



Human Security Survey 2021 Annual Summary Report

Juba County, Central Equatoria State, South Sudan

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protectionofcivilians.org

Key findings & recommendations to local government and UNMISS

- The general security situation in Rejaf and Mangalla in 2021 was relatively stable, with 40% of respondents witnessing relative improvement compared to 2020 and an additional 42% perceiving no clear changes from 2020 into 2021. However, geographical differences are noticeable: relative improvements in Rejaf were more pronounced than in Mangalla;
- Robberies, murders and cattle raids are the three most frequently reported incidents by Rejaf and Mangalla communities, which all seem to be on the rise since 2018. Especially cattle raids are largely attributed to the influx of cattle keepers from neighboring Jonglei;
- Police (and to a lesser extent the national army or SSPDF) are the most present and accessible security providers in Rejaf and Mangalla payams of Juba County. While their performance was generally perceived as being (very) good, preferences for more informal security and justice provision by armed youth and chiefs are also prominent here, as in other (rural) areas of South Sudan.

Participants to the three-day data validation and community security dialogue in Juba jointly identified five main security priorities most in need of addressing :

#1 Conflict between farmers and pastoralists **#2** Criminal gangs

#3 Land disputes and land grabbing **#4** Rape and sexual assault

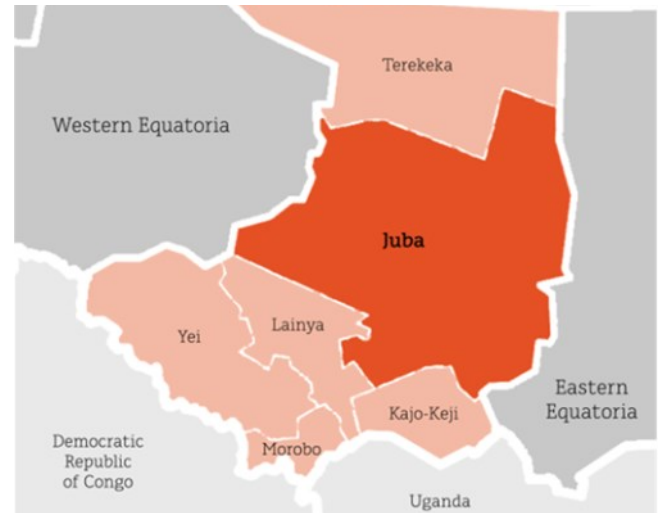
#5 Child abductions

Introduction & 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, active 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 local field partners on the ground.

This survey cycle was the third data collection cycle to take place in the Rejaf and Mangalla areas of Greater Juba County of Central Equatoria State. This data collection took place in the course of three weeks in July 2021 by 10 enumerators (6 men, 4 women) who were trained for four days in data collection skills and procedures. A total of 459 surveys were collected across 12 *bomas* in 2 *payams* in Juba County.¹ Within these *payams*, households and individual respondents were selected using an approximately random procedure to allow for some generalizability.²

In November 2021, PAX facilitated a 3-day community validation and security dialogue in Juba. During this three-day dialogue the main survey findings and their practical implications were presented, discussed, and validated; participants suggested main priorities and practical ways of addressing the main security issues,



Map of Central Equatoria State, highlighting the survey location Juba County

culminating in a community action plan. The local Community Security Committee (COMSECCOM), consisting of concerned community members of different backgrounds, took on the responsibility to implement the new agreed action plan based on the 2021 data and communal discussions during the validation, and take it forward for the upcoming 1-1,5 years until the next data validation workshop will take place. This way, initiatives to address locally identified security issues originate from the community, and will also be locally followed up and accounted for, genuinely representing community-based grassroots capacities.

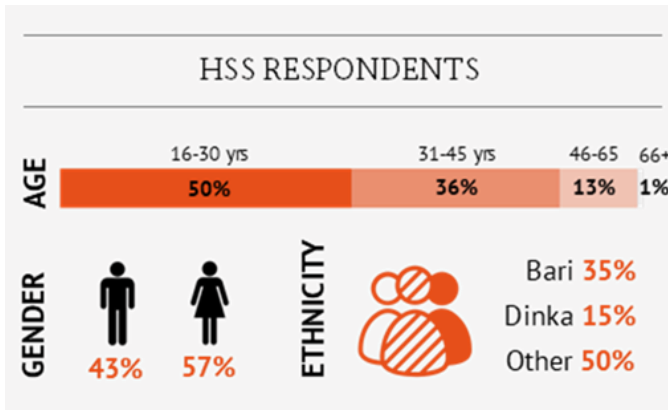


Map of South Sudan, highlighting the survey location Central Equatoria State

MAIN FINDINGS

Demographics of the Survey Sample

More than a third (35%) of respondents indicated that they belonged to the ethnic group of Bari, with 15% indicating they were Dinka and the other half of respondents representing “other” ethnic groups, reflecting the rather multi-ethnic composition of Juba County. Half of respondents were aged between 16-30 years, more than a third (36%) were between the ages



31-45, 13% were between 46-65 years of age and only 1% was above 65 years old.³

57% of respondents were female, 43% were male, 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, which was also confirmed by participants to the data validation workshop in Juba.

A quarter of respondents (25%) indicated that they relied on domestic work as their main source of livelihood at the time of the interview, with other respondents being a student (18%), having a small business or trade (17%), doing wage labor (16%), while 10% indicated they were unemployed.

