NEW ISSUES IN REFUGEE RESEARCH

What happens after the war?
how refugee camp peace programmes
contribute to post-conflict peacebuilding strategies

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Introduction

According to UNHCR there are over 15 million refugees throughout the world. Every year more people are displaced as old problems remain unresolved and new ones emerge. Consequently, people escaping conflict often find themselves surrounded by conflict within displacement camps. Not only does the conflict they fled play out in these camps, tensions are further exacerbated by conflicts with the host population, perpetrators and victims living side by side and the presence of other refugees from different countries, communities and ethnicities. Refugee camps mirror conflicts on a micro-level as they highlight common drivers of conflict like ethnicity, scarce resources and land shortages.

These conflict prone environments have spurred the growth of refugee camp peace programmes. Peace programmes focus on conflict resolution techniques, empowerment, nonviolence, cooperation, moral sensitivity, self-esteem, social rehabilitation and critical thinking (Brahm, 2006). These programmes carry the optimism that people can learn the tools necessary to mitigate conflict and create cultures of peace. It is hoped that societal healing will begin within the camp and spread to an individual's country of origin upon returning home.

With more than half of conflicts relapsing back into war within ten years of peace agreements being signed it is important to gain insights into conflict containment structures and capacities needed in post-conflict environments in order to prevent violence from recurring (Murithi, 2009). Most post-conflict development programmes focus on rebuilding physical and economic structures as well as democratic and rule of law structures (Diamond, 2006). Although these are necessary components for creating sustainable peace, simply focusing on top-down approaches overlooks the importance of bottom-up community-based social programmes to creating sustainable peace.

Peace programmes represent one variety of a community-based bottom-up approach to peacebuilding. However, the link between refugee camp peace programmes and post-conflict community peacebuilding is largely unknown. There is little published on the effects of peace programmes within refugee communities and no research was found on peace programme participants using their skills in post-conflict communities upon repatriation. Therefore, the purpose of this research attempts to address this gap through establishing whether the implementation of refugee camp peace programmes can contribute to post-conflict peacebuilding strategies once peace programme participants repatriate.

Methodology

The ideal research design would involve numerous longitude studies following various refugees who had exposure to camp peace programmes through unknown years of encampment, and then through the repatriation and reintegration processes. And still, additional time, possibly years, would need to be spent profiling their affects in their individual communities of return. The enormous complexity involved in such a study would need unlimited financial resources and an unlimited timeframe. Therefore, to address these challenges and unite the necessary domains of interest a systems thinking approach is used to bridge the complexities of this study.

> Systems thinking focuses on how the thing being studied interacts with the other constituents of the system—a set of elements that interact to produce behavior—of which it is a part. This means that instead of isolating smaller and smaller parts of the system being studied, systems thinking works by expanding its view to take into account larger and larger numbers of interactions as an issue is being studied (Aronson, 1996: 2).

In systems thinking it is vital to consider the greater context in which peace programmes operate in order to understand how these programmes have the potential to benefit more than just the immediate population within a refugee camp. This requires a major shift in perspective about the connection between refugee and repatriated populations. Through the use of systems thinking a broad perspective of the interrelationships between refugee camp programming, repatriation and peacebuilding is revealed and the refugee-returnee cycle is looked at as a whole.

This research is suggesting a paradigm shift needs to be made in the way we conceptualize refugee and returnee populations and the development structures they face. Through adopting a new discourse which recognizes refugee potential creates room for change in refugee and returnee programming. This study endeavors to initiate this discourse, in turn, allowing for the emergence of explanatory models which can assist refugee aid delivery, repatriation operations and post-conflict peacebuilding initiatives. Therefore, this study asked the following question: how can refugee camp peace programmes contribute to sustainable peacebuilding strategies in post-conflict communities?

The study crosses international borders utilizing the voices of refugees from Uganda and returnees from Liberia in an attempt to link their perspectives and experiences. Therefore, it is assumed there is an essential commonality between all refugees and repatriated communities regardless of country of origin and country of asylum due to their shared experience of fleeing from persecution, being a recipient of international refugee protection and assistance and going through the processes of repatriation and reintegration.

This study is designed as participatory action research and is exploratory in nature using a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. The study contrasts perspectives and experiences of refugees, returnees, camp service providers and various organizations to determine how peace programmes can contribute or have contributed to sustainable peacebuilding strategies.

Nakivale refugee settlement

The Nakivale refugee settlement was chosen as a known peace programme is currently active in the camp. Nakivale is located in the southwestern region of Uganda, near the town of Mbarara. Nakivale encompasses an area of eighty-four square miles and there are approximately 50,000 refugees (from nine countries) and 20,000 Ugandan nationals living within the settlement boundaries. As of April 26th, 2010, there were approximately 30,373 Congolese, 10,584 Rwandese, 6,389 Somalis, 3,495 Burundians, 659 Eritreans, 162 Ethiopians, 139 Sudanese, 24 Kenyans and one Liberian residing in the settlement (RDO,

interview, 2010).[1] Currently, UNHCR and GIZ (the International Development Agency for the German Government, former GTZ) co-fund and run the settlement.

The peace programme is known as the Moral Brotherhood and Neighbourhood (MOBAN). MOBAN started after individuals received training by the Jesuit Refugee Service using UNHCR's Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies Peace Education Programme (PEP). After the short term training, the organization grew as refugee initiative and in 2008 became a registered Community Based Organization (CBO). Currently, they have 146 members; 84 males and 62 females. Each nationality in Nakivale is represented within MOBAN allowing for language translation and cultural understanding of all nationalities within the Settlement.

MOBAN has five core objectives:

1. Livelihood – To empower community members with skills and knowledge to produce income generating activities in order to reduce poverty and increase peace.
2. Peace Education – To teach peace within the schools and youth centres in order to reduce conflicts and create sustainable future generations.
3. Mobilization and sensitization – To hold seminars, workshops and discussions with community members on peace and conflict management in order to empower others in solving their own conflicts.
4. Mediation – To assist individuals and groups through third party mediations and negotiations in order to reduce conflict and promote peaceful reconciliation.
5. Leadership – To build a bridge between leadership groups within the community in order to develop strong leadership structures empowered to promote peace.

Focus groups, a survey and semi-structured interviews constitute the data collection tools used in Nakivale. The GIZ protection office and camp commandant[2] identified villages within the settlement which were prone to high levels of conflict based on numerous requests for conflict intervention. Nine of these villages were chosen for the focus groups. Each focus group was comprised of men, women, boys, girls, elderly and village leaders aligning with UNHCR's Age, Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming (AGDM) approach to understanding community concerns.[3] These community members may or may not have heard of MOBAN.

For the survey, the participant group was selected based on their recent attendance of the Train-the-Trainers (TOT) workshop conducted by GIZ. These participants were chosen to gather information, perspectives and insights on the effects of a peace programme's training. The TOT training provided basic conflict resolution training and discussions on the importance of peacebuilding, leadership, human rights law, refugee and Ugandan law to new members of the MOBAN peace programme. One hundred of the TOT participants were surveyed. The survey was designed upon themes identified during the focus groups.

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[1] Garnering statistics for refugee populations is highly problematic due to the constant in and outflows of people, this information came from the Ugandan Government Resettlement Desk Officer (RDO) in Mbarara.
[2] Top camp official for the Ugandan Refugee Office; known as Office of the Prime Minister (OPM).
[3] Age, Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming (AGDM) approach seeks to understand the community's concerns, capacities, and priorities and endeavours to engage women, men, girls, and boys of all ages and of diverse backgrounds as partners in protection and programmeming.

The interview design was semi-structured. Semi-structured interviews combine the unstructured, open-ended interview with the directionality of a survey to produce focused qualitative data (Schensul & Schnesul, 1999). The interview questions were designed based on common themes elucidated from the focus groups. Both qualitative and quantitative elements were included in the interview design to provide a complete examination of the phenomena in question and were combined with the survey in order to contribute to the quantitative analysis. Twenty interviews were conducted with MOBAN members and ten interviews were conducted with Nakivale service providers; two with UNHCR staff; three with the host government office in Nakivale, OPM and five interviews were conducted with GIZ. [4]

Liberia

Liberia was chosen as it has repatriated a large number of refugees and is currently in a post-conflict reconstruction phase. A total of 123,706 Liberian refugees returned between October 2004 and June 2010 (UNMIL, 2010). As there are no viable databases to track down repatriated refugees let alone finding repatriated refugees who had specifically participated in a camp peace programme; I used personal contacts with two former Liberian refugees I had met in the Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana which did have a peace programme running. In addition, the Liberian Refugee Repatriation and Reintegration Commission (LRRRC), the government of Liberia's refugee agency, assisted in making connections with the repatriated community.

