



Human Security Survey

2017 Annual Summary Report

Eastern Lakes State, South Sudan

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- A gap exists 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 Eastern Lakes 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 knowledge and 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

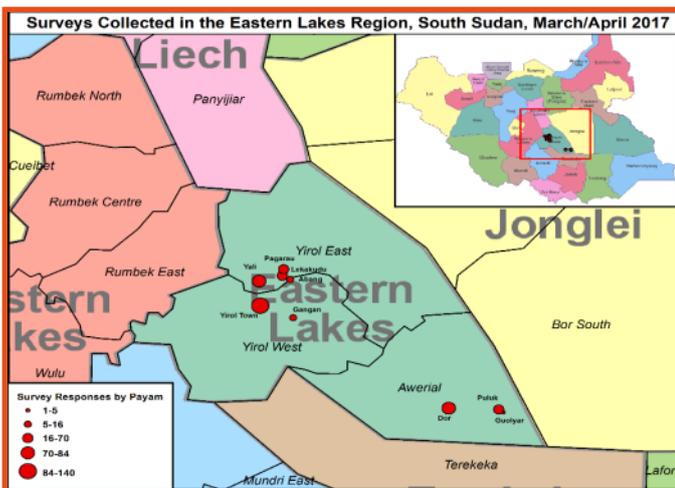
achieve this, the HSS seeks to create or leverage opportunities for civilians to participate in security dialogues at the community level, where practical decisions by military, local government, police, traditional leaders, and non-state armed actors deeply affect civilians' day-to-day lives.

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 a permanent field presence in Nyang, Yirol East County of Eastern Lakes state.

Nine locally recruited participants were trained for four days in Yirol town 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, eight participants were selected to become enumerators for the Human Security Survey.



Immediately following the four-day training course in Yirol, the selected enumerators were deployed to conduct surveys in nine *payams*² across Eastern Lakes' (former) three counties³ Locally trained enumerators provide the best possible access to these logistically challenging areas, given that they speak the local language⁴ and understand the local context and customs. In the course of three weeks in May 2017, the enumerators successfully collected 538 household surveys on civilians' experiences, perceptions and expectations regarding the local security situation.

The *payams* were selected in cooperation with the local partner organization and local enumerators. Geographical accessibility and security of enumerators

were important considerations in the selection of *payams*. Within the area clusters however, households and individual respondents were selected using an approximately random procedure to allow for some generalisability.⁵

In July 2017, PAX and SSANSA staff returned to Yirol to present the main survey findings to more than 50 representatives of local government (state, county and *payam* level), police, prison officers, wildlife rangers, local (armed) youth, chiefs and women's groups.⁶

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 implications of the survey data were discussed, such as the frequency of various reported security incidents, its root causes and the capacities and track record of various security actors. Participants jointly worked out an action plan to address the identified security priorities locally.

In addition, volunteering participants from diverse backgrounds established a small local Community Security Committee, to monitor the local security situation and to take the initiative to organise agreed follow up activities that address the main security priorities identified by the community representatives in the action plan. This way, initiatives to work on locally identified security issues originate from the community, genuinely community-based bottom-up endeavours.

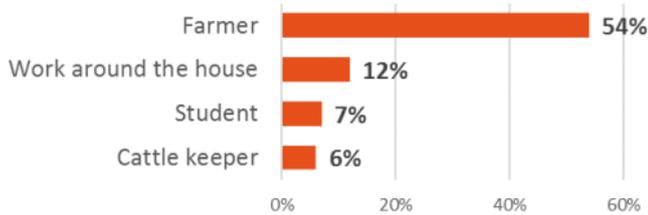
Demographics of the survey sample

99% of respondents indicated that the ethnic or group identity they belonged to was Dinka. Respondents were relatively young⁷: 34 years of age on average, but respondents ranged between 16 years (the minimum required age) and 98 years of age. Women and men were both well represented in the survey sample, with 54% of respondents being female.

