



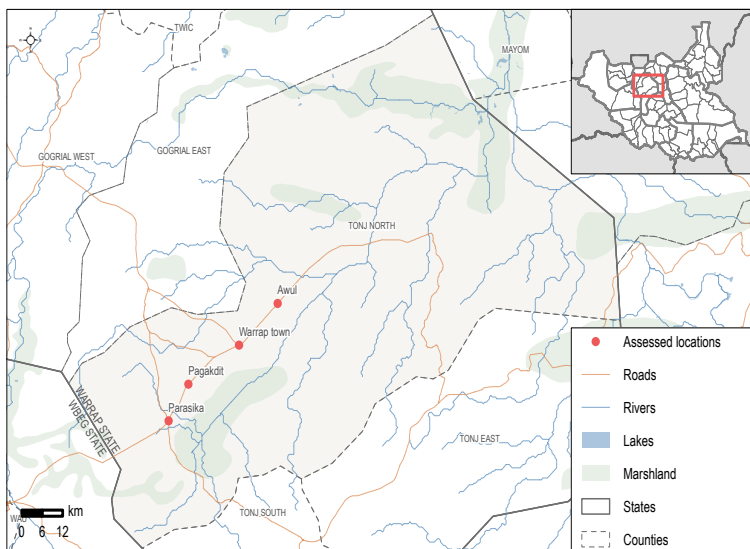
Tonj North Rapid Assessment

Warrap State, South Sudan, September 2021

Key Findings

- Insecurity has continued to drive large-scale displacement throughout 2021. This has prevented internally displaced persons (IDPs) from accessing their land throughout the cultivation cycle, and has resulted in populations converging upon Payam¹ and Boma² headquarters. Most IDPs have been unable to harvest, while host community members have only cultivated small plots surrounding the homestead, with insecurity limiting access to extended plots which typically provide the majority of the households' food stocks. Displacement to populated areas has placed substantial pressure on host community food stocks, which are expected to be exhausted as early as November 2021.
- Access to cattle is also atypically low and unlikely to improve until the next rainy season (May – November).³ It is reportedly too dangerous to keep cattle close to the homestead, due to the risk of cattle raiding, as such, most cattle have migrated to areas far from the settlement, limiting the ability of vulnerable groups to access milk, meat, blood and income.
- Widespread livelihood collapse has been compounded by a reported inability to depend on traditional coping strategies and income generating activities. Focus group discussion (FGD) participants frequently reported that women were being attacked while collecting wild foods, and that wild food sources were being systematically attacked.
- Poorer groups have reportedly been unable to access income by cropping and rearing livestock for better off households and FGD participants reported that there has been a decrease in the functionality of community level coping mechanisms in Tonj North, particularly chiefs' courts, which distribute resources among the community in times of acute hunger.
- Attacks in Marial Lou in July resulted in delays in the delivery of food assistance, and persistent insecurity has meant that July and August distributions were moved to Akop, an estimated eight hour walk from Marial Lou. This is likely to also be the case for the September distribution.
- FGD participants displaced from Marial Lou reported that roughly a quarter of households, particularly vulnerable groups, such as older persons, children, people with disabilities, and female headed households, had been unable to make longer displacement journeys. Inability to move has resulted in highly food insecure households being reportedly unable to access humanitarian food assistance (HFA) and other humanitarian services, while other households reportedly missed the distributions due to the high risk of movement.
- In the near-term, access to humanitarian services is likely to decrease. Throughout 2021, the caseload, ration size and duration of HFA in Tonj North increased substantially, however, according to humanitarian service providers, no further food assistance is currently planned post September. Continued provision of HFA will play a crucial role in reducing atypically severe food consumption gaps throughout the 'harvest' period, which usually runs from June until November.
- Service providers reported that mass displacement from Marial Lou has placed substantial pressure on health and nutrition facilities in the areas of displacement, particularly Akop and Rulabet, which has resulted in supplies being exhausted. Supply challenges have been further compounded by a seasonal deterioration in road conditions that has limited the ability of providers to restock.
- Temporary health and nutrition facilities, both with funding for ten weeks, began to operate on the 1st August. Without continued funding, service providers reported that these facilities will cease operations in mid-October.

Map 1: Tonj North assessment coverage map



Introduction: Vulnerability and acute events

Persistent and overlapping organised violence throughout 2020 increased the scale, scope, and complexity of civilian needs in greater Tonj, resulting in hundreds of casualties, the displacement of tens of thousands, widespread loss of livestock, disruption to agricultural and pastoral livelihoods, and the destruction of civilian property and humanitarian facilities and assets.⁴ By August 2020, communities in greater Tonj were hit by a second round of unprecedented and devastating floods. The cumulative effects of conflict and flooding left Tonj North, South, and East facing Emergency (Integrated Phase Classification Phase 4) levels of food insecurity – with five to ten percent of the population projected to face Catastrophic (IPC Phase 5) food insecurity until July 2021.⁵

Since the IPC workshop in November 2020, the 2021 dry season saw increased raids by armed cattle keepers from Koch and Mayom counties, Unity State, into Tonj North, with insecurity persisting well

Table 1: Names given to recent years, according to FGD participants from across Tonj North