To effectively determine a refugee camp peace programmes effect on post-conflict communities the participants had to be a mixture of returnees who were exposed to a peace programme during their time in exile and those who were not. Refugees from the Buduburam refugee camp were purposively selected in order to ensure some of the interviewees had participated or been exposed to a peace programme. Interviews were conducted in three counties; Grand Bassa, Nimba and Montserrado. Twenty interviews were conducted.

The amount of time since participants had repatriated ranged between six months to four years, averaging two years and three months.[5] Out of the twenty interviews, eight people were active participants in a peace programme during their time as a refugee. Nine of the participants were not involved, yet had heard of various peace programmes available throughout their time in exile. Three participants had no knowledge of any such programme in their camp(s). The participants experienced exile in a variety of locations. The camp names and host countries were; Buduburam, Ghana; Waterloo, Sierra Leone; Farmoreya and Bossou, Guinea; Danane, Cote d'Ivoire.

In addition, ten interviews were conducted with organizations who work with refugees and/or peacebuilding. Two interviews were conducted with UNHCR personnel as well as two interviews with the Liberia Media Initiative for Peace, Democracy and Development (LMI). LMI is a local media peace initiative that addresses various types of existing conflicts through media peacebuilding activities. One interview was held with The Centre for Reconciliation and Renewal (PEAL), a division within the Methodist Church of Liberia which works with

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[4] The offices selected were predominate actors who proposed new programmes and monitored and evaluated existing programmes.

[5] The returnees' time as refugees ranged from four to 18 years, averaging at 11.5 years as a refugee. Only one participant did not experience a protracted refugee situation (PRS).

trauma healing and reconciliation. Another interview was held with Search for Common Ground (SFCG), a well-known international peacebuilding agency. Four interviews were conducted with the LRRRC.

Data analysis

A prescribed set of procedures was used for analyzing the data. The procedure is based on Corbin and Strauss's suggested steps as outlined in Leedy and Ormrod (2010:143). In summary, open coding divided the data into segments; various themes, variables and subcategories. Then through axial coding interconnections were made between themes followed by selective coding which formed a *story* of the connections. This procedure was conducted in a three ways.

One, data from the focus groups, survey and interviews was coded individually. Two, the data was coded together within each domain, that is, Nakivale data coded together and Liberia data coded together. Third, the data from Nakivale and Liberia was combined and coded together. This was done on a continuing basis as new information came in. All three processes refined themes, categories and their relationships as more data was gathered. Through interaction with the data; making comparisons, asking questions about the data and analyzing when and why there are differences and the reasons for these differences allowed patterns, interconnections and concepts to emerge (Patton, 2002; Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Table 1. Total participants with gender distribution

Location	Data Collection	No. of Males	No. of Females	Total Participants
Nakivale	Focus Groups – Villages with high levels of conflict	327	245	572
	Survey – Recently attended workshop held by a community Peace Programme	68	32	100
	Interviews – Peace Programme Participants	15	5	20
	Interviews – Settlement Service Providers	6	4	10
Liberia	Interviews – Returnees	8	12	20
	Interviews – Organizations	8	2	10
Grand Total		**432**	**300**	**732**

Repatriation, reintegration and peacebuilding

The ending of hostilities and signing of peace agreements often trigger preparations for voluntary repatriation operations and reintegration to one's country of origin. Repatriation to one's country of origin is the end of one cycle, being a refugee, and the beginning of a new cycle, becoming a returnee.[6]

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[6] UNHCR requires a certain level of physical, legal, and material safety before actively promoting voluntary repatriation.

It is believed that by building a refugee's economic and social self-reliance, while in exile, facilitates reintegration in the country of origin and helps long-term recovery and reconstruction. Therefore, UNHCR states that repatriation and reintegration activities should be designed to avoid creating returnee dependence on humanitarian assistance and to ensure sustainable reintegration (UNHCR, 2004e). Research has shown refugees who have been educated, developed useful skills, and acquired resources during their time in exile sustainably reintegrate; as opposed to those who have lived for years in camps dependent upon humanitarian assistance with little opportunity to become self-reliant (UNHCR, 2004e).

In addition, it is found the refugee experience of living with perpetrators, other nationalities and ethnicities gives returnees insight into community co-existence (Peacebuilding Initiative, 2009). As new ideologies are built upon traditional economic and social structures this creates a socially transformative process contributing to post-conflict social cohesion (Peacebuilding Initiative, 2009). Therefore, UNHCR has identified repatriation and reintegration programmes essential to peacebuilding strategies as refugees can benefit the areas of protection, rule of law, co-existence and livelihood sectors.

Peace programmes and peacebuilding

As stated previously, peace programme is an umbrella term that describes a programme aiming to prevent, de-escalate, and solve conflicts. They emphasize conflict resolution techniques, empowerment, nonviolence, cooperation, moral sensitivity, self-esteem, social rehabilitation and critical thinking (Brahm, 2006). In the last decade, perceptions have emerged that participation in refugee camp peace programmes will not only contribute to overall social cohesion within camp environments but heal war traumas (Obura, 2002). That is, peace programmes are a form of psychosocial intervention.

The term psychosocial intervention refers to any programme that aims to improve the psychosocial well-being of people (PWG, 2003).[7] Both peacebuilding and conflict resolution programmes are considered an avenue to address well-being (PWG, 2003). Therefore, psychosocial intervention is believed to promote community co-existence through addressing individual experience as expressed in the community.[8]

UNHCR states that "education for peace, cooperation, conflict resolution and reconciliation" are all "prerequisites for the durable solution of repatriation and reconstruction" efforts (UNHCR, 1995:53). The discourse further states that empowering institutions such as elders' councils, equipping refugees with skills for conflict resolution, peacemaking and administration of justice is needed to rebuild social society (Juma & Suhrke, 2002). Refugees can use "the knowledge, skills and social networks gathered in exile to develop strategies for rebuilding a society both socially and politically" (Black & Koser 1999:235).

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[7] The term 'psychosocial' is used to emphasize the close connection between psychological aspects of our experience (our thoughts, emotions and behaviour) and our wider social experience (our relationships, traditions and culture)" (PWG, 2003:1).
[8] UNHCR defines co-existence as a situation of general tolerance between communities after the cessation of hostilities and before reconciliation (2004e).

Types of peace programmes available to refugees

UNHCR has one of the largest refugee peace programmes; the Peace Education Programme (PEP). The programme is currently being implemented in eleven countries in Africa and has been integrated into complementary initiatives in Sri Lanka, Kosovo, and Pakistan (INEE, 2002). PEP focuses on three areas; formal education, community and training workshops for teachers and facilitators. The Peace Education Programme "teaches peace building skills to pre-empt conflict, including an initiation into mediation techniques for conflict resolution and dispute containment" (Obura, 2002:39).

An evaluation of PEP was conducted by Anna Obura, in 2001, to determine if the programme had a positive impact on peacebuilding and conflict prevention during the first four years of its existence in the Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps. The evaluation found, "Overall, concerns with security were now tied to resolving conflict, and to living in a conflict-resolving society where people could manage disagreement and come to a workable understanding" (Obura, 2002:15).

Her study revealed there is a greater appreciation for social structures as people are beginning to trust the local authorities and community leaders. It was concluded that PEP increases personal security for the refugees in their current situation, plus provides tools needed to create security in their communities upon repatriation. PEP continues to be implemented by UNHCR in various camps, but only on a short-term basis.

Population Caring Organization (PCO) is a refugee peace initiative created by Liberian refugees to bring peace to the Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana.[9] They created two peace programmes, the peace cells and the tribal leader reconciliation forum. The peace cell programme is designed to promote dialogue within the community. The discussions were based on security and general issues which were recorded and compiled as research for the Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Ghana Refugee Board.

