



South Sudan Action Network
on Small Arms

Human Security Survey 2018: Annual Summary Report Eastern Lakes State, South Sudan

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- Security perceptions have generally improved across Eastern Lakes in 2018 compared to 2017. The current local peace process between Greater Yirol, Amongpiny and Payinjiar plays an important part in this and is generally supported by the communities.
- However, Pakam communities that have migrated into the Yirol East-Payinjiar border area still pose a major challenge to the peace process, with incidents of armed violence and cattle raiding still occurring. These developments risk affecting the peace process' peace dividend.
- According to survey respondents, both the causes of conflict and the solutions for peace relate to socio-economic and political aspects: the lack/need of comprehensive economic development, implementation of the national peace agreement (R-ARCISS), improved governance at local and national levels.

Introduction and Methodology

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 dynamics and trends; 2) to enhance the 'claim-making capacity' of civilians to hold security providers and decision-makers accountable; and 3) to inform evidence-based advocacy that enables international stakeholders to design and implement protection activities that reflect local realities. PAX currently implements the HSS in South Sudan in close collaboration with its long-standing local partners **South Sudan Action Network on Small Arms (SSANSA)** and **Assistance Mission to Africa (AMA)**.

MAP OF SOUTH SUDAN AND EASTERN LAKES STATE



The survey in **Eastern Lakes State** took place in the course of three weeks in **October 2018** by 12 enumerators who were trained for four days in data col-

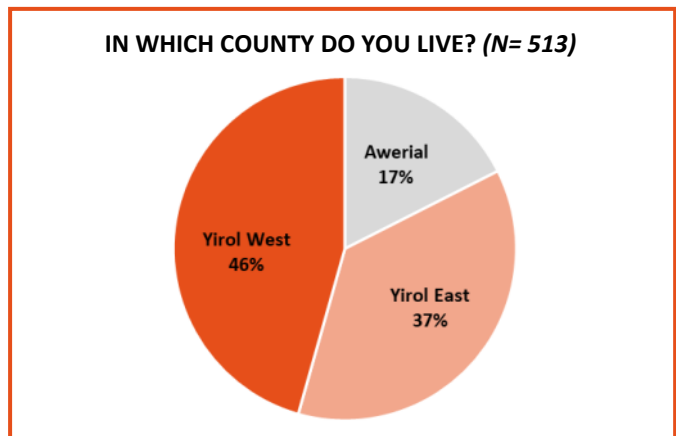
lection skills and procedures¹. In total **513 surveys** have been collected across **12 payams** in Yirol West, Yirol East and Awerial counties of Eastern Lakes State. Within these payams, households and individual respondents were selected using an approximately random procedure to allow for some generalizability.

In **May 2019** PAX and local partners SSANSA and AMA facilitated a **community security dialogue** in **Nyang**, Yirol East county, Eastern Lakes State. During this three-day dialogue the main survey findings and its practical implications were presented, discussed, and validated; participants jointly worked out an action plan for addressing security priorities locally; and the local Community Security Committee (COMSECCOM) set up in 2017, consisting of community members with diverse backgrounds, presented the activities it organized to implement the 2017 action plan. This way, initiatives to address locally identified security issues originate from the community and are increasingly locally accounted for, genuinely representing community-based bottom-up capacities.

Demographics of the survey sample

99% of respondents indicated that the ethnic or group identity they belonged to was Dinka, with the remaining 1% to be Nuer, which generally seems to reflect the demographic distribution in Eastern Lakes. Just over half (**51%**) of the respondents was between 16-30 years of age, over a third (**34%**) were between the ages 31-45, **14%** between 46-65 years of age and only **2%** was above 65 years of age². Two-thirds of respondents were female, only one-third was male³, most likely because surveys were primarily conducted during the morning and afternoon hours. At those times, many men are out herding cattle, working the fields, or engaging in other livelihood activities away from their homes. Female family members are more likely to be found in and around the house to look after children and do domestic chores, work on the land and/or collect firewood, which was reflected in the livelihoods respondents reported.

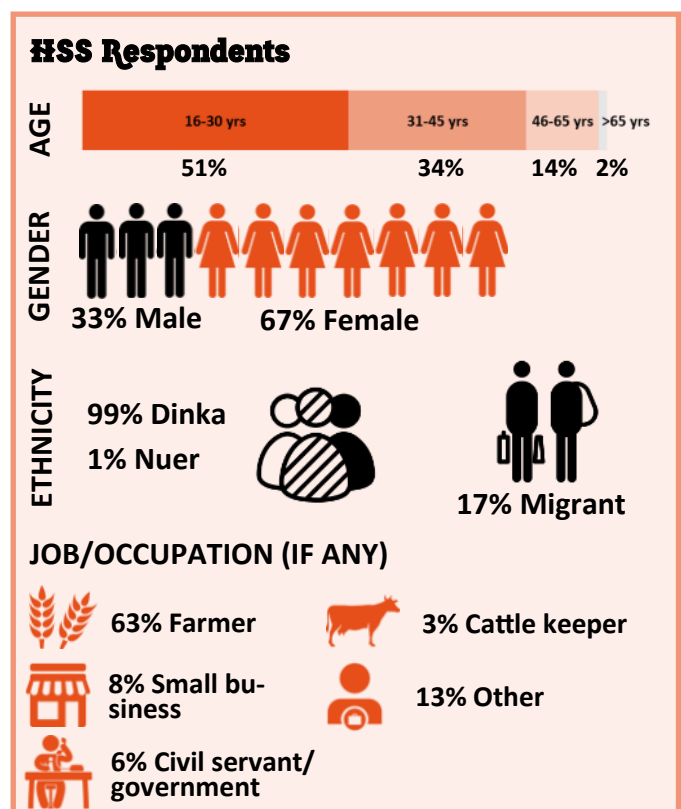
Little over half of respondents (**52%**) indicated that they did not have a job or source of livelihood at the time of the interview; **48%** did have a job or source of livelihood. Those respondents who did not have a job or source of livelihood described their situation as



being a housewife and doing domestic work in the household (**29%**)⁴, relying on aid from the UN, NGOs or others (**28%**), being unemployed (**26%**) or student (**14%**).

