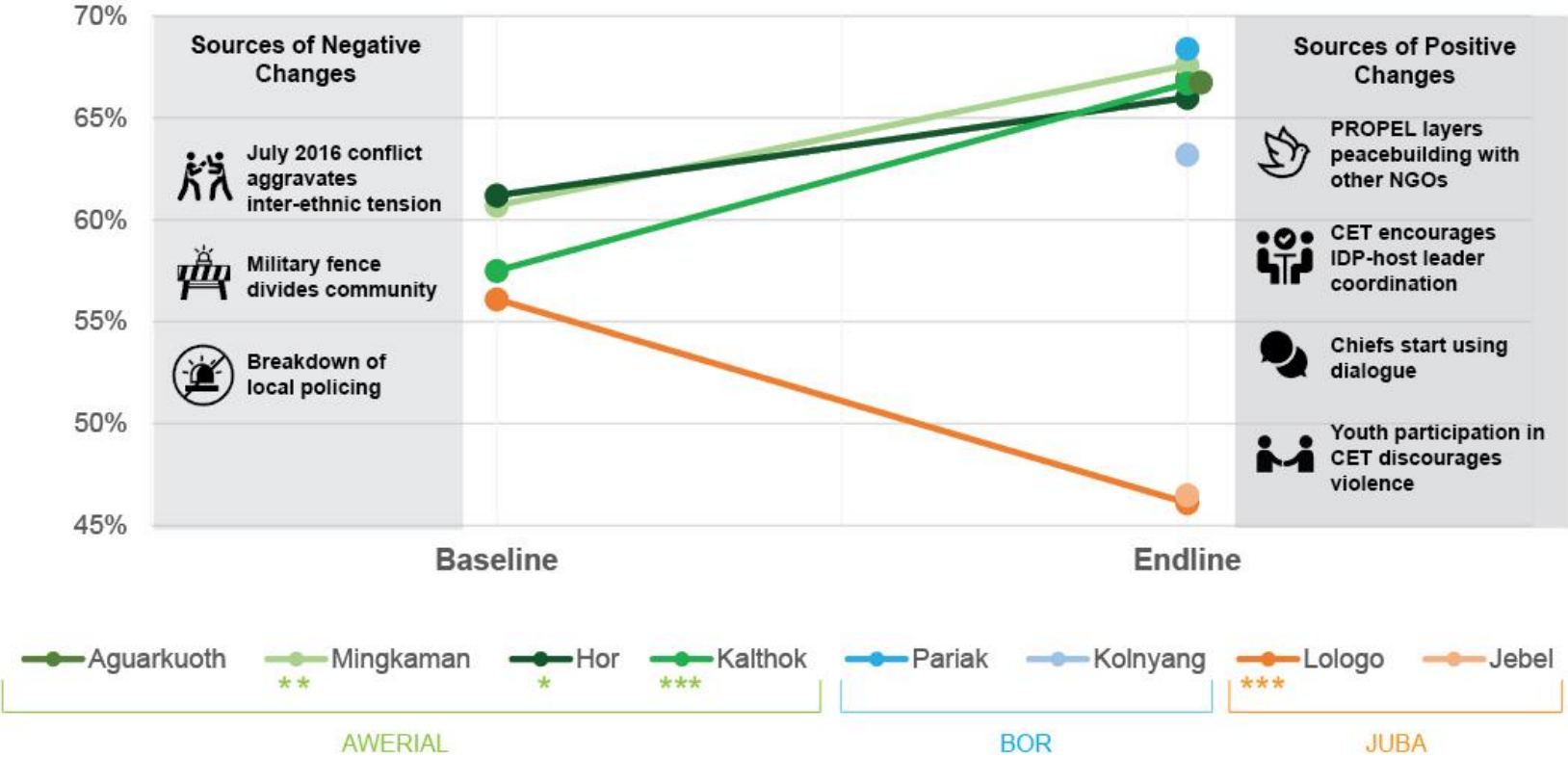
In Juba, high crime rates and the breakdown of the local policing system due to military presence, combined with ineffective government leaders and offices hindered progress. The **confiscation of land for a military compound** by erecting a wall cutting off 2,000 households (400 of them in PROPEL's target neighborhood in Lologo) from their sources of water, livelihood, etc., was devastating to morale and the community's sense of security. Repeated and sustained efforts at community mobilization and advocacy to halt the wall were unsuccessful.