Three-quarters of all respondents indicated that they have lived in their current *payams* since South Sudan achieved independence in 2011. Among those that did move their residence since independence, more than half have moved from another state than Eastern Lakes. With 75% of respondents indicating they have not moved from their *payams* since at least 2011, the remaining 25% have moved to their current *payams* within the last 5 years. For 40% of

the respondents who moved residence since 2011, the main reason to move to another payam was insecurity. Other common reasons for migration were pursuing economic opportunities (18%), to live closer to family members (12%) and marriage (11%)⁸.

Question: What is your main source of livelihood? (N= 538)



Main findings

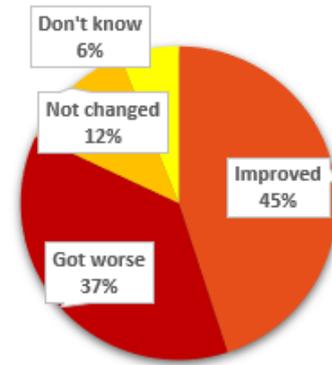
Respondents’ assessment of developments in their personal security situation during the last year showed a diverse picture. 45% of respondents thought the security situation had improved over the last year, while 38% thought the situation had become worse and 12% had the opinion the security situation had not changed during the last year (see graph below). There was considerable regional variation to this depending on the county: in Yirol East county 74% of respondents thought the security situation had become worse and only 12% thought it improved, while in Yirol West and Awerial more respondents thought security had improved (69% and 63% respectively) and only a minority thought it got worse (22% and 5% respectively).

Respondents who felt the security situation had improved, pointed to ‘less violence in our payam’ (57%)⁹, followed by ‘we can move freely between communities’ (29%), ‘we can move freely in our village day and night’ (28%) and ‘we feel better protected by security services’ (11%)¹⁰.

Of the people who thought the security situation had become worse, more than two-thirds (69%) claimed this was due to increased crime rates, while 31% thought this was because of ‘increased poverty and cost of living’ and 17% because of loss of their job or fewer livelihood opportunities.¹¹

Irrespective of whether perceived insecurity levels improved or got worse over the last year, local communities have to develop strategies to cope with general levels of insecurity. Nearly half of respondents (48%) indicated that they rely more on local police or local army units than before, followed by

Question: How has the security situation developed in the last year? (N= 538)



increased reliance on the church (35%), increased reliance on UNMISS (11%), self-protection measures such as acquiring weapons themselves (10%), fortification of the household (by fences or dogs) (6%), or participation in peace building initiatives (6%).

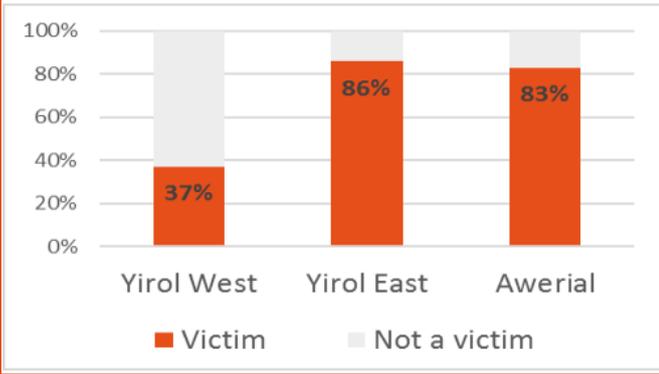
Incident reporting

Respondents were given a list of sixteen types of security incidents and asked whether they themselves or their household members experienced any of these incidents during the last year. In Eastern Lakes, more than two-thirds (69%) indicated that they or their household members experienced one or more of these listed security incidents in the last year. Here too, there was quite some variation between counties: 86% reported to be a victim of at least one of these security incidents in Yirol East county, and 83% in Awerial county, with Yirol West county bringing the average number down with a victimization rate of only 37%.