Additionally, PCO holds monthly tribal leader reconciliation forums. This forum brings together the elders, tribal leaders and religious leaders from various groups within the camp. They discuss leadership, the importance of continued dialogue, conflict between refugees, conflicts with the host country, plus, problems with UNHCR and the Ghana Refugee Board. The tribal leader forum encouraged traditional forms of mediation and an elder's council was elected. The Council became an integral part of the camp's administration and reconciliation processes, thus, increasing social security by reinstating traditional social structures used for conflict resolution.

The Oruchinga Peacemakers Club was initiated in 2008 by Rubayiza E. John, Jr., a Rwandese refugee, with the help of Dr. Selena Sermeno a professor of Conflict Analysis and Engagement from Antioch University Midwest in the United States.[10] It is based in the Oruchinga refugee settlement in Southern Uganda. The Oruchinga settlement is predominately composed of Rwandese refugees and Ugandan national. The club aims to promote peace in the camp and surrounding area. The 15 founding members were educated

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[9]The following information on PCO is based on my personal experiences and observations as I worked with this organization in 2007.

[10] While working with GIZ, the German Development Agency, in the Nakivale Refugee Settlement I was sent to the Oruchinga Settlement to evaluate this programme. The following information is based on that evaluation.

about peace and conflict resolution from Dr. Sermeno using models based on Constructive Engagement of Conflict (CEC).

The Peacemaking Club carries out mobilizations and sensitizations covering topics such as; causes of violence, consequences of violence, how to move beyond violence or move forward after violence and types of peaceful solutions. The discussions are participatory and the community members lead discussions with guidance from club members. They also work with the local primary and secondary schools, which are located in Oruchinga valley, and are shared by both refugee and Ugandan communities. Within in each school peace clubs were formed to assist children and youth, each club consists of approximately 20-30 children.

Refugee camp peace programmes contain the essential characteristics necessary for post-conflict bottom-up peacebuilding initiatives. However, peace programmes are typically short-term projects which continue as refugee based initiatives subject to lack of funding and lack of power structure support within camp environments. Although refugee camp peace programmes produce practical techniques for dealing with conflict, promote inter-communal living and shared values they have yet to be identified as a programming priority.

Some argue the evaluations and effectiveness of refugee camp peace programmes are often questionable due to a lack of benchmarks to measure impacts. Moreover, rigorous performance measurement evaluations by external evaluators or auditors are missing as field evaluations are scarcely attempted and therefore benefits, lessons learned and best practices are rarely illuminated (Sommers, 2001). Additionally, evaluations on refugee peace programmes usually highlight their frameworks and successes however these are usually self-promoting internal evaluations and do not provide an appropriate critical analysis.

In addition, research on refugee camp peace programmes and their influence or lack thereof on post-conflict peacebuilding strategies was not found. Although there are numerous discussions on the importance of enhancing refugee self-reliance for repatriation there is a lack of research assessing how peace programmes, available during exile, contribute to post-conflict peacebuilding initiatives. "There is a wide range of research gaps in the study of repatriation and reconstruction" (Black & Koser, 1999:15). Therefore this study, while small in scale, attempts to address this gap.

Results and findings

As stated previously, this study is suggesting a paradigm shift needs to be made in the way we conceptualize refugee and returnee populations and the development structures they face. This study asked the following question: how can refugee camp peace programmes contribute to sustainable peacebuilding strategies in post-conflict communities? Through the analysis of the data four key themes pertaining to how refugee peace programmes contribute to sustainable peacebuilding strategies were identified.

The study revealed refugee camp peace programmes contribute to sustainable peacebuilding strategies in post-conflict communities as they; (1) alleviate trauma; (2) support development; (3) assist reintegration and; (4) promote self-reliance. However, the data additionally highlighted three overarching themes which directly prevent refugee camp peace programmes contribution to sustainable peacebuilding strategies in post-conflict communities. These preventative themes are; (1) programme identification and design; (2) implementation

standards and; (3) measuring impact. All participants' comments will be identified using a reference code.[11]

Table 2. Reference coding for presentation of findings

Focus Groups	Reference Code
Nyarugugu B & C	FG1
Kabahinda A & B	FG2
Base Camp I	FG3
Isanja A & B	FG4
Byakatonda B	FG5
Isaza A	FG6
Kisura C	FG7
Kisura A & B (Karitima B)	FG8
Kabazana B & New Burundians	FG9
Survey	SVY + (1-100)* [12]
Peace Programme Interviews - Nakivale	PPI + (1-20)*
Service Provider Interviews - Nakivale	SPI, UNHCR + (1,2)* SPI, OPM + (1-3)* SPI, GIZ + (1-5)*
Returnee Interviews – Liberia	RI + (1-20)*
Organization Interviews – Liberia	OI, UNHCR + (1,2)* OI, LRRRC + (1-4)* OI, LMI + (1,2)* O1, PEAL O1, SFCG

Contributive theme one: alleviates trauma

During the analysis of the data the participants presented the theme of alleviating trauma as a contributing peacebuilding mechanism gained from refugee camp peace programmes. The participants argued as trauma is still affecting refugees and returnees there is a need for psychosocial intervention in the form of peace programmes. In Nakivale, when asked what is the reason for peace programmes the responses were similar. One participant stated, "There is a lot of trauma here and it helps us be together and make it better" (PPI 1). Another respondent stated, "It [peace programme] helps refugees build love within us, then helps us rebuild our memories because of our trauma" (Innocent, PPI 5).

A Ugandan government worker replied; "Refugees are psychologically tortured so they have lots of conflict; if it's not a family conflict, it's a tribal conflict, if it's not a tribal conflict it is an individual conflict, they need peacebuilding programmes" (SPI, OPM 2). In FG 5, during the discussion of what is the importance of peace awareness, one woman said, "when we left our country we were not good in our heart, this conversation is good MOBAN can help us." In a Congolese refugee community which did not have previous exposure to a peace programme, a community member stated,

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[11]To uphold the integrity of a participant's *voice* and to maintain the true essence of their response, grammar and word choice will not be corrected. Some clarifications are made in square brackets.

[12] *The number will correspond to the individual participant. For example; RI 4 would indicate returnee interview, participant no. 4. Names will be used for those who gave consent.

When I reached here I had no family, they were all dead. As a person I tried to clear my heart and move past this, yet others here are holding onto past trauma…we need you [MOBAN] to come back and talk to us more about peacebuilding and help heal us (FG 4).

In Liberia, the participants agreed, one returnee stated, "Peace programmes rebuild the lives of the traumatized people" (RI 13). While another elaborated,

People went through fourteen years of violence and war so people still have that mind set when dealing with problems mentality so people need to learn how to live in harmony with one another… there is people going through trauma…we need peace education in order to help people (Evon, RI 12).

In Nakivale, the interviews and focus group discussions highlighted that past trauma is perpetuating current conflicts. Peace programmes are seen as a positive tool to assist individuals and communities in alleviating trauma therefore reducing negative expressions of an individual's trauma. These negative expressions of trauma were identified as discrimination, revenge-oriented behaviour, aggressive behaviour, generational hatred and jealousy/envy.

It was argued these negative expressions produce conflict in an individual's external environment. In Liberia, the negative expression of aggressive behaviour was specifically discussed. One respondent stated, "… the war has left a lot of trauma in the people here in the community like when I came to Liberia, actually, I was almost surprised every day you see people forcing the confusion, using vocal language [profanity], fighting and getting themselves to the police stations" (Dekontee, RI 11). Another posited;

…even though for me we are not fighting a battle now but we see that people are traumatized, people are aggressive…anything can aggravate anyone…for example, yesterday my son asked some boys to stop playing football in the field as we needed it for another function and they threatened to beat him. We need a lot of peace skill in order to sustain the peace that we have (RI 14).

A former refugee who is currently a Senator with the Liberian Member of Parliament stated, "People with peacebuilding skills would no longer think about getting at each other's throat, they would change their view and see people as their brother and sisters" (RI 19). Another argued, "I think there is a need for an intense peacebuilding training …people here are still aggressive, the old feelings from the war are still apparent…" (OI LMI 1). These examples highlight how past trauma in Liberia is being expressed through witnessed aggressive behaviour.

