Human Security Survey
2017 Annual Summary Report
Payinjiar (Unity), South Sudan

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www.protectionofcivilians.org

- There exists a gap between local community security needs and the capacities for protection that security actors – local or international, like UNMISS – provide

- PAX, SSANSA and AMA address this gap by surveying local security perceptions and feeding back this information into protection dialogues involving citizens as well as security actors

- This report summarises the Human Security Survey findings for Payinjiar county (former Unity state) and the main conclusions from local community security dialogues in 2017

Introduction

The Human Security Survey (HSS) is a unique survey methodology developed by PAX, that includes a series of complementary activities, including population-based research, community engagement, and advocacy. The objectives of the HSS are: 1) to increase understanding of local human security experiences, perceptions, trends and priorities; 2) to enhance the 'claim-making capacity' of civilians to hold security providers and power brokers to account; and 3) to guide and inform a wide variety of stakeholders who have an ability to impact protection issues through evidence-based advocacy at local and international levels. PAX currently implements the HSS in South Sudan and Iraq.

The underlying rationale for the HSS is that by strengthening the voice and agency of civilians on protection strategies and security policies, the resulting protection practice will be more reflective of

and responsive to local needs and priorities. In order to achieve this, the HSS seeks to create or leverage opportunities for civilians to participate in security dialogues at the community level, where practical decisions by military, local government, police, traditional leaders, and non-state armed actors deeply affect civilians' day-to-day lives.

The HSS also provides a means of connecting local perspectives with national and international policy makers, diplomats and security actors such as the UN peacekeeping mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) by providing valuable, first-hand information about the experiences and perspectives of conflict-affected communities. The survey itself is therefore best seen as a means to an end, with the ultimate aim being to facilitate more effective protection of civilians' strategies in South Sudan.

Methodology

We conducted a successful pilot survey in South Sudan in 2015, gaining experience in developing the survey methodology, trying out the feasibility of phone-based data collection in challenging locations, and feeding the results of the survey back to key stakeholders in South Sudan. After careful revision of our methodology and questionnaire, developing a training curriculum, and extending local networks, we expanded the scope of the survey to four different states throughout South Sudan in 2016 and 2017.[1] We work in close collaboration with our long-standing local partners, the South Sudan Action Network on Small Arms (SSANSA) and the Assistance Mission to Africa (AMA), with the latter having extensive field presence in Payinjiar County.[2]

Survey locations around Greater Ganyliel and Greater Nyal in Payinjiar County
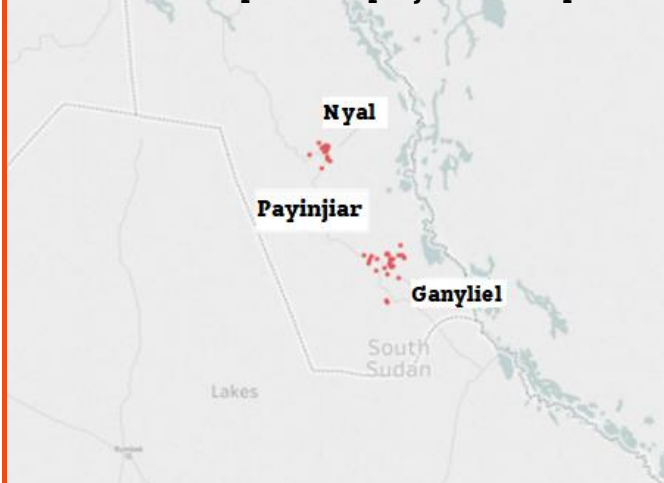
Twelve locally recruited participants were trained for four days in Ganyliel, Unity State in April 2017. The participants received training on general survey-related skills, such as interview skills, random sampling methods, how to respond to ethical and logistical field challenges, and how to use mobile phones for data collection. They also received a general introduction to the specific Human Security Survey questionnaire. After the training, the best eight participants were selected to become enumerators for the Human Security Survey.

Immediately following the four-day training in Ganyliel, the enumerators were deployed to conduct surveys in thirteen *payams*[3] across Payinjiar county. Locally trained enumerators provide the best possible access to these logistically challenging areas, given that they speak the local language and understand the local context and customs. In the course of three weeks in April/May 2017, the enumerators successfully collected 412 household surveys on civilians' experiences, perceptions and expectations regarding the local security situation. The thirteen payams surveyed were concentrated around the two main towns of Ganyliel and Nyal.