According to participants of the community security dialogue, this regional variation was explained by proximity to communal conflicts with neighbouring communities. As one participant explained: *“the situation in Yirol East is understandable as they border Panyijar [county] and Rumbek East [county], in Western Lakes state. People are dying on a daily basis along this border.”*¹² Higher insecurity levels in Awerial county were due to *“vulnerability to raids from the Mundari people from Terekeka state.”*

The relatively low victimisation rates in Yirol West county were understood to be partly misleading, as survey collection was mainly concentrated in inland areas that were not considered entirely representative of the entire county: *“Yirol town is comparatively much more secure, but along the Rumbek [county] border”*¹³ it has not been surveyed. If these border areas would have been surveyed, the number of

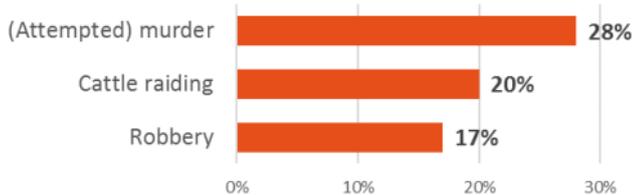
Victimization rates per county



reported incidents might also have increased.”¹⁴

More than a quarter of respondents (28%) indicated that ‘Murder or attempted murder’ happened to themselves or a household member over the last year, thereby presenting the most reported security incident overall in Eastern Lakes, as well as in Yirol East and Yirol West counties. The second most reported incident in Eastern Lakes was cattle raiding, reported by 20% of respondents, followed by robbery (17%). Robbery was the highest reported incident in Awerial county.¹⁵ Other incidents like beating, assault with a weapon, forced marriage, extortion, rape or sexual assault and being forced to flee were reported far less, each count below 2% of responses. According to the respondents, cattle raiding reportedly became more frequent in the last year, while (attempted) murders and robberies largely continued at the same rate.

Question: What type of incidents have you or your household members experienced during the last year?



Respondents who had experienced one or more security incidents in their households generally perceived that criminals (63%), people from another community (20%), ‘rebel groups’ (16%) and people from their own community (8%) were the most likely perpetrators.¹⁶ Most participants of the community security dialogue generally believed that relations within Eastern Lakes are good and it’s mainly outsiders that are to blame for most cattle raids and robberies across the state.

When reflecting on what would be the most likely



Cattle being driven through Yirol’s main streets (Picture: Anton Quist)

potential perpetrator to commit specific types of violence in the (near) future, those respondents who did consider themselves (potentially) at risk of becoming a victim (29%) mentioned the police (75%) or the national army or SPLA (48%). At the same time, the police and SPLA were recognised as important security providers.

When respondents were asked about what groups in society are considered most vulnerable to violence, responses primarily highlighted gender categories, with women (49%) and men (26%) being the most

CATTLE RAIDING IN EASTERN LAKES STATE:

Cattle raiding mostly happens during the dry season, when water sources are scarce and cattle keepers are scattered near the Nile in a limited area where cattle can drink and graze. However, fear to graze the cows near border areas with other states, leads to more cows being concentrated in an already small area, thereby risking further cattle raids among Eastern Lakes’ communities.

In June 2017, approximately 1 week before the community security dialogue took place in Yirol, a major incident of cattle raiding took place in Eastern Lakes. Cattle keepers from the Atuot community in Yirol West county brought their cattle eastwards into the territory of the Aliap of Awerial county. While looking for grazing areas, they crossed a buffer zone meant to keep cattle separated which led an Aliap man to shoot and kill the prized bull of an Atuot. The Atuot then retaliated and shot the Aliap man and others. This escalated to shots fired across both groups and the Aliap confiscated approximately 600 cattle from the Atuot. Reports stated that 30 people died, but later figures suggested the death toll was 11. Over the next few days, revenge attacks were carried out between the

groups of cattle keepers, while the authorities managed to recover most of the cows, transport them back to Yirol West and hand them over to their rightful owners. However, the day before the start of the SEB Dialogue, these cattle were raided (again), this time by local armed youth.

Despite these very serious incidents happening within the state of Eastern Lakes, the dominant narrative of the participants remained that cattle raiding is carried out mostly by outsiders from neighbouring communities in border states. Ultimately, this discrepancy helped to move the dialogue away from simple finger-pointing to outside communities and towards tackling the challenges posed by lack of disarmament and persistent poverty (which exacerbate conflicts in the region).