Resource scarcity and ethnic overtones stemming from the July 2016 conflict led to leaders neglecting the public interest to look after their own, and likewise exclude certain groups from accessing needed services. These dynamics spilled over to PROPEL projects due to an influx of IDPs putting strain on PROPEL boreholes. However, PROPEL's CET and Water User Committee effectively resolved the tensions by adapting by-laws and devising a strategy for funding an additional borehole.

Key takeaways:

- Mechanisms to mitigate local-level conflicts must be integrated into design and sustainability measures for new development resources;
- Efficient and fair conflict-resolution mechanisms for resolving disputes between IDPs and host communities are in high demand;
- Equal involvement of both IDPs and hosts in decision-making and benefits from new resources and cash-for-work opportunities is critical;
- Youth involvement in the CET and CDD activities has significant positive conflict-related impacts;
- Cash-for-work and other jointly beneficial projects provide opportunities for reconciliation between sub-clans.

Causes of Increase or Decrease in Indicator 4 Values
(Percent of target beneficiaries who report their communities are better able to resolve internal conflicts)



Only changes from baseline to end-line values that are significant at the 95% level or higher are included in the graph, along with end-line values for bomas where no statistically significant change was found. Number of stars corresponds with level of significance.

Number of stars corresponds with level of significance: 95% (*), 99% (**), 99.9% (***).

Indicator #5: Percent of target beneficiaries who report their communities are better able to resolve inter-community conflicts

Communities in Awerial and Bor realized a statistically significant increase in capacity for external conflict resolution, driven largely by improvements in Kalthok. The majority of respondents in Juba reported that external conflict never occurred in the past year,⁴ resulting in an inadequate sample size for reporting on this indicator.⁵

Indicator #5	Baseline	Endline	Percentage Change
Total (Awerial & Bor)	62.9%	69.9%	11.12% ***
Total (Juba)	N/A	N/A	N/A

For the most part, activities related to improvements in external conflict-resolution mechanisms were beyond the scope of PROPEL programming. Each community faced particular conflict factors that interfered more or less with PROPEL programming. However, the **insights of community members on the role of NGOs in strengthening external conflict-resolution capacities have the potential to inform a new iteration of CDD with a broader scope.**

Key takeaways:

- Train leaders on peacebuilding and conflict-management skills;
- Provide training on both customary law and the new common law system;
- Fund peace meetings and peace dialogues;
- Forward conflict issues to appropriate authorities to help achieve speedy resolution;
- Provide youth with employment opportunities to reduce idleness and meet needs;
- Road rehabilitations to facilitate access to services and otherwise improve security;
- Increase the number of boreholes to reduce incidences of conflict.

Indicator #6: Percent of target beneficiaries reporting improved economic well-being

Perceptions of economic well-being in communities in Awerial and Bor declined significantly over the life of the project, driven by Aguarkuoth, Mingkaman and Hor bomas. Both neighborhoods in Juba increased significantly on this indicator.

Indicator #6	Baseline	Endline	Percentage Change
Total (Awerial & Bor)	23.1%	13.6%	- 41.13% ***
Total (Juba)	5.6%	18.0%	221.43% ***

Livelihood shocks were the most common in Awerial and Bor, whereas death or illness of family members, theft and violent crimes were common in Juba. Qualitative results show Awerial suffered during the period of PROPEL implementation due to conflict-related shocks as well as droughts and floods. Coping with conflict is prominent in the discussion of coping mechanisms across Awerial communities. PROPEL interventions contributed to the success of **community-led conflict mitigation** in Awerial but not Bor, while recourse to traditional coping mechanisms (such as cultivating and fishing in swampy areas, and building dykes to prevent flood) continued largely unchanged.

Awerial communities were still able to grow stronger in terms of resilience capacities despite a down-turn in their economic situation. Measures were taken following significant shocks and hardships that occurred during the first

⁴ The wording of the survey questions and focus group prompts referred to disputes with neighboring bomas. The July 2016 conflict does not appear in the qualitative data in reference to internal or external conflicts because respondents instead discuss disputes over community resources or relationships; we can presume that the July 2016 conflict was perceived to be political or military in nature rather than a dispute over neighborhood matters. The confiscation of land for the military fence in Lologo is most often discussed in relation to internal conflicts, likely because the dispute is over land ownership within the boma.