2021	Ruon Riak – The year of the conflict
2019	Ruon Abor – The year of the flood
1998	Ruon Makrup - The year where nobody was left behind (by hunger)

into the rainy season (May to November).⁶ Pre-existing tensions between communities in Tonj North and Tonj East also intensified and culminated in an attack in Marial Lou in July 2021, with armed elements targeting humanitarian facilities, including looting 232 metric tonnes of food commodities from the World Food Programme (WFP) warehouse, and looting and vandalising health and nutrition facilities.⁷ While the destruction of livelihoods has often been a by-product of conflict, in the ongoing cycles of violence in greater Tonj, the destruction and stripping of livelihoods and livelihood assets appears to have become increasingly deliberate.⁸ Communities in Tonj North have named the years of 1998, 2019 and 2021; a practice that is typically shaped by extreme events. Indicative of the severity of the situation, FGD participants reported that the year 2021, is being referred to locally as “the year of the conflict” (see Table 1). Such insecurity has limited the implementation of livelihood activities that involve leaving the settlement, such as cultivation, pastoralism, the collection of firewood and wild foods, and has resulted in widespread displacement, with IDPs often displacing to larger towns, which are deemed to be safer. This has in turn placed substantial pressure on very limited host community resources.

In light of these recent shocks, REACH conducted a rapid assessment in Tonj North (Map 1), with the objectives of i) gaining a snapshot of current humanitarian needs and gaps, ii) identifying variations in needs between different geographic areas and population groups, iii) understanding the impacts of years of cumulative shocks on the ability of households to engage in traditional livelihood activities, and iv) understanding the effect of shocks on the ability of traditional institutions to redistribute community assets and to protect the most vulnerable.

Population movement

According to FGD participants, populations in the south and east of Tonj North face considerable barriers to movement. Barriers to movement have been exacerbated by shocks that have limited humanitarian service provision in the area, which has, in turn, compounded the vulnerability of the populations that were unable to undertake longer displacement journeys.

- In 2019 and 2020, the border between Tonj North and Unity State saw some of the most intense insecurity in the country.⁹ As in previous years, the 2021 dry season has seen increasing raids by armed cattle keepers into Tonj North. During the dry-

Methodology

The assessment comprised two main qualitative methodological components: focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (KIIs). Data collection took place between the 30th August and 2nd September. During this period, a total of seven FGDs were conducted with host community members and IDPs in Warrap Town, Awul, Parasika and Pagakdit, Tonj North. The FGD component consisted of two thematic areas: i) shocks as they relate to food security and livelihoods, and ii) susceptibility to famine conditions. Separate FGDs were held for men and women, and participants were grouped by location of origin. In addition, a total of eight KIIs were conducted with community chiefs and health and nutrition service providers. The KII component consisted of two thematic tools: i) health and nutrition service provision, and ii) chiefs' courts functionality.

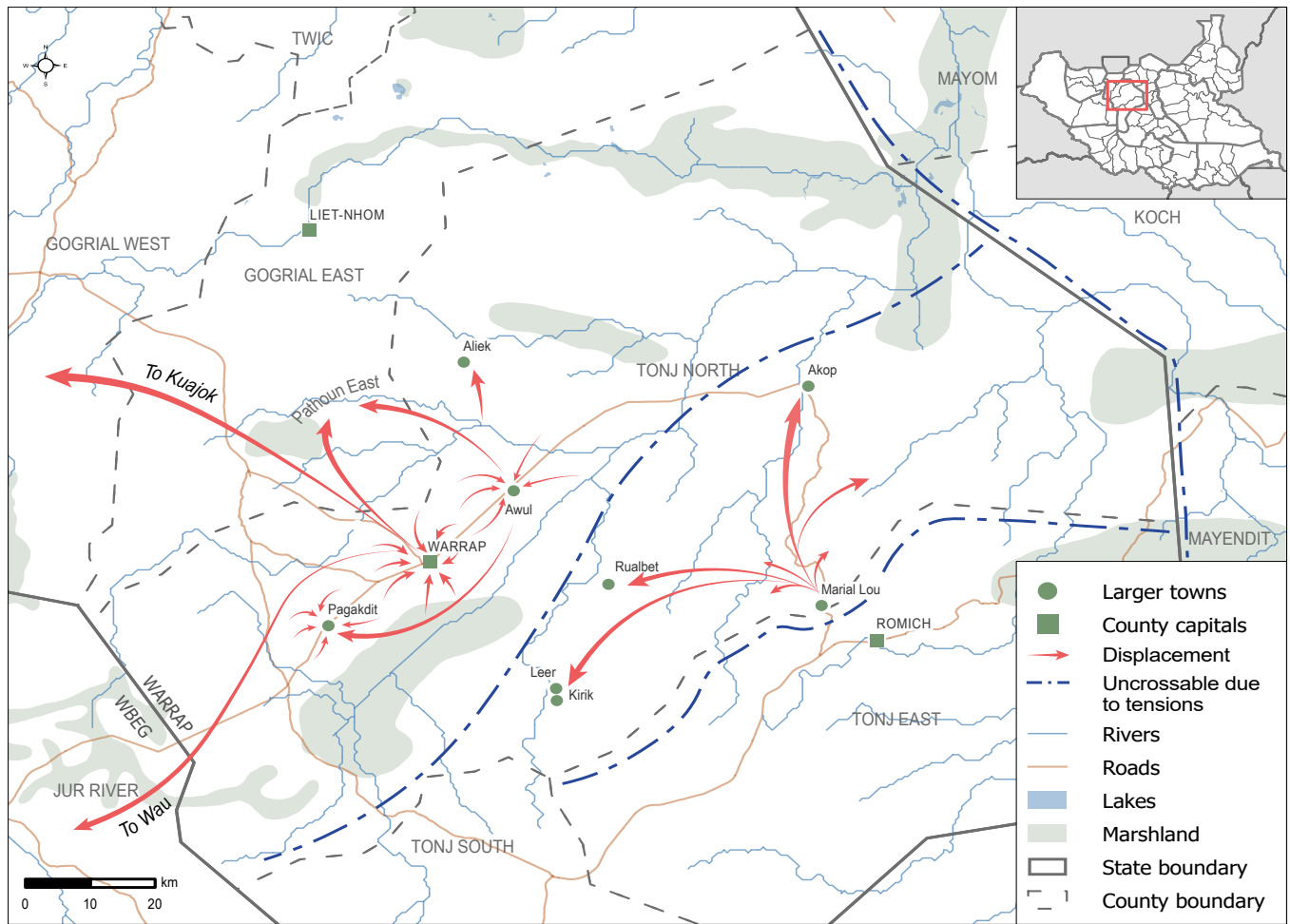
Additionally, the team conducted informal, semi-structured interviews with local NGOs, authority officials and community representatives. Qualitative FGD and KII assessment tools were triangulated with interactive proportional piling exercises, which involved piling 100 beans in front of the respondent, who was then asked to divide them into piles, attributing indicative values to questions on population movement and challenges facing the communities, based on the respondents' perception.