The incidents also showed the resolve of the local authorities, who prevented the conflict among cattle keepers from spreading to the wider Atuot and Aliap communities looking for revenge, which at a certain point threatened to happen, and who managed to restore calm in the Aliap-dominated town of Mingkaman just days before the dialogue meeting took place, and prevent violence to erupt in the central market town of Yirol: *"Yirol town is a town for government, a town for everybody. The leaders have set the example that even when there is fighting in the bush, we cannot touch anyone from the other community, as there were people almost beaten up in Mingkaman" (...)* *"The Governor of Eastern Lakes just issued a statement this week that a state-wide committee of chiefs would be set up to compensate all cattle owners and all victims of the recent cattle raids."*¹⁷

frequently mentioned vulnerable groups. Other categorisations of vulnerability include widows (24%), elderly people (13%), boys (12%), IDPs (7%), orphans/street children and cattle keepers (both 6%).¹⁸ The main reason why these groups of people are considered vulnerable is that "they cannot physically protect themselves" (61%) (79% of respondents who agreed to this explanation, also mentioned women as being most vulnerable). Of respondents who said widows were among the most vulnerable, 50% claimed this because "these people run the most risks because of their position in life", followed by "they cannot physically protect themselves" (35%).¹⁹

Based on the discussions during the community dialogue, the most mentioned pressing security issue in Eastern Lakes is the lack of peace with some neighbouring communities, with relations being characterised by frequent mutual killings and commu-

nal conflict about the main shared resources for a local pastoralist lifestyle, like cattle, grazing land and water sources.²⁰ The pressure to obtain such resources in order to marry or acquire wealth can lead to a range of criminal and otherwise unwanted social practices.²¹

Security actors

Throughout Eastern Lakes, an overwhelming 94% of respondents indicated that the police has the highest regular presence in their payam. The national army or SPLA (30% of all respondents) and neighbourhood watch/armed youth (19%) mainly have a regular presence in Yirol East and Yirol West counties²², but not very much in Awerial county. Religious institutions (9% of all respondents) and traditional chiefs (8%) have the strongest presence in Yirol West county. The County Commissioner (5% of all respondents) and wildlife rangers (3%) are also noted to have some presence, mostly in Yirol East and Yirol West counties.²³

In all counties, respondents overwhelmingly reported that the police, the neighbourhood watch/armed youth, and the SPLA (national army) have the best technical capacity to impact the local security situation, and that they mostly have a positive impact on security. 93% of respondents agreed with the statement that "the police takes reports from community members seriously and are helpful in resolving them". In addition, most respondents indicated that they would go to the police if they would be confronted with murder, rape, robbery, or when seeing unidentified armed men around their village (between 76% and 96% of respondents in either of these hypothetical cases).

However, when asked what security actors have a negative impact on people's security, 43% also mentioned the police, as well as the SPLA (32%), 'rebel group or local armed group' (13%), neighbourhood watch/armed youth (11%), wildlife rangers (8%) and the fire brigade (5%).²⁴ Participants to the community security dialogue offered a few potential reasons for this apparent contradiction: *"people have some fear of the police, they sometimes have confrontations with people and cause an incident", "they hold people accountable for crimes they didn't commit" and "the police lack resources and might abuse their authority, so sometimes they loot, sometimes they take bribes from criminals, sometimes the police asks for money before proceeding with a case."*

When it came to providing justice and dispute resolution, communities in Eastern Lakes favour the

informal, but accessible local chiefs and their customary courts over the formal but more distant and inaccessible state court system, that is often overburdened by a lack of judges. 59% of respondents agreed with the statement that ‘dispute resolution between communities is best handled by local elders or chiefs.’ Capacity constraints at the formal court system have

DISARMAMENT IN EASTERN LAKES:

Although participants to the community security dialogue generally agreed that the spread of guns that South Sudan has witnessed over the last decades has influenced the general security situation negatively, this does not lead to a strong support for disarmament campaigns in Eastern Lakes. As one participant expressed it: *“Disarmament is necessary but nobody is willing to do it first – it leaves them vulnerable to outsiders. Disarmament by force also only reinforces peoples’ belief that they can only depend on themselves for security. We need to build trust in existing security forces to address the root cause of people wanting to arm themselves for protection in the first place.”*

