
CHALLENGES TO SECURITY, LIVELIHOODS, AND GENDER JUSTICE IN SOUTH SUDAN

The situation of Dinka agro-pastoralist communities in
Lakes and Warrap States

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In South Sudan, widespread euphoria following independence in July 2011 has given way to disappointment that expected peace dividends have not materialised. Many South Sudanese are experiencing insecurity, a lack of access to basic services, and increasing inequalities. Pastoralist and agro-pastoralist communities in remote border areas are particularly affected by insecurity and by a lack of social services, and women are particularly marginalised. This report is the result of Oxfam research to enable the needs and views of conflict-affected communities, in relation to security and livelihoods, to be voiced, heard, and addressed. It focuses on the security concerns expressed by the communities themselves: conflict within and between communities, cattle raiding, and violence against women.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The objective of this report is to provide foundational research for a planned policy paper for the Oxfam Rights in Crisis (RiC) campaign 'African Conflicts – Safety, Livelihoods, and Gender Justice'. The report is based on a review of relevant literature, field research conducted at Oxfam project sites in two states of South Sudan, Lakes (Oxfam Great Britain) and Warrap (Intermón Oxfam), and interviews with key informants. Its focus is on pastoralist and agro-pastoralist communities in remote border areas, as they are among the groups most affected by conflict and the most marginalised, and their voices are often not heard. The dominant ethnic group in the research areas are the Dinka, which is why this report focuses on Dinka culture.

In South Sudan, widespread euphoria following independence in July 2011 has given way to disappointment that expected peace dividends have not materialised. Many South Sudanese, including those living at Oxfam project sites in Lakes and Warrap states, are experiencing insecurity, a lack of access to basic services, and increasing inequalities.

In the highly patriarchal society of South Sudan, women are particularly disadvantaged. Women are seen as inferior to men, and stark inequalities between women and men persist. Women have little decision-making power or control over assets. Violence against women is widespread, and possibilities to seek and obtain redress are very limited. Polygamy, which is legal and common in South Sudan, constitutes an impediment to women's equality. Early and forced marriages are frequent, with severe consequences for the girls concerned. They are taken out of school, have to move in with their husband's family and carry out domestic chores, and face serious health risks related to early pregnancies.

Inter- and intra-communal conflicts are frequent in South Sudan, with cattle raiding being an important part of the conflicts. It is of particular concern that conflicts have become more intense in recent years, with civilians increasingly being targeted, villages deliberately attacked, and livelihoods destroyed. The causes of conflict are complex, including historical tensions and a tendency to resolve these through violent means; the proliferation of arms; increasing competition for access to grazing land and water; extreme poverty and uneven distribution of wealth; declining influence of traditional authorities; weak state institutions; a culture of impunity; heightened demand and competition for land and appropriation of large tracts of land for agricultural expansion; inflation in the 'bride price'; and concepts of masculinity.

In the course of the research, a number of interviewees expressed scepticism about current peace initiatives. They noted that while there had been a proliferation of peace conferences, many were one-off events with little prior analysis or subsequent follow-up, and involving mainly people from the capital, Juba. They stressed that peace building was a long and complex process, comprising community consultations involving those directly concerned and specific projects to address the causes of conflict.

With regard to human security, the remote communities where Oxfam works lack access to basic services. The main concerns of the villagers include lack of access to water, health care (both human and animal health), and education. Many villagers experience a sense of isolation, as a number of villages are cut off during the rainy season. The absence of government officials in some areas increases the feeling of neglect and marginalisation.

It has to be recognised that the challenges facing the Government of the Republic of South Sudan (GoSS) are daunting, as basically the country needs to be built from scratch after decades of war. However, the GoSS has been criticised for lacking a comprehensive policy to combat violence, for not prioritising the provision of basic services, and for corruption. Although the international community has been very engaged in South Sudan, assistance tends to be fragmented and is not based on in-depth analysis that takes the larger picture into account.

The large majority of South Sudan's population are pastoralists or agro-pastoralists, engaged in livestock keeping and subsistence agriculture. Outside the livestock and agricultural sectors, and public administration, there are few job opportunities.

Cattle are central in the lives of the Dinka as well as of many other ethnic groups in South Sudan, not only as a source of livelihood but also in terms of cultural identity and social status. Herd mobility over vast areas of land and the ability to access grazing areas and water sources are vital for pastoralist livelihoods. However, pastoralist mobility has increasingly been limited by conflict and land fragmentation due to large-scale agricultural expansion. In general, the GoSS has neglected pastoralist needs and has focused on promoting agricultural expansion at the expense of livestock production. Donors, UN agencies, and INGOs, including Oxfam, have also moved away from support for pastoralists over recent years.

It is important to refocus attention on pastoralist livelihoods, both at programme and at policy level. There is a need for research on the potential of livestock for the national economy and on cattle camp dynamics, as well as for concrete measures to strengthen pastoralist resilience.

Although South Sudan has vast potential for agricultural production, it is not exploited and the country remains dependent on oil. Fifty-one per cent of the population live below the poverty line, with poverty being highest in rural areas and among female-headed households. In recent years food insecurity has increased, a trend which is expected to continue in 2013. Many of the villagers interviewed for this report were concerned that they would go hungry during the dry season (December–April), saying that they were already resorting to eating wild fruit.

Marriage in South Sudan is not understood as an arrangement between two individuals but rather is a social institution involving whole families, which ties together separate kinship groups and usually entails the payment of a bride price, in the form of cattle. Bride prices have increased and can constitute an important source of income for some families. This means that pressure can be very strong on girls and young women to marry a suitor who is able to pay many cows and/or to get married early. Young women usually have little say as the decision rests with the father. The need for bride payments can put young men under pressure to accumulate wealth and is one factor contributing to cattle raiding. However, a number of people, both in focus groups and in individual interviews, emphasised that poverty and unequal access to resources were more important factors for raiding.

While there is a dearth of solid data and little research about the prevalence of gender-based violence (GBV), different reports and several of the interviewees suggested that such violence is endemic. Discussions in the different communities revealed that abuse and beatings were common. Many men felt that, since they had paid many cows, their wives were their property and could be disciplined. Many women, on the other hand, seemed to resign themselves to the fact that domestic violence was part of married life. Women are disadvantaged in both customary and statutory systems of justice, and perpetrators of GBV are rarely brought to justice. Impunity not only discourages women to seek redress but also sends a signal that such GBV is acceptable.

The report concludes with recommendations for Oxfam programmes and advocacy, including the following:

- As a minimum, all Oxfam programmes should adhere to the 'safe programming' approach.
- Where appropriate, specific protection and advocacy activities should be incorporated into programmes to enhance their impact.
- Dedicated resources should be made available for protection and advocacy to ensure follow-up.
- There is a need to refocus on supporting pastoralist livelihoods.

- Oxfam should advocate for GoSS strategies and policies to support pastoralist needs and strengthen their resilience, as well as for increased assistance by the international community.
- Oxfam should continue to provide livelihood alternatives for women, but reach out to men as well.
- Oxfam should engage in advocacy for basic infrastructure and service delivery in rural areas.
- Oxfam should enhance its support to civil society organisations, especially those active at community level.
- Oxfam should hold meetings with relevant government officials to obtain their views on the issues raised in this report, and undertake subsequent advocacy vis-à-vis authorities as well as donors.
- Oxfam should mainstream gender considerations and appropriate resources throughout all programming to ensure that women benefit from Oxfam's interventions and to mitigate risk.
- Oxfam should enhance its involvement with and support for women's organisations.
- Advocacy for women's rights should be undertaken with a culturally sensitive approach.



Women in cattle camp, Gogrial East County, Warrap State (2012). Photo: Ingrid Kircher/Oxfam

ABBREVIATIONS

CAHW	Community animal health worker
CAP	Consolidated Appeals Process
CBO	Community-based organisation
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CSO	Civil society organisation
FG	Focus group
FGD	Focus group discussion
FSLH	Food security and livelihood
GBV	Gender-based violence
GoSS	Government of the Republic of South Sudan
HSBA	Humanitarian Security Baseline Assessment
IDP	Internally displaced person
IO	Intermón Oxfam
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
NGO	Non-government organisation
OCHA	UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OGB	Oxfam Great Britain
RiC	Rights in Crisis Campaign
SAS	Small Arms Survey
SGBV	Sexual and gender-based violence
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SSCCSE	Southern Sudan Centre for Census, Statistics and Evaluation
SSLC	Southern Sudan Land Commission
UN	United Nations
UNMISS	UN Mission in South Sudan
WASH	Water, sanitation and hygiene

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

This research report has been undertaken in the context of the Oxfam Rights in Crisis (RiC) campaign 'African Conflicts – Safety, Livelihoods, and Gender Justice'. The aim of the campaign is to enable the needs and views of conflict-affected communities to be voiced, heard, and addressed, particularly in relation to security and livelihoods and with an emphasis on women's participation.

The need for research was initially identified during advocacy and protection workshops for Oxfam teams in both Warrap and Lakes states of South Sudan. At the workshops, conflict among pastoralist and agro-pastoralist communities and cattle raiding emerged as important protection issues. As in-depth analysis was lacking, it was decided to undertake foundational research to inform Oxfam's programming and to serve as the basis for a future policy paper.

This report is based on a review of the relevant literature, field research at Oxfam project sites in Lakes (Oxfam GB) and Warrap (Intermón Oxfam) states, and interviews with key informants. It was decided to focus on pastoralist and agro-pastoralist communities in remote border areas, for several reasons. These communities are most affected by insecurity and by a lack of social services, and it is here that gender inequalities are most keenly experienced. Also, there is little research regarding these communities as they are far away and their voices are often not heard, or are ignored. The dominant ethnic group in the research areas are the Dinka, which is why this report focuses on Dinka culture.

1.2 CONTEXT

In July 2011 South Sudan became independent following a referendum in which 98 per cent voted for separation from the North. Since then, however, euphoria has given way to disappointment that expected peace dividends have not materialised, with many South Sudanese experiencing insecurity, feeling marginalised, and lacking access to basic services. In the highly patriarchal society of South Sudan, women are particularly disadvantaged.

Security remains precarious for many South Sudanese, as the country has continued to face external as well as internal tensions and conflict. Tensions between Sudan and South Sudan over contested territories along the border and oil have led to fighting and displacement. Within South Sudan, localised conflict from rebel militia activity, inter and intra-communal conflict, and cattle raiding has increased. For many South Sudanese women, the main threats to their security do not come from external sources but from within their own homes.¹

South Sudan is home to more than 60 cultural and linguistic groups. Dinka constitute the largest ethnic group, making up 40 per cent of the population, followed by Nuer, who account for 20 per cent. With the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, the diverse ethnic groups were united behind the common goal of self-determination. With independence, however, long-simmering tensions and disputes have resurfaced.²

Instead of addressing the challenge of nation building, bringing together different groups and sectors of society, the ruling Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLA) has failed to reach out beyond a small circle of political and military leaders. Many people feel a great disconnect from and lack of confidence in their government.³ As a report on armed violence by the Small

Arms Survey explains, 'There is widespread and growing anger at what is seen as an exploitative, corrupt, unrepresentative and ill-performing Juba Government.'⁴

The hopes of many South Sudanese regarding improved development and service delivery have failed to materialise, and inequalities are increasing. The situation is particularly difficult for women, who in a male-dominated system are largely excluded from decision making and access to resources.