The participants argued peace programmes are considered a positive mechanism to help heal trauma subsequently curbing aggression and therefore reducing conflict. A returnee who participated in a refugee camp peace programme highlighted how he is currently assisting his community;

People have the scars still. We can help heal them and curtail aggressive behaviour. Where I live the former rebel leader Prince Johnson held that area, so people have those memories on our mind, I use my mediation skills in my community a lot. I am healing my community (RI 17).

The participants in both Nakivale and Liberia highlighted how reduced trauma manifests in outward positive expressions. These positive expressions are believed to help individuals and their communities live more peacefully. The participants categorized these positive expressions as inner peace, calmness, acceptance, forgiveness and how to act and react to challenges coming from an individual's external environment.

In Liberia, the participants agreed peace programmes helped them achieve a sense of inner peace which manifests in positive expressions of peacebuilding with family, neighbours and their greater community. One woman replied, "It has helped me get inner peace, and helped me have a good relationship with fellow neighbours, helped me know people better, people who are conflict orientated I can manage with them better" (RI 10). While another stated, "…Individually I am at peace. I have learned to live peacefully with my neighbours even when they try to offend me I exercise my peacebuilding skills to make sure that peace co-exist between us…" (Dekontee, RI 11). Another respondents elaborated and explained,

> It [is] helping me in the sense that I am able to live peacefully with people cause the people here are still recovering from the major civil conflict and they have trauma [and] are so aggressive. I am able to help myself be at peace, and I help my community live peacefully (Evon, RI 12).

A UNHCR protection officer claimed other returnees told her, "peace programmes have helped bring inner peace as they are able to deal with domestic issues, multiple wives and family conflict" (OI UNHCR 1). A survey participant when asked to explain her answer to, would you use the skills you have obtained from this programme to help rebuild your community if you return to your home country, stated, "Because she has learned about inner peace and how to handle herself in every area when she reaches home she can spread peace" (Translated, SVY 12).

The preceding data highlights the participants' belief that peace programmes provide the skills which can alleviate trauma. The alleviation of individual trauma is then manifested as positive expressions in the community therefore reducing conflict and promoting peace. It follows, if individuals do not heal past traumas the community is then subjected to negative expressions of the trauma thus increasing conflict. Therefore, the contributive element of alleviating trauma gained from refugee camp peace programmes contributes to sustainable peacebuilding strategies in post-conflict communities.

All refugee camp service providers and post-conflict organization participants believe that peace programmes will positively influence the psychosocial well-being of refugees and returnees and that this will, in turn, create a positive ripple effect in an individual's community. The data shows peace programmes promote the psychosocial well-being of refugees and this extends to their communities of return upon repatriation consequently strengthening the Pillar of Social and Economic Well-Being through a bottom-up approach to peacebuilding.

Contributive theme two: supports development

Along with alleviating trauma, skills gained from refugee camp peace programmes were seen as support mechanisms for other development programmes in both a refugee camp and post-

conflict environment. Participants stated that goals of existing and future development projects cannot be achieved without peace. Some examples are; in Nakivale, when asked what is the purpose of a peace programme a refugee stated, "A peace programme is a channel for OPM, UNHCR and GTZ to remove problems during service delivery" (Pacoto, PPI 10). A refugee camp service provider elaborated;

> It [peace programme] is so fundamental, other areas that promote refugee well-being like livelihood, health etc. all these cannot work without peace. A peace programme provides the backbone when there is no peace nothing else can be achieved (SPI, GIZ 1).

While another stated; "I think peace programmes should be at the forefront because without peace not much can be done, there are constant fights, constant conflicts and other programmes are not able to achieve development" (SPI, GIZ 2). Furthermore, a former chairman of the Nyaragugu C village in Nakivale, explained his answer to, would you use the skills you have obtained from this programme to help rebuild your community upon repatriation, with; "Yes, because without peace, the rest of the essential programmes cannot be implemented and sustained…" (SVY 23).

In Liberia, the participants also agreed. A participant from a peacebuilding organization in Liberia said peace programmes "prop up other development activities" (OI, LMI 2), while another returnee considered the skills obtained from peace programmes, "vital for the reconstruction programme of our country..." (RI 19). A UNHCR officer explained; "…if we could add the peace education component then all the development programmes run in a more peaceful manner" (OI UNHCR 1). All participants posited peace programmes provide the solid foundation for other development activities.

Refugee protection offices and rule of law structures were identified to specifically benefit from community members obtaining conflict management skills from camp peace programmes. In Nakivale the GIZ protection coordinator stated with peace programme trainings "conflicts will reduce and communities will not necessarily need to go to police but will be able to solve it themselves, it will strengthen peace and conflict structures…" (SPI, GTZ 3).

The Camp Commandant agreed stating, "It [peace programme] will reduce stakeholder's burden of solving issues and it will also reduce crime, this will solve many problems leading to bigger crime" (SPI, OPM 1). A MOBAN coordinator gave an example of this stating, "There was a fight between Somali and Rwandese children, the parents had pangas [machetes], MOBAN intervened, calmed them down without needing to go to police or higher authority, they forgave each other" (Adaha, PPI 6).

Organization participants in Liberia agreed conflict management skills would help ease the burden on police and judicial system which are in the process of being restructured. A UNHCR protection officer explained "People tie up protection offices with petty conflicts so conflict management skills spread in the community would relieve this pressure, AGDM has revealed this here recently" (OI UNHCR 1). A reintegration field officer explained; "People coming back can play a critical role in rebuilding communities …. It [conflict management skill] is very much necessary. It helps with a lot of issues, it curtails people going to the police so they can focus on other issues….mediation is very important" (OI, LRRRC 2).

Some participants took the idea a step further linking peace programmes to early warning systems for conflict prevention. A UNHCR protection officer agreed stating, "If they have had the skills and training and knowledge we can avoid a lot of conflict, tribal conflict, religion, land conflicts. As communities can see it coming and we can prevent" (OI UNHCR 2). All organization participants in Liberia agreed communities strengthened by skills obtained from a peace programme would help create early warning mechanisms necessary for conflict prevention. For example one participant stated, "Conflict management skills create communities that are early warning systems, [with] this system in place [it] can prevent larger more violent conflicts" (OI, PEAL).

Overall, the data directly links skills obtained from refugee camp peace programmes as contributing elements in supporting development programmes in both a camp and post-conflict environment. More specifically, refugee protection and rule of law structures directly benefit from conflict management skills obtained from a peace programme by reducing the burden on stakeholder's by providing mechanisms to solve problems before become larger issues. Therefore, the top-down approach to peacebuilding is fortified as peace programmes strengthen the Pillars of Security and Justice and Reconciliation through bottom-up approaches to peacebuilding.

Contributive theme three: assists reintegration

The study revealed participants believe peace programmes assist reintegration. The participants agreed that returnees face many challenges like loss of property and housing, flee discrimination and lingering conflicts from the war.[13] They state returnees need skills that will prevent people from taking revenge and assist with conflicts they may face when returning home.

When asked if the skills obtained in a peace programme are transferrable to a post-conflict setting one participant stated, "When they go home it will help them reintegrate, how to work and live in harmony if they apply the same principles, conflicts can stop in the village, community and nation" (SPI GTZ 1). Another asserted, "Sure, these people will know how to live with other people and be able to reintegrate more effectively with peace skills" (SPI GTZ 4). Another example is;

> If you have a situation where you have a refugee camp where peacebuilders are there, they come back and reintegrate proper to their own communities. I believe our communities are benefiting from what they learn (OI LMI 1).

Returnees who did participate in a peace programme confirmed the above statements stating their skills are assisting with their reintegration. One asserts, "It prepared me as I gained knowledge in conflict resolution which allowed me to integrate properly. Everyone comes to me in my community to ask advice so I feel like I am integrating well" (RI 17). Another maintains, "I am just thankful that I was peace leader in the camp as that skill makes my successful reintegration" (RI 20).

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[13] Flee discrimination is a term used to describe discrimination from those who stayed in the country during the conflict against those who left.