⁵ At baseline, only 12 individuals in Jebel responded that conflict occurs, even occasionally, leading us to exclude Jebel from this indicator. At end-line, only 20% of our total Juba sample responded that conflict occurs, even occasionally, leading us to drop Juba altogether from reporting on this indicator.

year of programming, and indicate that communities turned to **positive coping mechanisms** such as participating in PROPEL community meetings, giving input to community decisions, and resorting to dialogue to resolve conflicts in some (but not all) cases.

An important consideration for CDD is that women were more affected than men by fluctuations in economic conditions. Interviews and focus groups at end-line emphasized that NGOs should provide income generating activities and resources for women. **Agencies aiming to strengthen households' resilience should consider women-focused economic activities for maximum impact on economic well-being.**

The qualitative data points to the livelihood benefits of PROPEL boreholes (reducing time and money women spend obtaining water, freeing them up for income generating activities), and rehabilitated roads (improving access to markets and services, and security overall).

Key takeaways:

- Women suffer most from economic hardship, making women-focused activities critical for the overall economic well-being of a community;
- Economic hardship need not preclude socially-oriented activities and CDD;
- In fact, hardship may motivate community-based activities when benefits to the community are fairly immediate and tangible.

Indicator #14: Percent of target beneficiaries who report that their communities are able to deal constructively with challenges

All four bomas in Awerial saw a statistically significant increase in working together to address shared challenges, while Bor saw a downward trend that did not net out the strong gains in Awerial. There was no statistically significant change in Juba.

Indicator #14	Baseline	Endline	Percentage Change
Total (Awerial & Bor)	67.6%	72.9%	7.84% ***
Total (Juba)	58.7%	57.3%	Not significant

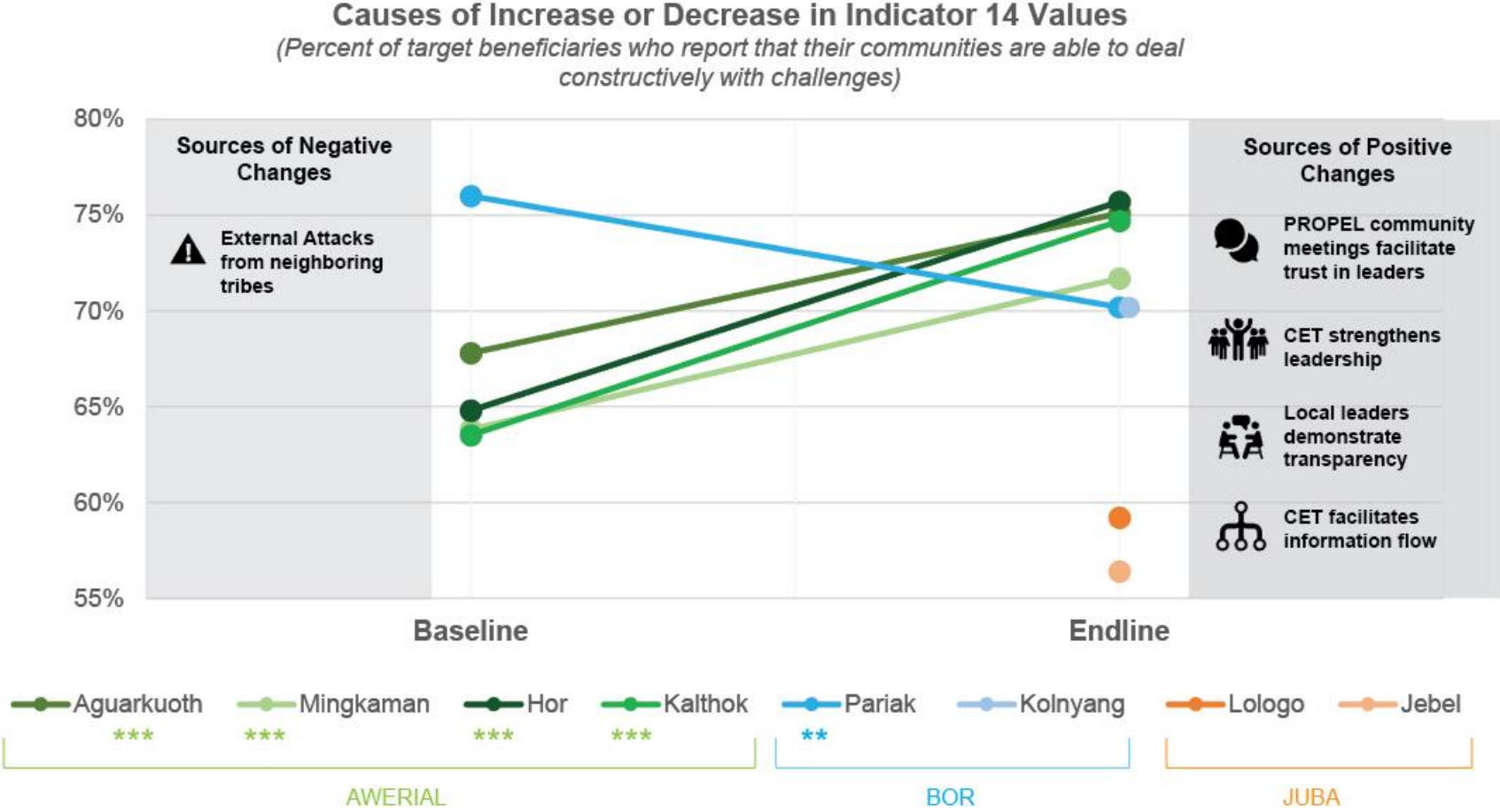
Awerial saw strong improvements across bomas, indicating PROPEL worked successfully to overcome key challenges identified at baseline: 1) **internal divides** between IDPs and hosts in Mingkaman and Kalthok and 2) **poor leadership** responsiveness and capacity for mobilizing the community in the rural areas of Hor and Aguarkuoth. CETs strengthened community resilience capacities by improving information flow to leaders and addressing coordination problems, including between host and IDP leaders.