It is important to point out that the challenges confronting the South Sudanese government are daunting as the country basically needs to be built from scratch. Not only has South Sudan long been neglected by colonial powers and subsequently by the Khartoum government, but decades of war⁵ have left it with 'a legacy of destruction that manifests itself in some of the worst human development indicators in the world'.⁶

Box 1: South Sudan – key baseline indicators

Area: 644,329 sq km

Population: 8.26 million (2008)

Population estimate for 2013: 11.8 million

Population below 18 years: 51 per cent (2008)

Population below 30 years: 72 per cent (2008)

Rural population as share of total: 83 per cent

Average household size: six

Female-headed households: approx. 25 per cent

People living below poverty line: 50.6 per cent

Sources: South Sudan CAP 2013; Southern Sudan SSCSE (2009); Maxwell et al. (2012).

While the Government of the Republic of South Sudan (GoSS) has made some progress, there is widespread criticism that it has not prioritised basic services, that the lion's share of the budget (about 40 per cent) is being spent on the military, and that large amounts have been lost through corruption.⁷

Economic and budgetary problems worsened following the shutdown of oil production in January 2012, after disagreement with Sudan over transit fees. In July 2012, an austerity budget was adopted, which cut net expenditure by one-third.⁸ The impact of austerity was felt across the country, with inflation peaking at 75 per cent, a substantial depreciation of the South Sudanese pound, and dramatic increases in food and fuel prices.


Although an agreement was signed between Sudan and South Sudan in September 2012, which should lead to the resumption of oil production, it is unclear when this will happen and the outlook for 2013 is grim. According to the 2013 Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP), food insecurity is expected to increase to approximately 40 per cent of the population.⁹ The number of South Sudanese living below the national poverty line – already more than 50 per cent – is expected to increase dramatically.

At the same time, pressure on land and natural resources is increasing, as many South Sudanese who had fled during the war are returning and the country is struggling to host over 170,000 refugees from the North. Large-scale agricultural investments, which are restricting pastoralist mobility and pushing communities into marginal lands, risk increasing food insecurity and conflict.¹⁰

The international community has been very engaged in South Sudan and has provided considerable support. However, a number of observers and reports have criticised the approach of many donors, UN agencies, and INGOs as lacking in-depth analysis, being fragmented, and focusing only on the short term. It has also been noted that more attention has been directed to cross-border conflicts and not enough to localised conflicts within South Sudan.

Fig 1: Counties in Lakes and Warrap states in which field research took place



 Research areas

Source: OCHA

1.3 METHODOLOGY

This report is based on a review of relevant literature, field research at Oxfam project sites, and interviews with key informants. The literature review included materials related to conflict, livelihoods, and gender as well as to the broader context of Sudan and South Sudan. Two months, from mid-October to mid-December 2012, were spent in South Sudan undertaking field research in Oxfam (OGB and Intermón) project areas in Lakes and Warrap states. Prior to discussions in the communities, initial meetings were held with county authorities and village chiefs, informing them of the research and obtaining their views.

Twenty-two focus group discussions (FGDs) – where possible, separate ones with women and with men – were held in villages in Lakes State and Warrap State. Where possible, people in cattle camps were also interviewed, given the importance of cattle in Dinka life (see section 3 on livelihoods). Seventy individual interviews were held with villagers directly affected by conflict, representatives of international and national NGOs, community-based organisations (CBOs), UN and international agencies, government officials, anthropologists, academics, and Oxfam staff. The FGDs and semi-structured interviews focused on the broad topics of security concerns, livelihoods, access to basic social services, and gender inequality. At the beginning of each discussion, the participants were asked about their major concerns, which gave an indication of how they ranked the different issues. More details on the methodology can be found in Annex 1.

2 SECURITY: INTERNAL CONFLICTS AND LACK OF ACCESS TO SERVICES

According to a number of different sources, violence in South Sudan has increased in recent years after a relatively calm period following the 2005 CPA. International Alert, for instance, observed an ‘upsurge in the prevalence of inter-communal conflict and cattle raiding in Jonglei, Lakes and Warrap States’, noting that this violence ‘impacted more people than the deteriorating situation around the border’.¹¹ In 2011, around 4,000 people are believed to have been killed in fighting in South Sudan.¹² However, far more attention is being paid to the conflict between Sudan and South Sudan.

In the context of conflict, this paper focuses on inter- and intra-communal conflict and cattle raiding, as these were the main security concerns experienced by the communities in Lakes and Warrap states. The other major security threat for women, domestic violence, is dealt with in section 4 on gender justice.

2.1 INTER- AND INTRA-COMMUNAL CONFLICT

‘We were attacked by Nuer from Unity State. The attackers came at night. There were many and they surrounded the whole area. We ran and hid in the forest. Six people were killed from our village – three women, two children, one man. A lot of cattle were taken.’

Group of villagers near the village of Amethaker, Thuramon Boma, Toch East Payam, Warrap State, 30 November 2012

Most violent conflicts continue to be linked to cattle, with cattle raiding an important element, though not necessarily the primary driver.¹³ While interviewees and reports referred to several causes of conflict, the one that was mentioned most frequently was access to resources, especially grazing land and water points for animals. Clashes occur mainly during the dry season, when pastoralists migrate in search of water and pasture for their cattle and tend to congregate in what they refer to as *toic* – swampy areas deep in the bush with good pasture and water. Climate change (droughts and floods, less predictable rainfall) and population pressure have increased competition for scarce resources.¹⁴ Resource-based conflicts also occur between agriculturalists and pastoralists.¹⁵ In some cases, clashes are related to the establishment of new administrative entities, as borders might run through important grazing areas and affect migration routes.¹⁶

It is particularly disconcerting that the nature and dynamics of conflicts have intensified. A Human Security Baseline Assessment (HSBA) report by the Small Arms Survey explains:

Cattle-raiding and inter- and intra-tribal conflict have been features of South Sudan for decades. But scale, intensity, and impact of the violence have increased in recent years... In pre-war Sudan community violence consisted of infrequent, short-lived skirmishes over resources such as grazing areas or fishing pools. Weapons used were almost exclusively spears. Women and children were not considered as legitimate targets.’¹⁷

In recent years, however, civilians have been increasingly targeted, villages deliberately attacked (as opposed to raids on cattle camps), and livelihoods destroyed.¹⁸ The conflicts in Jonglei State, in which 120,000 people were reported displaced and thousands killed and

wounded, were the most obvious manifestation of this violence, although similar trends were reported in agro-pastoralist and pastoralist areas in Lakes and Warrap states.¹⁹

In all the communities visited by Oxfam, except for the few which were close to administrative centres, people spoke about attacks and cattle raids, with several saying that they had been directly affected. Several groups of villagers from areas close to the border between Warrap and Unity states described how their villages had been attacked, people killed, *tukuls* (huts) burned, cattle taken, and crops destroyed.²⁰

'We were sleeping. Someone called my husband. He went outside and was shot. Now I am left with my six small children.'

Widow in her late 20's, Thuramon Boma, 30 November 2012.

Four of the 15 people present in the focus group near Amethaker, Thuramon Boma cited above – three women and one man – said that they had been injured, showing the research team bullet and stab wounds.

Insecurity not only devastates the lives of those affected, it also has a negative impact on their meagre livelihoods. When the Oxfam team visited Thuramon Boma in late November 2012, many people were still displaced from attacks in April and May 2011, staying with the host community or in the bush. In other areas, some people had returned and had started to clear small plots of land, but said that they had not been able to cultivate crops as they were afraid of further attacks and spent part of the time hiding in the bush. Others had returned when the time for cultivation had already passed. Some displaced people noted that normally they went fishing to supplement their diet, but did not feel safe enough to return to the river. In addition, they explained that they had had to leave everything behind and lacked fishing gear and tools for planting.

2.1.1 Complex causes

The reasons for the changing dynamics of conflict and cattle raiding are complex and diverse: historical tensions and a tendency to resolve these through violent means, the proliferation of arms, increasing competition for access to grazing land and water, extreme poverty and uneven distribution of wealth, declining influence of traditional authorities, weak state structures, impunity, heightened demand and competition for land and appropriation of large tracts of land for agricultural expansion, inflation in the bride price, and concepts of masculinity.²¹

Legacy of civil war/militarisation and proliferation of arms

Many observers referred to the impact of decades of civil war: the militarisation of society, the exploitation of ethnic divisions by politicians and military leaders, and the widespread availability of firearms.²² Cattle raiding is now carried out with small arms, resulting in much higher levels of injury and death than previously. As a South Sudanese anthropologist who has written extensively on gender and violence explained, 'The change in weapons has impersonalized war. With an AK-47 you no longer know whom you have killed. This was different in the past when people used spears. After killings, there were ceremonies with cows being exchanged and reconciliation.'²³ Attacks spark revenge attacks, creating a cycle of violence. Some observers felt that the increase in the scale and scope of the raiding was also related to the involvement of criminal gangs. Others spoke about involvement in or encouragement of raiding by some politicians or traditional leaders, referring to the large herds they had assembled.²⁴

Weakening of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms

In the past, community leaders would step in and would usually be able to resolve conflict through a complex system of mediation and reconciliation.²⁵ Several of the persons interviewed felt that the position of local chiefs, while still important, was no longer as influential. Some stated that the roles and division of responsibilities between traditional and governmental

authorities was unclear and that, in some cases, the government exerted increasing influence over the chiefs. However, according to the majority of those interviewed and to different reports, in most cases traditional chiefs still wield substantial influence over young men and thus play an important role in either encouraging or opposing raiding.

Impunity

One key driver of violent conflict is the inability of the South Sudanese state to protect civilians or to bring the perpetrators of attacks to justice.²⁶ Several interlocutors referred to a culture of impunity, with one saying that during the long war between the North and the South, 'the rule of law has been thrown away'.²⁷ Impunity for perpetrators not only encourages armed groups to continue raiding, but also sparks further violence in the form of revenge attacks.

Weak security sector

The villagers interviewed in both Lakes and Warrap states felt that the presence and control of the authorities were weak and that they were not doing enough to provide security. As a group of women in Thuramon Boma, Toch East Payam, Warrap State – an insecure area where attacks are frequent – observed, 'The authorities are aware [of the situation], but they always arrive late'.²⁸ Some of the focus groups and several observers explained that the police lacked personnel, equipment, and training, while the military (SPLA) in part still behaved as a rebel force and in a number of cases committed abuses against the civilian population.²⁹

Lack of a comprehensive policy to combat violence

While recognising the challenges that the GoSS faces in establishing the rule of law, many observers have criticised it for the lack of a comprehensive policy to combat inter-communal violence and for its focus on civilian disarmament. A number of concerns have been raised about past disarmament campaigns, including the use of force, discrimination, and recycling of weapons.³⁰ As the representatives of a South Sudanese NGO put it, 'Civilian people were disarmed, but arms come back into the country. Disarmament is not going in a smooth way, some were disarmed, others not. Some get armed again to revenge cattle raiding'.³¹ It was interesting to note that in the cases of cattle raiding reported to Oxfam in Lakes and Warrap states, those affected claimed that they were unarmed while the other side was armed. More generally, the other group tended to be blamed for the conflict.