The payams were selected in cooperation with the local partner organization. Geographical accessibility and security of enumerators were important considerations in the selection of payams. Within the area clusters, households and individual respondents were selected using an approximately random procedure to allow for some generalizability.[4]

In October 2017, PAX and SSANSA staff returned to Ganyliel to present the main survey findings to more than 50 representatives of local government (county and *payam* level), police, prison officers, wildlife rangers, local armed youth, chiefs and women's groups.

On the first day, participants discussed and validated the survey data, and explanations behind the numbers were sought. The same stakeholders participated in a subsequent two day community security dialogue called *"Security is Everyone's Business."* Practical consequences of the survey data were discussed, and subgroups representing the various institutions and local communities identified the most important security priorities for follow-up action. Participants worked out an action plan to address these priorities locally.

In addition, volunteering participants established a small local Community Security Committee, to monitor local security developments and to take the initiative to organize agreed follow up activities that address the main security priorities identified by the community representatives. This way, bottom up peace initiatives originate from the community to work on locally identified security issues, and therefore can be genuinely called a community-based bottom-up endeavour.

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1   In 2016-17, PAX and SSANSA also conducted the HSS in Jonglei, Eastern Lakes, and Jubek states.

2   According to the current administrational system, promoted by the national government in Juba and consisting of 32 states, former Payinjiar county falls under newly created Southern Liech State. However, up to date the current local authorities in Payinjiar, who profess allegiance to SPLA-IO forces, reject this administrational system and hold on to the former 10-state administrational system, where Payinjiar belonged to Unity State. Because all local stakeholders referred to Payinjiar being located in Unity State, we will follow suit in using Unity throughout this report.

3   Lower governmental administrative area, mostly consisting of a town or a number of adjacent villages or hamlets. The *payam* often serves as a basic point of logistical orientation for many (rural) South Sudanese.

4   See also HSS South Sudan methodology report on our website www.protectionofcivilians.org for a more detailed methodology description.

Demographics of the survey sample

95% of respondents answered questions about the ethnic or group identity they belong to, 93% indicated they were Nuer. Azande, Balanda, Bari and Shilluk were mentioned by less than 1% and the remainder of respondents did not mention their ethnic group. Respondents were young on average: 45% of respondents were aged 16-30, 40% was aged 31-49 and 15% of respondents was 50 or above.

Question:
What is your main source of livelihood?
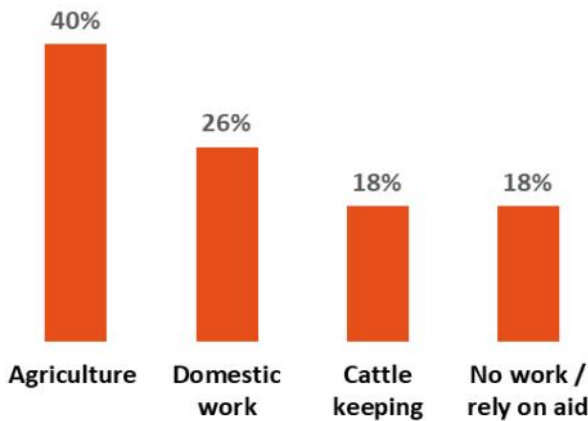
Women were somewhat overrepresented in the survey sample, with 61% of all respondents being female, most likely because surveys were primarily conducted during the mornings and afternoons. At those hours, many men are out herding cattle, working the fields, or engaging in other livelihood activities. Female family members likely stay at home to look after children and do domestic chores in and around the house.

Seventy percent of respondents indicated that they have lived in their current *payams* since South Sudan achieved independence in 2011. Among those that have moved in the same period, more than half (55%) has moved from another county within Unity State to Payinjiar.