The assessment findings are indicative of the situation at the time of data collection, and are not statistically representative of the area's population.

season, cross-border incidents usually increase as migration routes intersect and access to resources becomes more constrained, increasing regional instability along the border with Unity State.¹⁰ An escalation of clashes during the 2021 dry season has meant that insecurity along this border has persisted well into the rainy season.

- Throughout 2021, tensions between communities in Tonj North and Tonj East intensified, culminating in an attack in Marial Lou in July, which, according to FGD participants, resulted in mass displacement. Widespread insecurity and tension has meant that affected populations in Marial Lou have been unable to displace to the south. As such, in the wake of the attacks in July, most people reportedly displaced within Tonj North county.
- Through the proportional piling exercise (see Methodology), IDPs who were recently displaced from Marial Lou commonly reported that people had mostly displaced to larger towns in the west, (such as Rualbet, where an estimated 45% of the population reportedly displaced to), and to the north, particularly Akop (30%), (see Population Movement map). According to the interviewed IDPs, the remaining 25% of the

Map 2: Population movement as reported by KIs in Tonj North



population, reportedly the most vulnerable groups who were unable to make longer displacement journeys, displaced to settlements in close proximity to Marial Lou where insecurity persists and access to services remains minimal.

- Despite movement to the west and to the north, FGD participants reported that displaced populations from Marial Lou are largely unable to move further west than Kirik, due to widespread insecurity that stems from an ongoing cycle of raids, counterattacks, and revenge attacks. The consequence of this is that communities from Marial Lou cannot travel through Pagol and Manloor Payams to access locations such as Wau, without incurring substantial risk. According to FGD participants displaced from Marial Lou, northerly movement from Akop, into Gogrial East, is also challenging due to the tensions with nearby communities to the west, and due to geographical barriers, particularly swamps and seasonal floodplains that limit movement.
- Continued clashes along the border between Tonj North and Tonj East will likely result in high levels of insecurity which could continue to limit humanitarian presence in the area (see Humanitarian Food Assistance and Health and Nutrition Service Provision and Access). Findings suggest that

populations in close proximity to Marial Lou, often vulnerable IDPs, will be the most affected.

Food availability and access

Cultivation

Insecurity has reportedly prevented many households in Tonj North from cultivating, and has resulted in large-scale population movement that has placed substantial pressure on the small plots of land that host community members have cultivated. According to FGD participants, harvested food stocks are expected to be exhausted as early as November 2021, likely resulting in atypically severe, widespread and prolonged food consumption gaps, particularly for IDPs.

- Widespread and persistent insecurity and flooding had a drastic effect on cultivation throughout 2020, as many people had their crops stolen, were unable to cultivate, cultivated early and were subsequently displaced, or did not cultivate at all.¹¹ Early heavy rain in June and July 2020 particularly affected groundnuts, pumpkin, and sesame, which are typically harvested slightly earlier than maize and sorghum.¹²
- Throughout 2021, these dynamics, particularly insecurity, have continued to drive large-scale displacement, with populations

largely converging on Payam and Boma headquarters. Consequently, IDPs displaced to Warrap Town, Awul, Prasika and Pagakdit, consistently reported that insecurity had prevented them accessing their land throughout the 2021 cultivation cycle, and as such, most IDPs will reportedly have no harvest in 2021, likely resulting in atypically severe, widespread and prolonged food consumption gaps.

- Clashes in Marial Lou in July resulted in widespread displacement (see Population Movement). FGD participants displaced from the area reported that most IDPs were displaced from their land prior to the harvest and that armed groups were stealing and destroying crops, and burning settlements to the ground. As such, IDPs may be unlikely to return to Marial Lou in the near and medium term, placing continued pressure on host community resources.
- According to FGD participants, host community members from Warrap Town, Awul, Prasika, and Pagakdit have been able to cultivate small plots close to the homestead, but insecurity has substantially limited access to extended plots outside the settlement, which typically provide the majority of the households' food stocks.
- For those community members that were able to cultivate, harvested food stocks are expected to be exhausted as early as November 2021.