Lack of a functioning judiciary

As yet, no functioning judicial system exists in South Sudan. In addition to challenges related to human and material resources, the country has a plural legal structure which includes both customary and statutory courts and draws on multiple sources of law. The chiefs' courts and the statutory courts operate in parallel. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss this point in detail, it is important to highlight the lack of clarity regarding the competence of customary and statutory courts and to note that there is a preference among the population for customary courts.³² The concern that customary law discriminates against women is dealt with in section 4 on gender justice. One of the key challenges of judicial reform is to harmonise different bodies of customary law with one other and with statutory law and international human rights law.

Growing inequalities and exclusion

'Some people are very rich, others very poor, so they raid.'

Cattle keepers interviewed in Langdit Boma, Malou Pec- Payam, Cuiebet County, Lakes State, 25 October 2012

The interviewees gave a number of reasons for the increase in cattle raiding, but poverty, growing inequalities, and exclusion were seen by many as the major causes.³³

Increase in the bride price³⁴

Some interlocutors, as well as some reports, referred to the increase in the bride price as one of the reasons for cattle raiding. Male and female youth must marry to be recognised as adults. Marriage usually entails the payment of cattle by the man and his family to the family of the prospective wife. This is not a one-off payment but rather a complex system of circulation of cattle through the extended family, with relatives of the groom contributing to help him with the dowry payment and the cattle then being shared amongst the bride's family.³⁵ In recent years bride prices have surged,³⁶ which means that an increasing number of young men in rural areas cannot afford the number of cattle needed to get married. This could drive some to join cattle raiding parties. However, others interviewed disagreed and felt that the main reasons for raiding were poverty and growing inequality.

Masculinity

In Dinka as well as in Nuer culture, cattle are considered social symbols of wealth and status. Young men in the cattle camps who have been initiated into adulthood are responsible for protecting the cattle. Demonstrating their virility by being brave and engaging in fighting to defend their families' wealth gives them standing and respect in the community.³⁷ An anthropologist undertaking research among the Dinka in Warrap State commented that she had recorded many songs which 'indicate that taking out cattle to farthest areas and being a good fighter gives people a sense of pride and defines ideas of masculinity and male self-worth'.³⁸

The majority of the people interviewed, including cattle keepers, however, stressed that cattle raiding was linked to a lack of livelihood alternatives. As cattle keepers in Langdit said, 'If we had other opportunities, if we had something to do for a living ... then we would not raid ... few would get involved in cattle raiding.'³⁹

2.1.2 Conflict resolution

Different reports, as well as several interviewees, were sceptical of current peace initiatives. They noted that while there had been an abundance of peace conferences, many had been one-off events with little prior analysis and no or scant subsequent follow-up, and involving mainly people from the capital, Juba. International attention, some felt, was focused on the North–South conflict, with local conflicts not receiving sufficient support.⁴⁰

As the representative of an international NGO who has been involved in peace building in South Sudan for several years observed, 'Conferences should be local, they should build up from where the cattle camps are. It is important to include traditional leaders and cattle camp youth.'⁴¹ This interviewee explained that the peace conference addressing the conflict over the establishment of Gogrial East, Gogrial West, and Twic counties in Warrap State in 2008 brought together traditional leaders and the Commissioners (i.e. the governmental authorities) of the three counties, as well as leaders and youth from the cattle camps. Stressing the importance of mechanisms for oversight and follow-up, he noted that at the conference an agreement was reached on sharing the *toic* (the dry-season water and pasture areas) and that a committee was established to oversee this agreement. In addition, it was agreed that a certain number of chiefs would remain in the cattle camps to prevent and settle conflicts related to cattle thefts.

The director of a Juba-based CSO described a peace-building process in the community of Wonduruba, a community near Juba, which his organisation and another CBO facilitated with the support of several INGOs. 'Don't start at the highest level, but with peace building at community level,' he told Oxfam, explaining that they had organised peace-building workshops in the community followed by a series of meetings 'moving up levels'.⁴² Finally, a peace conference was held in April/May 2011, involving traditional leaders, local, county, and national authorities, and NGOs supporting the process, with members of the whole community participating. The reconciliation ceremony consisted of cultural traditions such as the

slaughtering of a ram and formal agreements such as the appointment of a local administrator and the establishment of a police post in the community.

Interlocutors and other NGO representatives stressed that peace building was a long and comprehensive process, involving also community consultations and specific projects to address the causes of conflict.

The role of UNMISS

The UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) has a mandate to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence. However, according to different reports and interlocutors, it has had limited impact, due, among other reasons, to ‘a narrow interpretation [of its mandate] and a paucity of troops’.⁴³ When asked about the role of UNMISS following violent clashes, only a few villagers and cattle keepers reported that they had seen UNMISS patrols.

2.2 HUMAN SECURITY: LACK OF ACCESS TO BASIC SERVICES

Box 2: Key human development indicators

Water and sanitation

Access to improved sanitation facilities: approx. 7 per cent

Households with improved drinking water sources: 69 per cent

Health

Life expectancy: 42 years

Maternal mortality (per 100,000 births): 2,054

Under-five mortality (per 100,000 live births): 135

Deliveries attended by a skilled professional: 10 per cent

Education

Literacy rate (age six and above): 28 per cent

Male literacy rate: 38 per cent

Female literacy rate: 19 per cent

Net enrolment in primary education: 44 per cent

Girls attending primary school: 27 per cent

Net enrolment in secondary education: 2 per cent

Sources: Sudan Household Health Survey 2006–2010; SSCSE, *Statistical Yearbook for Southern Sudan 2010*; Maternal Neonatal and Reproductive Health Strategy; OCHA, ‘Scary Statistics, Southern Sudan’, November 2010; Ministry of Health for Southern Sudan, 2009–2015; and South Sudan CAP 2013.

In its Development Plan, the GoSS recognises that citizens need broader welfare, stating, ‘This requires the delivery of a combined “human security” effect, in which citizens are both safe and well, with their essential needs met and also requires security and rule of law institutions that abide by the principles of equality and respect for all citizens regardless of ethnicity, gender or age.’⁴⁴

Expectations that independence would bring greater security and a more prosperous life have not been met and the human security situation of most South Sudanese remains precarious.⁴⁵ Especially in rural areas, basic infrastructure and services are lacking. Communications structure is very poor, with less than 100km of paved roads in the country and two-thirds of the total road network impassable during the rainy season.⁴⁶

While the GoSS has made some progress in dealing with the enormous challenge of having to build the country almost from scratch after the war, there is growing frustration among many people that it is not prioritising infrastructure and service delivery.

South Sudan has some of the worst human development indicators in the world. It has one of the highest maternal mortality rates and one of the lowest primary school enrolment rates.⁴⁷ According to the GoSS Development Plan, 'Nearly one in every seven women who become pregnant dies from pregnancy-related causes, and only 10 per cent of deliveries are attended by a skilled professional.'⁴⁸ Life expectancy is 42 years, and three-quarters of the population are unable to access health care.⁴⁹ Only 28 per cent of South Sudan's population are literate and fewer than half of primary school-age children are in school.⁵⁰

Human security threats are particularly high for women. According to an HSBA report on women's security, 'These threats are rooted in women's lack of empowerment and economic independence, and are deeply embedded in culture and customary practices'⁵¹ (see section 4 on gender justice).

2.2.1 Community concerns

In addition to concerns about their physical security, focus groups in the communities also raised a number of issues related to the absence of basic services. The main concerns included lack of water, lack of health care for both humans and animals, and food insecurity, followed by lack of access to education and feelings of isolation. These are summarised below; food insecurity is dealt with in section 3 on livelihoods.



Women fetching water, Rumbeck County, Lakes State (October 2012). Photo: Ingrid Kircher/Oxfam

Water

Access to water was a major problem for all the communities visited. Respondents noted that there were not enough hand pumps and, of those that existed, many were not functioning. In several cases, different settlements had to share a single borehole and people complained about long queues and quarrels. Many of the women noted that they had to walk long distances to fetch water. In addition to drilling boreholes, Oxfam staff in Warrap suggested that

rationalisation of water access in rural areas could be considered through water pans and other forms of water collection, in collaboration with the relevant Rural Water Department.

This reflects the general situation in rural areas of South Sudan. According to the 2012/13 CAP, the number of people using each water point ranged from 1,000 to 6,000 and one-third of existing water points were non-functional due to poor operation and maintenance.⁵² Only 5 per cent of rural households have access to improved sanitation facilities. Lack of safe drinking water and latrines and poor hygiene practices put many South Sudanese at risk of waterborne diseases, and many children die from such preventable diseases.⁵³

Health care

'There is no health facility. The main problems we have are during delivery. Either you deliver successfully or you die. There are five traditional midwives, but they have no facilities. If women are in a serious condition, in most cases they die.'

Group of women in Wardiot, Yiik Ador Boma, Pathuan East Payam, Gogrial East, Warrap State, 26 November 2012

In all communities visited, lack of access to health services and the quality of health care were considered major issues. Many community members explained that they had to walk 3–4 hours or more to reach a health centre. Villagers were also concerned about the quality of health services and noted that drugs were lacking. Several of the women's focus groups were particularly worried about the lack of medical assistance for pregnant women.

Education

Several of the focus groups regretted that there was no school in their village, noting that the nearest school was several hours away, which was too far for most of the children. In a number of the villages, school buildings were lacking. This was the case in Kaak, Malueth Payam, Rumbek North, where the women said, 'Classes are held in the open under a tree. During the rainy season it is difficult for children to remain in school, they will run home.'⁵⁴ The issue of education was also raised in some of the cattle camps, with several cattle keepers saying that they would like to receive schooling or training. Mobile schools have been developed in some cattle camps and this system should be expanded to reach more people.

In the cities, several young people interviewed expressed frustration at their difficulties in accessing good education and at nepotism in the allocation of government jobs. As one young man put it, 'Education is not a priority; there is a lack of commitment on the part of the government.'⁵⁵ Some key informants noted that in addition to improved access to primary and secondary education in rural communities (infrastructure, trained teachers, etc.) literacy and numeracy programmes for adults were needed.

Feelings of isolation

Many of the villages the Oxfam team visited were remote and not accessible by car during the rainy season, with some also lacking access to a telephone network. Villagers expressed feelings of isolation and marginalisation, with some complaining that their villages had been neglected by the authorities and that their concerns had not been taken seriously. A more general problem is the lack of government presence in remote places, as officials assigned to these areas tend to spend more time in the state capital.

Some cattle keepers and some of the key contacts felt that the isolation and lack of contact between communities and groups of cattle keepers contributed to feelings of distrust, and suggested joint activities (e.g. football matches) so that people could come together and get to know each other.

3 CHALLENGES TO PASTORALIST LIVELIHOODS

Over 80 per cent of South Sudan's population live in rural areas. The large majority are pastoralists or agro-pastoralists, engaging in livestock keeping and subsistence agriculture. These activities are supplemented by fishing and gathering of wild fruit. Outside the livestock and agricultural sectors, and public administration, there are few job opportunities.