By contrast, although Bor started PROPEL with strong leadership, the challenges facing Bor were due to **external attacks** from neighboring tribes. When asked how NGOs could best help people constructively overcome shared challenges, communities in Bor emphasized the need for peace trainings and workshops to address these external stresses.

Awerial communities reported improved trust in leaders partly as a result of stronger communication during community meetings. They also cited improved delegation of responsibility, speed of reaching decisions and settling cases, and mobilizing the community for community projects.

Key takeaways:

- Peacebuilding activities are essential to communities' resilience capacities;
- Merely having strong leadership (as in Bor) may not be adequate to see improvements in resilience capacities as a result of CDD programming;
- In cases where there are problems with leadership (such as Awerial), addressing those problems is crucial for improving capacity for collective action.



Only changes from baseline to end-line values that are significant at the 95% level or higher are included in the graph, along with end-line values for bomas where no statistically significant change was found. Number of stars corresponds with level of significance.

Number of stars corresponds with level of significance: 95% (*), 99% (**), 99.9% (***).

Indicator #15: Percent of target beneficiaries stating that they participate in decision making in their communities

PROPEL communities in Awerial increased significantly on participation in community decision-making, driven by improvements in Hor and Kalthok bomas; a decline in Bor offsets this improvement. There was no significant change in Juba.

Indicator #15	Baseline	Endline	Percentage Change
Total (Awerial & Bor)	45.8%	49.2%	7.42% **
Total (Juba)	27.3%	27.2%	Not significant

Similar to indicator #14, improvements in Hor and Kalthok were driven by stronger, more effective leadership. PROPEL's inclusive approach contributed by creating more opportunities to provide input, and a greater number of decisions with potentially beneficial impacts for the community as a whole. Although communities' grievances and complaints may present an obstacle to smooth implementation, they can also be **channeled to improve transparency** through CDD processes and effective communication strategies.

Although qualitative data indicated women are now included in decision-making, the increase on this indicator was not statistically significant among women respondents. In focus groups and interviews, women and community leaders reported significant changes regarding their inclusion, although not as extensively as reported by men and male youth; it is clear **more work is needed for women to have equal voice**. Female youth reported new ways of being consulted and involved, yet are strongly dissatisfied, describing themselves as excluded or not even considered for input on community decisions. Male youth described providing significant input in community decisions, and improved youth perceptions of community leadership.