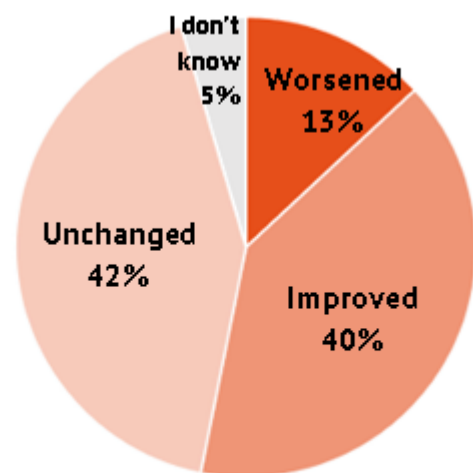
More than four-fifth (81%) of respondents indicated that they have lived in their current payams continuously since 2016, while 19% has migrated since then. More than half (54%) of respondents who indicated they migrated since 2016, claimed that insecurity played a role in their decision to migrate, while another 54% indicated they sought access to work and education, 47% sought improved access to basic services and 20% cited they migrated due to marriage or to live closer to family, among other less mentioned options.⁴

Perception of the general security situation

According to 40% of Rejaf and Mangalla communities, the local security situation over the previous year (2020-2021) had improved, while 13% claimed the security situation had worsened, with the remaining 42% saying that the security situation hadn't changed (see attached graph). Compared to the two earlier data collection cycles in 2017 and 2018 respectively, it seemed the numbers of respondents not observing any (positive or negative) changes to their security situation was on the rise. The participants to the data validation event in Juba also wondered why there was no marked improvement of the security situation over the past few years, as there were no major hostilities in the country following the signing of the Revitalized Agreement (ARCSS) by the government and former armed opposition (SPLA-IO) in 2018. However, responses on how people perceived their immediate environment (“I generally feel safe from violence and crime in my community”), showed a much bleaker picture, with almost two-thirds (63%) agreeing to this statement and 30% disagreeing, showing that even though the general security situation in many areas may have improved or is unchanged over the last year, these relative developments do not automatically mean the security level is acceptable to its community members.

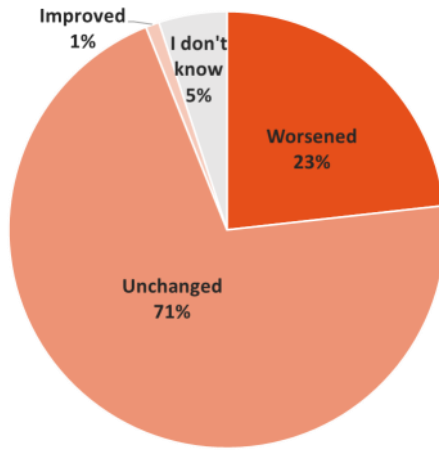
Additionally, there were quite some differences in perceived security levels between Rejaf and Mangalla payams, with half of respondents in Rejaf payam (on the eastern banks of the Nile from Juba City) indicating that they experienced an improvement of their security situation in the 2020-2021 period, while only 10% perceived the situation growing worse. Respondents from Mangalla payam (more north towards Terekeka

HOW DID YOUR PERSONAL SECURITY SITUATION CHANGE SINCE LAST YEAR? (2020)



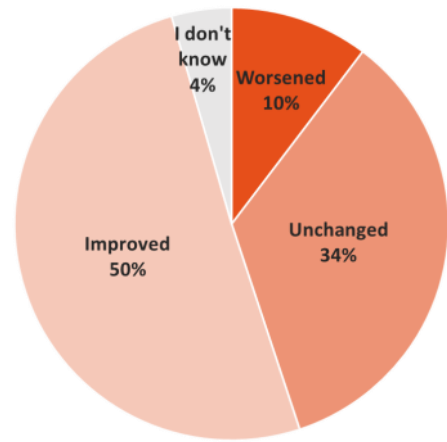
Juba county
(N = 459)

HOW DID YOUR PERSONAL SECURITY SITUATION CHANGE SINCE LAST YEAR? (2020)



Mangalla payam

(N = 99)



Rejaf payam

(N = 360)

County) described that the security situation hadn't changed in the last year (71%), with nearly a quarter (23%) observing a decreasing security situation and only 1% seeing an improvement (see graph above). The participants to the data validation session in Juba agreed that the general security situation in Mangalla was worse compared to Rejaf, which was largely attributed to three conflicts, namely the rivalry between Mangalla and the neighboring Mundari people from Terekeka over control of Mangalla town, the influx of Dinka Bor cattle keepers from Jonglei into Mangalla as a result of displacement from flooding in Jonglei, and reported cattle raiding and child abductions in the area by supposed Murle armed groups.

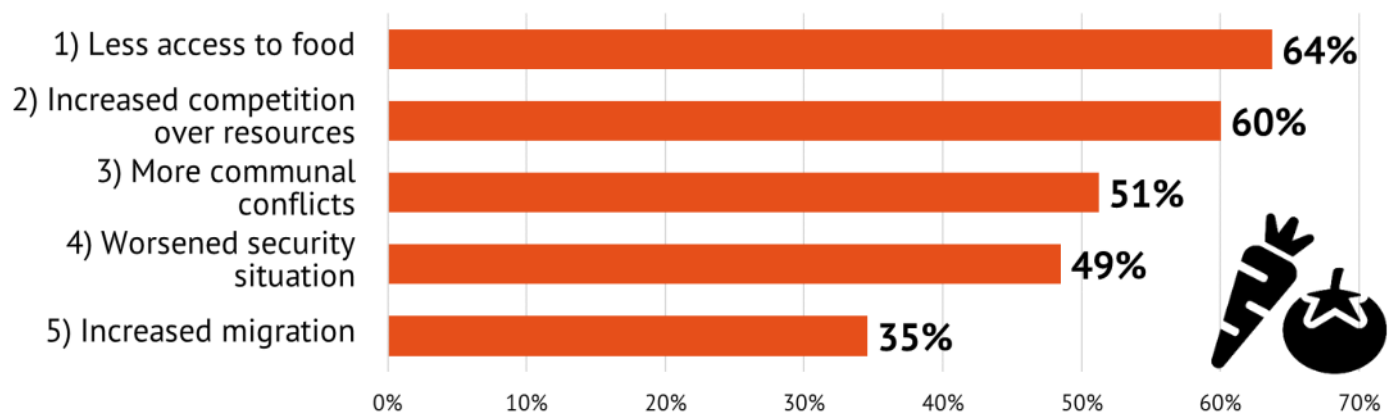
Local communities in Juba County, like everywhere in South Sudan, have developed coping strategies to respond to localized insecurity. More than half (54%) of all respondents indicated that they "sought assistance from formal security forces" such as police, in dealing with insecurity in their area, 38% said that they "made the house safer", 31% "travelled less frequently outside of the home or avoided going to specific places", 24% "sought assistance from informal security forces" such as armed

youth militia, 18% "sought assistance from the international peacekeeping operation UNMISS" and 17% "joined (in)formal security forces themselves", among other options less often mentioned.⁵