# Main Findings

Perceptions of the general security situation

With 70% of respondents indicating they have not moved from their payams since at least 2011, the remaining 30% have moved to their current payams within the last 7 years. For 72% of the respondents who moved residence since 2011, the main reason to move to another payam was because of insecurity. Other common reasons for migration were marriage (18%) and to live closer to family members (15%).[5]

Respondents' assessment of developments in their personal security situation during the last year showed a diverse picture. 38% of respondents thought the security situation had become worse over the last year, while 31% thought the situation improved and another 31% had the opinion the security situation had not changed during the last year (see graph below). Equally diverse was the response to the statement "I generally feel safe from violence in this community", to which 45% of respondents agreed but also 41% disagreed.[6]

From the people who thought the security situation had become worse, 60% claimed this was due to increased crime rates, 50% because of more weapons in their payam, 32% because 'we cannot move freely between communities', 31% because of increased poverty and cost of living and 30% because 'We feel less protected or have less trust in the security services', among other less mentioned reasons.[7]

Question:
How did your personal security situation change in the last year?

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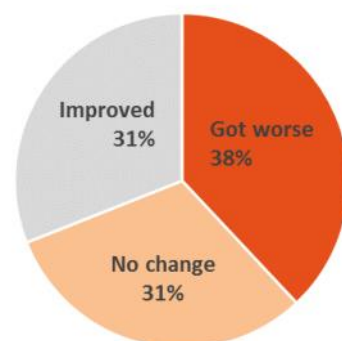
5   Respondents could pick more than one response option with this question, resultantly the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.
6   Generally, people who indicated to feel safe in their communities were less likely to acquire weapons themselves (15% compared to 27% generally) and less likely to report somebody from their household joined armed local security units (9% compared to 22% generally).
7   Respondents could pick more than one response option with this question, resultantly the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.

In the community dialogue held after data collection, many community members expressed a gloomy picture of how the current insecurity breeds an atmosphere which could give rise to further violence: *"People are always on high alert, and so they are not involved in any peace process. People do not dare go near good grazing areas with their cattle."* Another participant countered*: "Insecurity affects us all, but security will benefit us all. However, this also entails joint responsibility to contribute to it."*

Respondents who felt the security situation had improved, pointed to 'less violence in our payam' (82%), followed by 'we can move freely in our village day and night' (21%) and 'we can move freely between communities' (20%).

Irrespective whether insecurity levels improved or got worse, local communities have to develop strategies to cope with current levels of insecurity. More than half of respondents (52%) indicated that they rely more on local police or local army units then before,[8] while 27% acquired weapons themselves[9] and 22% joined armed local security units in a response to insecurity.

İncident reporting

Respondents were given a list of security incidents and asked whether they themselves or their household members experienced any of these incidents during the last year. Overall, of all respondents in Payinjiar, almost three-quarters (73%) indicated that they or their household members experienced at least one of these security incidents in the last year.

From all presented types of security incidents, more than half of respondents (51%) indicated that 'Murder or attempted murder' happened to themselves or a household members over the last year, thereby presenting the most reported security incident. Second most reported incident was 'rape or sexual assault' by 36%, followed by robbery (23%), cattle raiding (19%), assault with a weapon (18%), abduction/enforced disappearance (17%), beatings and being forced to flee (both at 15%), and forced marriage (11% of respondents).[10] All types of incidents have reportedly become more frequent in the last year according to respondents, with the excep-

Question:

What type of incident have you or your household members experienced during the last year?

(attempted) Murder	51%
Rape/sexual assault	36%
Robbery	23%
Cattle raiding	19%
Assault with a weapon	18%
Abduction	17%
Beating	15%
Being forced to flee	15%
Forced marriage	11%
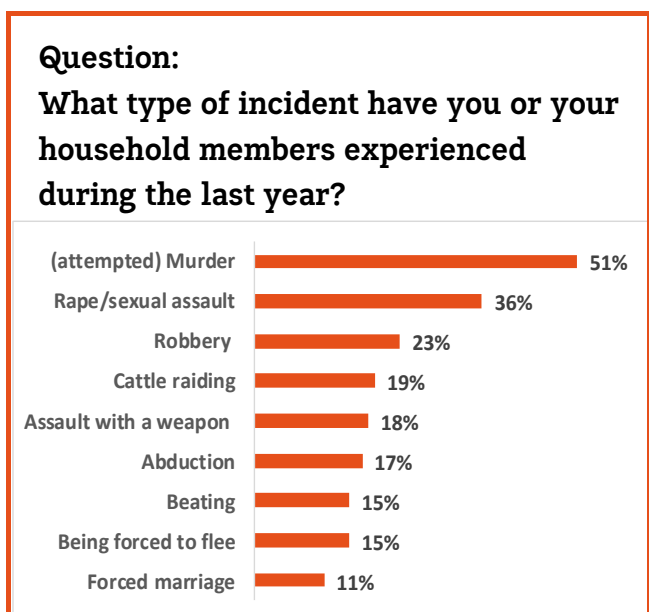
tion of (attempted) murders, who stayed at the same level.