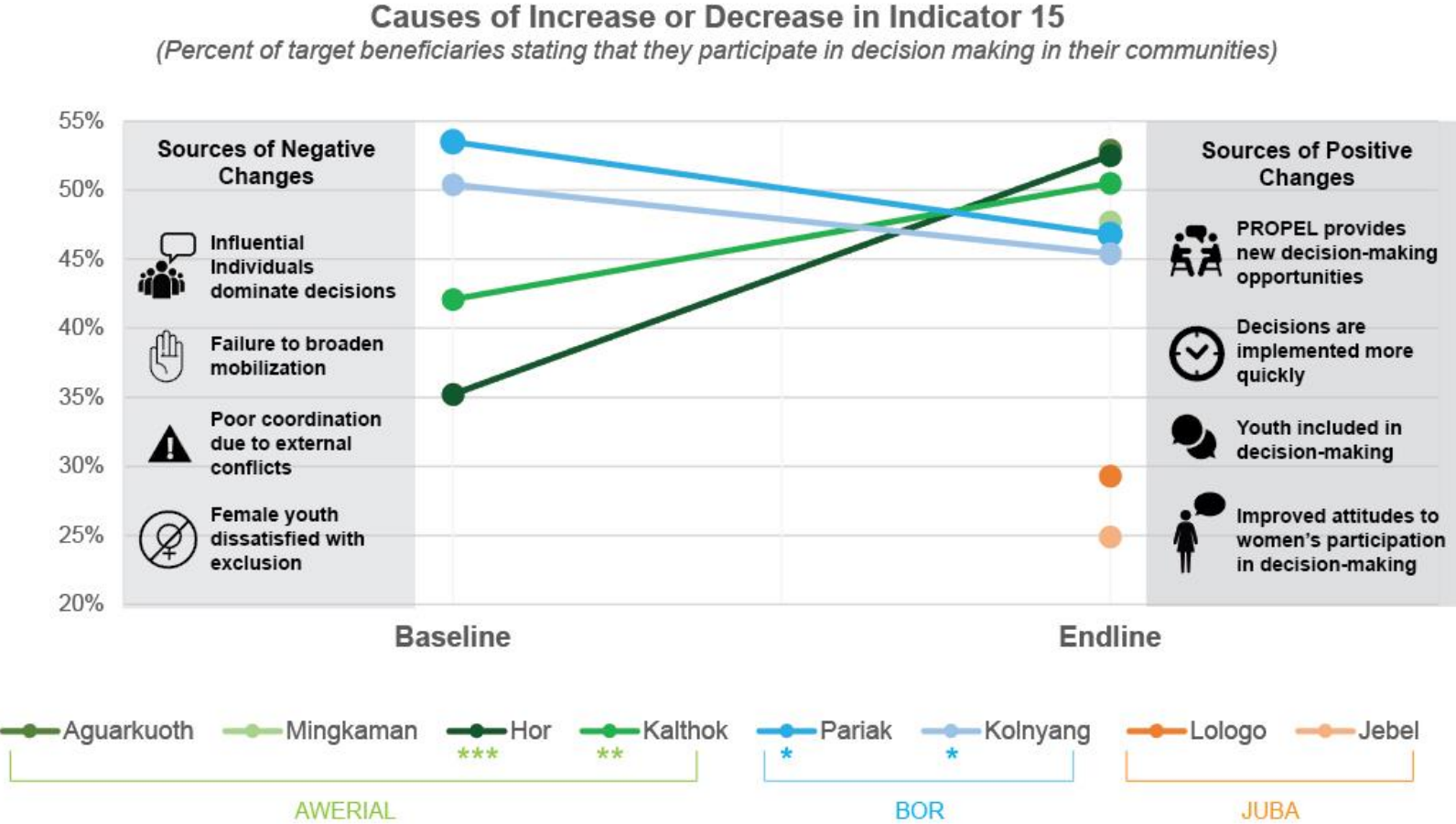
Pariak and Kolnyang started out very high on this indicator but ended lower than Awerial bomas, with the decrease concentrated among men. However, Bor respondents spoke favorably about specific improvements in the involvement of youth and women in decision-making. A closer look at the data suggests PROPEL's approach strengthened leadership but may have **failed to broaden participation**. Rates of participation in community decisions were significantly lower in Bor than in Awerial.

"The CET strengthened leadership through meetings which help the community to advise themselves on different issues. Frequent community engagement activities made [the community] realize that meetings are important because they share ideas and benefit from each other."