Environment

The most prevalent environmental change observed across Juba County was less predictable rainfall (reported by 60% of participants), followed by changes in temperatures (49%), experiencing changes in the duration of dry and rainy seasons (41%), increased flooding (35%), and increased drought (33%), while 21% of respondents indicated that they didn't experience any changes at all.⁶ Asked what the direct consequences of these environmental changes are to their community, almost two-thirds (64%) of respondents said "it affected their access to food", 60% of respondents claimed that "it increased competition over scarce resources like water or pastures", 51% said "it created more communal conflicts", 49% claimed that "the general security situation worsened due to the environmental changes" and 35% said that "it increased migration among communities" (see figure below).⁷

WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THESE ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGES IN YOUR AREA? (N = 408)



We asked respondents how they cope with these negative impacts of environmental changes on their community. More than two-thirds of them (69%) indicated that “NGOs teach us new practices that help us to continue our livelihood or make necessary changes to our livelihood despite environmental changes”, whereas 63% said that “local authorities in their area are able to address environmental changes so that it causes us less problems”. 46% answered that “my family or the leaders in my community can agree with neighboring communities to share and exchange resources in times of shortage”. An additional 40% said that their families “could migrate part of the year to locations where conditions are better”, while another 6% said that there are no ways at all to address the effects of environmental changes. Participants to the data validation workshop in Juba generally agreed with the experiences provided by the respondents, and mentioned the issue of migrating Dinka cattle keepers from Jonglei to the Mangalla and Rejaf areas, causing big tensions with farming communities and already existing groups of pastoralists.

Incident reporting

Apart from environmental challenges to human security, community members in Rejaf and Mangalla payams have to deal with a variety of security-related incidents and threats. In total, the 459 respondents across the two payams reported that their households experienced 744 incidents in the past year (2020-2021). More than half (55%) of all respondents indicated that they experienced at least one or more security incidents in the previous year (2020-2021). Of the surveyed households, Almost a third (31%) experienced robberies, almost a quarter (23%) experienced acts of killing or murders, 19% cattle raids, another 19% beatings, assaults or physical abuse,



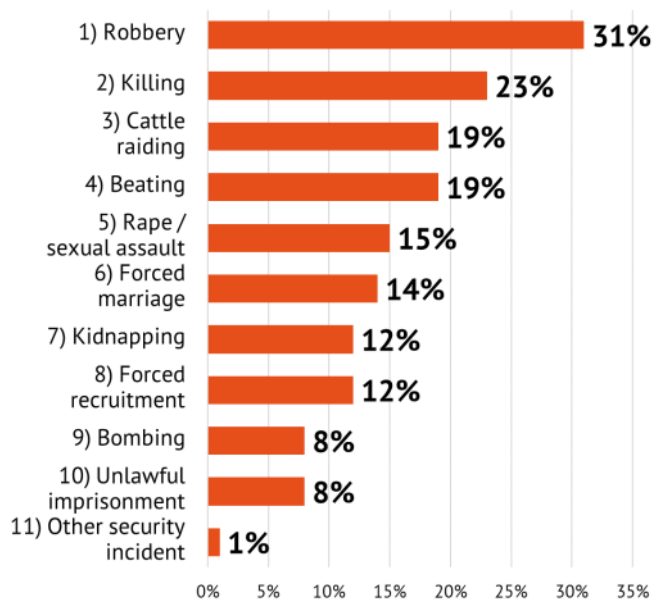
60%

Respondents reporting less predictable rainfall

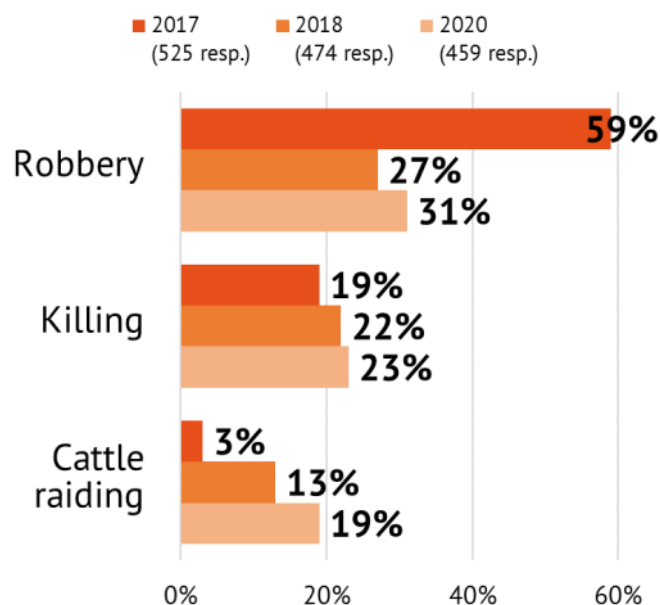
15% experienced rapes or sexual assaults, 14% forced marriages, 12% kidnapping, another 12% were subject to forced recruitment into organized forces or armed youth, 8% experienced bombings, 8% suffered unlawful imprisonment of themselves or a household member, etc. (see figures below).

From this and previous data collections, we derived that robberies, murders and cattle raids were the most frequently reported security incidents across Rejaf and Mangalla payams in Juba County. Although robberies continued to be the most reported security incident, the frequency seems to have fallen quite sharply since the 2017 data collection, while murder rates seemed relatively stable and cattle raids have seen a sharp increase over the last 3-4 years. This last development seems to be linked with the often reported influx of cattle keepers from neighboring states due to floods and subsequent displacement. “All these security threats that the community reported here, including land grabbing and conflict between farmers and pastoralists, are exactly what we have been encountering as local government for years”, said a prominent local government official from Mangalla.

HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING INCIDENTS (N = 459)



MOST REPORTED INCIDENTS (2017-2020)



Perpetrators of security incidents are mostly identified as being criminals (33%), military from SPLA-IO (16%), police (9%), armed youth (7%) or “someone from a neighboring community” (7%), while 27% reported an “Other” actor than the categories provided. Across all security incidents, adult men are reportedly victimized more frequently than women: 27% of reported incidents involved adult men as victims, compared to 19% in which adult women were reportedly victimized, while girls (19%) and boys (14%) were less frequently identified as being victims of the reported security incidents.