The respondents who did have a job or livelihood were in majority farmers or land labourers (**63%**)⁵, were working in small businesses (**8%**), were civil servants/government employees (**6%**) or working in the security sector (**6%**), with smaller numbers (**1-3%**) representing cattle keepers, teachers, medical workers, etc.

83% of all respondents indicated that they have lived in their current payams since 2013. Among the **17%** of respondents that did move their residence during the last five years, one in six (**16%**) had to relocate themselves twice and **8%** more than twice. Of all respondents who had to move payams in the last five

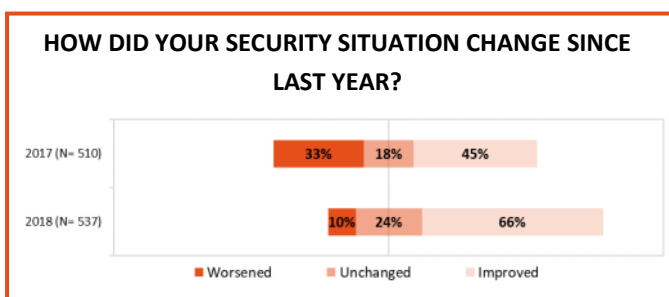


years, **39%** claimed they had to do so because of insecurity, **36%** did so to improve access to basic services/food/health care etc., **34%** because of marriage or living closer to family and **21%** because of economic opportunities/work/education⁶.

Main Findings

Perceptions of the general security situation

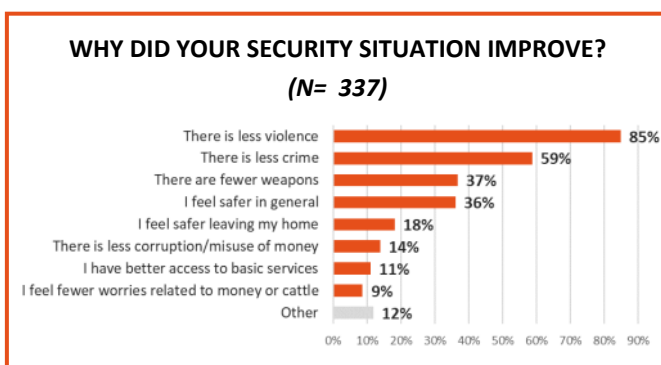
Respondents' assessment of developments in their personal security situation show that the general mood concerning the security situation has improved over the last year. Two-thirds of respondents claim that their security situation improved (compared to **45%** in 2017), while only **10%** said that their security situation got worse, a sharp decline from the **38%** who said their security got worse in 2017. Almost a quarter (**24%**) did not perceive any positive or negative change in their security (see below)⁷.



The regional variation in these security assessments was rather limited: in Yirol West **76%** of respondents thought that the security situation improved, with **75%** in Awerial and **50%** of Yirol East. Alternatively, in Yirol East, **15%** of respondents thought that security got worse, along with **7%** of Yirol West and **6%** of Awerial respondents (and the rest of the respondents said that security had not changed).

Main reasons why the situation has improved (asked to respondents who claimed their security situation improved in 2018, compared to 2017) were mainly that there was “*less violence in our payam*” (**85%**) and “*there is less crime*” (**59%**), with lower amounts claiming that “*there were fewer weapons*” circulating (**37%**) and saying that they felt safer in general (**36%**, see below). Of the respondents who thought the security situation had become worse, almost half (**46%**) claimed this was due to increased crime rates, while **36%** thought “*there was more violence*” in general

and **30%** thought that “*There are more weapons*” and another **30%** indicated that they have “*less access to food, etc.*”⁸.



Irrespective of whether perceived insecurity levels improved or got worse over the last year, local communities generally have to develop strategies to cope with existing levels of insecurity. Exact half of respondents indicated that they “*sought assistance from formal or informal security forces*”⁹, such as the army, police or local armed youth, more than a third of respondents (**36%**) joined formal or informal security forces¹⁰, **28%** participated in peacebuilding activities¹¹, **26%** fortified their household¹², **15%** acquired or used weapons themselves, **14%** travelled less frequently outside of the home, **14%** avoided going to specific places or avoided going out after dark, and **13%** provided food, money or services to the security forces¹³.

During the community dialogue in Nyang, most participants agreed with the majority of respondents that the security situation in 2018 had improved compared to the previous year. This was in large part due to the local peace agreement between the Dinka communities of Greater Yirol (Eastern Lakes State), Amongpiny (Western Lakes State) and the Nuer of Payinjar (Southern Liech State), that was formally embraced through two peace conferences held in Ganyiel in May 2018 and Nyang in September 2018. While in 2017 the community members during the security dialogue complained of cattle raiding and killings allegedly perpetrated by the neighbouring Nuer communities of Payinjar, the 2018 peace agreement has improved their relations with their neighbouring community: “*[This] peace is very good, last year we made peace here, and we are still honouring that agreement of peace.*”¹⁴. In addition, the increased efforts of local organization AMA, who were

also involved in facilitating the local peace conferences, was credited to have contributed to an increased local awareness of security. Effective communication among and between the communities of Eastern Lakes, Amongpiny and Payinjiar, through AMA and other local partners, is essential to sustain the mutual confidence that the peace process has generated, although the (lack of) local infrastructure such as radios and mobile phone coverage show how challenging this is in practice.