Respondents generally perceived that the national army SPLA (70% of all top-5 types of incidents), criminals (70%), people from another community (58%), neighbourhood guards or armed youth (40%) and people from their own community (14%) as most likely perpetrators of these incidents that they or their households experienced.

When reflecting on what would be the most likely potential perpetrator to commit specific types of violence in the (near) future, respondents equally named the national army SPLA (79%)[11], people from another community (26%), 'unknown gunmen'[12] (24%) and neighbourhood guards or armed youth (22%).[13]

According to respondents, it is mainly women (61%), young girls (below marriageable age) and elderly people (both 60% respectively) that are most vulnerable in society to become a victim of violence[14], mostly because these people are seen as not able to physically protect themselves or they would be specifically targeted by perpetrators. Additionally, 40% of respondents also felt that men were vulnerable to be victimized, followed by widows (34%), boys (27%) and adolescent unmarried girls (26%).

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8 Significantly higher under respondents who do domestic work (77%), cattle keepers (65%) and farmers (61%).
9 Women indicated they significantly less often acquired guns (20%) compared to men (38%), while people doing domestic work (42%), cattle keepers (43%) and people working in small business (38%) acquired guns more than average.
10 According to a representative of the armed youth, elopement of girls used to be a big security problem, but "now it can be addressed by the chiefs." Forced marriages can either be the reason or the consequence of such elopements. According to 85% of respondents, early marriages among young girls does not provide them with more protection from violence.
11 Women did significantly more often mention the SPLA as potential perpetrator against themselves (84%), compared to 73% among men.
12 "Unknown gunmen' is a common term used in South Sudan to refer to a shooter responsible for a security incident that could not be identified as belonging to a more general group, organization or any other explanatory category.
13 This question was only asked to respondents who expected to become a victim of violence in the future or *maybe* become a victim of violence in the future, the other respondents who responded differently were not asked this question.
14 For this question, respondents could give multiple answers, resultantly the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.

The specific reason why men were also considered to be vulnerable was because of the risks associated with their roles in society. According to community members during the community dialogue: "*Men can become vulnerable because men face danger all the time, it is their position in the community that makes them vulnerable. For example, chiefs are also said to be vulnerable because they expose themselves into risks of solving other peoples' problems.*"

Based on the discussions during the community dialogue, the most mentioned pressing security issue in Payinjiar is the lack of peace with some neighbouring communities, with relations being characterised by frequent mutual killings and communal conflict based on the limited main resources for a local pastoralist lifestyle, like cattle, grazing land and water sources.[15] Currently, mutual conflict and resulting insecurity mostly involve neighbouring communities in Maper (Rumbek North, Western Lakes) and Adior and Nyang (Yirol East, Eastern Lakes). Relations with communities of Amongpiny (Rumbek East, Western Lakes) and Bor Dinka (Jonglei) have greatly improved after local peace agreements. Community relations with Maper and Nyang have not always been bad either, some participants recalled: "*We had good peace with them before, we have lived with them. We have to go back to our intermarriage, but what is the view of the other community towards us and towards peace?*"

The practice of cattle raiding was only the fourth most frequent mentioned type of incident among Payinjiar respondents (19%), but was said to be particularly prevalent between rival neighbouring communities. Cattle raiding was not considered excessively harmful to communities until the recent proliferation of guns: "*We have been doing cattle raiding in the past, it used to be something normal taken from our grandfathers, but without killing women and children. This is a new thing.*"

The higher numbers of cattle stolen and resulting human casualties associated with raiding, has led to recurring cycles of communal revenge: "*Many of the [cattle] youths have guns now, not like before (…) [But] going for revenge against schoolchildren cannot take place even if your cattle have been raided*", one

representative of the armed youth said. A payam administrator added: "*People who lost cows want to recover them through revenge, dialogue and awareness is needed to make them stop revenge, but they don't have jobs and lost their property.*"