A majority of 80% of all respondents indicated that their household contacted someone outside their household to help them resolve the incident they experienced.⁸ The most contacted actors were the police (92% of respondents who contacted an outside actor), local community leaders (chiefs; 41%), the national army (SSPDF; 40%), local government officials (37%), lawyers or court officials (21%), UNMISS (21%) or religious leaders (21%), with other actors receiving less than 20% of responses.⁹ More than half (54%) of respondents, whose household sought outside assistance to resolve the incident, were not satisfied with the outcome or quality of the response received. Of those respondents, 70% indicated they were not satisfied, because “the perpetrator was not caught” (according to 89% of respondents who indicated they were not satisfied with the actor’s response), followed by “no compensation for the losses was offered” (64%), “the perpetrator was not punished” (62%), “Nothing was done” (54%) “I experienced threats as a result of reporting” (49%), “there was corruption involved” (45%), “I didn’t get my stolen goods



74%

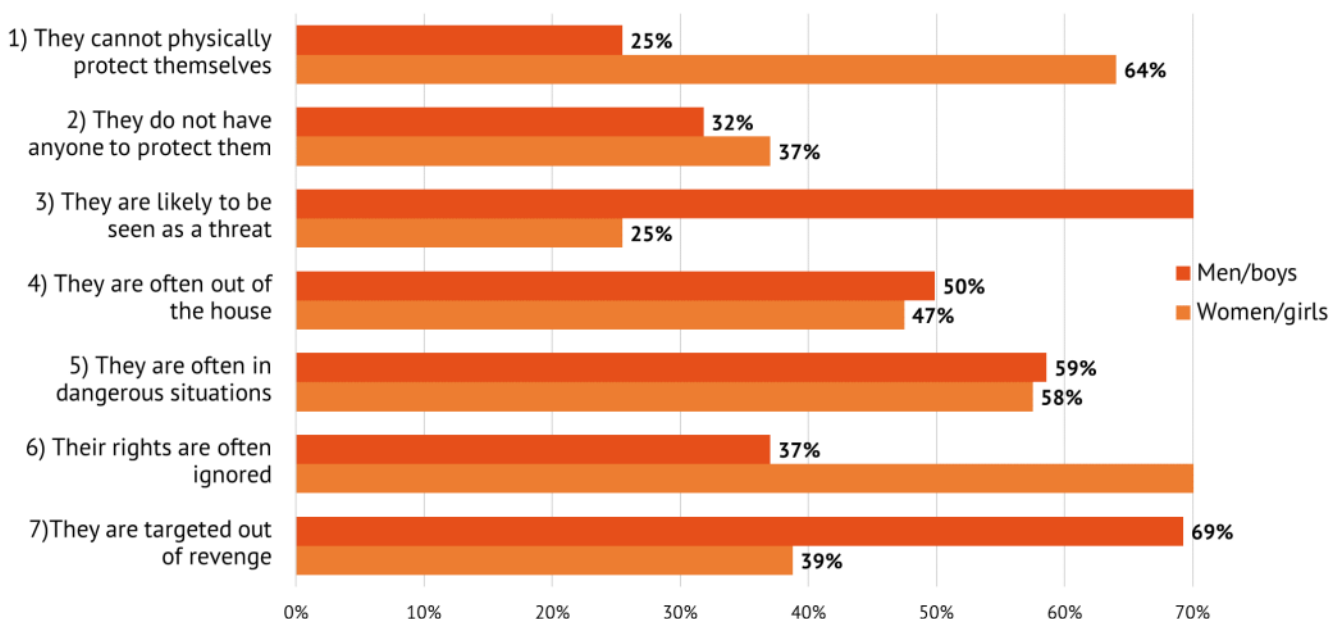
“Disarmament of civilians in this payam is needed for security”

back” (39%), and “I do not feel safer generally” (35%), etc.¹⁰ For the 30% of respondents who were satisfied with the response they received after reporting an incident, they based their satisfaction on the fact that “the perpetrator was caught and punished” (93%), “compensation for our losses was offered” (83%), “honor was restored to the family” (75%), “revenge was taken against the perpetrator” (73%), “goods, people or cattle were returned” (69%), “reconciliation with the perpetrator took place” (65%), “I feel safer now generally” (61%), and “at least they tried to help me” (61%), etc.¹¹

Vulnerability

As could be seen already in the varying victimization rates of men, women, boys and girls in the previous section, the level of vulnerability of certain groups in society is very contextual. Nearly half (48%) of respondents claimed that “some people in this community are more likely to be exposed to violence than others”, while 43% were of the opinion that “all people in this community are equally likely to be exposed to violence”. When the former were asked which groups in society are most vulnerable to be victims of violence, 56% indicated

WHY ARE MEN/BOYS AND WOMEN/GIRLS EXPOSED TO VIOLENCE?(459 resp.)



these were young women and girls, followed by elderly people (50%), people from specific ethnic groups (50%), small children (45%), IDPs or refugees (41%), young men and boys (40%) and other answer categories receiving less than 35% of respondents' choice.¹²

In addition, when focusing solely on gender differences in exposure to violence, nearly three-quarters (73%) of respondents agreed with the statement that “men/boys and women/girls are equally likely to be exposed to violence”, with 15% saying that “men and boys are more likely to be exposed to violence” and 10% that “women and girls are most likely to be exposed to violence”. Therefore a rather complicated, contextual picture arises as to whether men or women (boys or girls) are more vulnerable to be victimized by insecurity, making it hard to generalize these views towards expectations or predictions.