At the same time, livelihoods are changing due in part to rapid urbanisation, as many people – especially returnees – are settling in urban areas rather than in the countryside. There they face stiff competition from large numbers of people from neighbouring countries looking for job opportunities.⁵⁶ Frustration among South Sudanese is growing, as cheap imports and skilled labour from neighbouring countries, especially Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda, have made it virtually impossible for them to compete.⁵⁷

South Sudan remains highly dependent on oil (which accounts for 98 per cent of its non-aid revenue), its rich agricultural and livestock potential notwithstanding.⁵⁸ However, the majority of the population have not benefited from oil revenue, with little money invested in social services, especially outside of the national and state capitals, and the oil sector providing few labour opportunities.

3.1 LIVESTOCK AND PASTORALISM

'Our life is based on our livestock. If they are healthy, we are happy.'

Cattle keepers, Kak Boma, Malueth Payam, Rumbek North County, Lakes State, 30 October 2012

South Sudan has one of the largest livestock populations in Africa, with the number of cattle estimated at 11.7 million.⁵⁹ Despite these vast livestock resources, the economic potential of the livestock sector is not really recognised or exploited and South Sudan is currently a net importer of livestock products from neighbouring countries.⁶⁰ One basic problem, an official of a UN agency pointed out, was 'the lack of serious data about the contribution and impact of livestock on food security and the markets'.⁶¹ Other challenges, some of which are dealt with in more detail below, include the GoSS's prioritisation of agricultural development to the detriment of the livestock sector, limited government and private sector investments, shrinking and degradation of pasture and water sources due to climate change and encroachment on pastoralist land, insecurity and conflict, poor market access and infrastructure, high animal mortality rates, and inadequate veterinary services.⁶²

3.1.1 The importance of cattle in Dinka culture

Cattle are central in the lives of the Dinka as well as of many other ethnic groups in South Sudan, not only as a main source of livelihoods but also in terms of cultural identity and social status. As anthropologist Jeremy Coote explains, 'For Nilotic-speaking cattle-keepers cattle are the most highly valued possessions. Cattle are not just a food source, but a central factor in all aspects of their social and cultural activities, being used to mediate social relationships.'⁶³ Cattle may be used to pay the bride price or as compensation for the settlement of disputes. In addition to milk, meat,⁶⁴ and hides, cattle provide dung for fuel and fertiliser.⁶⁵

Pastoralists, especially the poorer ones, regard cattle as a safety-net for hard times and are reluctant to sell them. As the director of a local NGO explained, 'Chicken and goats are current

accounts, cows are saving accounts. Selling cows is very difficult as they are considered security, thus selling them will be the final thing. When cows are finished, families will be very vulnerable.⁶⁶

3.1.2 Herd mobility for risk mitigation and the importance of cattle camps

Over centuries, pastoralists and agro-pastoralists in South Sudan have developed effective strategies to adapt to a fragile environment and to effectively manage risks. Conditions in the flat grassland and woodland savannah that the majority inhabit are harsh, with increasing dry spells, unreliable rainfalls, and frequent flooding.⁶⁷ The weather alternates between a rainy season (April–November) and a dry season (December–April). To cope with scarce resources and to adapt to these climatic conditions, pastoralists practice transhumance, i.e. the seasonal migration of livestock and its keepers in search of pasture and water resources.

During the dry season, young (mostly unmarried) men – as well as some young women, children, and a few older men – move with the cattle to where there is water and pasture, staying in cattle camps. They move in stages until, at the height of the dry season, they reach the so-called *toic*, or riverine marshes.⁶⁸ Cattle camps are very important in the Dinka pastoralist context and play an important role in the socialisation of young people, with boys and young men, and to a lesser extent young women, from rural areas spending a substantial amount of time there. However, pastoral needs have been neglected by the government and international organisations, and little attention has been paid to understanding dynamics linked to cattle camps.

Herd mobility over vast areas of land and the ability to access grazing areas and water sources are vital for pastoralist livelihoods. However, pastoralist mobility has increasingly been limited by conflict and land fragmentation due to large-scale agricultural expansion. As a group of young women from a cattle camp near Bhar Gel in Cueibet observed, ‘The area around here is not good for grazing. Normally we don’t come here, we go much farther into the bush towards the border with Warrap State, but we cannot go there because it is not safe.’⁶⁹ They and other cattle keepers interviewed in Rumbek North county expressed concern that the milk production of their cows was lower due to restrictions on their seasonal movement.⁷⁰

3.1.3 Marginalisation of pastoralists

In Sudan as in other countries, agricultural expansion has been promoted at the expense of livestock production and pastoral livelihoods. As Fahey and others have pointed out, the marginalisation of pastoralism in Sudan began during colonial times and persisted after independence, with successive governments seizing ‘vast quantities of rangeland to promote irrigated and mechanized rain-fed agricultural production’.⁷¹

This seems to be continuing under the current South Sudanese government, which has been criticised for ‘policy “blindness” to pastoralism’.⁷² As Concordis International noted in its 2012 report on transhumance routes, ‘South Sudan has no clear strategy for managing or developing dry season pastoralism. None of its State Strategic Plans contain meaningful statements on how to manage or develop pastoralism of any kind, despite this often representing a central livelihood activity for a majority of the host population.’⁷³ Several of the representatives of the UN and other organisations interviewed concurred. ‘There is a need for a national vision for the role of livestock in development,’ a senior representative of a UN agency emphasised, adding, ‘The GoSS is focused on agriculture, but it is important to diversify the economy beyond oil and agriculture.’⁷⁴

Livestock health is also a major constraint, with mortality rates very high.⁷⁵ In addition to insecurity, the main concern of cattle keepers interviewed was the state of their livestock. They explained that many of their cows were sick. While there were community animal health workers

(CAHWs) in some of the camps, there were not enough of them and in some camps there were none. Also, they noted that drugs and vaccines were lacking.⁷⁶

The current lack of veterinary services is illustrative of the changing attitudes of the international community towards pastoralist livelihoods in Sudan. Several interlocutors referred to the massive rinderpest eradication programme carried out in the 1990s under Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS), with 2,000 CAHWs selected and trained.⁷⁷ Despite the challenges of operating in South Sudan during the civil war, the programme was highly successful, with rinderpest eradicated within five years. However, support for the programme was not continued and it disintegrated afterwards. Several interviewees suggested drawing on the trained CAHWs from that programme.

Over the past decade, donors, UN agencies, and NGOs, including Oxfam, have moved away from support for pastoralists. Some experienced observers feel that this is in part because some perceive cattle to be a problem, rather than a valuable contribution to people's livelihoods.⁷⁸ As conflict has increased, with cattle raiding part of most clashes, cattle have been seen as exacerbating conflict.⁷⁹ However, recently some UN officials and others have begun to stress the need to support pastoralist livelihoods and to strengthen their resilience, and some interesting initiatives have been proposed. With its past expertise, Oxfam could contribute in this area. In this regard, it is important to recall that in Lakes State, the CAHW system was originally managed by Oxfam from 1994 onwards. The programme was handed over to the government in 2005, but Oxfam continued to train CAHWs until 2010, when it decided to focus on increasing women's control of food and thus on small-scale agricultural projects.⁸⁰

3.2 THREATS TO FOOD SECURITY

South Sudan has vast potential for agricultural production, with abundant fertile land and water resources; 80 per cent of its total land area is arable and suitable for crop production.⁸¹ Crops produced include sorghum, groundnut, sesame, maize, millet, cowpeas, cassava, sweet potatoes, pumpkin, okra, and other vegetables.⁸² However, despite this great potential, only 4 per cent of the land is used for crop production.⁸³

In addition to livestock and agriculture, fishing constitutes an important source of food and/or a coping mechanism in many parts of South Sudan, which has a number of permanent and seasonal rivers. However, the fishing potential is little exploited.⁸⁴

Fifty-one per cent of the population live below the poverty line, with poverty highest in rural areas and among female-headed households.⁸⁵ Food insecurity has increased, with the number of people in need of food assistance having doubled from 1.2 million to 2.4 million in 2012.⁸⁶ This negative trend is expected to continue in 2013, due *inter alia* to 'the insufficient harvest in 2012, predicted high commodity and fuel prices, continued refugee arrivals, violence-related displacement inside the country, and seasonal flooding'.⁸⁷

Participants in the focus groups in Rumbek North County, Lakes State and Gogrial East County, Warrap State were very concerned that they would go hungry in the coming months. They explained that rains had been erratic, with little rain during parts of the rainy seasons followed by floods (or, in Rumbek North, the other way round). As a group of villagers from Amethaker, Thuramon Boma said,

*The rain pattern was very strange this year. First there was no rain in June and July and our crops suffered. Then there was too much rain, there were floods and our harvests were destroyed. So we have already started to collect wild fruit – three months earlier than usual.*⁸⁸

Showing the Oxfam team the different types of wild fruits and seeds they cook and eat, a group of women in Amethaker explained their dilemma as follows: 'We have to decide between going

for water or for wild fruit. Because when we come back after going to the forest to collect wild fruits, the children are thirsty.⁸⁹ Thus often it is the small children who are sent to the forest while the women go to fetch water.

Several of the women commented that their families were eating only one meal a day. In addition to collecting wild fruit and reducing the size and quantity of meals, the coping strategies of many food-insecure households involve the selling of natural resources such as firewood and charcoal.⁹⁰

3.2.1 Multiple causes of food insecurity

According to ANLA, the cause of food insecurity in South Sudan ‘continues to be a combination of structural factors exacerbated by multiple shocks’.⁹¹ These structural factors include low agricultural productivity (due to the use of manual tools and low skill levels), poor communications infrastructure, unclear land tenure policies and practices, lack of rule of law, limited market access, and inadequate access to finance. The most common recurrent shocks are insecurity, drought (delayed and erratic rainfall), localised floods, high food prices, diseases, and pests.⁹²

In some of the communities visited, villagers were interested in expanding agricultural activities, but said that this had not been possible with the traditional tools they used. For instance, in Thuramon the majority of the people interviewed explained that they had only *malodas* (traditional hoes with a very small blade) or hoes to cultivate. In the communities in Cuiebet County in Lakes State, where Oxfam has distributed ox ploughs in addition to hoes and seeds, villagers expressed their appreciation and asked for more ox ploughs.⁹³



A 60-year-old widow demonstrating the use of traditional tools. Photo: Ingrid Kircher/Oxfam ‘I cultivate a bit of land and plant sorghum and sesame. It is very hard because I have only *malodas* and the food is not enough. I have to take care of my four grandchildren.’⁹⁴

3.2.2 Participation of women

As reports indicate, increased urbanisation and the presence of international organisations have provided new employment opportunities for women, and women’s participation in economic activities, for instance in small businesses, has increased.⁹⁵ However, as Maxwell et al. point out, ‘despite increased participation of women in development, non-farm economic activities and politics, gender roles have not fundamentally changed in South Sudan’⁹⁶ (see section 4).