On the other hand however, there have also been new security challenges that emerged, partially challenging the view that security is moving in the right direction. Numerous participants to the dialogue in May 2019 mentioned the situation of the Pakam community, who moved from their original homeland in Western Lakes State to the border areas between Yirol East and Payinjiar. The Pakam community has not been part of the peace process leading to the 2018 agreement, and is therefore not respecting the agreements made between Greater Yirol, Amongpiny and Payinjiar. Additionally, the Pakam have a notorious reputation for cattle raiding¹⁵. *“They say in 2019 that Western Lakes is disarmed, but the Pakam are still holding guns. They first killed 28 people [here], and the number of raids is high”* said one participant to the Nyang dialogue. Another said: *“What remains now is Pakam [people] coming here, killing people, and taking away [our] cows.”* It was even remembered during the dialogue that the Pakam briefly occupied an entire village, before they retreated back to the bush in the border areas between Yirol East and Payinjiar. Traffic and trade between these two areas, which was expected to increase as a result of the peace agreement, is still fledgling as many people fear to travel through the border areas, thereby hampering the peace dividend that was hoped for. During the dialogue, community members did discuss ways to prevent further escalation, but the main problem they indicated is the lack of (formal) communication with Pakam local leaders at the time.

In addition to the current tensions with the Pakam, other community members mentioned other security issues that recently sprung up in Eastern Lakes, such as the incident on an island in the Nile that is claimed by both Jonglei and Eastern Lakes communities and

the alleged increase of violence towards women and girls, which was exemplified around the time of the dialogue with the highly publicized case of a young woman who was killed by her brothers for refusing to marry his preferred candidate for her¹⁶, which according to some women was typical for the position of (young) women during their marriage negotiations.

Lastly, it was suggested during the dialogue that the perceptions of cattle keepers, who are based in often remote cattle camps away from towns and villages, should be consulted more thoroughly to get a better picture of the security situation across cattle camps and the prevalence of cattle raids that potentially bring a lot of casualties, economic loss and tensions to communities: *“When you talk about peace across the communities of Eastern Lakes, one day you’ll have to try ask in the cattle camps, if you find time to go there. The chiefs, the police, and local youth are trying hard [to engage with cattle camp leaders]. We are in a meeting now, but as we speak the criminals are also meeting in the bush right now [to plan cattle raids].”*

**PARTICIPANTS DISCUSSING THE SURVEY RESULTS
DURING THE COMMUNITY SECURITY DIALOGUE,
NYANG MAY 2019**



Incident reporting

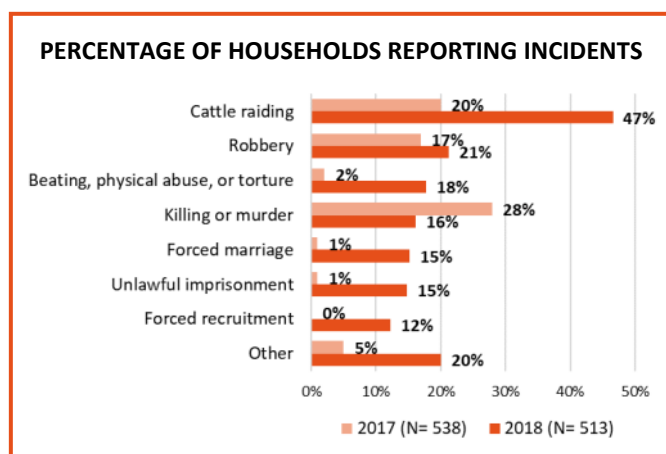
Respondents were asked whether they themselves or their household members experienced any given security incidents during the last year. Across the three counties of Eastern Lakes State, almost two-thirds of respondents (65%) indicated that they or their household members experienced one or more of a given list of security incidents during the last year. This is somewhat comparable to the 69% of respondents reporting that they were a victim of one or more of

these types of incidents during the survey of 2017. Within Eastern Lakes State there is quite some regional variation in the shown victimization rates: more than two-thirds (**71%**) of respondents in Yirol East county indicated that they were victims of at least one type of incident, down from **86%** victimization rate in 2017. Almost two-thirds (**65%**) of respondents in Yirol West county reported they were victimized (up from **37%** in 2017) and little over half (**52%**) of Awerial county respondents indicated they experienced a security incident over the last year, down from **83%** in 2017. Victimization rates dropped in Yirol East and Awerial counties, which were considered most insecure in 2017, while victimization in Yirol West county increased (even though **75%** of Yirol West respondents thought that the general security situation had improved).

Generally across all reported security incidents, men indicated much higher victimization rates than women: **74%** of incidents involved adult men as victims and in **21%** boys were victimized, while adult women (**21%**) and girls (**17%**) were less often mentioned as victims of the reported security incidents¹⁷. The explanation provided during the security dialogue was that it is mainly (young) men that are active in the fields and cattle camps, involved in committing cattle raids and other forms of criminality on the one hand, and also its prime targets and victims on the other.