It is interesting to note some participants stated if people live in a constant state of conflict being unable to resolve it for themselves this weakens voluntary repatriation programmes. People fear they will not be able to face challenges of reintegration and therefore decline to return. A GIZ protection officer stated, "If this programme [peace programme] is in place it will help achieve voluntary repatriation so a durable solution is achieved…it build confidences to refugees, helps give tools and knowledge to go home" (SPI, GTZ 3). While another stated, "There are some who return who still felt they must revenge…people who had training in the camps are more willing to make peace [and] focus on forgiveness and reconciliation and this encourage[s] them to return home" (OI, PEAL).

In particular, mediation was seen to specifically assist returnees and their respective communities of return, a reintegration officer witnessed;

> Basically, in the refugee setting it [is] always good to have conflict resolution training opportunities preparing them for when they come home. We have realized during our monitoring of returnees we saw many returnees face flee discrimination, the skill of mediation has been very helpful (OI LRRRC 2).

Returnees agreed their peacebuilding skills are assisting their communities. A returnee stated, "…We do mediation and help teach everyone has rights. In my community people do not wake up fighting but are getting along better now" (Dekontee, RI 11). Another stated, "I use it all the time, people search me out to help mediate problems in my community…" (RI 20).

In general, refugee camp peace programmes were tied to building a refugee's confidence to return home. Additionally, obtaining peacebuilding skills, more specifically mediation, helps returnees connect with their communities and they become active participants. Bottom-up approaches to peacebuilding prescribes a community-centered intervention that develops strategies to equip local leaders and communities with the tools they need to solve their own problems. The data highlights that peace programmes directly strengthen conflict resolution skills therefore creating a bottom-up approach to peacebuilding through community-centered interventions.

Contributive theme four: promotes self-reliance

In addition to the themes above, the data highlighted the participants' perspective that as people learn how to solve conflicts for themselves, this subsequently promotes self-reliance. Most participants agreed that peace programmes "empower people for self-reliance" (SPI GTZ 5). A returnee stated, "It [peace programme] would help build our country cause if you come with peace knowledge you empower yourself and help the country come up, when yourself is developed the country will benefit" (RI 7). Another posited, "It [peace programme] empower people and give them skill to solve their own problems it teaches people to fish for themselves not feed them" (RI 10). A reintegration officer agreed stating, "The transition from reliance to self-reliance is crucial. Conflict management programmes can infuse ideas of self-reliance, ownership and leadership which can bridge this transition" (OI LRRRC 3).

This promotion of self-reliance through gaining conflict resolution skills is tied to the creation of leaders within communities. Examples can be found amongst returnees who were active participants in a peace programme during their time in exile. One returnee stated, "For

me personally, when I see people are in conflict in my community I become involved to help them resolve conflict, because if there is conflict in the community we have insecurity… so I know how to manage it and help others" (RI 10). Another asserts, "My peace leadership ability has helped my community more than any other skill [obtained in the camp]" (RI 20). This was supported as one returnee asserted;

> …When there is issues in the community like confusion [misunderstandings] I am asked to go and give my contribution, they come and find me…there was a lot of conflict in my community so I decided to go to a community meeting and said we [should] set up a community leadership structure to help solve these conflicts…as for now the government cannot handle all the community problems, this idea is now helping my community (Dekontee, RI 11).

When asked would you use the skills you have obtained from this peace programme to help rebuild your community upon repatriation many survey respondents posited they would become a leader and teach peacebuilding skills in their community of return. One stated, "I would teach forgiveness and work to be a role model" (SVY 32). Another commented, "The concepts I learnt has added to my knowledge of peace this will make him me a better peace leader for my home country" (SVY 13). All MOBAN members also indicated they have become leaders for their communities in Nakivale.

Additionally, peace programmes were associated with the ability to organize people to form groups and assist refugee communities and communities of return. Some examples are apparent from the statements made from survey participants, one man stated, "He would teach people how to unite and tell people to join associations to help the country and have something to depend on" (Translated, SVY 80). Another stated, "He would organize a group that he can work with and they would start teaching people peace back home" (SVY 66).

The claims of peace programmes helping with forming groups was confirmed by the returnees in Liberia. For example, a female returnee who did not participate in a camp peace programme stated that when she returned to Liberia, "A woman from the camp, who had [peace programme] training, brings some of us together and talks to us about how to live and work together now that we are in Liberia and gives us confidence to be home" (RI 3). Many returnees elaborated on their groups, some examples are;

> When I first came I was living in Gurley Street by the Gender Ministry and the people did not live together peacefully so I started a group to help them learn how to live together peacefully, face some things and be together as a community…we pass on skills in a mentor type programme (RI 9).

> I live in New Georgia, Ghanasville normally when there is conflict we [a peace group] come in and try to talk to people and impart what we have learned. Most focus [is] on reconciliation, how to identify problem what gave rise to it and how best can we move forward, what can we do best. We move in the community, sometimes from house to house, sometimes engage family members, individually and try to tell them the processes. I did mediation many times (RI 18).

The idea of group formation was then tied to mobilizing groups to increase community economic activities. When asked what is the purpose of a peace programme, a MOBAN

member replied, "to help people have occupation and not to be idle or boredom cause that breeds conflict" (Ibrahim, PPI 8). Some stated, "Peace programmes create a basis for the future, for the development of livelihood programmes" (OI UNHCR 1). While others asserted that peace programmes, "increase economic activities" (Marie, PPI 2). All the study participants agreed there is a strong connection between livelihood and conflict management skills and therefore both must be pursued as one system. One participant explained, "Conflict resolution and livelihood training are tied…they strengthen and weaken each other" (OI, PEAL).

The participants highlighted the importance of livelihood activities being developed through a conflict management lens. That is, as people become self-reliant in solving problems for themselves they work together to develop livelihood activities as a means to address conflict. For example, MOBAN used conflict management skills to empower individuals to be self-reliant and subsequently the community members identified a need for livelihood activities. MOBAN and the community members worked together, using their limited financial capacity and initiative to create livelihood projects. Currently, they have a goat rearing project, cash-go-arounds (a form of credit lending), a computer training programme and a seed bank. These programmes have no outside funding and were solely created and are run by refugee communities.

An individuals' livelihood development is said to be crucial for post-conflict peacebuilding. However, 19 out of the 20 returnees interviewed claim the livelihood trainings they received during exile are not currently assisting them. Yet, those who participated in camp peace programme claim the skills they learnt are assisting their livelihood activities. This was tied to the ability to form groups. For example, a livelihood officer for GIZ noted that refugees who participated in the peace programme are using their skills to help build livelihood activities in their communities of return, he stated "what they learned in the peace programme they take home, refugees returned to Sudan told me they started mobilizing themselves and forming groups, savings and credit, things they learnt in the peace programme" (SPI GTZ 5).

Additionally, when returnees were asked how the peace programme skills are helping their communities one woman replied, "I know how to organize people so I brought women who had sewing skills together and we displayed quilts to promote us at the Women's Colloquium Empowerment Conference here in Monrovia" (Dekontee, RI 11). While another stated she is "bringing the community to work together. We are working to open a school and create job programmes to keep the country running" (RI 2).

The preceding data highlights how peacebuilding is encouraged through the development of leadership skills and the ability to organize people. By promoting group formation peace programmes support the development of grassroots level institutions and by creating leaders promotes the local capacity for self-governance. Additionally, the data illustrates as people learn how to solve conflicts for themselves this promotes self-reliance which assists in the creation of livelihood activities. Peace programmes as a means to empower refugees for self-reliance aligns them as an activity which can be utilized under the frameworks and strategies targeting self-reliance.

However, the data also revealed how refugee camp peace programmes contributions to sustainable post-conflict peacebuilding strategies are directly prevented by three additional themes, they are; (1) programme identification and design; (2) implementation standards and; (3) measuring impact.

Preventative theme one: programme identification and design

Currently, traditional refugee relief-based activities, that is, providing food, water and shelter have been extended to encompass development programmes. This new outlook focuses predominately on self-reliance activities. During the study the participants argued donor governments and other providers of refugee assistance are reluctant to prioritize and support refugee camp peace programmes even though these programmes are development-oriented. For example a protection service officer explained;

> A peacebuilding focus is very new and internal with the UNHCR …peacebuilding needs to become main stream, donors don't believe peace education is practical it needs to be prioritized, if we have peace we don't have refugees, if we have early warning mechanisms, we lessen future conflict. If the goal of UNHCR is to protect refugees, peace programmes are aligned with this mandate. UNHCR is how to act, prevention will be the ripple. We don't want people to become refugees again (OI UNHCR 1).