3.3 LAND TENURE

The issue of land and land ownership in South Sudan was a significant factor behind the war and continues to be a major driver of conflict, as pastoralists compete with each other and with farmers over scarce resources, many refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) return, and large tracts of land are leased to domestic and foreign investors.⁹⁷

The 2011 Transitional Constitution (Part 12, Chapter II) and the 2009 Land Act (Chapter II, Section 7) recognise communal ownership and customary land rights. The Land Act stipulates that 'all land in Southern Sudan is owned by the people of Southern Sudan and its usage shall be regulated by the Government'. It distinguishes three types of land ownership: communal (most land in South Sudan), government (public land, such as national parks and forest reserves), and agro-industrial complexes and private land (mainly in and around urban areas).⁹⁸ The Southern Sudan Land Commission (SSLC) was established 'to develop land policies and draft legislation to clarify and strengthen land tenure systems and the rights of landholders'.⁹⁹ However, as the land rights advisor of an INGO pointed out, the SSLC is underfunded, its human resources capacity is weak, and its mandate vague.¹⁰⁰ The SSLC, with the assistance of USAID, drafted a Land Policy in February 2011, which aims to provide tenure security under a diversity of tenure systems.¹⁰¹ The policy was still in draft form and remained contested, the director of a national CSO working on land rights issues explained, noting that there had been 'minimal consultations'. The Land Policy, he added, would establish mandates and responsibilities, which was important because in the past there had been tensions between traditional and governmental authorities.¹⁰²

Weak land management institutions and the lack of enabling legislation have opened the door to large-scale land grabbing.¹⁰³ A 2011 report by Norwegian People's Aid (NPA) found that, between 2007 and 2010, 'foreign interests sought or acquired a total of 2.64 million hectares of land (26,400 square kilometres) in the agriculture, forestry and bio fuel sectors – a larger land area than the entire country of Rwanda.'¹⁰⁴ According to the report, community consultations, which are required by the Land Act (Chapter 9, Para 63 (3)) were carried out in only one-third of the 28 investments analysed, with feedback from communities taken into account in only two cases.¹⁰⁵

The NPA report on large-scale land-based investment and advocacy by INGOs and CBOs have shown first results, with the authorities decreeing a moratorium on investments and planning a review of past land deals.¹⁰⁶ At Juba and at state levels, land alliances have been formed to raise awareness about the Land Act and to monitor developments.

Another concern raised in several reports is that customary land rights and management traditionally discriminate against women.¹⁰⁷ While the Land Act (Chapters 1 (2) and 4 (13)) stipulates that men and women have equal rights to land, under customary law property is held by men as heads of the household and usually women cannot own property in their own right.¹⁰⁸

3.4 CHALLENGES FOR INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE

While it was noted that international agencies were moving from short-term humanitarian support to support of livelihoods, several interviewees and observers were critical that in-depth analysis was lacking, that assistance efforts were fragmented, and that agencies were not looking at the larger picture. As Maxwell et al. put it, 'Attempts to address rural recovery by aid agencies and policy makers have focused mainly on distribution of seeds and tools and not taken into account comprehensive needs of local farmers. For example, there has been little attention to enhancing agricultural production, improving infrastructure and market linkages.'¹⁰⁹

It was also noted that, as a legacy of the war, people were accustomed to receiving free humanitarian support, including free food. As one experienced observer put it, 'This aid dependency needs to be addressed. We need to help people to shift their mindset from aid dependency to entrepreneurship.'¹¹⁰

While an analysis of the impact of the international community is beyond the scope of this report, it is useful to briefly refer to the findings of the 2010 Multi-Donor Evaluation regarding support to conflict prevention and peace-building activities in South Sudan. Emphasising the importance of 'linking development activities to local peace building in three respects: the recognition of key drivers of violence; the appropriate geographical placement of assistance in areas most prone to violence; and the institutional support necessary to uphold peaceful relations within communities', the evaluation noted that continued insecurity in some areas and weak government capacity and ineffective implementation of joint funding mechanisms have hampered efforts to rapidly scale up basic service delivery.¹¹¹ The analysis also stresses that programmes need to be better linked to government structures to ensure sustainability.

4 GENDER (IN)JUSTICE

*'A 15-year-old girl has a higher chance of dying in childbirth than completing school.'*¹¹²

In the deeply patriarchal society of South Sudan, women are seen as inferior to men and stark inequalities between men and women persist. As heads of households, men have the decision-making power within their families and women are expected to be subservient to their husbands.¹¹³ Violence against women is frequent and possibilities to seek and obtain redress are very limited.

Polygamy, which is legal and widespread, constitutes an impediment to women's equality. A South Sudanese man can marry as many women as he can afford to pay the bride price for and can support. Women, on the other hand, cannot have more than one husband and if a married woman becomes involved with other men she can be accused of adultery, which is a criminal offence, punishable by a prison term of up to two years. Although adultery is illegal, a woman cannot really open a case against her husband because polygamy is allowed.¹¹⁴ If a woman is accused of adultery, she can be imprisoned for 24 hours while an investigation is carried out and, if she is found guilty, she may be jailed for several months. Women are often given the option to pay a fine instead, but since most women do not have their own income and do not control assets, they are likely to spend time in prison.¹¹⁵

There have been some changes over recent years. Following the war, increasing urbanisation and the presence of international organisations have provided new livelihood opportunities for women in urban areas, which at times have enabled women to exert greater influence in the household.¹¹⁶ However, the situation of women, especially in rural areas where the vast majority live, including in the counties visited, remains largely unchanged.



Woman pounding grain, Bhar Gel Cuiebet. Photo: Ingrid Kircher/Oxfam

There have also been positive developments in the legal and institutional realms. Gender equality has been recognised and taken into account in the Transitional Constitution and relevant laws. However, a fundamental contradiction remains, as customary law, which is considered an important source of law in South Sudan, does not recognise men and women as equal and discriminates against women. Within the government, a Ministry for Gender, Child

and Social Welfare has been established. However, gender is only one part of its extensive remit and its budget is less than 1 per cent of the total GoSS budget.¹¹⁷

It is very positive that a number of women's associations have been established in Juba and some other towns and that they have become increasingly active in advocating for women's rights. There have also been many initiatives by international actors. However, these can be counterproductive if not conducted in a sensitive way. Questioning the impact of individual workshops on gender issues, one researcher, who has worked extensively on women's issues in the country, explained that in South Sudanese culture the word 'gender' can have a negative connotation as it is seen as something imposed by the international community. She suggested that it was better instead to speak about women's rights or women's issues as this was more acceptable, and stressed that working with national and local women's groups was key.¹¹⁸

Several of the key informants noted that gender inequality was linked to deep-seated cultural practices and that change would be gradual and would take a long time, especially in rural areas. They emphasised the need to pay attention to the social structure of society and of using culturally sensitive arguments. Several interlocutors felt that it was important to support women and girls to speak out for themselves. Many of the representatives of women's groups stressed that it was important to involve men in changing attitudes as well as to work with chiefs and government authorities. It was stressed that access for girls to education, including higher education, was key, as was raising awareness with chiefs and parents in the villages.

The following is an account of the main issues related to gender equality raised in the focus groups, complemented by information from key informants and relevant reports.

4.1 WORK NEVER STOPS – UNEQUAL DIVISION OF TASKS

Many women in the focus groups stated that they were overworked as they had a multitude of tasks, including taking care of the children, doing the housework, fetching water and firewood, and engaging in farming. Sometimes men helped with cultivation. But, as the women in Makerial added, 'If men and women go and cultivate, men stop early, fetch tobacco, and play dominoes.'¹¹⁹ In fact, in virtually all the communities Oxfam visited there was a group of men playing dominoes while the women were busy with their multiple chores. The majority of the women in the focus groups explained that they lacked the appropriate tools, which made their work even more arduous. Pounding grain, for instance, was very hard work since they did not have access to grinding mills. Several of the women noted that they did not see their husbands frequently, as 'most men prefer to stay in the cattle camps or pretend to do business in town'.¹²⁰

When asked about their lives in the cattle camps, two young women who had spent time in such camps since they were little explained their multiple tasks as follows: 'We milk the cows, gather cow dung, wash men's clothes, clean milk containers, graze calves, fetch water, carry mats and other items when we move from one camp site to another, and cut pegs (to tie up the cows)'.¹²¹ The fact that it is the young women who do the bulk of the work was brought home to the Oxfam team during a visit to a cattle site in Lunyaker, where the young women were very busy milking, while a group of men played dominoes under a nearby tree. Soon after the Oxfam team started to speak to some of the young women, a young man came along, scolding them, threatening them with a stick, and telling them to go to work to release the cattle. As they were leaving, the young women explained why they had been in the cattle camp since they were little, saying, 'We would very much like to go to school, but we are not allowed to go to school by our parents, we were sent here.'¹²²

In the life of a woman, work never stops. As an older woman the team spoke to in Bhar Gel explained, 'When we are married, our work increases – we have to take care of the children, the

household, the grandchildren. You are never free until you are old and cannot do anything anymore.¹²³

4.2 LACK OF CONTROL OVER ASSETS

'When a woman gets sick, it is always a problem. If you ask your husband for money to go to the doctor, he says I have paid so many cows for you; I will not sell a cow now. Until you are so sick that you cannot walk the husband will force you to work.'

Women in Wardiot, Yiik Adoor Boma, Pathuon East Payam, Gogrial East County, Warrap State, 26 November 2012

Another issue that emerged from the FGDs was women's lack of control over assets. The Transitional Constitution expressly states that women have the right to own property. However, according to the customary law of many ethnic groups, including the Dinka, a woman cannot own assets in her own capacity, since property is held by her husband as the head of the household.¹²⁴

When asked whether they could sell goats (as women are responsible for smaller ruminants), some focus groups answered in the affirmative, while others said that it was very difficult if not impossible for them. The men in Kak, Malueth Payam, Rumbek North, were clear, saying, 'A lady can have responsibility for goats but without permission from the man she cannot sell them. If she sells a goat without permission, a war will come.'¹²⁵ When asked why they had virtually no control over resources, the women in Kak responded, 'Men paid for us. We have been bought. If it is the man who has paid for me, what right do I have to sell a cow or goat?'¹²⁶

'The daughter cannot say no, she has to accept what the parents like, if she says no, they beat her. If she says no, the girl is denying her family resources. The father feels bad, even the brothers pressure her, saying that he (the groom) is a good person, you have to go.'

Men in Langdit, Cueibet County, 25 October, 2012

Lack of financial support from their husbands was a major issue in all the women's focus groups. In many of the groups women related that, when they had asked their husbands for money to buy food or get medical care for the children or for themselves, their husbands had not responded well and that this was a source of conflict in the family. A group of three young women in a cattle camp in Rumbek North explained the reluctance of the men to part with their cattle as follows: 'Even if the men have many cattle, they are not selling them because they want to keep them for marriage. Selling a cow takes a hundred years.'¹²⁷

4.3 EARLY AND FORCED MARRIAGE

Although the legal age for marriage is 18 years, early marriages are common. According to the GoSS, 36 per cent of girls in South Sudan are married before the age of 18.¹²⁸ Many villagers explained to Oxfam that once a girl has menstruated she is considered mature, and marriage usually takes place two to four years after that. Reports also refer to cases of girls being married even earlier, often to older men. The consequences for the girls are severe. They are taken out of school, have to move in with the husband's family and carry out domestic chores, and face serious health risks related to early pregnancies. Some of the interlocutors, as well as reports, mentioned cases where girls have tried to run away or have committed suicide to avoid forced marriage.