The 2018 survey generally saw a larger number of violent incidents reported (**850** incidents) than in 2017 (**567** incidents) by a slightly lower number of households that reported incidents at all (**333** households in 2018, from **349** in 2017), so the number of incidents reported per household has increased¹⁸. The most reported type of incident by respondents throughout Eastern Lakes State in 2018 was cattle raiding, reported by almost half (**47%**) of surveyed households¹⁹. This was a clear increase compared to **20%** of households reporting cattle raids in 2017. Back in 2017, killing or murder was the most frequently reported security incidents by **28%** of surveyed households, followed by cattle raiding and robbery (**17%**). In 2018 however, cattle raiding was by far the most frequently reported incident, followed by robbery (**21%**)²⁰, beating, physical abuse or torture (**18%**)²¹, killing or murder (**16%**)²², forced marriage

(**15%**)²³, unlawful imprisonment (**15%**) and forced recruitment into the security forces (**12%**, see below).



Respondents indicated that a third (**34%**) of all reported incidents happened in their payam, with an additional third (**34%**) claiming the incident happened inside their home and **22%** of the incidents happened “along the road between payams or in the fields” (such as **79%** of all murder cases), stressing that likely risky areas are located in people’s day-to-day living environment. Respondents who reported one or more security incidents happening to themselves or a household member, generally perceived that criminals were the most likely perpetrators of these incidents (**40%**), followed by members of another community (**14%**) and local armed youth (**12%**), police and members of their own community (both **9%**), and the national army (SPLA; **6%**), etc.²⁴. Generally these perpetrators groups were equally recognized by the participants to the community dialogue.

More than half of respondents who were victimized (**54%**) indicated that they contacted someone outside their household to help them resolve the incident they experienced²⁵. The most contacted actor generally were the police (**82%**), the county commissioner (**49%**), local leaders (most often chiefs; **29%**), the national army (**23%**), paramilitary forces (**20%**) and a lawyer or official (state) court (**13%**)²⁶. The police was contacted in **88%** of all reported murder cases, in **87%** of reported cattle raiding cases and in **98%** of reported robbery cases, with an average of **82%** across all reported security incidents. The second main assisting actor, local government authorities (“*Commissioner, payam administrator, or other local government official*” as mentioned in the survey), was contacted in over half of murder cases (**56%**), **51%** of cattle raiding

cases, but only **17%** of reported robbery cases, resulting in an average requested response rate across all incidents of **49%**²⁷. During the dialogue it was confirmed that most community members preferred contacting the police, but that in villages or areas where there is no police presence, the communities resort to contacting the chiefs.

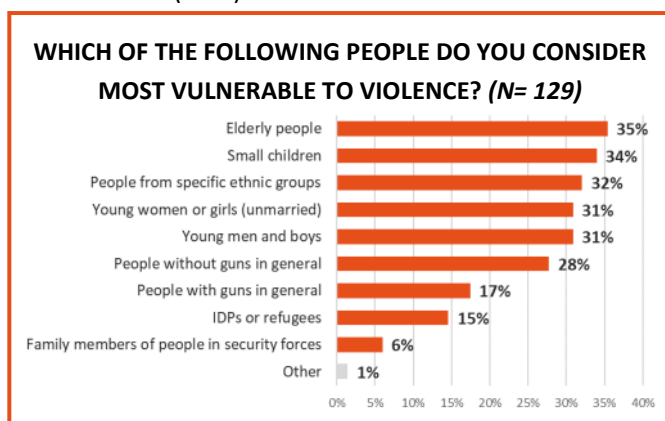
More than half of respondents (**56%**) who have called in outside assistance indicated that they were satisfied with the resolution of the incident by the security actor they contacted. When the respondents who were satisfied with the resolution of the incident were asked what made them satisfied, they indicated this was because “*the perpetrator was caught and punished*” (**89%**), that “*compensation for their losses was offered*” (**45%**) and that “*reconciliation with the perpetrator took place*” (**41%**)²⁸. On the other hand, the respondents who were not satisfied with how their report was handled by the security actors, blamed this on the perpetrator not being caught (**69%**), of not being offered any compensation for their losses (**45%**) and the perpetrator not being punished in the end (**43%**)²⁹.

When asked about the vulnerability of certain groups in society, **43%** of respondents claimed that women and girls are more likely to become a victim of violence in Eastern Lakes State than men and boys, while **32%** claimed men and boys are equally likely to women and girls to become a victim of violence, and **17%** said that men or boys are more vulnerable (and **8%** didn’t know). In a similar fashion, almost three-quarters of respondents (**74%**) agreed to the statement that “*some people in this community are more likely to be exposed to violence than others*”, a sentiment that was similarly echoed by participants during the community dialogue in Nyang.

In addition, men and women are perceived to have different reasons or aspects of vulnerability according to respondents. Two-thirds of respondents (**68%**) think that women and girls’ vulnerability stems from the notion that “*they cannot physically protect themselves*”, followed by “*their rights are often ignored*” (**48%**). Men or boys were considered vulnerable by **56%** of respondents because “*they are likely to be seen as a threat*”, for instance as a potential criminal or combatant. Almost a third (**32%**) was of the

opinion that men and boys “*are targeted as a matter of revenge or to restore honour*”³⁰ and **29%** thought that “*they cannot physically protect themselves*”.

When groups in society beyond the gender dichotomy are considered in their vulnerability to violence, responses primarily highlighted age categories, such as elderly people (**35%**), small children (**34%**), people from specific ethnic groups (**32%**), young unmarried women or girls (**31%**), young men and boys (**31%**) and people without guns in general (**28%**, see the graph on the right)³¹. Therefore it might be that age was considered a more relevant factor determining one’s vulnerability than gender. When asked what potential perpetrators the respondents themselves feared towards the future, they mentioned criminals (**53%**), police (**32%**), local armed youth (**29%**), members of another community (**21%**), the national army (**21%**) and SPLA-IO (**13%**)³².