79% of respondents thought that men and boys' vulnerability stems from “likely being seen as a threat”, followed by “being targeted out of revenge” (69%), “being often in dangerous situations” (59%), “being often out of the house” (50%), etc.¹³ Women's and girls' vulnerability, on the other hand, was perceived mainly because “their rights are often ignored” (71%), “they cannot physically protect themselves” (64%), “they are often in dangerous situations” (58%), and “being often out of the house” (47%), etc. (see graph in previous page).¹⁴

Security actor performance

Respondents were asked which security actors were actually present and accessible in the payams of Rejaf and Mangalla in Juba County. The police came forward as most accessible security actor according to a clear majority (94%) of all respondents, followed by the SSPDF or national army (66%), the local leaders (chiefs,



69%

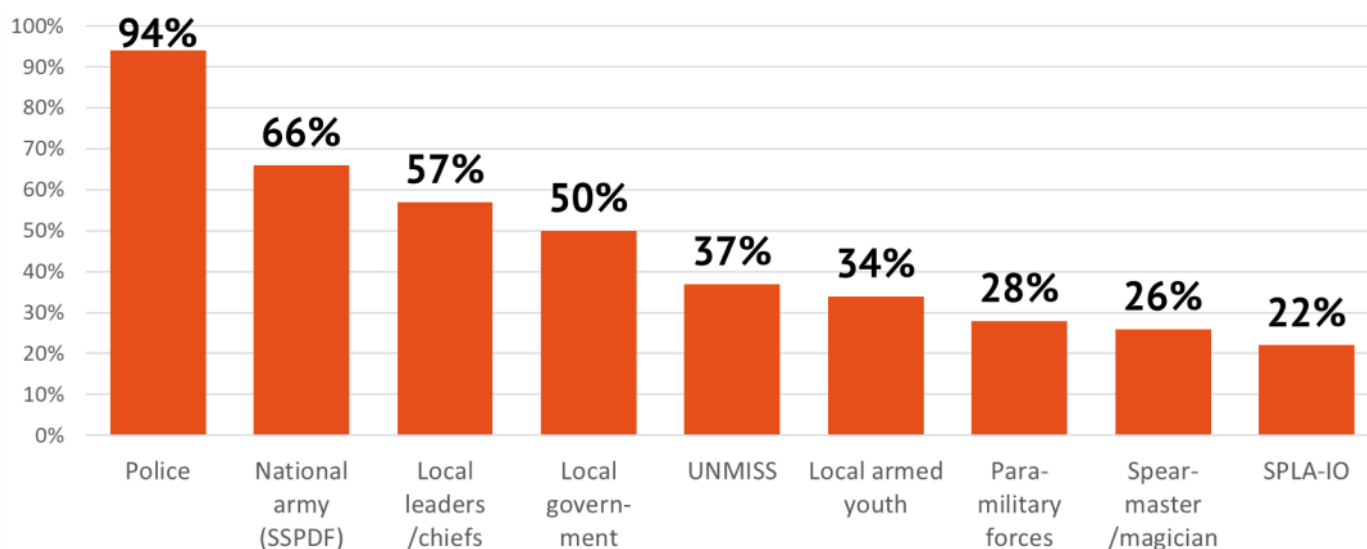
“An early or forced marriage happens because there is a need for cows (dowry)”

religious leaders; 57%), local government officials (“Commissioner”; 50%), UNMISS (37%) and local armed youth (34%), see the figure below.¹⁵ The participants to the data validation session in Juba agreed with and supported these views, showing a clear preference for the police and the army as formal security providers, compared to the informal armed youth that are so prominent in other rural areas across South Sudan.

When we look at the performance rates¹⁶ by community members for the three most accessible (“present”) local security actors, namely the police, the national army (SSPDF) and local community leaders (chiefs, religious leaders), we see that the majority of community members look favorably at their performance: the police received 64% of either “good” or “very good” reviews from respondents, and 13% reporting “not good” or “very bad” views on their performance (and 20% saying “just OK”). Similarly, the national army or SSPDF scored 60% of (very) good reviews and 15% negative ones (23% said “Just OK”), and the local community leaders enjoyed 81% of (very) good reviews and only 2% negative (14% said “Just OK”).

Other security actors also scored (very) good reviews, with UNMISS,¹⁷ paramilitary forces (both 74% of respondents considering them “(very) good”), local government officials (73%), and local armed youth (63%), while another 33% said that the armed youth are

WHICH SECURITY ACTORS ARE PRESENT IN YOUR COMMUNITY? (N = 459)



doing a (very) bad job. 54% of respondents who identified SPLA-IO to be present in their area, thought that they were doing a (very) bad job, while spearmasters/magicians scored 37% of (very) bad scores by respondents from the areas they operate.

The general communal trust in the police was confirmed by 53% of respondents agreeing that “police take community reports seriously and are helpful in resolving them”, with 36% disagreeing. A similar 53% of respondents claimed that men and women are treated equally by the police when they report cases, with 33% disagreeing with this statement. However, more than three-quarters (76%) of respondents thought that there should be more women serving in the police to help address security issues affecting women more, and a similar number of 77% would support women from their own families to apply for a position in the police force. 78% of respondents also thought that more women should serve in the (local) courts.