People in the communities stressed the difficult situation which often led to early marriages. As the women in a focus group in Bhar Gel, Cueibet County, Lakes State, commented, 'The main issue is not marriage, the main issues are health, food, water. If a family is extremely poor and if

someone offers a lot of cows, the family will definitely make a decision to marry their child. But if you have health, food, water you will not pressure your child to marry early.¹²⁹

4.4 MARRIAGE AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

It is important to understand the crucial role of marriage in South Sudanese society, which is very different from Western concepts. As Stern puts it, 'In South Sudan, a marriage is not understood as an arrangement between two individuals.... Rather marriage is a social institution, involving whole families, that ties together separate kinship groups. Power and wealth are often important factors guiding the choice of a prospective partner, with marriage playing a part in helping a family to increase their social status.'¹³⁰

Marriage usually entails the payment of a bride price in the form of cattle by a man and his family to the future wife's family. The giving and receiving of cattle involves a wide network of family members, with uncles, brothers, and cousins contributing to help the groom pay the dowry. The cattle are then distributed among the bride's male family members. The bride price is payable in instalments, with the marriage not considered finalised until the full bride price has been paid. Bride prices have increased, with payments of 50–200 cows now common, which constitutes a huge value and thus an important source of income for some families.¹³¹ If there are several suitors, a sort of 'bidding' may take place. The need for bride payments can put young men under pressure to accumulate wealth and is one factor contributing to cattle raiding.

Given this extended system of exchange and dependence, pressure on girls and young women to marry a suitor who is able to pay many cows and/or pressure to get married early can be very strong. The girls concerned usually have little say as the decision rests with the father.



'In Dinka culture it does not matter what you have planned, if your father does not agree you have no choice'. – 16-year-old girl who had been taken by her suitor without her consent and who was awaiting the outcome of marriage negotiations, Gogrial East County 26 November 2012. Photo: Ingrid Kircher/Oxfam

The women in the focus groups indicated that they had little say in decisions on who or when their daughters marry. As the women from Makerial pointed out, 'Although we may not like the man chosen for our daughters, we have no rights, all we can do is to prepare a meal for those people [who come and ask for the hand of the daughter]'.¹³² Regarding early marriage, a woman from Wardiot explained, 'I don't have the right to say my daughter is young, wait [before marrying her off]... That is why we have so many problems when we deliver, because often women are very young.'¹³³

The foremost goal of marriage is procreation,¹³⁴ and great pressure is placed on women to have as many children as possible. A married woman of childbearing age is expected to become pregnant once every three years, and to continue until menopause. However, pressures are not only external, as many women also want to have large families.¹³⁵

There has been much discussion about the issue of 'bride wealth'. Some stress that it constitutes a longstanding cultural practice, bringing family groups together and creating strong bonds. Others blame it for the subjugation of women, with girls being regarded as the family's main resource and wives as their husbands' property.¹³⁶ A number of key informants cautioned about putting too much focus on the bride price. As an experienced observer put it, 'The bride price has become exoticized, the context is important. Poverty is the key factor.'¹³⁷

The villagers of Wardiot described the first of three ways to get married as follows: 'negotiations, with the daughter being released when the families have agreed on a bride price and paid the cows', which was the preferred option. The other two ways, which according to interviewees and reports are very common, are elopement and cases of a man getting a girl pregnant and then agreeing to marry her. It is important to point out that the term 'elopement' is used for a variety of different circumstances, from lovers running off together to abduction or rape.¹³⁸ When a woman has been raped, she is considered 'spoiled' and unlikely to find a husband. Thus, the families of the victim and the perpetrator often enter into negotiations and the woman is forced to marry the rapist. Men sometimes rape a girl so that she is forced to marry them.¹³⁹

4.5 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

'When you get angry you beat your wife because when you got married you paid many cows for her.'

Men in Wardiot, Yiik Adoor Boma, Pathuon East Payam, Gogrial East County, 26 November 2012

Gender-based violence is widespread in South Sudan. While there is a dearth of solid data and little research about the prevalence of GBV, different reports and several interlocutors suggested that such violence was endemic.¹⁴⁰

'We are often beaten. When we make a mistake, we are beaten and there are so many mistakes – when we don't release cattle, if the milk container is dirty, when calves get lost.'

Two young women, cattle camp near Lunyaker, Gogrial East county; Warrap State 1 December, 2012

While the settings of the FGDs – under trees in the open – were not very suitable for talking about such sensitive issues as SGBV, the discussions revealed that abuse and beatings were common and that beatings were widely considered to be acceptable behaviour to 'discipline' wives. A group of men in Makerial village, Mayom Biong Boma were quite candid, saying, 'If a wife does not like your advice, you beat her.'¹⁴¹ Lack of food exacerbates domestic conflict, with the women in Amethaker stating, 'When there is hunger in the house, there are always disputes, the man gets angry, he chases you away.'¹⁴²

As discussions in the focus groups and reports indicate, many women seem to resign themselves to the fact that domestic violence is part of married life. The representatives of a women's organisation in Wau commented, 'The root causes of unequal relationships between men and women are linked to our culture and customary laws. Families promote such norms and girls are educated to fit traditional roles. So women feel weak.'¹⁴³ Also, several of the representatives of different women's groups pointed to low levels of education, especially among rural women, and lack of awareness of their rights.

Social acceptability of domestic violence, the difficulties for women in obtaining redress, and the lack of consequences for men (see below) are among the causes of violence against women. Many men feel that their wives are their property and therefore they can treat and discipline them as they wish. Another factor aggravating domestic violence is increasing alcohol abuse. In the majority of the focus groups, the women explained that drinking was a frequent problem, not only affecting men's ability to work but also rendering them more aggressive.

This section has focused on violence against women, as this was the concern raised in focus groups and individual interviews. While the vast majority of GBV is directed against women, children and men can also be affected. For instance, several of the key informants interviewed noted that beating of children was also very common. In a February 2012 protection training for Oxfam staff in Gogrial East, some young men referred to youth being forced to fight in cattle raids.¹⁴⁴

4.6 NOWHERE TO TURN: LACK OF REDRESS

'The local chiefs help sometimes. For instance, if there is hunger in the family and the husband does not want to give the wife a lactating cow or sell a cow to provide for the family, the chief may persuade or force the husband to sell. In other cases you are suffering. If you want to leave, it is very difficult. The man will say I paid so and so many cows for you. The chief will not intervene to support you.'

Women in Langdit Boma, Malou-Pec Payam, Cuiebet County, Lakes State, 25 October 2012

When asked where they turn to for help, the answers of the women indicated that they do not really seem to have options that would allow a way out of an abusive relationship. They explained that they would first turn to their husband's brother or other members of their husband's family, and, if this did not work, to the elders or the chief.

One reason for the lack of redress is related to the discrimination against women in customary law. Customary law plays an important role in South Sudanese society and is recognised in the Transitional Constitution. However, several aspects of customary law are incompatible with women's rights and perpetuate unjust gender relations.¹⁴⁵ In customary law and culture, the focus is on social cohesion and the preservation of the family rather than on the safety and well-being of the individual. Reconciliation and compensation are favoured over retribution and punishment.¹⁴⁶ Technically, if there is a contradiction between customary and statutory law, the latter should prevail, but in reality this does not usually happen and the two systems operate in parallel.¹⁴⁷

Although women have the right to appeal to a customary court if the abuse is beyond what is considered a 'reasonable' level,¹⁴⁸ they rarely do so, for several reasons. In Dinka culture there is a perception that it is shameful to raise marital problems in public. Family cohesion is emphasised, reconciliation favoured, and separation discouraged. In the case of a divorce, the cows that were transferred to the woman's family as bride wealth have to be returned to the husband. As in many cases the cattle will have been distributed amongst the woman's relatives, they will pressure her to reconcile with her husband and to stay in an abusive marriage so that they do not have to relinquish part of their wealth.¹⁴⁹ Several women interviewed said that they knew of cases of suicide after parents had returned their daughter to an abusive husband.

As a South Sudanese anthropologist who has worked extensively on gender and conflict put it,

'In both customary and statutory systems of justice there are problems with equitable access to justice for women. Women are disadvantaged. Customary courts are biased towards maintaining the status quo and social stability even if it is at the expense of women, even if women are abused. In the statutory legal system there is also a bias against women, as the individuals involved – the police, prosecutors, and judges – are

*often prejudiced against women. Thus a case might not be properly recorded and investigated.*¹⁵⁰

Customary courts are presided over by chiefs, most of them older men with conservative views on the roles and rights of women. As the aim of customary courts is to preserve marriage, divorce is rarely granted and women are almost always ordered to reconcile and return to their abusive husbands. Many women are therefore afraid to report domestic violence as they fear that their husbands will become angry and even more abusive.¹⁵¹

In the statutory system, women do not fare much better. According to Jok, 'It is not uncommon for police officers to refrain from intervention in cases of domestic abuse on the pretext that it is a man's right to discipline his wife, daughter or sister.'¹⁵² He notes that, in court, judges tend to be more hostile towards women, at times blaming them for not adhering to their expected subordinate roles and provoking the violence. These attitudes and the fact that domestic violence is considered a private matter to be resolved within the family or community are the reasons why laws that prohibit wife beating, forced marriage, and child marriages.... 'are rare and even harder to enforce when they do exist'.¹⁵³

The fact that in most cases the perpetrators of domestic violence do not face any consequences sends a message that it is acceptable behaviour and does not deter future perpetrators.¹⁵⁴

4.7 DIVORCE IS RARE

'In our culture divorce is rare. Men have many options – if you as a woman disturb the husband, he can find another solution, he can get married again.'

Women in Makerial Village, , Pathuan East Payam, Gogrial East County, Warrap State, 29 November 2012

While it is technically possible to get a divorce, it is very difficult for women. The men in Makerial explained, 'If it [the marriage] does not work out, you withdraw the cattle you paid, send her [your wife] back to her parents and take the children.'¹⁵⁵ Children are placed with their fathers, unless they are very small. The prospect of losing child custody is also a strong disincentive to consider divorce. In most cases, divorced women are left without any belongings. The men in Wardiot observed that, since women come into the family without any property, they were not entitled to any assets.¹⁵⁶ The threat of being left destitute is another strong deterrent to getting divorced.

4.8 WIDOWS ARE PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE

'We don't have any rights, as we don't own anything. Things can be taken by relatives. You get no help, only when you are young, the brother of the husband might take care of you and give you some children.'

Widows in Wardiot, Yiik Adoor Boma, Pathuan East Payam, Gogrial East County, 26 November 2012

While all women in South Sudan are vulnerable, widows are in a particularly precarious situation. According to the traditional practice of the Nilotic tribes, a woman only marries once during her life. Even if her husband dies, she is not eligible for remarriage since the marriage bond remains even after death. The widow cannot inherit any of the deceased husband's property (including anything that she has earned), as it remains within his family. Thus she is dependent on the support of her husband's family. According to customary practice, the widow would usually be taken in and cared for by one of her husband's relatives, a practice which is known as levirate marriage. However, it is not uncommon for widows to be evicted from their homes and left destitute.¹⁵⁷

The Oxfam team did not ask specifically about the number of female-headed households in each of the focus groups, but in several groups there were a relatively large number of widows and other women who said that they were on their own. According to Maxwell et al., a quarter of all households in South Sudan are female-headed.¹⁵⁸

4.9 UNEQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATION

'A girl gets no chance to study. If the man has 100 cows, you are forced to marry him.'