Livestock

Access to livestock has been atypically low throughout the 2021 lean season, the time in which reliance on cattle is generally highest. Widespread insecurity has reportedly resulted in a change in cattle migration patterns, as a result, cattle have migrated away from the homestead. Access to cattle is unlikely to improve in the near to medium term, leaving highly vulnerable groups without access to milk, meat and blood.

- Throughout 2020 conflict-related restrictions on the freedom of movement had considerable implications for pastoralist communities. Displacement and conflict resulted in cattle being kept atypically close to the homestead in the dry season and prevented livestock from using their typical migration paths, reportedly resulting in a notable increase in cattle morbidity and mortality. This can likely be attributed to cattle spending increased time in swampy conditions and having less access to pasture.¹³
- According to food security and nutrition monitoring system (FSNMS) data from August 2020, approximately 50% of the population in greater Tonj reported a large decrease in livestock ownership due to conflict-related raids, disease outbreaks, and flooding, or due to cattle-sales to mitigate the effects of acute food insecurity, in the month prior to data collection.¹⁴
- Limited access to cattle throughout 2021 has been further

compounded by increasing raids along the border with Unity State and widespread insecurity within Tonj North. The continued centralisation of populations in larger towns has meant that it is reportedly too dangerous to keep cattle in these areas due to the risk of raids, resulting in cattle, which would usually be grazing close to the settlement during the rainy season, migrating to remote areas. Such altered migration routes, in turn, have reportedly left vulnerable groups, such as children and older people, who often cannot undertake longer displacement journeys, without access to milk, meat, and blood during the lean season, a period during which reliance on cattle is typically highest.

- FGD participants displaced from Marial Lou reported that cattle had been taken to Rualbet and Akop, but that some cattle were being sent back to the vulnerable populations in close proximity to Marial Lou. Nevertheless, in the near-term, it is likely that most cattle will remain far from the settlements in Tonj North. In the medium-term, cattle migration routes will likely change, possibly resulting in a continued outflow of cattle from the county.

Fishing

Insecurity has limited the ability of highly food insecure households to access rivers or migrate towards fishing grounds, a common livelihood activity that is typically adopted during the lean season once harvested food stocks have been exhausted. Access to fish is unlikely to improve as the seasonal floodplains begin to empty towards the end of the year.¹⁵

- Fishing is a livelihood activity that is typically relied upon by poorer households in Tonj North between July and October, when the flood plain becomes inundated with water.¹⁶ However, findings suggest that access to fishing grounds is atypically low as a result of the insecurity; FGD participants displaced from Marial Lou frequently reported that people are unable to access the swampy areas bordering Unity State due to the fear of attacks from armed groups in Tonj East, while FGD participants displaced to Awul reported that the seasonal fishing grounds of Lou Maweu, Machara, Kongor, and Toch Lou were no longer accessible at the time of data collection.

Wild foods

As a result of widespread livelihood collapse and atypically low access to harvested food stocks and livestock, reliance on wild foods has increased substantially, particularly amongst IDPs. Reliance on wild foods will likely remain very high in the near and medium term, however, as seasonal rains stop between November and May, food insecure households will likely have to travel further and further, through highly insecure areas, to access wild foods. Continued reliance on wild foods is likely to result in sickness, particularly amongst younger children, according to FGD participants.

- Consumption of wild foods is common throughout the year, however relative reliance on wild foods typically increases during the lean season, when harvested food stocks are exhausted. Throughout 2020, access to wild foods was significantly affected by flooding and conflict, which limited movement beyond settlements, and by inundation which led to roots and tubers such as acuech rotting in the ground.¹⁷
- Given the limited amount of cultivated land in 2021, FGD participants reported that dependence on wild foods has increased substantially, particularly amongst IDPs. In the continued absence of cattle or the availability of harvested food stocks, reliance on wild foods will likely remain high throughout the county until the July 2022 harvest.
- While reliance on wild food appears to have increased, findings suggest that insecurity has further limited physical access to these foods; FGD participants from assessed areas consistently reported that women collecting wild foods were being systematically targeted and killed by armed groups.
- Access to wild foods typically decreases during the dry season (November to May), as the rains stop, often causing people to travel further from the settlement. Continued insecurity will likely pose a substantial barrier to wild food access throughout the dry season.
- FGD participants displaced to Awul also reported that armed groups were carrying out systematic attacks on important sources of wild foods, particularly aneet and mango trees.
- Findings indicate that wild foods have been introduced into the diets of children at a much younger age than usual. The main wild foods being consumed are lalup and aneet leaves, however, according to FGD participants, manyok leaves are also being consumed for the first time since the 1998 famine. Nevertheless, utilisation of these wild foods appears to be minimal, FGD participants commonly reported that consumption has resulted in sickness and diarrhoea, particularly amongst children younger than five.

Markets and financial access to food

Insecurity and livelihood collapse have meant that access to seasonal income generating activities, such as cropping, has been atypically low throughout the cultivation period, limiting financial access to markets, particularly for poorer groups.