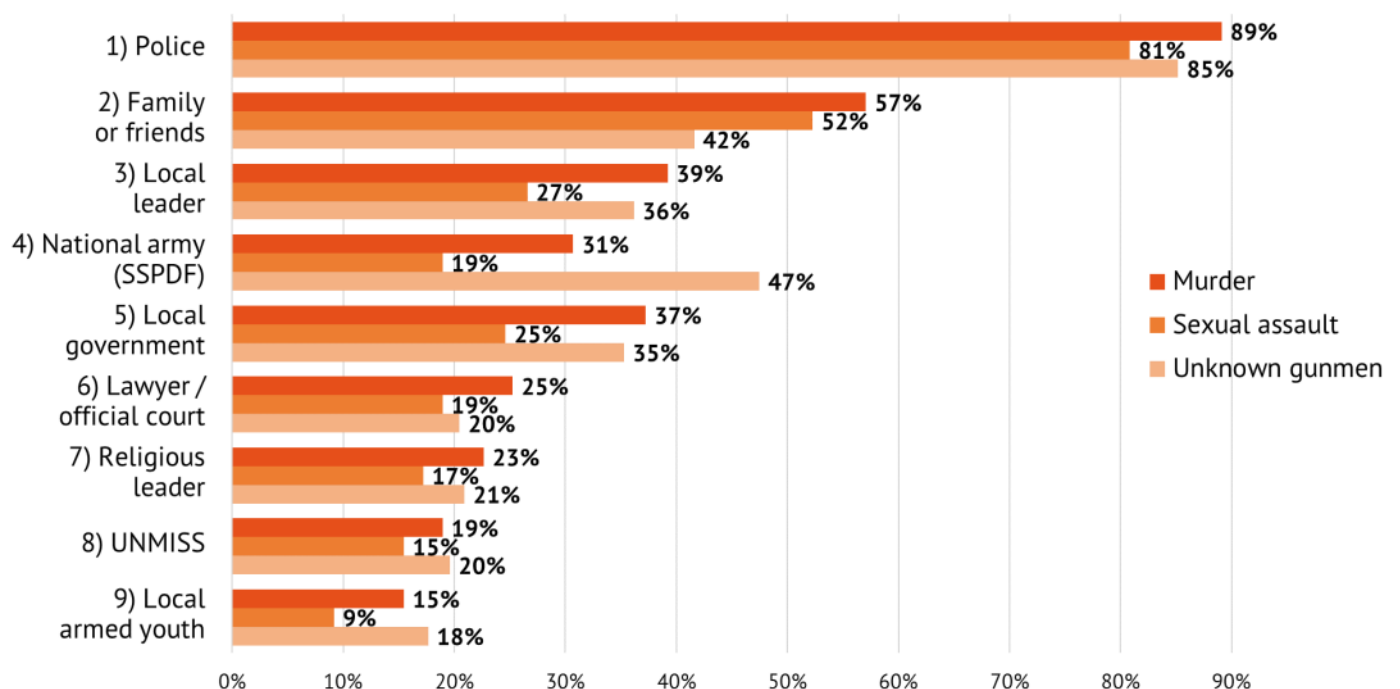
However, in Rejaf and Mangalla payams as well, the preference and need for formal security providers like the police interferes with a broader tendency (especially in rural areas) to prefer local and accessible law enforcement actors compared to relative ‘outsiders’. The statement “In my payam we trust local armed youth for our security more than any outsiders” was disagreed by 45% but agreed by a similar 43% of respondents. Similarly, almost half of respondents (46%) agreed that “my community relies on police presence to provide protection and security”, while almost a third (32%) said their community relies on armed youth for security provision instead.

In addition, 41% of all respondents agreed that “It is best when security forces are recruited from within our own community because they know us”, while a similar 41% of respondents agreed that “It is best when security forces are from outside the payam, because they do not take sides”.¹⁸ Not only in physical security provision do informal law enforcement actors play an important role in Rejaf and Mangalla payams, as more than two-thirds (71%) of all respondents prefers informal justice provision and communal dispute resolution by local community leaders or chiefs, over the judges and lawyers representing the state court system, preferred by 17% of respondents.

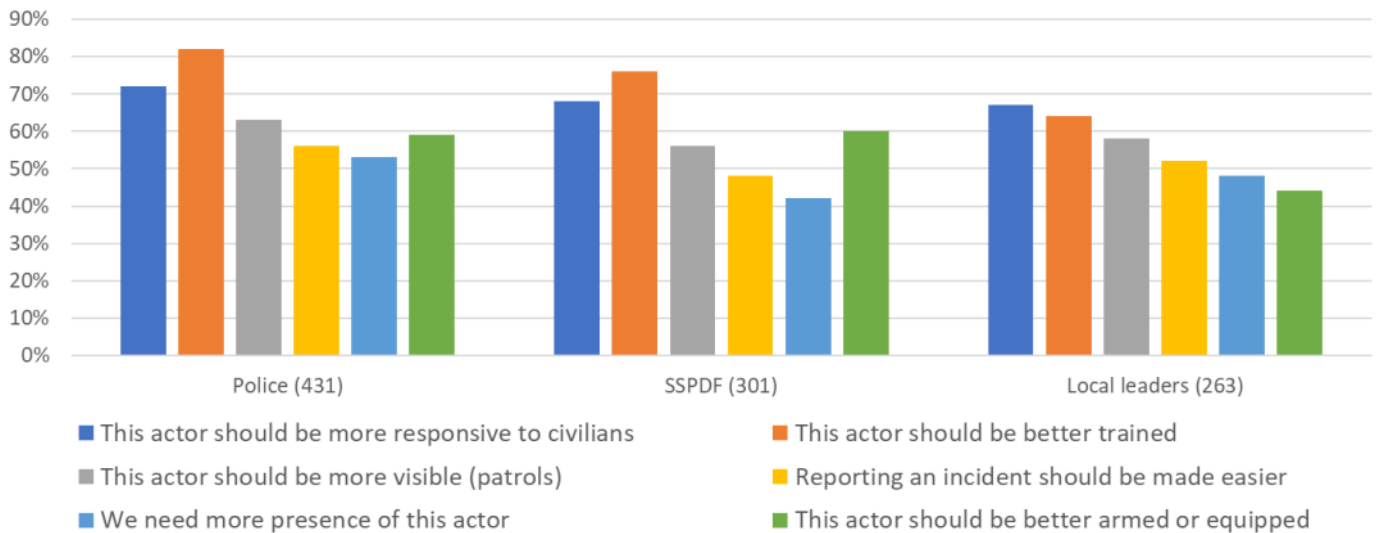
When respondents were asked to indicate who they would contact in imaginary cases of murder, sexual assault or sightings of unknown gunmen around their community, to see if respondents associate specific types of security incidents with particular security actors, the police scored considerably higher than all other (in) formal security actors across all three cases (see the graph below).

When asked how the three security actors most visibly present across Rejaf and Mangalla payams (police, national army (SSPDF) and local leaders/chiefs) could improve their performance, 82% of respondents indicated that the police should be better trained, that the police should be more responsive towards civilians (72%), that the police should be more visible through patrolling (63%), that they should be better armed or equipped (59%), and that more presence of the police is needed (53%).¹⁹

WHO WOULD YOU CONTACT IF THE FOLLOWING HAPPENED?



WHAT IS NEEDED TO IMPROVE THE PERFORMANCE OF THESE ACTORS?