Addressing cattle raiding among neighbouring communities in remote border areas is even more difficult in an area without a working phone signal and no alternative means of communication between payam administrators and/or chiefs on both sides of the border: "*Communication problems are facing local authorities, attacks take place in border regions, but there are no radios or other communication means to respond to those attacks.*"

Security actors

Throughout Payinjiar County, respondents indicate that both the police and the neighbourhood watch/armed youth have a regular presence in their respective payams (both actors were mentioned by 63% of respondents). Half of all respondents indicate that their payams enjoy regular presence of traditional chiefs or traditional courts. Lower presence rates were scored by 'rebel groups/armed groups' (22%), churches/religious institutions (18%), the County Commissioner (18%) and the national army or SPLA (13%). [16]

When asked follow-up questions about the actors present in their payams, respondents could indicate which 3 security actors had the best technical ability to impact the local security situation, to which 65% of respondents mentioned the neighbourhood watch/armed youth. Police followed suit with 57% of respondents[17], traditional chiefs/traditional courts with 40%, 'rebel group/armed group' with 24%, County Commissioner with 22%, Churches/religious institutions with 20% and the national army or SPLA with 15%.[18]

Generally, respondents perceive the influence of the neighbourhood watch/armed youth on security as positive (70%), while police (58%)[19] and traditional chiefs/traditional courts (45%)[20] were also generally perceived as positive actors concerning security. However, the national army or SPLA was considered having a negative impact on security by a third of the

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15 Also in the survey, 82% of respondents agreed to the statement "The main source of conflict in our payam is bad relationships between communities."

16 For this question, respondents could give multiple answers, resultantly the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.

17 One of the participants explained that the fact that Payinjiar is not being government-controlled has an impact on the performance of the police: "*Our police is no longer regulated by the state or government, this makes it harder for them to arrest culprits as they no longer receive salaries and hardly leave the duty stations. There is also no budget to support the police.*"

18 For this question, respondents could give multiple answers, resultantly the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.

19 Furthermore, 92% of respondents agreed to the statement "The police take reports from community members seriously and are helpful in resolving them."

20 80% of respondents agreed to the statement "conflict resolution between communities is best handled by local elders or chiefs", while only 18% agreed that conflict resolution has to involve the state court system.

respondents (32%)[21], while police (27%), neighbourhood watch/armed youth (22%) and traditional chiefs/traditional courts (16%) were also being viewed as a negative influence on local security by a significant amount of respondents.[22] Churches/religious institutions (49%), local civilian organizations (36%) and police (21%) were considered the most neutral actors by respondents.[23]

When respondents were asked to indicate which security actor they would contact in an imaginary case of four different types of incidents (a murder, a rape, a robbery and unidentified armed men around the village), the structural outcome was largely the same: police was in all cases the actor most often contacted (68%, 77%, 77% and 69% respectively), either followed by neighbourhood watch/armed youth (46%, 38%, 46% and 59% respectively) or traditional chiefs/traditional courts (39%, 44%, 37%, 28% respectively).

Apart from questions on respondents' general agreement on an actor's alleged capabilities and accessibility, community's perceptions and capacities are also shaped by whether community members report actual incidents to these security actors. When we look at the five most reported types of incidents, the police was contacted in 30% of all incidents[24], thereby the highest scoring (formal) security actor. Other (informal) security actors being contacted after experiencing real violent incidents were local elders (23% of all top-5 incidents), friends (21%) a 'rebel group/local armed group' (14%) or the customary court (11%). Generally, respondents would contact a mixture of formal and informal security actors to respond to the experienced incidents.

More than half of the enumerators who did contact a security actor, were satisfied with the effectiveness of their report (between 58% and 76% of the respondents who contacted somebody across the top-5 incidents), mainly because 'compensation for losses was offered' or 'the perpetrator was caught and punished.' The main means of compensation in Payinjiar was said to be cattle, because "*cows are everything for compensation, whether it is compensation for murder, rape or adultery.*" However, most respondents, who did not contact a security actor, did not do so because they thought that 'nobody could help them resolve the issue', while others said they just 'did not think' about reporting it to an outside actor.