Woman of about 20 who resisted early marriage with the support of her mother and was able to graduate from high school, Rumbek, 2 November 2012

While literacy rates and primary school attendance in South Sudan are very low in general, girls are particularly disadvantaged. Brown describes the predicament of girls as follows: 'In an education system that offers limited opportunities for all children, they [girls] are the last in, the first out and the least likely to make it to secondary school.'¹⁵⁹ In primary school, the ratio of girls to boys is seven girls for every ten boys, while in secondary school it is even worse, five girls to ten boys.¹⁶⁰ Very few girls graduate from secondary school, a young woman interviewed in Kuajok explained, saying, 'In first and second year [of high school] there are more girls, but when it comes to 4th grade [the last grade] you hardly find any girls. There were 16 girls out of over 200 students in my class.'¹⁶¹ She told Oxfam that girls are forced to leave school to get married, explaining that this also happened to her, but she refused and was able to continue her education after she got married. In towns, there are some positive changes. For instance, a school headmistress from Rumbek commented that recently a few girls had been allowed to return to school after marriage or after having given birth.¹⁶²

For girls in rural areas it is virtually impossible to attend school beyond a basic level.

*'Mature girls are no more allowed in school. If a mature girl goes to school she may find a mature man, he may not have the means to marry her and she may get 'spoiled'. Here we look at our girls as resources. We count the years until she is mature because someone will pay many cows for her... We value our girls this way because we are not educated. If we were educated we would not have given away the girl at an early age.'*¹⁶³

Some observers felt that the reluctance to educate girls might also have to do with the fact that families question the need for further education for girls as they get married in any case or because they fear that educated women will be less likely to adapt to traditional roles. Oxfam staff noted that in order to maintain girls in school, issues such as the provision of safe and appropriate sanitation facilities need to be considered.

5 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Given Oxfam's long history in South Sudan, the organisation is in a good position to play a more active advocacy role at local and national levels. At the same time, the Rights in Crisis campaign 'African Conflicts – Safety, Livelihoods, and Gender Justice' represents an excellent opportunity not only for advocacy at national but also at regional and international levels. The aim of the RiC campaign is to enable the needs and views of conflict-affected communities to be voiced, heard, and addressed. Thus it is important that advocacy is very closely linked to Oxfam programmes, i.e. the concerns raised by the communities with whom Oxfam works.

The following is a summary of the main conclusions and recommendations to be followed up and developed further in the planned policy paper as well as in Oxfam's programming.

More consistent and active role in protection

There have been a number of assessments and analyses undertaken (i.e. on protection, gender, and peace building) in South Sudan, which include relevant recommendations, but there has been a lack of follow-up. This has put a strain on communities, as they sometimes feel that they are being asked many questions and wonder about the outcome. Also, if Oxfam engages in obtaining information about sensitive issues related to protection, care must be taken to assess the potential risks to beneficiaries. Thus it is especially important if such assessments are done that there are plans and resources for follow-up.

- As a minimum requirement, all Oxfam programmes should be 'safe programmes', i.e. they must take active steps to minimise any inadvertent negative consequences and should be conflict-sensitive.¹⁶⁴ In a resource-constrained context, with significant power and gender inequalities and a long history of inter-tribal and communal conflict, this is of the utmost importance and will require adequate resourcing and expertise.
- In some cases it is appropriate to integrate specific protection activities into programmes, including advocacy, information dissemination activities, and self-referral. Close interaction and sharing information with communities are important not only to ensure that data collection is not purely extractive but also to provide communities, and women in particular, with knowledge, skills, and information. Such activities should have a longer-term goal of promoting gender equity and could be linked to development of CSOs, the current OGB 'Within and Without the State' programme, and a greater emphasis on building resilience.
- Once protection issues and priorities have been identified, Oxfam should play a strong role regarding advocacy with governmental and non-governmental actors. At the same time, it is important that project teams are motivated and are supported in developing and engaging in local-level advocacy.

Long-term approaches to address the multiple causes of violence and involving those concerned

Breaking the cycle of violence requires a long-term approach that addresses the root causes of conflict. As a first step, in-depth analysis of the drivers of conflict and the causes of vulnerability is needed. It is important to emphasise that successful efforts to resolve conflicts are long-term processes based in communities, involving those directly concerned (such as cattle keepers, traditional authorities) and subsequently expanding to include actors at other levels. Both traditional and governmental authorities are important in reaching agreements, as are mechanisms to assure and monitor implementation. Such peace processes need to be

complemented by specific projects addressing the causes of violence and should be linked to development initiatives. Other suggestions to prevent and mitigate conflicts include strengthening the security sector and the judiciary, comprehensive disarmament, and improved communications networks.

Protecting and supporting pastoralist livelihoods

Pastoralism represents an important livelihood activity for the majority of South Sudanese. Cattle are central to the lives of the Dinka and other Nilotic tribes, not only as economic assets but also in terms of cultural identity and social status. Yet the GoSS is focused on promoting agricultural expansion at the expense of livestock production. Donors, UN agencies, and INGOs, including Oxfam, have also neglected support for pastoralists in recent years. It is important that the GoSS develop a pastoralist strategy, including measures to support pastoralist mobility and secure land tenure.¹⁶⁵

Attention should be directed to pastoralist livelihoods, at both programme and policy levels. Needs identified include research on the potential of livestock for the national economy, projects to improve market access, and the extension of veterinary services. Regarding advocacy, two regional policy instruments can be drawn upon: the African Union Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa (2010) and the COMESA Policy Framework for Food Security in Pastoralist Areas (2009).¹⁶⁶

When supporting pastoralism, it is important to be aware that women are particularly marginalised and discriminated against, as women do not own cattle and are usually excluded from decision-making processes regarding cattle. Thus it is important to engage in livelihood alternatives for women as well as to support efforts advocating for greater control over assets and improved access to essential services for women.

There have been some positive developments. Recently, some UN officials and others have begun to stress the need to support pastoralist livelihoods and to strengthen their resilience to shocks. A Pastoralist Working Group is being established in Juba, which will serve as a platform to share information and experience.

- It is recommended that Oxfam play an active part in the newly formed Pastoralist Working Group at Juba level, Drawing on its extensive expertise in supporting pastoralist livelihoods in South Sudan as well as in the Horn of Africa, Oxfam can provide substantive input.
- Advocacy points (to be developed further) include the following:
 - Pastoralism is a viable and effective livelihood well adapted to harsh climatic conditions of semi-arid lands, provided it is supported with appropriate policies and services which strengthen pastoralists' resilience.
 - The GoSS needs to develop a strategy in support of pastoralists and agro-pastoralists and, with the assistance of international agencies and NGOs, implement it.
 - This needs to include measures to manage conflicts among pastoralists, comprising *inter alia* clear land tenure policies, facilitating pastoralist mobility, and enforcing the security sector.
 - Service delivery models need to be adapted to pastoralist mobility.
- On a programme level, Oxfam should refocus attention on support for pastoralist livelihoods (as it has done in the past), both in its WASH activities and in supporting animal health.

Support for livelihood alternatives

- While dedicating more attention to pastoralists, Oxfam should continue its support for livelihood alternatives.¹⁶⁷ Many focus groups both in the villages and in cattle camps stressed the need for support for farming and access to micro-credit to run small businesses. Such measures are also important regarding support for women, as they have more control over agricultural production, and given the potential for the expansion of small-scale agriculture.
- More attention needs to be paid to community participation to promote community ownership and thus ensure sustainability.

Basic infrastructure and service delivery

- Oxfam should continue to undertake programmes in remote rural areas, as these areas have been neglected and there are very few other international actors present. As access to water, both for humans and animals, was identified by the FGDs as a key concern, Oxfam's contribution of constructing new boreholes and rehabilitating existing ones continues to be important. As Oxfam staff suggested, the organisation should also consider rationalisation of water access in rural areas in collaboration with the relevant Rural Water Department.
- Oxfam should advocate for the need to prioritise infrastructure and basic services in rural communities.

Governance and accountability

- Continued engagement with and support for the GoSS is needed to deal with the causes of conflict, enhance governance, improve basic service delivery, and address gender inequality. Oxfam should raise issues related to weak governance and a lack of accountability with relevant government officials. Based on the information obtained and the findings of this research report, specific recommendations for the GoSS could then be prepared.
- National and local CSOs play a crucial role monitoring, advocating, and holding their government to account. It is very encouraging that in recent years more CSOs have emerged in South Sudan. Oxfam's support for and capacity building of CSOs at both Juba and community levels are important, and moves to expand this programme are welcomed and should be implemented. Particular attention needs to be paid to identify those CSOs most active at community level and to support them in developing their capacities.
- Increasingly draw upon the knowledge and experience of its partner CSOs and seek their input on appropriate messages and strategies concerning the communities it works with. This is particularly important when developing appropriate strategies and language on how to address sensitive issues, for instance related to women's equality.
- More generally, Oxfam should engage more actively with communities themselves and build their capacity to advocate.

Gender injustice

Gender inequality is linked to deep-seated cultural practices and change will be gradual and will take a long time, especially in rural areas. As the context is very complex, Oxfam and other organisations need to consider a multiple approach using programmes and advocacy to contribute to a change in attitudes regarding the role of women in the household and in society, as well as improved access to essential services, control over assets, and support for steps to reduce GBV.

It is very positive that a number of women's associations have been established to advocate for women's rights and it is recommended that Oxfam, as part of its civil society programme in South Sudan and more generally, in line with the aims of the RiC campaign, should work more closely with some of these organisations.

Specifically:

- Gender considerations and appropriate resources should be mainstreamed throughout all programming to ensure that women benefit from Oxfam's interventions and to mitigate risk.
- Oxfam should expand its support of and collaboration with women's organisations advocating for women's rights in South Sudan, as change will come from within and women and girls need to be empowered to advocate for their rights.
- Oxfam should develop links with women's organisations working in rural areas (as inequalities are particularly stark in those areas) or, if there are no women's organisations, support women's agricultural co-operatives.
- While income-generating activities for women such as those undertaken by Oxfam can have an impact in increasing access to and control over resources, Oxfam needs to pay more attention to explaining such activities and involving men as well.
- It is important to approach local chiefs and government officials regarding women's rights; attention needs to be paid to using culturally sensitive arguments.

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ANNEX

Methodology

This report is based on a review of relevant literature, field research conducted at Oxfam project sites, and interviews with key informants. The literature review turned out to be quite extensive, including materials related to conflict, livelihoods, and gender as well as to the broader context of Sudan and South Sudan. Two months, from mid-October to mid-December 2012, were spent in South Sudan undertaking field research in Oxfam (Oxfam GB and Intermón Oxfam) project areas in Lakes and Warrap states. Prior to the discussions in the communities, Initial meetings were held with county authorities and village chiefs, informing them of the research and obtaining their views.