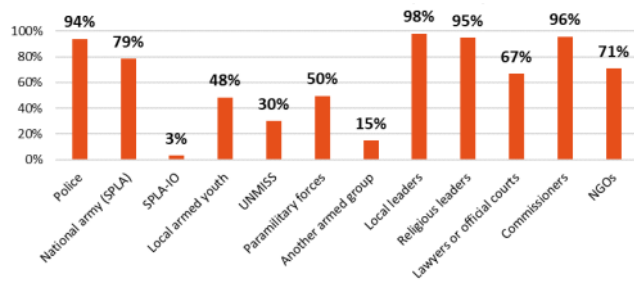


Security actors

We asked respondents what (security) actors were present and accessible in their respective payams throughout Eastern Lakes State. The actors that scored the highest for having a consistent presence were local leaders (**98%**), local government officials (commissioners; **96%**), religious leaders (**95%**), the police (**94%**), the national army (**79%**), NGOs (**71%**) and lawyers or official (state) courts (**67%**). On the other hand, (security) actors that were mainly considered not or less present or accessible were SPLA-IO³³ (**78%** of respondents claiming it was *not* consistently present in their payam), an “other armed group” (**72%**), UNMISS (**65%**), local armed youth (**44%**) and paramilitary forces (**44%**).

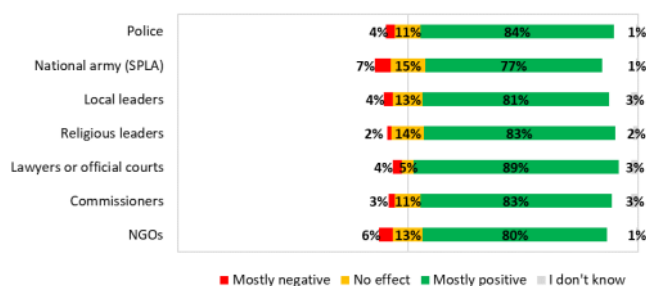
Overall, respondents overwhelmingly reported that the security actors most locally present and accessi-

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS STATING THAT THE FOLLOWING ACTORS HAVE A CONSISTENT PRESENCE IN THEIR AREA N= 513)



ble, were also the actors considered to be most positive in their effect on the local security situation (see the figure on the next page). Then, respondents were asked to rate only the five most prominent security actors on the South Sudanese national level (police, national army, SPLA-IO, local armed youth and UNMISS) more specifically, regardless of their local presence, on their perceived performance in providing security³⁴. Of these five actors, the police scored best (86% scored them as “good/very good”), followed by the national army (71% scored them “good/very good”) and UNMISS (49% scored them “good/very good”)²⁵. Meanwhile, local armed youth (35% “good/very good” and 40% “not good/very bad”) and SPLA-IO (49% “not good/very bad”) have a predominantly negative appreciation.

IN GENERAL, HOW DO YOU RATE THE EFFECT OF THE FOLLOWING SECURITY ACTORS ON YOUR PERSONAL SECURITY SITUATION? (N= ONLY WHEN ACTORS ARE PRESENT)



More respondents in Awerial and Yirol West were positive than in Yirol East about the effect of the *police* (94% and 92% vs 70%), the effect of *local leaders* (93% and 88% vs 64%) and *religious leaders* (93% and 89% vs 71%), and the effect of *commissioners and other government employees* (96% and 87% vs 71%). In Awerial and Yirol East more respondents were positive about the effect of *lawyers and official courts*

(97% and 92% vs 78%) than in Yirol West. Lastly, in Awerial more respondents were positive about the effect of *NGOs* than in Yirol East and Yirol West (100% vs 69% and 80%).

When asked how these security actors could improve their performance, half of respondents (50%) said “the security actor needs to be better trained” (74% said this about the police, 65% about the national army and 53% about local armed youth), 46% indicated that “we need more presence of this actor” (the police scored 78% on this point, UNMISS 59% and the national army 57%). In addition, 45% thought that “the security actor needs to be more responsive towards civilians” (police scored 61%, the national army 52%, UNMISS 49% and local armed youth 40%), and 41% thought that “this actor needs to be better armed or equipped” (the police 63%³⁶, the national army 53%, UNMISS 37% and the local armed youth 36%)³⁷.

89% of respondents agreed with the statement that “the police takes reports from community members seriously and are helpful in resolving them”³⁸ and three-quarters of respondents agreed that “men and women in this community get equal assistance when reporting a security incident to the police”³⁹. However, the support for more women officers serving in the police (“there should be more women serving in the police to help with security issues facing women”) was high among respondents: 86% agreed, while only 10% did not, suggesting that there is a need to serve women who report security incidents better. In addition, most respondents indicated that they would go to the police in the hypothetical case they would be confronted with murder, rape, or when seeing unidentified armed men around their village (police scoring 88%, 92% and 96% in these hypothetical cases respectively). The police scores higher than Commissioners (scoring 59%-68%-67% respectively), local leaders or chiefs (45%-45%-42% respectively) and the national army⁴⁰ (scoring 43%-37%-51% respectively).

Although the approval rates of the police are generally high, it is notable that respondents also have a strong identification and appreciation with more informal local armed youth that are native to their own area, for instance by agreeing to the statement “In my payam we trust local armed youth for our security more than any outsiders” (55%)⁴¹. However, support

for the statement *“It is best for the security in our payam that security forces are from outside the payam, because they do not take sides”* was quite undecided with little over half (56%) supporting it, while 42% was in favour of the opposing statement *“It is best for security in our payam when security forces are from our own community, because they know us”*. In light of these perceptions, participants to the community dialogue in Nyang said that most police officers in Greater Yirol are from outside the community (state), which most of them did not mind as it would make them *“more neutral, they have no family and relatives here”* which could complicate matters or lead to potential conflicts of interest.