- Throughout 2020 and into 2021, conflict and floods reportedly prevented households from engaging in common income-generating activities such as collecting firewood, cutting grass, collecting wild foods, and producing charcoal. FGD participants who reported destruction or damaging of their properties by floods and conflict reported losing key non-food items, and thus not being able to conduct activities such as fishing, brewing, or selling tea.¹⁸

- FGD participants reported that the market for agricultural labour, a common income generating activity undertaken by poorer households during the harvest season, has contracted substantially due to the lack of cultivated land.

Social networks and access to food

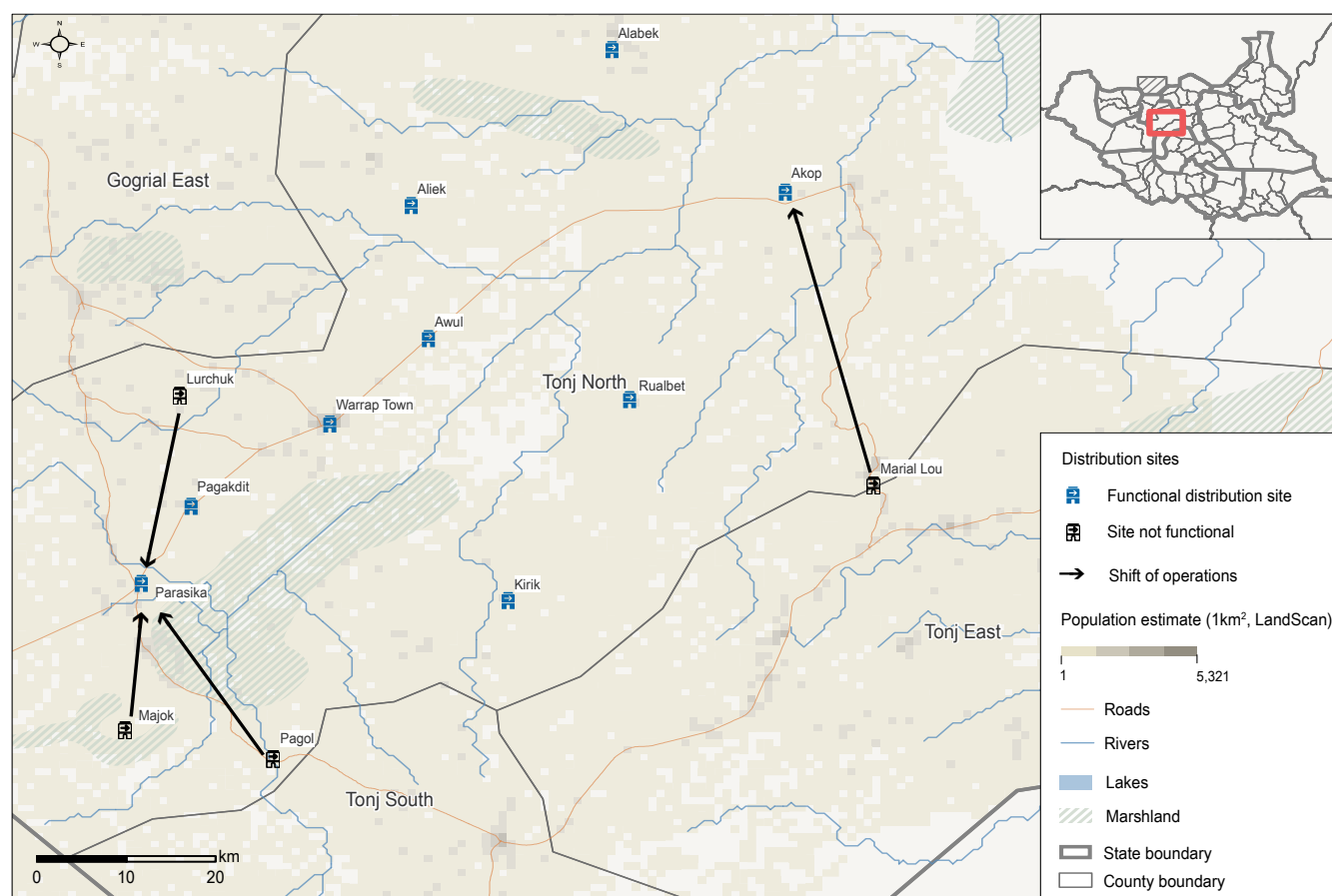
Community level coping capacity has been negatively affected by a continued erosion of livelihoods, and a consequent lack of assets within the community to redistribute. Mass displacement to populated areas has placed substantial pressure on host community reserves, furthermore, once food stocks become exhausted (expectedly in November), and if cattle remain far from the settlement, sharing within communities is likely to decrease, affecting the poorest groups most substantially.

- Poorer households reportedly rely on better off households for employment during the lean season, often providing cropping and rearing livestock rearing services to obtain income. An increase in the supply of casual labour has been coupled by a simultaneous decrease in demand, as cattle have migrated far from the settlement and most people have no access to extended plots of land beyond the homestead.
- During the lean season, the poorest households, often those that are unable to undertake labour intensive income generating activities, are typically supported by better-off relatives through gifts of sorghum, shared rearing of livestock, or temporary access to a milking cow.¹⁹ However, according to FGD participants, continued shocks have limited access to crops and cattle, resulting in a widespread decrease in the availability of goods to share. Lack of assets is particularly acute amongst displaced populations, who are generally unable to depend on family members for support. According to FGD participants, sharing between host communities and IDPs was still taking place at the time of data collection, albeit to a more limited extent.
- Findings suggest that the functionality of hunger courts, which are typically relied upon by the most food insecure households during times of severe hunger, has eroded considerably since 2020. Hunger courts usually run between May and September, however, according to chiefs in Tonj North, holding court was too dangerous between May and August due to fears that community gatherings could result in an attack. Hunger courts in Pagakdit reportedly resumed on August 1st, but the ability of community members to provide support for claimants has reportedly decreased substantially.