During the community dialogue, a higher executive representative for local law and order explained that local law enforcement tries to address communal border security issues like cattle raiding by trying to track the stolen cattle and return it to the rightful owners: "*There were people who raided cows from the community of Amongpiny, while we have a peace agreement with them. This culprit has been apprehended by the community, taken to court and prison and the cows stolen were recovered. Cattle raiding from our neighbours is treated as it if was raiding from our own people (…) The capture of these culprits and the return of the cattle were done jointly by community leaders, armed youth and the police. When there is peace with Nyang, the cattle raiding among us will stop and will be dealt with like we do with Amongpiny.*"

Furthermore, it was claimed at the dialogue that the formal security actors (police) and the informal or semi-formal actors (armed youth, local chiefs) coordinate and cooperate in other cases than cattle raiding

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21 Among respondents who reported their household to be victimized with security incidents, this number was significantly higher (41%), just as the youngest age group of respondents (16-30 years old) saw the SPLA as significantly less negative (27%) as the oldest age group (above 50 years old; 50%).
22 Because UNMISS has no presence in Payinjiar County and was therefore not mentioned as a relative security actor in the County, 81% of respondents disagreed with the statement "UNMISS is actively working to protect or support people in this payam."
23 For this question, respondents could give multiple answers, resultantly the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.
24 Or in respectively 76%, 89%, 76%, 80% and 74% of all cases of (attempted) murder, assault with a weapon, robbery, rape/sexual assault and cattle raiding, in which respondents decided to contact a security actor at all.

as well: *"If someone has a problem the armed youth can catch the culprit and take him to the police and the police transfers the matter to the local chief. After the chiefs hear the case, the person then will go to prison. This process has only recently emerged especially in Payinjiar."*

Generally, the distinction between what generally are considered formal and informal security institutions, seems very flexible and circumstantial from the perspective of many community members in Payinjiar. As was previously mentioned, both the police and the neighbourhood watch/armed youth were equally considered the most present security actor, many respondents view them positively and they were the most likely security actor respondents would turn to in case of many different types of violence occurring.

For community members across Payinjiar, it is important that their security providers are locally-based, as 59% agreed with the statement that "It is best for security in our payam when security forces are from our own community, because they know us well", compared to only a third agreeing with "It is best for the security in our payam that security forces are from outside the payam, because they are more neutral in how they do their work."

Additionally, an overwhelming 96% agreed that "In my payam we trust local armed youth for our security more than any outsiders." When respondents were really requested to choose, it turned out that almost two-thirds (64%) would prefer the local armed youth ("My community should rely on local armed youth to provide protection and security") over the police[25], which is preferred by almost a third (32%; "My community needs more police presence to provide security").
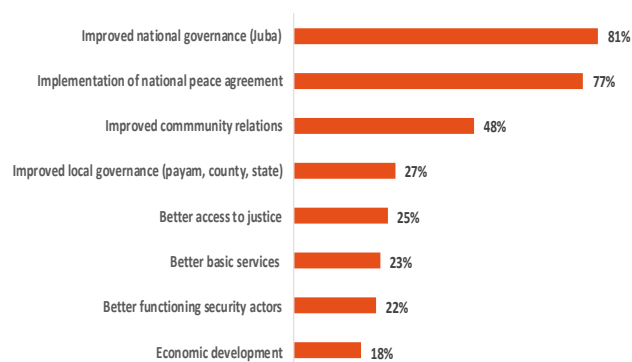
Suggestions to address insecurity

The most important suggestions proposed to address insecurity in Payinjiar vary according to the main priorities raised by various community members. Most respondents (81%) indicated that "Poor governance at the national (Juba) level" was the most likely factor to cause conflict in Payinjiar, while "access to weapons" (61%) and "Poverty, hunger and rising prices" (58%) were mentioned as other main factors likely to cause community conflict in the next year.

In regards to assessing the main local security risks, we could witness a different emphasis among survey respondents as compared to the participants to the community dialogue. During survey collection, most respondents referred to the national conflict dynamic between the national government and the armed opposition when they were asked what the most viable solutions for lasting peace in their county would be.[26] 81% of respondents were of the opinion that "governance at the national (Juba) level" would need to be improved, while 77% perceived that the current national peace agreement needed to be implemented. Compared to this, fewer than half of respondents (48%) found that "community relations needed to be improved through reconciliation, dialogue and mutual respect."[27]

Question:
What do you think are the most viable solutions for lasting peace in your county?