Likewise, 83% of respondents agreed with *“my community needs more police presence to provide security”*, while only 16% supported the statement that *“my community should rely on local armed youth to provide protection and security”*. Therefore, it does not seem there is a very clear distinction in Eastern Lakes community members’ perceptions and preferences regarding formal security provision on the one hand (by police) and informal ‘self-protection’ strategies (local armed youth) on the other, although formal security providers (police, army, local government) seem to be lightly preferred over informal ones (local armed youth, chiefs)⁴².

Suggestions to address local insecurity

Two-thirds of respondents (73%) indicated that *“poverty or a lack of livelihood opportunities”* is the most likely factor to cause conflict in Eastern Lakes State, followed at some distance by *“competition over resources”* (28%), *“the national political power struggle”* (24%)⁴³, *“tribalism or discrimination between ethnic groups”* (17%), *“poor governance at the local level”* (17%) and *“poor governance at the national (Juba)*

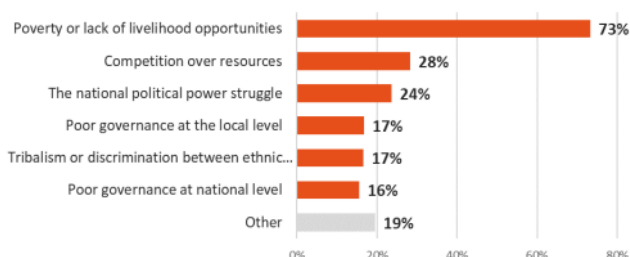
level” (16%)⁴⁴.

When community members generally discuss local security issues, they often mention the easy access to and distribution of guns within communities, to the extent that community members might outgun formal security providers, thereby decreasing the security actors’ ability to provide protection. However, 87% of respondents indicated they thought civilian disarmament was needed to increase the security of their payam, while 13% said that people need guns to provide their own security⁴⁵. However, almost two-thirds (63%) of all respondents disagreed with the statement that *“It is easy to buy new weapons in our payam”* and only 26% of respondents mentioned easy access to weapons as an important conflict trigger, thereby countering the idea that proliferation of arms in their communities is particularly widespread.

The main reason given for this seeming contradiction was the way disarmament campaigns have been carried out previously, like recently (throughout 2018) in Eastern Lakes State as part of the Juba-installed state of emergency across the former territory of Lakes state. The state-wide Community Security Committee was even requested by the State government to assist in community sensitizations in ensuring that the objectives of the disarmament campaign, carried out by the national army that was brought into the state, would not conflict with the perspectives of the community members that were requested to hand in their guns. That said, the disarmament campaign of 2018 did not result in limiting ownership of guns in the hands of civilians, according to dialogue participants: *“disarmament was done, but only few weapons were collected. Therefore it was not successful, because they [the criminals and cattle raiders] use illegal arms and they hide arms, or buy guns from the SPLA-IO. If soldiers are hungry, they will also sell their ammunition.”*

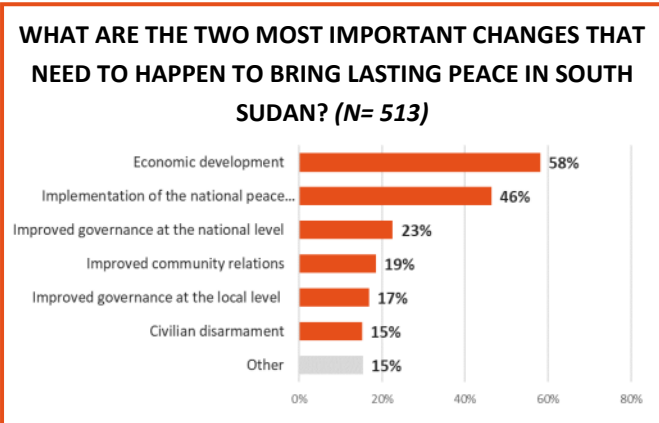
During the community dialogue in Nyang, there were generally two reasons given why community members are armed: they are either criminals who use guns for economic reasons, or people that carry arms to protect themselves and their property. Whether it is unknown if armed criminals can be convinced to disarm themselves (and basically end their lucrative business), there might be a way to convince ordinary

WHAT ARE THE TWO FACTORS MOST LIKELY CAUSING FURTHER CONFLICT IN YOUR COMMUNITY IN THE NEXT YEAR? (N= 513)



communal gun owners to disarm themselves. *“Last year the chiefs were sent to talk to the people [during the disarmament campaign]. Criminals have chiefs, and some chiefs use them as a kind of protection force. For all of us we know our chiefs, and they know the criminals, the armed youth [within their ranks]. We should advise our colleagues to convince everyone to hand over remaining guns to the government. We need chiefs to sit together and convince the criminals.”*⁴⁶. Many dialogue participants agreed that disarmament by force does not work when you don’t take away the reason they carry arms in the first place, because many of them say they have arms because no one else (for instance the formal security actors) is protecting them, so who will protect them once they hand over their gun?

However, disarmament was primarily discussed during the community dialogue and hardly mentioned during the survey (only by **15%** of respondents) as most viable solution for lasting peace. Alternatively, respondents pointed primarily to the need for *“economic development”* (**58%**) in the country and *“implementation of the national peace agreement”* (**46%**), *“improved governance at the national level”* (**23%**)⁴⁷, etc. (see figure below)⁴⁸. In 2017 by comparison, *“improved community relations through reconciliation”* (**54%**) and *“improved governance at the national level”* (**33%**) were considered the highest priorities by respondents.