Humanitarian food assistance (HFA)

According to humanitarian service providers, the caseload, ration size and duration of humanitarian food assistance in Tonj North were increased throughout 2021. However, findings suggest that barriers to accessing HFA have remained, and have been most

Map 3: HFA distribution sites as reported by service providers in Tonj North, as of September 2021



profound for vulnerable IDPs displaced from Marial Lou. Continued provision of, and improved access to, HFA after September 2021, and throughout the 'harvest' season period, will play a crucial role in reducing severe food consumption gaps.

- In early July 2021, 232 metric tonnes of food commodities were looted from the WFP warehouse in Marial Lou.²⁰ Insecurity in Marial Lou and the surrounding areas, particularly along the border with Tonj East, has persisted, and armed youth reportedly continue to patrol the area. As such, the July food distribution was both delayed and moved from Marial Lou to Akop. Akop is an estimated eight hour walk from Marial Lou, meaning that many recipients have to travel through insecure and sparsely populated areas and spend at least one night in Akop before returning to their settlement or displacement location with their food. According to humanitarian service providers, the September food distribution for populations in Marial Lou is also expected to take place in Akop.
- FGD participants displaced from Marial Lou reported that around 25% of households, particularly the most vulnerable, such as older persons, children, people with disabilities, and female headed households, had been unable to make longer displacement journeys, and had instead integrated with host communities in settlements proximate to Marial Lou. FGD

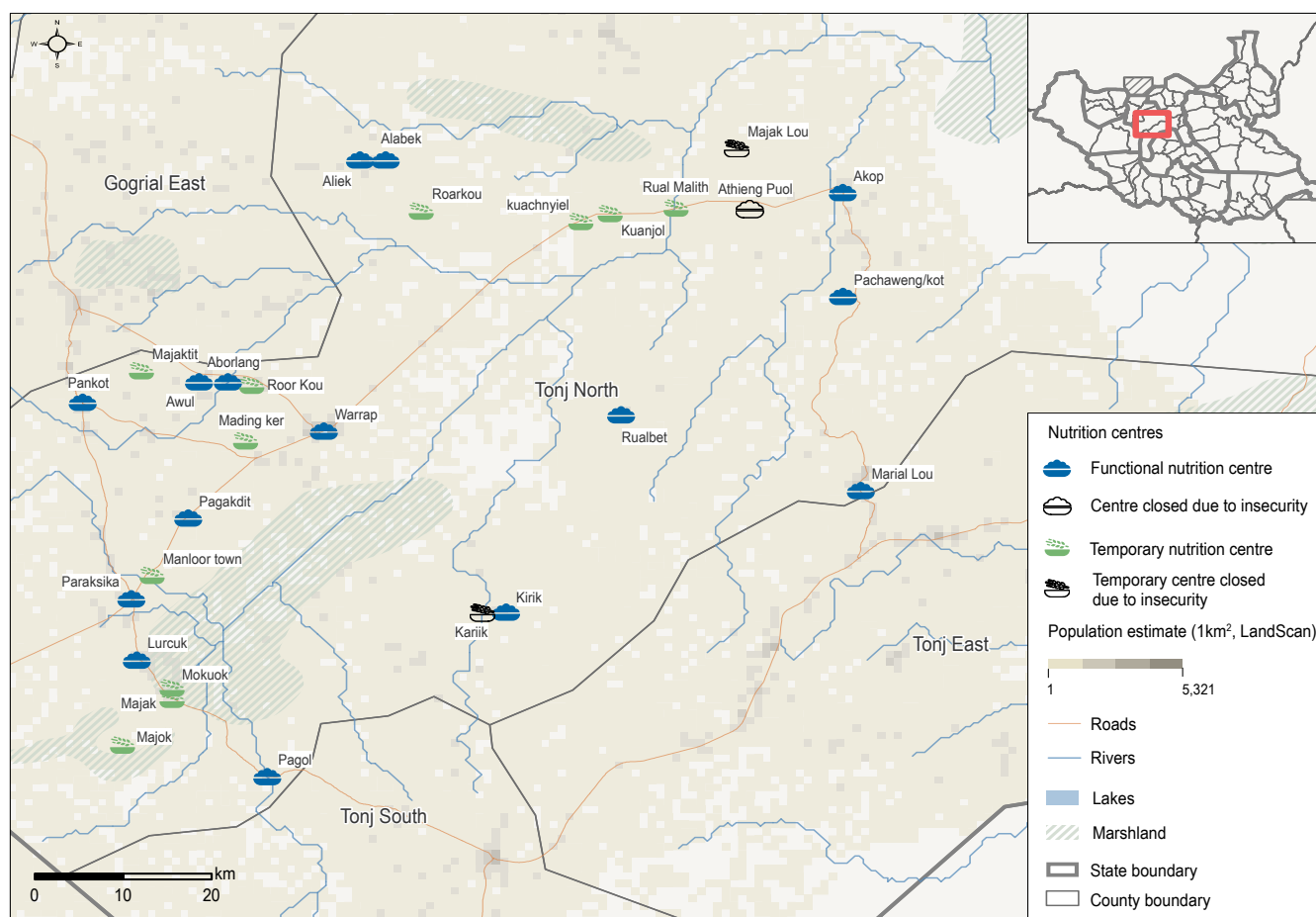
participants reported that these vulnerabilities had limited the ability of highly food insecure households to access HFA in Akop, while other households reportedly missed the distributions due to the high risk of movement.