– Government official, Hor boma

Key takeaways:

- CDD activities can effectively shift rates of participation in decision-making by introducing new forums and new occasions for doing so;
- Efforts to mobilize new participants in CDD activities and leadership is crucial to strengthening overall rates of participation in decision-making meetings;
- Setting standards for women and youth inclusion are important for improving resilience capacities of the community as a whole.



Only changes from baseline to end-line values that are significant at the 95% level or higher are included in the graph, along with end-line values for bomas where no statistically significant change was found. Number of stars corresponds with level of significance.

Number of stars corresponds with level of significance: 95% (*), 99% (**), 99.9% (***).

Indicator #26: Percent of target beneficiaries stating that women's interests are considered in decision-making by local leaders

Awerial and Bor declined significantly on representation of women's voices in decision-making driven by declines in Aguarkuoth and Kalthok bomas. There was no statistically significant change in Juba.

Indicator #26	Baseline	Endline	Percentage Change
Total (Awerial & Bor)	68.1%	61.7%	-9.40% ***
Total (Juba)	48.9%	50.7%	Not significant

Qualitative data revealed significant improvements in women's participation and community perceptions of women's roles across communities in Awerial and Bor. For example in Mingkaman a male IDP leader stated that women's inclusion "created unity and trust between men and women through direct conversation where women contribute their ideas which are important for community development." One reason for this change cited by multiple respondents (male and female) was PROPEL's requirement of **equal numbers of women and men represented** on the CET, and participating in activities and meetings. A female thought leader in Hor stated that PROPEL gave women a platform to share their views.

A female thought leader in Aguarkuoth noted that women were the ones who proposed the borehole as a priority CDD project (which was selected and implemented). Boreholes were also drilled in Mingkaman, where a female thought leader stated that the new water points reduced women's work load, freeing them up to attend community activities.

"Our husbands nowadays consider our opinions as constructive and good for community development. They send us to any community meeting to represent them, which was not the case before."

– Female thought leader, Hor boma

The contradiction between qualitative and quantitative results suggests exposure to women's voice and involvement in decision-making through PROPEL led to a **more varied and overall negative perception** of the way women's interests were being addressed by community leadership. On the positive side, a female thought leader in Mingkaman stated that PROPEL's gender and youth training gave women strength to participate at the same level as men.

Growing awareness among female youth about the importance of their voice in community decision-making also influenced the decline on this indicator. For women as well, the **opportunity to gather and communicate** with others about shared needs was a particular feature of PROPEL programming. An important result was that communities created a shared awareness of the need for income-generating activities for women in particular, reflected in discussions about priority needs across communities.

Key takeaways:

- In order to achieve women's inclusion in decision-making, the first step is sensitization among men and women about women's needs and interests;
- Sensitization may lead to discontent and an apparent decline in perceptions of women's representation until decisions and their outcomes respond directly to the needs women articulate;
- To achieve results on perceptions of well-being, CDD projects will need to incorporate women-focused livelihood and income generation activities.

Summary of tailoring to local contexts

Resilience capacities are either stronger or weaker depending on the level of cohesion within the community and the strength and effectiveness of local leadership. The starting point of the community in terms of level of education, level of infrastructure, security services and presence of NGOs are also important factors that can either boost or impede CDD efforts.

Alignment with additional NGO activities is essential due to the high level of need and the wide range of interventions needed in South Sudanese communities. One program is unlikely to achieve resilience outcomes alone. Complementing the work of other NGOs can help to mitigate grievances or perceived injustices where programming fails to reach all constituencies due to a variety of exigencies.

NGOs' approaches should be aligned to provide messaging and guidelines for engagement that work in one direction to achieve an inclusive approach to programming and mitigate a sense of exclusion. For instance, all NGOs insisting on equal women's participation can ensure there are substantive shifts in community perceptions and actions regarding women's input in decision-making. One NGO attempting to push the agenda alone could lead to significant resistance to implementation.

Access to resources and settling matters related to ownership or borders are both very important when there is a presence or influx of IDPs, in either peri-urban or urban environments. The attitudes of hosts vis-a-vis IDPs are often tense, since IDPs can both attract and put a strain on resources. The priorities of IDPs are often different from those of the host community, given that their residence is temporary. The type of opportunities NGOs provide may vary according to the status of the residents, leading to competition for influence and access.