The most frequent security incident reported in Eastern Lakes in 2018 was cattle raiding, and even though a local peace agreement was agreed between the formerly raiding communities of Greater Yirol and Payinjiar, there were still cattle raids going on, be it with Payinjiar, the Pakam who now live in the border area between Yirol East and Payinjiar (see elsewhere



in this report), and between youth of different Dinka (sub)lineages such as the Aliap youth of Awerial and Atuot youth of Yirol West⁴⁹. Apart from frequent and continuing prevention measures, mainly revolving around different forms of engagement of armed youth from the cattle camps by local authorities, including the Community Security Committee, there is also an awareness among chiefs and local government administrators that raiding youth should be intercepted and arrested and that the raided cattle should be returned to the affected communities, to reconcile with the neighbouring communities and save people’s livelihoods to the extent possible. More than half of Eastern Lakes’ enumerators (**58%**) agreed that in their payam *“the authorities have a clear system to track and retrieve cattle that is lost or stolen”* (of which **97%** in Yirol East, the border county with Payinjiar, but only **43%** in Awerial), while **38%** claimed their payam authorities do not have such a system. During the security dialogue in Nyang, a chief confirmed that (Greater) *“Yirol has a good system to bring the cattle back, but other payams [counties] do not have that system. Generally cows from people are not brought back.”* However, as another dialogue participant complicated the condition under which local authorities are expected to retrieve stolen cattle: *“cattle sold in the bush (outside of official auctions) is often stolen cattle, but it cannot be easily retrieved even if the rightful owner tracks them, as the new owner will say he bought them rightfully.”*

Apart from the cattle raiding, respondents also gave their opinions on other potential social and cultural factors underlying local insecurity. More than four-fifth of respondents (**83%**) said that *“tribalism had a big impact on the local situation”*, with **16%** saying that there was no impact. **73%** of all respondents perceived that *“a ban on alcohol would have a positive*

effect on security”, while **25%** thought it did not⁵⁰, while in 2017 **60%** of respondents in Eastern Lakes disagreed with such a ban. For girls across South Sudan, the practice of early and even forced marriage is quite common. Many parents also fear to let their daughters take matters in her own hands and elope: *“If sons or daughters go [elope] to the cattle camp, they can get married without any consultation with the parents.”* However, **71%** of surveyed respondents agreed that *“early marriages do not provide girls with more protection from violence”*⁵¹. Regarding the recurrent issue of cattle raiding, there are cultural reasons attached to the frequency of raiding, such as the need for dowries consisting of cows for marriage, and traditional appreciation for a ‘warrior mentality’ among young men. However, according to **78%** of respondents *“a young man who raids lots of cattle from a neighbouring community should not be respected.”*

Respondents in Eastern Lakes were generally reserved regarding predictions or expectations for the future: **52%** of respondents⁵² (up from **39%** in 2017) generally expected that the local security situation would improve over the next year, and **22%** expected the situation to remain the same (down from **42%** in 2017), while only **4%** expected the security situation to become worse (another **22%** said they didn’t know what to expect)⁵³.

IDENTIFICATION OF LOCAL SECURITY PRIORITIES

Participants attending the community dialogue in Nyang jointly identified five main security priorities in need of addressing:

1. Land disputes and renaming land or places;
2. Cattle raiding;
3. Elopement of girls and forced marriage;
4. proliferation of arms in the hands of civilians;
5. Biasness in legal proceedings and lack of rule of law.

The common understanding of threats and priorities helps to focus local peacebuilding efforts in the upcoming year, as well as the follow-up activities initiated by the Community Security Committee, which is supported by the local authorities and communities.

PAX and SSANSA are committed to conduct another annual round of survey collection and dialogue in early 2020, 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 for communities across Eastern Lakes State.