- According to humanitarian service providers, between June and September, distribution sites in Lurchuk, Majok, and Pagol center become inaccessible due to poor road conditions, and distributions from these sites are moved to Parasika. Access from Lurchuk to Parasika is good, and it reportedly takes between one and two hours on foot to reach the distribution point. However, according to FGD participants, vulnerable populations in Majok, and particularly in Pagol, which is around seven hours on foot, face substantial challenges to reach the distribution site in Parasika due to flooding and high insecurity.

Health and nutrition service provision and access

According to humanitarian service providers, the provision of health and nutrition services has improved since August. However, temporary facilities which began to operate in early August are due to close in early to mid-October. Health and nutrition facilities in Marial Lou were deliberately attacked in July, limiting access to services. According to humanitarian service providers, mass displacement in the wake of the attack has placed extreme pressure on health

Map 4: Nutrition centre presence as reported by service providers in Tonj North, as of September 2021



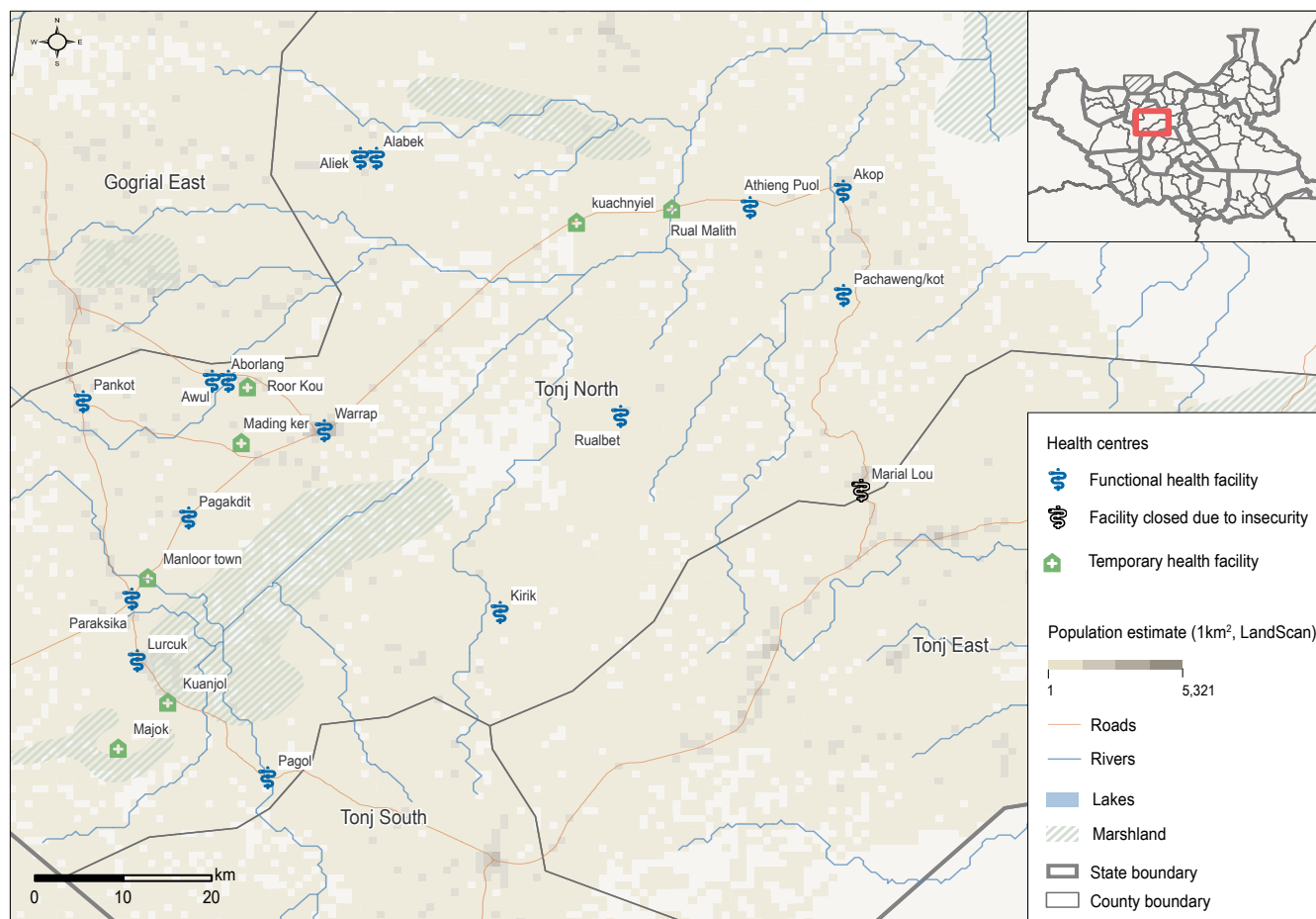
and nutrition facilities in the areas of displacement, and this has been further compounded by seasonal barriers to restocking.