AGDM exercises are the main strategy used to identify areas of need for new programmes. While this was confirmed by service provider interviews two additional factors were identified as secondary influences to programme identification. The first factor was, host government approval. This ranked as extremely influential on approved refugee camp programming. For example a participant stated, "When partners come with a programme they have to inform OPM and if they [OPM] are ok with it, it is applied, OPM has to agree" (SPI OMP 3).

The second factor was identified as timing, as individual interest on the ground can determine what is considered important. One participant noted, "OPM has to agree and timing can also play a factor. Something can be going on and no one cares then it becomes a popular idea and something to focus on" (SPI GTZ 2). A UNHCR protection officer explains,

> When it comes to UNHCR it is their mandate, which areas they cover and should be covered, so some things are set related to protection, primary education, health etc. But some things depend on individuals on the ground and what their interests are (SPI UNHCR 1).

In Nakivale the survey participants were asked to rank six programmes in order of priority.[14] Based on the data, the average ranking of refugee programmes were placed in the following order of importance (One being the most and six being the least important): (1) peace programmes; (2) health programmes; (3) food programmes; (4) water programmes; (5) education programmes; (6) livelihood programmes.

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[14] It is important to note the participants were selected based on their recent participation in a TOT training on basic conflict resolution, discussions on the importance of peacebuilding, leadership, human rights law, refugee and Ugandan law.

Figure 1. Survey question two results – programme priority
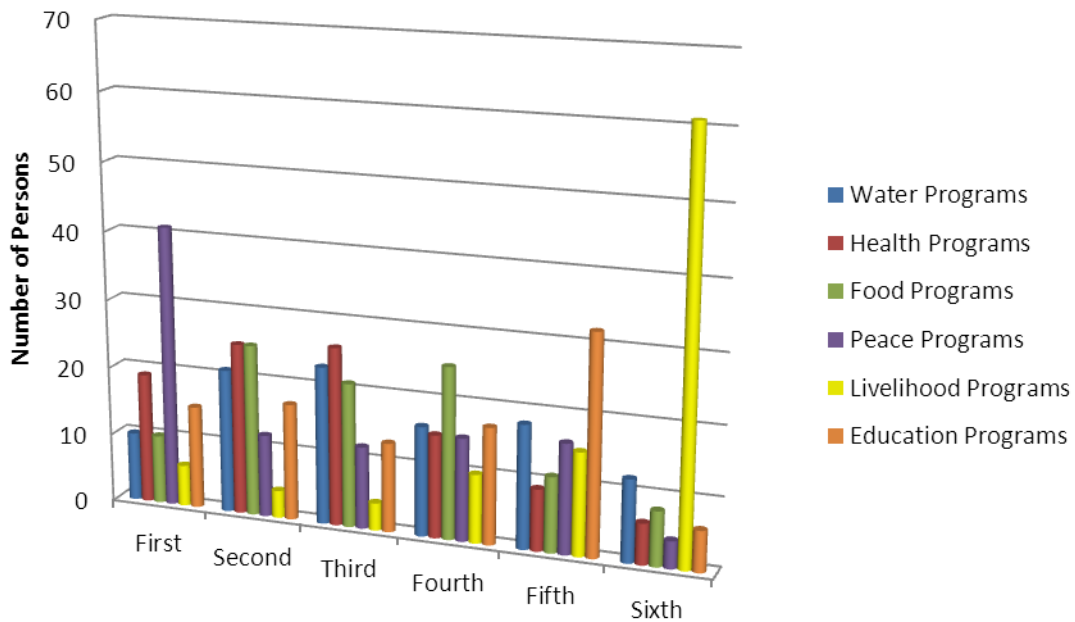
Peace programmes averaged as the most important programme with 41 participants selecting it as number one. As peace programmes have not been identified as a priority in mainstream refugee programming the analysis of the survey results along with the other data it is concluded that once individuals are exposed to a peace programme its importance becomes validated. Unfortunately, a comparison of survey participants who did not receive the training would have been beneficial to confirm this conclusion. However, reactions from focus group discussions with those who had not been exposed to a peace programme, suggests that refugee camp peace programmes need and benefit may not be recognized by individuals and/or communities until they have been exposed to these programmes.

For example, focus group discussions began with many questions for MOBAN about who they are, what they do and how they can benefit the community. However, the discussions ended with an ardent desire and willingness to actively implement community conflict containment structures and genuine desire for training and education in peace and conflict.

In each village, community members displayed surprise at how the discussion made them feel. One participant stated, "We let our hearts flow here and we want to continue, people here have conflicts and we can discuss problems, finally" (FG 9). Another claimed, "We learnt about many things here, like how our community wants to solve things and you are helping us change our thinking and making us think the same" (FG 4). This was followed by clapping. Another participant expressed, "This discussion is helping, solving problems for ourselves feels good" (FG 4).

The focus group facilitation team concluded that internal and external conflict within refugee populations can be so embedded in individual and community life that people may be unable to identify the need for assistance in this area. Therefore, if AGDM was conducted in these villages, need for conflict management training or peace programmes would not be identified unless the communities had been previously exposed to them on various occasions.

This claim was validated by other participants. For example, a participant who has worked with peace programmes in post-conflict setting agreed stating, "The people that receive the training at a higher level, a coordinator member, those who participated a lot, they are the ones that see the importance…" (OI PEAL). Another participant noted, "Unless you feel it [peace programme] you cannot see it" (RI 9).

As discussed previously and confirmed by the contributive themes findings; livelihood activities are essential to sustainable post-conflict peacebuilding. However, the survey shows that refugees, in Nakivale, do not acknowledge the importance of these programmes during exile. The survey results showed that livelihood programmes ranked the least important programme by 61 participants. Livelihood programmes selected as least important reveals an absence of foreknowledge about future needs. That is, there appears to be a direct disconnect between camp programming and durable solution preparedness.

Interviews with returnees revealed that camp livelihood training programmes were too elementary and there was a lack of higher education opportunities during their time in exile which directly prevented their contribution to their countries' development. As mentioned previously, the returnees were asked if they were using the skills they received from training programmes in the camp, 99% replied they are not.[15] The returnees posited the training programmes in the camp were not adequate enough to help them become contributors to their countries post-conflict recovery.

One returnee stated, "When you come back you have to start over, you are a refugee again, you go through the same cycle, before you can establish; nothing to do, nowhere to start, you take skill training in the camp but it doesn't help" (RI 14). Another stated, "I should have had better education and skill training so that when I come home I am useful to the society" (RI 1). Another posited, "I did not gain anything from my camp, I stayed alive but learned nothing …I dropped out of university when I fled, then I wished to further my education, but never got training or finance to go further" (RI 13). Every returnee described their experience as starting over again despite vocational trainings received in the camp. When asked how being a refugee affected their return and reintegration the most common statement was, "I am still a refugee, it is the same" (RI 4).

Interviews with organizations in Liberia revealed this lack of durable solution preparedness facilitates a dependency syndrome. When asked how care and maintenance programmes affect returnees, all agreed that current programming policies do not address the long-term needs of refugee populations. One participant explained;

> Short-term training is the common thing [in the camp] but there needs to programmes that extend to intermediate and advance to truly develop people…there will always be refugees…they [UNHCR] should be preparing them to leave the camp. We have to teach them being a refugee is temporary; build individuals' confidence so that they can get out of the dependency mode…(OI LRRRC 1).

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[15] The one participant who replied yes stated he received bible study training and opened up his own fellowship upon returning to Liberia.

A returnee turned Senator stated,

> The UNCHR should be a peacebuilding institution, should adapt programmes for the peacebuilding process for refugees and start to prepare them for when they come home. If a child is between the age of 8-16 when they are a refugee and had little opportunity to further their education, they have no knowledge and nothing to contribute to the social growth of society, to the economic development of the country, to the reconstruction of the society. It is not just about providing bedding, food and small money it's a matter of developing the minds of refugees to be able to put behind the conflict they had had and be able to move forward and help Liberian communities move forward… (RI 19).