Nevertheless, following extensive communal clashes in neighbouring Western Lakes state in December 2017, the national government decided to impose the state of emergency in all states formerly known as Lakes, thereby including Eastern Lakes state. The state of emergency meant that the SPIA was deployed from Juba in large numbers to prepare for a civilian disarmament campaign to be carried out over the next months. There were widespread concerns locally whether the population would surrender their arms voluntarily and whether the disarmament campaign would be nonviolent²⁵. Similar disarmament campaigns in the past across South Sudan had led to arms taken by force and intimidation, reinforcing people’s mistrust of the SPIA’s motives and doing little to improve the general protection situation. Rather, these campaigns led to communities re-arming themselves for their personal safety and fighting the SPIA. Popular sensitisations by the local government have tried to inform communities across Eastern Lakes of the upcoming disarmament campaign and limit misunderstandings and potential hostility among communities. However, news on the progress of the civilian disarmament campaign has been scarce ever since and more than six months into the disarmament campaign it is still unclear if the campaign is successful and whether the state of emergency leading up to the campaign has been lifted.

also meant that the customary courts are helping to address the overflow of cases: In the case of cattle raids for instance, many cases devolve to special committees with traditional chiefs who use customary law. Only if cattle raids involve deadly casualties, the raids still have to be tried by state courts.²⁶

Community perceptions of a security actor’s capabilities and accessibility tends to be influenced by whether community members have reported incidents to these security actors, and their experiences with their response. When we look at the three most reported types of incidents (see the graph at p. 6), at least 61% of all respondents who reported one or more cases of (attempted) murder, cattle raiding or robbery decided to report this incident to a security actor, and in more than 79% of all these reported cases, this was reported to the police. The police was contacted in 90% of all reported (attempted) murders, in 79% of reported cattle raids and in 88% of reported robbery cases, thereby the highest scoring security actor.²⁷

Most of the enumerators who contacted the police after (attempted) murder, cattle raiding or robbery, were satisfied with the effectiveness of the police’s response. 88% of respondents were satisfied with the police’s response in cases of (attempted) murder, 70% in cases of cattle raiding and even 92% in cases of robbery. Satisfaction levels with the security actor’s response (mostly the police) were especially high mainly because ‘the perpetrator was caught and punished’ (64%) or ‘compensation for losses was offered’ (30%).²⁸ Most respondents who said they were not satisfied with the police’s response, did so because ‘the perpetrator was not found’ (58%), ‘the perpetrator was found, but not punished’ (20%) or because ‘no compensation for losses was offered’ (12%).

Apart from the generally high approval rates of the police, there are some other indications that a small majority of community members across Eastern Lakes have a preference for supra-local security actors over local, more informal security providers. In other survey locations in South Sudan, Jonglei and Payinjar for instance, most respondents preferred locally-based informal security provision and agreed with the statement “It is best for security in our payam when security forces are from our own community, because they know us well” (64% and 59% respectively). But in Eastern Lakes a majority of 58% agreed to the opposing statement “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.” Also during the community security dialogue this view was confirmed: “outside forces are

not biased, they do not take sides, they just do their job, while security forces from the community may favour friends or family members.”

Additionally, a small majority of 52% disagreed with ‘In my payam we trust local armed youth for our security more than any outsiders’. When respondents were pressed to choose, it turned out that two-thirds (67%) would prefer more police forces in their payam (“My community needs more police presence to provide security”) over relying on the local armed youth for security provision. Quite notably as well, confidence levels in UNMISS are significantly higher in Eastern Lakes than in other survey locations in South Sudan: a small majority of 53% agrees with the statement that “UNMISS is actively working to protect or support people in this payam”, while only 30% disagrees.²⁹