- Persistent insecurity throughout 2020 and 2021 has reportedly limited the movement of populations outside of the Payam and Boma headquarters to access health and nutrition services.
- During the July clashes in Marial Lou, the integrated health and nutrition facility was attacked and supplies were looted. Since July, the facilities have not been operational. During the attacks in Marial Lou, a large number of shelters were destroyed, reportedly limiting access to non-food items, particularly mosquito nets, among IDPs displaced by the attacks. According to FGD participants, IDPs displaced from Marial Lou to nearby settlements are generally sleeping outside, making them vulnerable to seasonal spikes in Malaria.
- According to humanitarian service providers, health and nutrition supplies were also looted from Kirik in July, resulting in temporary service suspension and lasting insecurity, which has limited access to the facility.
- Mass displacement, particularly from Marial Lou, has reportedly placed substantial pressure on the health and nutrition facilities in the locations of displacement, particularly Rualbet and Akop. Service providers reported that restocking

of supplies is done on a quarterly basis due to limited warehouse capacity. Supplies delivered to Rualbet and Akop in June have reportedly been insufficient to service the increased caseload of IDPs resulting in vulnerable groups being unable to access key health and nutrition services.

- According to humanitarian service providers, supply challenges posed by high levels of insecurity have been further compounded by seasonal rains. During the rainy season, integrated health and nutrition facilities in Kirik, Rualbet, Pagol and Alabek typically become inaccessible. During the Rualbet restocking in June, community members were reportedly mobilised to collect health and nutrition supplies by the roadside because the trucks could not move. IDPs displaced from Marial Lou have also faced challenges with supply shortages. FGD participants displaced from Marial Lou frequently reported that healthy community members would travel to Akop or Rualbet to access medicines for reportedly large numbers unwell individuals in the settlement, although, in many cases, the supply was insufficient. A temporary health facility with a ten-week funding plan, began to operate in Marial Lou on the 1st September, a month later than planned.
- According to humanitarian service providers, six temporary

Map 5: Healthcare presence as reported by service providers in Tonj North, as of September 2021



static healthcare facilities began to operate on the 1st August and also have a funding period of ten weeks (see Healthcare Presence map). The health facilities provide mid-upper arm circumference (MUAC) screening services but are not integrated with nutrition sites. A referral system is in place, however, distance may act as a barrier as, in many cases, temporary health facilities are far from nutrition centers. In addition, displacement and a continued lack of healthcare provision for vulnerable populations has placed substantial pressure on these temporary facilities, all of which are reportedly facing supply shortages.

- Seven temporary nutrition facilities, also with a funding period of ten weeks, began to operate on the 1st of August. Within the month of August, temporary nutrition facilities established in Athieng Puol and Karik were both closed due to insecurity.
- Without additional funding, temporary health and nutrition services will stop operating in early to mid-October, leaving highly vulnerable populations in hard-to-reach areas without access to key, lifesaving services.

Conclusion

A compounding series of shocks and stressors have resulted in widespread livelihood disruption throughout Tonj North county. Assessment findings suggest that these shocks have manifested in severe food consumption gaps, particularly amongst IDPs. The 2021 harvest, which, according to FGD participants, is expected to be exhausted in November, is unlikely to result in a substantial or long-term improvement in the food security situation. If insecurity and displacement persist or intensify, food consumption gaps are likely to be compounded further by the atypical absence of cattle from the settlement, barriers to engaging in livelihood activities, and coping strategies that involve leaving the settlement. Community coping capacity is reportedly under pressure and it is possible that the ability of host communities to support IDPs will collapse. Moving forward, the continued delivery of humanitarian services throughout the harvest season, particularly health and nutrition facilities, and HFA, will be essential to prevent a further deterioration in the food security and livelihoods situation in Tonj North County.

Endnotes

1. Payam is the administrative unit below the county-level.
2. Boma is the lowest-level administrative level, below payams.
3. Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET). [Livelihoods Zone Map and Descriptions for the Republic of South Sudan](#). August 2018.
4. World Food Programme. Greater Tonj conflict dynamics. Internal. August 2021.
5. Integrated Food Security Phase Classification. [IPC acute food security and nutrition analysis, October 2020 – July 2021](#). October 2020.
6. World Food Programme. Greater Tonj conflict dynamics. Internal. August 2021.
7. *ibid.*,
8. *ibid.*,
9. *ibid.*,
10. *ibid.*,
11. *ibid.*,
12. Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET). [Livelihoods Zone Map and Descriptions for the Republic of South Sudan](#). August 2018.
13. World Food Programme. Greater Tonj conflict dynamics. Internal. August 2021.
14. *ibid.*,
15. Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET). [Livelihoods Zone Map and Descriptions for the Republic of South Sudan](#). August 2018.
16. Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET). [Livelihoods Zone Map and Descriptions for the Republic of South Sudan](#). August 2018.
17. World Food Programme. Greater Tonj conflict dynamics. Internal. August 2021.
18. *ibid.*,
19. Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET). [Livelihoods Zone Map and Descriptions for the Republic of South Sudan](#). August 2018.
20. World Food Programme. Greater Tonj conflict dynamics. Internal. August 2021.