Overall, the data reveals how refugee camp programming is influenced by host governments and individual interests of service provider organizations or employees. In addition, a lack of knowledge on what a peace programme is by general populations would directly prevent it from being identified as a need. There is also a lack of understanding on which programmes would be essential for durable solution preparedness. Among refugee participants there appeared to be a direct disconnect in acknowledging future realities. In addition, the data also reveals how embedded conditions can obscure assessments of what is needed.

While the data findings highlight the importance for PRS strategies like those found in TDA, DAR and the 4Rs approach to self-reliance it also shows these strategies have not made an impact on the participants in this study. In summary, weaknesses in refugee programming identification systems, like AGDM, prevents refugee camp peace programmes from contributing to sustainable peacebuilding strategies in post-conflict communities.

Preventative theme two: implementation standards

Peace programmes are short-term initiatives implemented either at the beginning of a refugee emergency, in post-conflict countries immediately after peace is declared and/or during repatriation/reintegration exercises. When the participants were asked if refugee peace programmes should be implemented alongside basic service programming from the beginning and continue over the long-term 100% stated they should. For example, one participant stated, "It is a necessary programme, knowledge with this subject matter is good everywhere, conflicts are why the refugees fled so it should be from the beginning" (OI LRRRC 4). Another said, "It would be great if they could do that, funding is always an issue, governments don't really believe that peace programmes are important as they think they are not about development" (OI UNHCR 1).

Participants discussed the reality of peacebuilding being a long-term process and therefore argued peace programmes should be implemented and sustained over a longer period of time. A refugee explained, "…It takes time for people to understand how to live in harmony" (PPI 18). Another participant argued, "…currently peace programmes are short-term programmes trying to make long-term impact. Peace education is long-term training. It should be a policy to have them from the beginning. This needs to change" (OI PEAL). Another agreed stating, "Most people have lived through the war but it takes a long time for people to resolve conflict there is still trauma in our society it may take 10 to 20 years, peacebuilding is long-term action" (OI LRRRC 1).

A host government official posited, "Peace is something to be building. For example, if peacebuilding begins in 2010 maybe five years later you say, now look at it, it works, it should not be implemented short-term, but long-term" (SPI OPM 2). A director for the LRRRC stated;

> Basically you see that during the conflict members of the community support certain armed groups, so when the conflict comes to an end there is a need for peacebuilding to really unite the community and their previous difference of opinion or heart. Peacebuilding programmes come in right after the war and then stop but they need to be continuous…in the camp if more leadership skills, conflict management are taught they [refugees] learn how to use them in the camp and then can apply them when they get home... the change could take 10 years so continuous peacebuilding is crucial (OI LRRRC 3).

Overall, the participants agreed UNHCR and its partners need to shift their current implementation standards on peace programmes from short-term initiatives to long-term initiatives in both camps and in post-conflict environments. Due to the short-term implementation standards for camp peace programmes, refugees themselves usually continue the programmes as refugee peace initiatives, groups or registered Community Based Organizations (CBOs).

The data revealed these refugee initiatives are sustainable as they are based on individual will. For example, one participant stated, "…it is really more sustainable because it is a refugee initiative we did not impose it on them it came from themselves …" (SPI GTZ 3). Another said, "It is sustainable especially when it comes from the refugees themselves, not like something we have imposed on them so it has a higher probability it will be sustained…" (SPI, UNHCR 2).

However, refugee movements were said to directly affect the sustainability of refugee based initiatives. Refugee camps can experience emergency situations at any time, especially in regions prone to conflict. It was agreed by the majority of participants that during emergency situations refugee based initiatives and CBOs are not a priority as the camp environment switches from a development focus to a relief-based focus.

One participant said, "They tend to disappear, it is not a priority. At least it would be difficult cause there are other overwhelming tasks to be addressed" (SPI UNHCR 1). Another stated, "It is not a priority, we look at basic needs, water, shelter, food…" (SPI UNHCR 2). However, the refugee camp service providers recognized that peace programmes could help with large influxes of new refugees on the camp, for example, one person noted, "They could be used to help for sensitization to new refugee communities" (SPI GTZ 3).

In addition, the general transient nature of camp life was also seen to effect sustainability of refugee based initiatives as refugees may be repatriated or are resettled. A service provider noted, "There is always movement of refugees, so when refugees leave it is difficult to find replacements, especially when committee members leave" (SPI GTZ 4). With the transient nature of refugee camps CBOs are left struggling.

With the camp dynamics hindering CBOs sustainability participants also pointed out a lack of financial support directly prevents peace programmes from reaching their goals. When asked if a programme like MOBAN is sustainable, one service provider noted,

> If supported, if more funding is put under this programme, I don't think they are getting the funding or support they need, they can put in the forefront, become more known…most of their activities lack funding cause it is a CBO and I feel given support they will grow up to be a very important and useful organization, especially in Nakivale. (SPI GTZ 2)

Another explained, "I think if it is well and fully supported it will last. We need to encourage all partners to bring them on board so they are not left hanging" (SPI OPM 1). A community development coordinator stated, "They need to seek external support, these groups need to inform service providers on a regular basis about what they are doing so when donor missions are around they may get support" (SPI UNHCR 2). The peace programme members also identified this concern. All members indicated a lack of financial support affects their overall sustainability and impact in the community and beyond.

It is interesting to note that competition for donor funding with service providers was identified by both the refugee and returnee communities as an issue. For example, a returnee discussed how the peace programme in her camp had come up with a programme targeting camp prostitution and this idea was presented to UNHCR, however they did not hear back from them. But later UNHCR implemented a similar programme. She claimed, "When we explain our needs for the prostitute activity they [UNHCR] take our ideas, write proposals and take the money for their project" (RI 10).

The peace programme members in Nakivale also identified this situation. For example, the MOBAN founder stated, "Service providers and other NGOs, sometimes hijack our ideas to get the funding and benefits, we approach them with our ideas and lose..." (John, PPI 9). As there are funding constraints on UNHCR and general donor fatigue with refugee programming this leaves refugee based initiatives unable to secure funding due to increased competition with international agencies for private donor funding on the ground.

Overall, the data shows that because refugee camp peace programmes are implemented on a short-term basis refugees are left to maintain these programmes as refugee based initiatives or CBOs. While these programmes are considered sustainable due to individual will to promote the programmes they are vulnerable to refugee movements and a lack of funding. Implementation standards and lack of support for refugee-based initiatives directly prevent refugee camp peace programmes from contributing to sustainable peacebuilding strategies in post-conflict communities.

Preventative theme three: measuring impact

As stated previously, the evaluations and effectiveness of refugee camp peace programmes are often questionable due to a lack of benchmarks to measure impacts. Additionally, the impact of peacebuilding programmes is considered difficult to measure as outcomes may manifest years later. However, the design of this research project highlights the value of the participants' voices in measuring impact. Therefore, the perspectives and experiences of the participants become the valid benchmarks when analyzing the data.

Question one of the survey was designed to ascertain the impact of a two day training course conducted by the MOBAN peace programme in partnership with GIZ. The results identified types of conflict experienced since the training (in order of highest number of conflicts to lowest); (1) neighbour conflict; (2) conflict with other tribes/ethnicities; (3) family conflict; (4) conflict with refugees from other nationalities; (5) conflict with those who have committed a criminal act against you; (6) aid competition conflict; (7) clan/tribe leadership conflict; (8) host community conflict; (9) conflict with people from other religions; (10) conflict with GIZ; (11) employment competition conflict; (12) conflict with settlement leadership conflict; (13) conflict with OPM; (14) conflict with UNHCR.