- A consultative process to align priorities and balance benefits across IDPs and hosts prior to selecting interventions is essential even where IDPs are the target population;
- Putting in place sustainability mechanisms that are equipped to mitigate conflicts by adjusting rules and regulations to incorporate new IDPs is essential to success;
- Conflict-resolution activities funded by a separate mechanism from the CDD project funds (such as the peacebuilding fund) can go a long way to achieving improvements in resilience capacities for both hosts and IDPs.

The efficiency of grievance redress mechanisms and peace dialogues for settling conflicts and disputes correlates to positive vs. negative resilience capacities in communities.

Poor leadership and competition over resources are especially complex matters to address in an urban environment. Leadership and community cohesion are inextricably linked, because leaders are the gatekeepers of resources and access to resources is a key community divide. The same factors that weaken community cohesion weaken leadership, such as stiff competition over resources coupled with inadequate communication channels for neighbors who do not share the same language or trust the same leaders. The diversity of ethnic groups may mean very few occasions for gathering to interact and develop a sense of shared social norms; in turn, leaders do not face unified demands for accountability and may instead favor those with influence or personal connections.

- Working in an urban environment such as Juba requires substantially more resources in terms of staff engagement and the sheer magnitude of services that need to be provided;
- Leadership strengthening and creating forums for community cohesion will require more time to overcome multiple interacting obstacles.

Recommendations

1. Selection criteria for target communities should include an assessment of baseline strengths and weaknesses; implementers must allocate adequate resources (budget, staff, geographic scope and grant size) when deciding to work in areas with fundamental weaknesses and few strengths. It is helpful to tailor programming to each community to address key weaknesses, and leverage strengths.
2. When economic shocks occur over the course of programming, it is important to take stock of whether the shock is likely to increase involvement in CDD activities (when alternative livelihood activities diminish) or vice versa (as individuals resort to more time-intensive livelihood activities or relocate from the area). Incorporating wage-earning activities into CDD is an effective way to sustain engagement during economic downturns.
3. Consider mechanisms for strengthening external conflict-resolution mechanisms to protect social capital gains from security-related stressors: preventatively through peace messaging, responsively through peace dialogues, and cooperatively by sharing information and leveraging NGO peacebuilding resources in target locations.
4. When operating in a conflict-prone environment, consult regularly with field staff to assess whether and how the CET is either involved in conflict-resolution, or can better support local leaders to resolve conflict effectively.
5. Youth confidence in their representatives and direct engagement at each stage of community decision-making is critical to improving internal conflict dynamics and mitigating new causes of conflict.
6. Start implementation with a clear policy regarding the quotas and protocols for women and youth inclusion in all CDD processes, and as beneficiaries of all CDD activities. Skilled facilitation, gender sensitization and training for youth and elders, and persistent follow-through are all necessary to overcome initial pushback on the part of men and elders, and reluctance on the part of women and youth.
7. Transparent project selection and design processes as well as inclusive methods for selecting target beneficiaries are important for mitigating conflict related to accessing completed CDD projects or their benefits.
8. Sustainability planning should involve committees with clear responsibilities to establish and update bylaws through inclusive decision-making processes, and to disseminate information about rules and regulations broadly through the communities.
9. In a conflict-prone environment, look beyond livelihood-related coping mechanisms to traditional cultural and social mechanisms for fostering good relations, healing rifts and coping with trauma. Such coping mechanisms tend to involve events that bring community members together, often with youth at the center.
10. Although communities demand immediate implementation of projects, it is critical to remember that process is as important as product in South Sudanese communities due to a history of exclusion on the basis of ethnicity and political affinity.

Conclusion

The CDD process is important to communities who value transparency and inclusion, even if that means delaying the immediate tangible results of their time and resource investments. An inclusive approach devotes substantially more resources to community engagement activities and ongoing communications efforts, and requires capacity to solicit and effectively address feedback and complaints. The consequences of failing to incorporate some aspects of CDD into development work risk fueling existing tensions, and inadvertently excluding certain community segments from project benefits. PROPEL findings point to the urgency of incorporating some aspects of CDD into development and humanitarian work in South Sudan in order to achieve conflict-sensitivity, and contribute to community resilience.

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PROPEL Programmatic Timeline