Improved national governance (Juba)	81%
Implementation of national peace agreement	77%
Improved community relations	48%
Improved local governance (payam, county, state)	27%
Better access to justice	25%
Better basic services	23%
Better functioning security actors	22%
Economic development	18%

Community members who perceived the relationships between neighbouring communities to be the most pressing priority, advocated for community-led peace conferences to address existing communal tensions. When the improved relations with communities from neighbouring Jonglei and Amongpiny were put forward, it was mentioned that these were also the result of a three-state conference organized by the communities themselves. Likewise, it was argued that the current communal tensions with Maper and Nyang/Adior should be addressed with a similar community-led peace process: *"Grassroots dialogue will help us bring peace, community dialogues are always better than government controlled dialogues (…), a community peace presided over by chiefs of both sides."* In the case of organizing a peace conference with communities in Nyang and Adior (Eastern Lakes State) there have been attempts made, but the

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25   Men favor local armed youth by 71%, women by 59%.
26   Almost half of the respondents (49%) agreed that "the national power struggle has the biggest impact on security in this payam", while more than a third (38%) thought that "local security issues in this payam have the biggest impact on our security."
27   For this question, respondents could give multiple answers, resultantly the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.

letter by the Commissioner was only answered by a local chief, after which the rapprochement was stalled. However, plans to organize a community peace conference are currently underway.

Generally, when discussing local security issues, people mention the easy access and distribution of guns, and the way how community members are sometimes outgunning formal security providers. This decreases the ability for these security actors to provide the protection they ought to bring. 60% of all respondents agreed to the statement that "It is easy to buy new weapons in our payam."

As a response to this proliferation of arms, the option of disarmament is often proposed as an important solution. 70% of respondents agreed to the statement "disarmament of our weapons in the payam would reduce violence and crime." Additionally, 61% of respondents indicated they were in favour of disarmament, agreeing that "disarmament of my community is needed for security", with almost a third (32%) saying that "my community needs arms to provide our own security."[28] Among the latter category of respondents, who are in favour of self-protection, we also see a more likely inclination to acquire weapons themselves (44% compared to 27% among the general sample) and to report joining an armed local security unit (37% compared to 22% generally).

Therefore, we can see a distinction between community members that are in favor of security provision by formal institutions (the police), and in order to improve its legitimacy and capabilities compared to (armed) community members, need a civilian disarmament process to take place. Other community members prefer security provision by civilians themselves, such as the neighborhood watch/armed youth, claiming that communities can only protect themselves from insecurity.

Some participants to the dialogue saw civilian disarmament as something that needs to happen in the future, but is not feasible at this point: "*control of access to guns is a big problem in our area but we cannot recommend disarmament at this critical time, everyone has a gun to protect family and property*." Other community members agreed to this: "*Disarmament is OK in the future but not now, tomorrow we may talk on what is the good time to do it*" and "*After peace has been made between IG [the national government, AQ] and IO [the armed opposi-*

tion] and a permanent ceasefire is in place, is when we can engage in disarmament, but not now."

Generally, expectations among survey respondents were divided: 25% of respondents expected their security situation to become much worse over the next year[29], 16% thought their situation would improve a little and 23% thought it would improve a lot. 5% expected their situation to remain the same and almost a third (31%) indicated that they didn't know what to expect.

Ultimately, the participants attending the community dialogue in Ganyliel jointly identified five main security priorities that need to be addressed most urgently: 1) border security, 2) cattle raiding, 3) murder/revenge killing, 4) rape and sexual violence and 5) (cross-border) communication. These locally agreed priorities should focus local peacebuilding efforts in the coming year, shape follow-up activities and dialogue meetings initiated by the voluntary Community Security Committee, and be supported by the local authorities and communities.

PAX, SSANSA and AMA are committed to conduct further annual rounds of survey collection and dialogue, to generate additional insight in local security dynamics; see how identified trends in local security develop over time; and to support the local follow-up activities, with the aim of achieving sustainable impact on the local security situation across Payinjiar county.

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28 Men significantly were more in favor of a community needing arms to protect themselves (39%) compared to women (27%), while certain sub-groups based on livelihood also had significant higher numbers of agreement with self-protection: people working in small business (47%), cattle keepers (40%) and people having no work at all (43%).

29 This was a third among all respondents who indicated either they themselves or a household member had experienced a security incident during the last year.