Although the police and ‘formal’ security providers were preferred by most respondents in Eastern Lakes over informal or localised security providers, this does not mean that the communities thought current law enforcement was sufficient. Even if the police has general trust among the communities and is perceived to have good intentions of keeping law and order, a permanent lack of resources means that they cannot do a well-enough job in the eyes of many: *“the police are unable to patrol effectively and catch criminals due to the poor road network”, (...)* *“the police sometimes needs to release prisoners too quickly due to undercapacity in prisons or a lack of prisons. There are often not enough funds to construct new prisons or conduct proper police work.” (...)* *“Courts are not functioning properly and sometimes hand out fines that people cannot afford, thereby exacerbating problems”.*

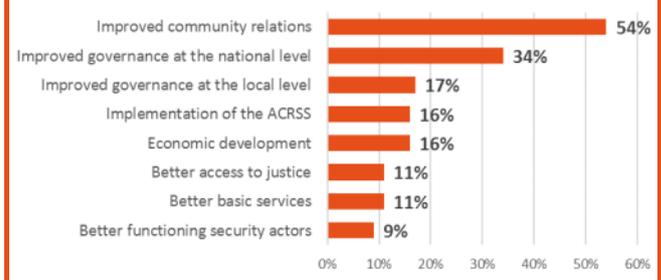
Suggestions to address local insecurity

The most frequently mentioned conflict factors according to respondents are socio-economic in nature. Most respondents (59%) indicated that ‘poverty, hunger and rising prices’ are the most likely factors to cause conflict in Eastern Lakes, closely followed by ‘control over resources and corruption’ (51%) and ‘conflict between cattle keepers’ (29%). Less often mentioned were ‘lack of basic services’ (14%), ‘access to weapons’ (13%), ‘poor governance at the national (Juba) level’ (9%), ‘conflict between cattle keepers and farmers’ (8%), ‘past grievances that have not been addressed’ and ‘lack of livelihood opportunities’ (both 6%) and ‘poor governance at the local level’ (4%).³¹

Generally, when discussing local security issues, people mention the easy access to and distribution of

guns, and the way community members sometimes outgun formal security providers. This decreases the ability for these security actors to provide the protection they are supposed to bring. Even so, two-thirds (67%) of all respondents disagreed with the statement that “It is easy to buy new weapons in our payam”, contradicting the idea that proliferation of arms in communities is particularly widespread. Nevertheless, many participants to the community security dialogue supported the notion that arms have spread more broadly than before, and that the availability of arms has changed the nature of cattle raiding: *“cattle raiding isn’t new but people used to just attack each other with sticks or knives, now there are deadly armed conflicts on a regular basis.”*

Question: What do you think are the most viable solutions for lasting peace in your county? (N= 538)



One of the participants to the community security dialogue in Yirol provided a very comprehensive overview of the history of armament in the area and the difficulty of countering the spread of guns: *“Guns became prevalent after the government failed to carry out disarmament after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2005). Organized forces sell their guns to civilians in times of hardship, or even carry out partial disarmament and then sell them back. Some disarmament efforts have also given payments for guns – but people hand in their old ones and then use the money to buy new ones. There is also no functional national registry of guns circulating in the country.”*

Many participants to the community security dialogue, especially the chiefs, were worried that the widespread possession of guns by community members has altered people’s respect for authority. One chief said *“the prevalence of guns among civilians is a problem for upholding the rule of law – anyone with a gun sees themselves as powerful”* and *“If you want to strengthen the law, it will be taken as opposition.”* Another chief claimed that *“civilians illegally carrying arms is a big problem, it undermines the capability of customary courts to resolve disputes in.”*³¹

As a response to this proliferation of arms, the option of disarmament is often proposed as a solution in the

survey. 82% of respondents agreed to the statement that disarmament of our weapons in the payam would reduce violence and crime.’ Additionally, 70% of respondents indicated they were in favour of civilian disarmament, agreeing that ‘disarmament of my community is needed for security.’

However, somewhat strangely, disarmament was not mentioned at all as most viable solution for lasting peace (0%) by respondents. Alternatively, respondents pointed primarily to reconciliation of community relations (54%) and improved governance at the national level (34%).³²

Respondents were generally optimistic in Eastern Lakes: 39% of respondents expected their security situation to improve over the next year and only 5% thought their security situation would become worse. 14% expected their situation to stay the same, but the highest percentage of respondents (42%) indicated that they did not know what to expect.