PARTICIPANTS OF THE COMMUNITY SECURITY DIALOGUE, NYANG MAY 2019



NOTES

1. Of one enumerator, the phone with all collected surveys was stolen before the end of data collection, therefore these surveys could not be added to our total tally.
2. 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.
3. The women who attended the community dialogue in Nyang started clapping when they heard two-thirds of survey respondents were women.
4. 90% of those reportedly doing domestic work were women.
5. Of all farmers, 63% was female, 37% was male.
6. Respondents could pick more than one response option with this question, so the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.
7. This general dynamic seems to be confirmed in another question, whereby 83% of respondents agreed to the statement “I generally feel safe from violence or crime in my community”, while 17% disagreed (thereby indicating that they didn’t feel safe). This was a slight improvement in security perceptions from the numbers in the 2017 survey, when 76% agreed to the same statement and 24% disagreed.
8. Respondents could pick more than one response option with this question, so the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.
9. In Yirol East county 84% of respondents indicated that they requested assistance from security actors, with just 38% and 26% for Awerial and Yirol West counties respectively.
10. More than half (51%) of respondents in Yirol East, while Yirol West and Awerial scored 28% and 26% respectively.
11. 48% of Awerial respondents, 38% in Yirol West and 7% in Yirol East.
12. 43% of Awerial respondents, 29% in Yirol West and 14% in Yirol East.
13. Respondents could pick more than one response option with this question, so the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.
14. Community member during the Nyang community dialogue.
15. See these three reports from Radio Tamazuj that describe some of the incidents described by dialogue participants: <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/news/article/one-killed-over-100-cattle-raided-in-eastern-lakes-state>, <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/news/article/lakes-state-cattle-raid-leaves-one-wounded> and <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/news/article/at-least-8-killed-in-tribal-clashes-in-eastern-lakes>
16. <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/news/article/girl-killed-for-refusing-to-marry-suitor-in-yirol>
17. As a reported incident can involve more than one victim, the sum of percentages of alleged victims exceeds 100%.
18. 35% of households did not report any incidents, 24% reported one incident, 15% reported two incidents, 10% reported three incidents and 15% reported more than three incidents over the last year.
19. Cattle raiding was reported by 58% of respondents in Yirol East county, the border county with Payinjiar, a higher percentage than Yirol West (41%) and Awerial (38%).
20. Robbery was reported by 37% of respondents in Yirol East county, significantly higher than reported rates in Yirol West and Awerial (both 12%).
21. These three incidents were used separately in the given options during the 2017 survey, but taken together as one single category during the 2018 survey.
22. Rates in Yirol East and Yirol West (19 and 18% respectively) were higher than in Awerial (6%).
23. Rates were higher in Awerial (28%) than in Yirol West and East (14% and 11% respectively).
24. Respondents could pick more than one response option with this question, so the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.
25. Of the remaining respondents who did not seek external assistance, 58% said they did not do so because they “did not believe anyone could help me resolve the issue”, 31% because they “could not get in touch with anyone for help” and 25% because “they feared more harm against myself or my family”.
26. For this question, respondents were allowed multiple answers. As a result the sum of the responses exceeds 100%. In addition, 81% of respondents thought that the police was generally the best suited actor to respond to the incident they experienced, followed by “Commissioner, payam administrator, or other government official” (65%), local leaders (tribal leaders, chiefs; 44%) and the national army (37%).
27. For this question, respondents were allowed multiple answers. As a result the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.
28. Idem.
29. Idem.
30. Participants to the dialogue claimed that revenge killing was a more prevalent phenomenon in neighboring Eastern Lakes compared to Jonglei State.
31. For this question, respondents were allowed multiple

- answers. As a result the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.
32. Idem.
 33. The SPLA-IO, or Sudan People's Liberation Army – In Opposition, is the main political and armed oppositional group to the central government of South Sudan in Juba.
 34. We report the views of only those respondents who mention the corresponding actor being present in their payam.
 35. In another question, half of respondents agreed with the statement "UNMISS is actively working to protect people in this community", while 35% disagreed. Notably, the closest UNMISS base is in Rumbek, in neighboring Western Lakes State.
 36. A chief during the community dialogue in Nyang also said that "police do not have equipment, the police will not be effective unless they have the necessary equipment", while adding that "police needs to be healthy too to run after criminals."
 37. For this question, respondents were allowed multiple answers. As a result the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.
 38. Down from 97% agreement rates in 2017.
 39. Support for this statement was higher in Yirol East (85%) and Yirol West (81%) than in Awerial (50%).
 40. When asked about who to report in these hypothetical cases, Awerial respondents showed a higher likelihood to report the national army in all three cases (77%-81% -88% respectively), compared to respondents from Yirol West and Yirol East.
 41. This rate was an increase from a score of 45% in 2017. Participants to the community dialogue in Nyang disagreed with the community views emerging from the survey and preferred to have more police presence in their payams instead of reliance on armed youth, because "for accountability purpose it is not safe to have more youth with guns", while police officers were paid servicemen and were therefore deemed more reliable.
 42. When it comes to access to justice, 74% of respondents indicated that dispute resolution between communities is best handled by local elders or chiefs (informal justice providers), whereas 25% preferred recourse to the formal state court system. There was quite some regional variation, with 59% favoring elders and chiefs in Yirol East, to 97% in Awerial. These numbers were validated during the security dialogue in Nyang by claiming that Awerial county currently does not have an active (state) judge, while Yirol West and Yirol East therefore rely more on official courts than Awerial.
 43. Take note of the fact that the survey data were collected in October 2018, so shortly after the signing of the last Revitalized Agreement for the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS) in September 2018. Community perceptions might therefore have shifted since then, which we hope to collect in the upcoming 2019/20 survey.
 44. For this question, respondents were allowed multiple answers. As a result the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.
 45. Almost a quarter of respondents in Yirol East were most in favor of the provision of arms for (self-) protection (23%), compared to Awerial and Yirol West (9% and 3% respectively).
 46. A chief during the community dialogue in Nyang.
 47. However, almost three-quarters of respondents (74%) agreed to the statement "The national government in Juba is taking clear steps to reduce violence in our community", while 17% disagreed with the statement.
 48. For this question, respondents were allowed multiple answers. As a result, the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.
 49. See the 2017 Human Security Survey Summary report for Eastern Lakes, for a brief description of the internal tensions at the time which lead to mutual cattle raiding between Eastern Lakes communities.
 50. The community dialogue in Nyang partly erupted in laughter as participants argued that lower scores in Awerial (64% in favor of an alcohol ban, compared to for instance 80% in Yirol West) was due to local alcoholic drinks that would be less strong than in Greater Yirol, after they said: "People in Yirol are dying because of the consumption of alcohol and the violence that it creates."
 51. Perceptions ranged from 60% in Awerial claiming early marriages do not offer protection, 62% in Yirol East and 93% in Yirol West.
 52. 50% of respondents in Awerial and 71% of respondents from Yirol East expected security to improve, while those in Yirol West (36%) are least positive about the future.
 53. Nearly half of Awerial respondents (48%) do not know what to expect regarding the future security situation.

Peace. Are you in?