Regarding the national army (SSPDF), 76% of respondents said they needed to be better trained, 68% thought they should be more responsive towards civilians, 60% thought that they should be better armed or equipped, 56% said they need to be more visible through patrols and 42% thought more presence of the SSPDF was needed.²⁰

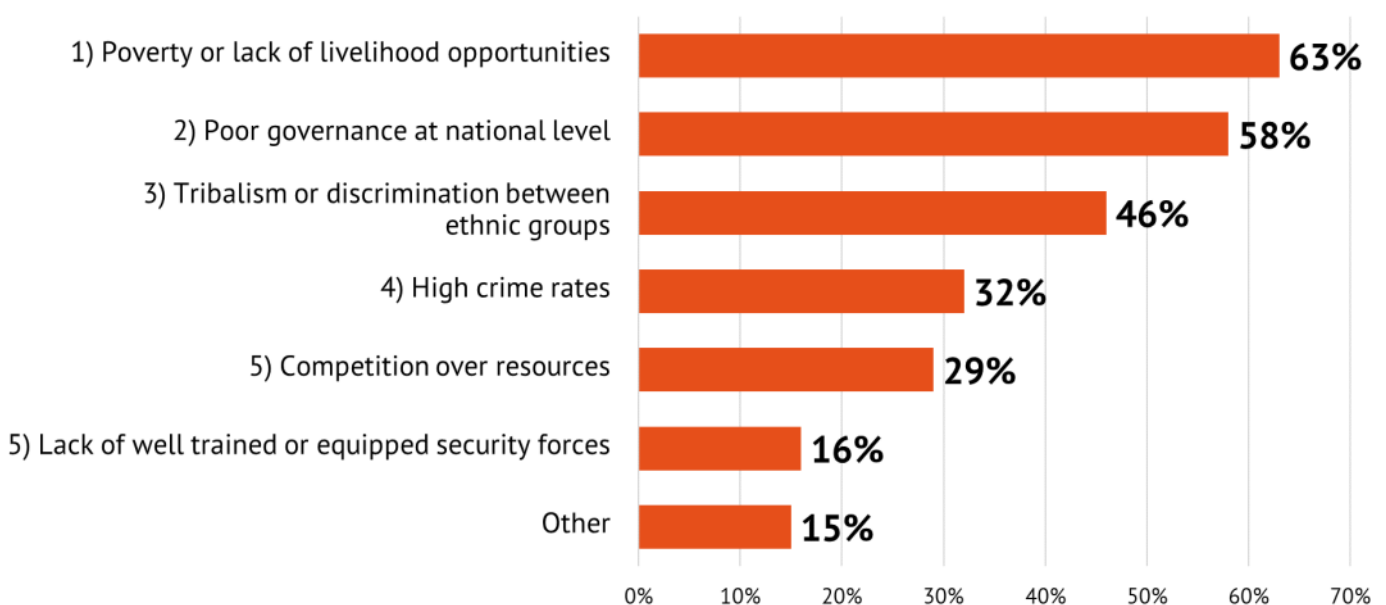
Concerning the community leaders or chiefs, respondents thought they should be more responsive to civilians (67%), better trained (64%), more visible in the community (58%), more presence or deployment needed from them (48%) and that they should be better armed or equipped to do their job (44%; see graph above).²¹

Respondents in Rejaf and Mangalla payams generally do not know what to expect considering their security, with 31% being hopeful for short-term improvements in the coming year, 15% expecting the situation to deteriorate and 39% expressing they don't know that to expect. There were notable local differences: in Mangalla 57% of respondents expected improved security in the coming year, significantly higher than the 24% of Rejaf respondents expecting improvements. Alternatively, 45% of Rejaf respondents did not know what to expect from security in the near future.

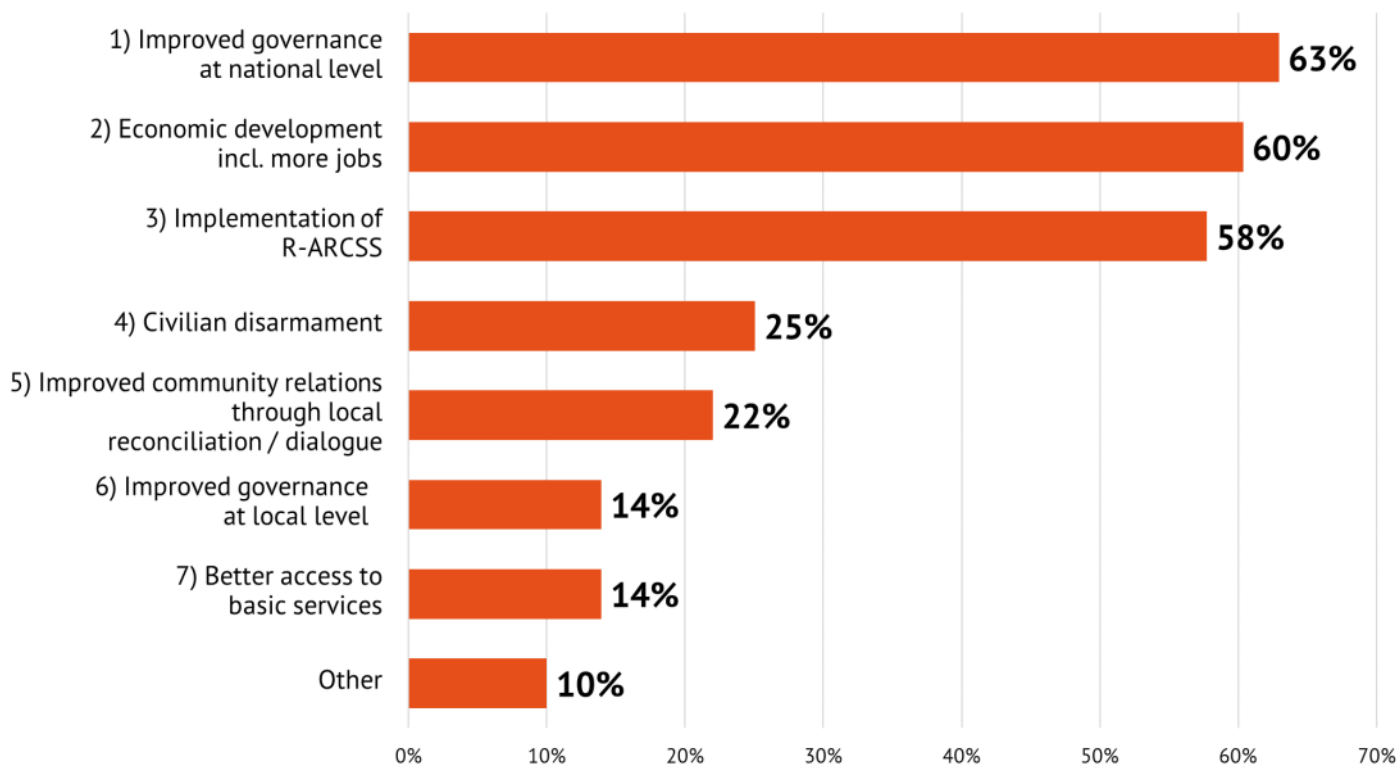
In addition, almost two-thirds of all respondents (63%)