Participants attending the community dialogue in Yirol jointly identified five main security priorities in

need of addressing: 1) cattle raiding, 2) the possession of illegal arms by community members, 3) robbery and looting, 4) the poor road network (which also makes people using the road more vulnerable for ambushes) and 5) poverty (most notably people not cultivating as a result of insecurity, leading to more poverty and food insecurity). This shared understanding of threats and priorities helps to focus local peacebuilding efforts in the upcoming year, and follow-up activities and dialogue meetings initiated by the voluntary Community Security Committee, and 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 insights into local security dynamics, to see how identified trends in local security develop over time, and to support the local follow-up activities, with the aim of achieving sustainable results in improving the local security situation.

Notes

¹ During 2016-17, PAX and SSANSA also conducted the HSS in Jonglei, Unity, and Jubek states.

² 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.

³ During the period of data collection (May 2017) Eastern Lakes was divided into three counties: Yirol West, Yirol East and Awerial. In the meantime however, new counties (and payams) have been established, often with unclear borders, further fragmenting and complicating local governance and the provision of services.

⁴ Enumerators are responsible for conducting surveys in the local language while the questionnaire is in English, thereby doing forward-backward translation on the spot and submitting English answers on the phone.

⁵ See also the HSS South Sudan methodology summary published on our website at <https://protectionofcivilians.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/180206HSS-SS-Methodology-one-pager.pdf>.

⁶ International security actors were not present in this meeting.

⁷ The median age in South Sudan is 17.3 years according to the CIA World Fact Book (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/od.html>). By excluding respondents below 16 years of age, the average age in our sample is necessarily much higher.

⁸ Respondents could pick more than one response option with this question.

⁹ In a separate question, 74% of all respondents agreed with the statement that they ‘generally feel safe in this community.’

¹⁰ Respondents could pick more than one response option with this question.

¹¹ Idem.

¹² Quote during the community security dialogue in Yirol, June 2017. In May 2018, AMA, SSANSA and PAX have since hosted a peace meeting where representatives from Yirol East, Payinjiar and Rumbek East agreed to start a peace process, in addressing years of insecurity and cattle raiding on both sides of the borders.

¹³ Which also happens to be the border between Eastern Lakes and Western Lakes states.

¹⁴ Quote during the community security dialogue in Yirol, June 2017.

¹⁵ A police officer who was present during the community security dialogue in Yirol confirmed that the type of incidents “reflected his own records.”

¹⁶ Respondents could pick more than one response option with this question.

¹⁷ Quote from local authority representatives during the community security dialogue in Yirol, Jun 2017.

¹⁸ For this question, respondents were allowed multiple answers. As a result the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Also in the survey, 82% of respondents agreed to the statement “The main source of conflict in our payam is bad relationships between communities.”

²¹ As a chief explained during the community security dialogue: “forced marriage is often initiated by the girl’s parents to accept a boy’s request, or girls are pressured into marriage by a brother who wants to marry himself but needs the cows to do so from [the dowry of] a girl’s marriage.”

²² “The armed youth are present in areas where there’s no police”, the participants to the community security dialogue clarified. “even though armed youth often have not obtained their arms in a legal way, they have been given permission by local chiefs to carry their arms to protect the community where there is no police presence.”

²³ For this question, respondents were allowed multiple answers. As a result the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Quote from the community security dialogue: “if the SPLA goes about disarmament in a forceful way, people will resist and there may be violent clashes.”

²⁶ According to the participants to the community security dialogue in Yirol, June 2017.

²⁷ The reported response rates of other security actors were too low in absolute terms to allow for any meaningful statistical analysis.

²⁸ Respondents could pick more than one given response option with this question.

²⁹ This is quite remarkable as the closest UNMISS base is in Rumbek in neighbouring Western Lakes state.

³⁰ For this question, respondents were allowed multiple answers. As a result the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.

³¹ Various quotes from community security dialogue in Yirol, June 2017.

³² For this question, respondents were allowed multiple answers. As a result the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.