Figure 2. Survey question one results – conflicts experienced since TOT training
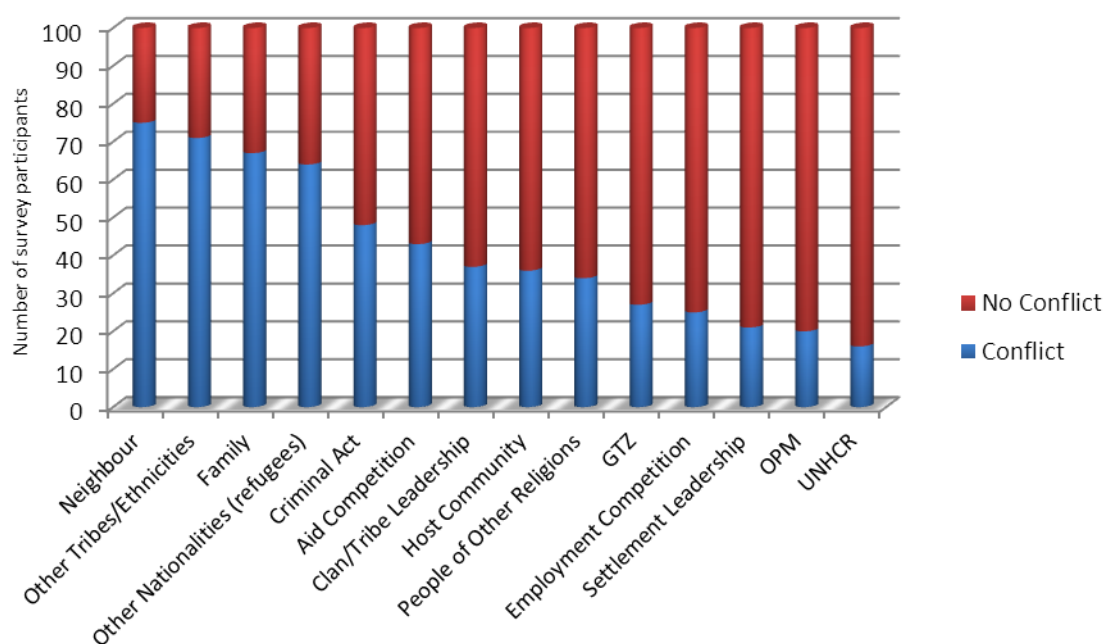
The survey then asked if the TOT training assisted participants in producing peaceful outcomes to their experienced conflicts; providing the choices of always, often, sometimes and never. The participants selected sometimes more frequently than any other selection. Often was the second most common selection followed by always. Rarely had the training been never effective. The results highlighted that the TOT training has been highly effective when dealing with family, neighbour and other tribe/ethnicity conflict. However, the results also indicated an increase in the selection of sometimes and never for conflicts with settlement leadership, GIZ, OPM and UNHCR.

The results suggest additional conflict management training targeting how to handle conflicts with higher power structures is needed. Based on these results, the two day workshop often improved overall conflict management abilities. Therefore, it can be anticipated more comprehensive training could have a larger impact in the communities. This also demonstrates how impact is tied to the need for capacity building and financial support from service providers; as a refugee based initiative or CBO would not be able to conduct a training workshop of this size without external support.

In addition, the refugee and returnee participants believe that there is not enough monitoring and follow-up to ensure the programmes and activities conducted in the camps are achieving their goals. It was further revealed participants believe this inadequacy in monitoring extends to the refugee-returnee cycle. A participant explained, "There is not really follow-up when refugees return, there is no long-term programme to see what worked [in the camp] and what didn't, huge gap in this area" (OI SFCG).[16]

When looking at refugee camp programmes' impact in post-conflict environments returnees were asked about the current usefulness of livelihood skills training and/or peacebuilding training they received while in exile. As mentioned previously, 99% of the returnees claim they are not using livelihood training they received while in exile. On the other hand, 99% of returnees who gained skills from a peace programme during exile are using their peacebuilding skills to benefit their respective community of return. The refugees in this study agreed stating they would use their peacebuilding skills upon repatriation. One answered;

> In my mind and heart I would. As we are living in harmony with every nationality here we then bring the ethical, the moral brotherhood to our home. Our futures will be good even the time we leave the settlement go back in our countries of origin we go with that mind, that heart of living in harmony with others (Beatrice, PPI 1).

Another participant commented, "I am scheduled for resettlement and I would bring it to wherever I go, I have to make sure I use these skills" (PPI 8). 100% of the service provider and organization participants agreed the skills obtained in from a refugee camp peace programme are transferable to and beneficial for post-conflict communities.

Positive feedback and increased service provider support are recognized measurements of impact for MOBAN members. However, large training programmes and activities are entirely dependent on increased financial support. Although refugees desire to make a positive impact in post-conflict communities and believe peacebuilding skills learnt in the camp are transferable to post-conflict communities this remains perceived impact and consequently lacks accepted measurements necessary for programme policy changes. Therefore, due to the inability to measure the impact camp peace programmes directly prevents these programmes from contributing to sustainable post-conflict peacebuilding strategies.

Conclusion

In 1992, former Secretary General for the United Nations Boutros Boutros Ghali proclaimed, in his Agenda for Peace, that peacebuilding would be considered an essential component of reconstruction in post-conflict states (Murithi, 2009). This study revealed that peace programmes can increase community co-existence through the promotion of psychosocial well-being in the form of trauma healing.

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[16] It must be noted that these responses went on to express the opinion that refugee camp peace programmes are considered a mechanism for facilitating self-reliance and therefore can help remove these gaps.

Additionally, skills obtained from refugee camp peace programmes can contribute to sustainable peacebuilding strategies by supporting existing development activities, especially, protection and rule of law structures. Moreover, participants posited that peace programmes assist reintegration, specifically, by strengthening conflict resolution and mediation skills thereby providing bottom-up approaches to peacebuilding through community-centered intervention.

Participants also identified how refugee camp peace programmes infuse self-reliant behaviour which in turn fosters leadership subsequently promoting the creation of peace groups. These groups are said to subsequently promote livelihood activities and support the development of institutions from the grassroots level therefore providing an ideal foundation for the development of civil society groups.

However, the participants also showed that identification and programme design policies prevent the above-mentioned contributions from reaching post-conflict communities. Moreover, the participants revealed that without long-term implementation plans, capacity building support and donor investment the impact of refugee camp peace programmes in post-conflict environments will remain deficient and unable to reach their full potential.

The participants voiced their desire to create a positive impact in post-conflict communities, nevertheless, until stringent adherence to benchmarks for measuring impacts are loosened, refugee camp peace programmes will fail to be recognized as an effective post-conflict peacebuilding strategy.

Every year, new accumulations of people are displaced as old problems remain unresolved and new ones emerge. Peace programmes have the potential to meet this challenge. They can rebuild social trust and a sense of community. They can address issues of discrimination and intolerance while nurturing respect for human rights and gender equality. They help encourage pro-social values and support norms of nonviolence and law. Through fostering social empowerment peace programmes encourage leadership which in turn assists in mobilizing community groups, thereby, building healthy civil society initiatives and community's working towards their economic well-being.

Under traditional refugee aid programming policy the priority of physical needs over social, economic, cultural and psychological needs perpetuates dependency and ignores the importance of preventing reoccurring cycles of violence. Refugee aid must contribute to long-term development which means refugee programming must be based on durable solution preparedness. It is imperative refugee programming objectives extend beyond the borders of the country of asylum, as eventually the refugee cycle will come to an end.

Refugee assistance is focused on delivering goods and services, where competition for donor funding results in weakened systems and relationships. It is time to thoroughly explore working with the recipients of aid, to ultimately solve their problems. This study was designed on the premise that the recipients of aid have important information to share on the aid they receive. By placing value on the voices of refugees and returnees and by listening to those on the ground who seek to assist them, many areas which need improvement were revealed. Therefore, it is hoped, the voices of the participants in this study are honored through continued discussions and deliberate action.

Even with limited evaluations of current peace programmes and the overarching preventative factors, revealed in this study, peace programmes' intrinsic value cannot be ignored. I conclude with the words of a former refugee who spent 15 years in a camp, who was active in a peace programme and is currently dedicated to building peace in his community of return;

> Peacebuilding cannot be done by an individual or an individual organization everyone has to be involved, it is the only way peace can be sustained. If you have a situation where you have a refugee camp and peacebuilder skills are learnt these peacebuilders can come back to their home communities and can transfer their skills which they learned in the camp and become part of the peacebuilding process. You can create peace sectors within communities, have branches in various areas and regions, this can help get everyone involved. As people get the message and learn the tools to build peace, it will spread. Once the majority of the population is involved, peacebuilding will be sustainable. Peace can then be spread to regions and the entire world (R 20).

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