Governance issues and how to address local insecurity

WHAT ARE THE MAIN FACTORS THAT WILL CAUSE CONFLICT IN THE FUTURE (N = 407)



WHAT ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT CHANGES NEEDED FOR LASTING PEACE IN SOUTH SUDAN? (N = 459)



indicated that “poverty or lack of livelihood opportunities” is the most likely factor to cause future conflicts in Juba County, followed by “poor governance at the national level” (58%), “tribalism or discrimination between ethnic groups” (46%), “high crime rates” (32%), “competition over resources” (29%), and “lack of well-trained or equipped security forces” (16%), among other less mentioned reasons receiving less than 15% of responses (see graph on previous page).²²

When formulating future expectations more positively

(“What are the 3 most significant changes that need to happen to bring lasting peace to South Sudan?”), almost two-thirds of the respondents (63%) pointed towards “Improved governance at the national level”, followed by “economic development” (60%), “implementation of the national peace agreement” (58%),²³ “civilian disarmament” (25%), “improved community relations” (22%), “Improved governance at the local level” (14%), and “better access to basic services” (14%), among other less-mentioned responses, see the figure above.²⁴



Attendees to the the data validation workshop and community dialogue in Juba included local government officials, police representatives, community leaders (chiefs), and civil society representatives from church, women’s and youth groups, as well as entrepreneurs (November 2021, Juba)

General legitimacy of local elites who are based in the capital (Juba) and their impact on the security situation in Rejaf and Mangalla payams, is considered positive by 44% of all respondents, agreeing that “local politicians and community leaders from this area who live in Juba are helpful in preventing or resolving community conflicts”, whereas 34% was of the opinion that “local politicians and community leaders from this area who live in Juba are often creating community conflicts in their home area or make them worse”. Similarly, almost half of respondents (49%) agreed that the national government in Juba “is taking effective steps to reduce violence in our community”, while 28% disagreed with this statement. Therefore governance issues are considered of great concern by the respondents, who are cautiously optimistic of current developments in this regard.

Respondents overwhelmingly feel that civilian engagement with local government officials and organized forces is important to address local insecurity issues, with 70% of respondents agreeing that “it is important for civilians to meet with members of local government and the organized forces to advocate for better protection in this community” and only 14% believed that “meetings between civilians, local government and members of the organized forces will not result in better protection in this community.”

70%



“It is important for civilians to meet with members of local government and the organized forces”

Participants to the data validation workshop and “Security is Everyone’s Business” community dialogue. Attendees included local government officials, security sector officials (police), community leaders and civil society representatives from media, church, women’s and youth groups (August 2021, Torit)

Next steps for Juba county and the Human Security Survey

Participants to the three-day data validation and community security dialogue in Juba jointly identified five main security priorities most in need of addressing, based on the survey data and subsequent discussions: 1) Conflict between farmers and pastoralists; 2) Criminal gangs; 3) Land disputes and land grabbing; 4) Rape and sexual assault; 5) Child abductions. 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 (COMSECCOM) on the basis of a joint action plan, which is agreed and supported by the local authorities and other community representatives.

PAX is committed to continue conducting (bi-)annual rounds of survey collection and community engagement in the course of 2022-2023 at least, to generate additional insights into local security dynamics, to monitor how identified trends in local security provision develop over time, and to support the local follow-up activities undertaken by community representatives, with the aim of achieving sustainable results in improving the local security situation for communities across Juba County and neighboring areas.



85%

Respondents finding it important for civilians to meet with local government and organized forces to advocate for better protection in their community



Notes

¹ Payams are lower governmental administrative areas, 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. The boma is an administrative division directly under that of the payam.

² For more details on the survey methodology, please visit <https://protectionofcivilians.org/report/human-security-survey-methodology-south-sudan/>.

³ The median age in South Sudan is 18.6 years according to the CIA World Fact Book (<https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/south-sudan/>). By excluding respondents below 16 years of age, the average age in our sample is necessarily much higher.

⁴ Respondents could pick more than one response option with this question, so the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.

⁵ Respondents could pick more than one response option with this question, so the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.

⁶ Idem.

⁷ Idem.

⁸ Of the remaining respondents who did not seek external assistance, 72% said they did not do so because they “did not believe anyone could help me resolve the issue” and 23% “feared more harm against them or their family”.

⁹ For this question, respondents were allowed multiple answers. As a result, the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.

¹⁰ Idem.

¹¹ Idem.

¹² Idem.

¹³ For this question, respondents were allowed multiple answers. As a result, the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.

¹⁴ Idem.

¹⁵ Idem.

¹⁶ Respondents were only asked to evaluate the performance of security actors that they indicated were “present in their area most of the time”. This leads to some skewing of results towards positive ratings, as presumably, the absence of a security actor is viewed as a negative.

¹⁷ UNMISS also enjoyed 60% of respondents’ approval for the statement “UNMISS is actively assisting the government to protect people in this community”, with another 25% disagreeing.

¹⁸ An additional 18% of respondents either didn’t know or declined to answer.

¹⁹ For this question, respondents were allowed multiple answers. As a result, the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.

²⁰ For this question, respondents were allowed multiple answers. As a result, the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.

²¹ Idem.

²² Idem.

²³ The national peace agreement meant here is the Revitalized Agreement for the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS), which was signed in September 2018 by the national government and the main armed opposition (SPLA-IO).

²⁴ For this question, respondents were allowed to give three answers. As a result the sum of the responses exceeds 100%.



Ministry of Foreign Affairs

*This project is supported by the **Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs** as part of its foreign development policy.*

Peace. Are you in?

PAX