Twenty-two focus group discussions (FGDs) – where possible separate ones with women and with men – were held in villages in Lakes State and Warrap State. Where possible, people in cattle camps were also interviewed, given the importance of cattle in Dinka life (see section 3 on livelihoods). Attendance fluctuated from four participants to 25, with an average group size of 10–12. As the meetings took place in the open air under trees in villages or in the cattle sites, possibilities to control the numbers were limited. Seventy individual interviews were held with villagers directly affected by conflict, representatives of international and national NGOs, CBOs, UN and international agencies, government officials, anthropologists, academics, and Oxfam staff. The FGDs and semi-structured interviews focused on the following broad topics: security concerns, livelihoods, access to basic social services, and gender inequality. At the beginning of the discussion, the participants were asked about their major concerns, which gave an indication of how they ranked the different issues.

Table 1: Focus group discussions and interviews				
	County	Payam¹⁶⁸	Location	Focus groups 22
Lakes State	Cuiebet	<i>Malou-Pec</i>	Bhar Gel Boma	2 (1 women, 1 men) 1 women, cattle camp
			Langdit Boma	2 (1 women, 1 men) 1 (men, cattle camp)
	Rumbek North	<i>Malueth</i>	Kaak, Boma	2 (1 women, 1 man) 1 (men, cattle camp)
		<i>Mayen</i>	Amok, Boma	2 in cattle camp (1 men, 1 women)
Warrap State	Gogrial East	<i>Toch East</i>	Amethaker, Thuramon Boma	2 (1 women, 1 men)
			Sub-village of Amethaker, Thuramon	2 (1 women, 1 mixed)
			Majok Amar, Thuramon Boma	2 (1 women, 1 men)
	<i>Pathuon East</i>	Wardiot, Yiik Adoor Boma	2 (1 women, 1 men)	
		Makerial, Mayon-Piong Boma	2 (1 women, 1 men)	
<i>Pathuon West</i>	Lunyaker	1 (men, cattle camp)		
Individual interviews				70
Juba, Nairobi, and by telephone				30
Rumbek Centre, Lakes State				21
Kuajok and Lunyaker, Warrap State				19

Oxfam field research sites in Lakes and Warrap states

Oxfam has a long history in South Sudan, having worked there since 1983. It initially implemented emergency water and health programmes for refugees in Western Equatoria and later on expanded to include livelihood and education programmes in Greater Bahr El Ghazal.

In Warrap, Oxfam (IO) is currently conducting a number of food security and livelihood (FSLH) and WASH projects in Gogrial East and Gogrial West counties, focusing on the provision of agricultural inputs (seeds and tools), cash transfer and cash for work, training in agricultural production, introduction of vegetable gardening, restocking of livestock, construction and rehabilitation of boreholes, sanitation, and public hygiene promotion.

In Lakes State, Oxfam (OGB) is currently conducting an FSLH project in Rumbek North County focused on improving livestock production and access to animal health care; access to agricultural production, inputs, and extension services; support for alternative income sources; and capacity building. WASH activities include drilling and rehabilitation of boreholes, establishment of committees to manage the boreholes, building of latrines in primary schools, and public health and hygiene promotion. A similar project was carried out in Cueibet county in 2009–12. Cross-cutting activities regarding protection, gender awareness, and advocacy are part of the projects.

Constraints

Given the broad scope of the research – security, livelihoods, and gender justice – and the limited time available, it was not possible to undertake an in-depth study of all these areas. Also, while in some areas, especially security and conflict, there was much literature, in others – livelihoods and gender justice – there was less. In general, it was found that most of the reports focused on broader analysis and very little information was available from rural areas. Thus the research focused on communities in remote areas, to give voice to people who, although the most affected, are not listened to sufficiently. While individuals in the Oxfam teams were very helpful in providing information and support, the author had hoped for more input from the programme areas (livelihoods and WASH).



Focus group in Gogrial East County, Warrap State (November 2012). Photo: Ingrid Kircher/Oxfam

NOTES

- ¹ Small Arms Survey (SAS) Human Security Baseline Assessment (HSBA) (2012) 'Women's Security in South Sudan: Threats in the Home', Geneva, p.5 (hereafter cited as SAS HSBA (2012) 'Threats in the Home'), p. 1
- ² See International Crisis Group (ICG) (2011) 'Politics and Transition in the New South Sudan', *Africa Report* 172, p.i.
- ³ M. Schomerus et al. (2010) 'Southern Sudan at Odds with Itself. Dynamics of conflict and predicaments of peace', London: Development Studies Institute and London School of Economics and Political Science, pp.87-88.
- ⁴ C. McEvoy and E. LeBrun (2010) 'Uncertain Future: Armed Violence in Southern Sudan', Geneva: SAS HSBA, p.17.
- ⁵ During the civil wars, which lasted from 1955 to 1972 and from 1983 to 2005, it is estimated that two million people died and four million were displaced.
- ⁶ J.M. Jok (2011) 'Diversity, Unity, and Nation Building in South Sudan', Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, p.12.
- ⁷ W. Lacher (2012) 'South Sudan: International State-Building and its Limits', Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft and Politik/German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), p.22. It is reported that around \$4bn has been misappropriated by senior GoSS officials; see M. Deng (2012) 'Lawlessness and Its Rule of Law Implications in South Sudan', *The Sudd Institute Weekly Review*, 24 December 2012, p.4.
- ⁸ The budget was cut from South Sudanese Pounds (SSP) 8bn in 2011/12 to SSP 6.6bn for 2012/13. See United Nations Security Council (2012) 'UN Secretary-General's Report on South Sudan', S/2012/820, November 2012, New York; OCHA (2013) '2013 Consolidated Appeal for South Sudan', p.11.
- ⁹ OCHA (2013) '2013 Consolidated Appeal for South Sudan', p.3.
- ¹⁰ D. Deng (2011) 'The New Frontier: A Baseline Survey of Large-Scale Land-based Investment in Southern Sudan', Oslo: Norwegian People's Aid (NPA), p.36; W. Lacher (2012) p.30.
- ¹¹ M. Schomerus et al. (2010); R. Reeve (2012) 'Peace and Conflict Assessment of South Sudan', London: International Alert, p.13.
- ¹² R. Reeve (2012) p.13.
- ¹³ For a discussion of the importance of cattle for the Dinka, see section 3 on livelihoods.
- ¹⁴ O. Egemi (2006) 'Land and peace processes in Sudan', in M. Simmons and P. Dixon (eds.) *Peace by Piece: Addressing Sudan's conflicts*, Accord Issue 18, London: Conciliation Resources, p.55.
- ¹⁵ For instance, between Jurbel agriculturalists and Dinka agro-pastoralists in Wullu county in Lakes State. See World Food Programme (2012) 'South Sudan – Annual Needs and Livelihoods Analysis 2011–2012', WFP, p.31 (hereafter cited as WFP ANLA (2012)).
- ¹⁶ This was the case, for instance, in Warrap State, when the establishment of Gogrial East, Gogrial West, and Twic counties led to serious clashes between two Dinka clans (the Apuk and Akuak) in 2008. Interview with INGO representative, Lunyaker, 1 December 2012; J. Bennett, S. Pantuliano, et al. (2010) 'Aiding the Peace: A Multi-Donor Evaluation of Support to Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities in Southern Sudan 2005–2010', London, UK: ITAD, p.39.
- ¹⁷ SAS HSBA (2012) 'Women and Armed Violence in South Sudan', Geneva, p.1; see also M. Schomerus et al. (2010) p.38; R. Reeve (2012) p.5; and J. M. Jok (2011) p.6.
- ¹⁸ Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) noted that women and children made up a large proportion of the victims it treated during the inter-communal clashes in Jonglei State in 2009 and in 2011–12. See MSF (2012) 'South Sudan's Hidden Crisis: Jonglei, A State of Emergency', Brussels, p.1.
- ¹⁹ R. Reeve (2012) p.20.
- ²⁰ Focus group discussions (FGDs) and individual interviews near the village of Amethaker, Thuramon Boma, Toch East Payam, Gogrial East County, Warrap State, 27 and 30 November 2012.
- ²¹ M. Schomerus (2010) pp.9–10; Government of South Sudan: 'South Sudan Development Plan 2011–2013, Realising freedom, equality, justice, peace and prosperity for all', Juba, p.xiii, (hereafter cited as GoSS South Sudan Development Plan); G. Sørnbø (2010) 'Local violence and International Intervention in Sudan', *Review of African Political Economy* 37, p.176; O. Egemi (2006). The issue of large-scale land acquisition is dealt with in section 3 on livelihoods.
- ²² C. McEvoy and E. LeBrun (2010) pp.14–17; M. Schomerus (2010) p.56; G. Sørnbø (2010) p.175; S. Hutchinson and J. Madut (1999) 'Sudan's Prolonged Second Civil War and the Militarization of Nuer and Dinka Ethnic Identities', *African Studies Review* 42; GoSS South Sudan Development Plan, p.7.
- ²³ Interview, Juba, 17 December 2012.
- ²⁴ R. Reeve (2012) p.20; M. Schomerus (2010) p.57; M. Deng (2012).
- ²⁵ S. Hutchinson and Jok M. J. (1999) p.133.
- ²⁶ R. Reeve (2012) p.7; Human Rights Watch (HRW) (2009) 'There Is No Protection: Insecurity and Human Rights In Southern Sudan', New York, pp.2–3.
- ²⁷ Interview with government official, Kuajok, Warrap State, 7 December 2012.
- ²⁸ FGD, Thuramon Boma, Toch East Payam, Gogrial East County, Warrap State, 30 November 2012.
- ²⁹ Regarding the security sector, see also HRW (2009) p.21–2.
- ³⁰ SAS HSBA (2012) 'Women and Armed Violence', p.21; HRW (2009) pp.25–6; M. Ottaway and M. El-Sadany (2012) 'Sudan: From Conflict to Conflict', Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, p.18; Ø. Rolandsen

- (2009) 'Land, Security and Peacebuilding in the Southern Sudan', Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, pp.10–11.
- ³¹ Interview, Rumbek, 2 November 2012.
- ³² HRW (2012) 'Prison Is Not for Me: Arbitrary Detention in South Sudan', New York, p.26; M. Schomerus et al. (2010) p.60; C. Leonardi et al. (2010) 'Local Justice in Southern Sudan', *Peaceworks* 66, Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace (USIP).
- ³³ See, for instance, M. Schomerus et al. (2010) pp.55–6; Jok M. J. (2011) p.6.
- ³⁴ Anthropologists prefer the term 'bride wealth' to 'bride price', as they feel that this is a more appropriate translation of the Dinka term *yok ruai* (which actually means 'cows of relationship'). See S. Harragin (2004) 'Relief and an understanding of local knowledge: the case of Southern Sudan', in V. Rao and M. Walton (eds) *Culture and Public Action*, California: Stanford University Press.
- ³⁵ Telephone Interview with an anthropologist working in Dinka areas, 22 December 2012.
- ³⁶ According to the GoSS South Sudan Development Plan 2011–2013, p.7, 'performing a single traditional marriage would cost families in some cattle-owning communities an average of 100 heads of cattle'.
- ³⁷ Saferworld (2012) p.7; R. Willems and H. Rouw (2011) 'Security Promotion Seen from Below: Experiences from South Sudan', Schokland: Peace Security and Development network, pp.17–18.
- ³⁸ Telephone interview, 22 December 2012.
- ³⁹ FGD, Langdit Boma, Malou-Pec Payam, Cuiebet County, Lakes State, 25 October 2012.
- ⁴⁰ See, *inter alia*, Ø. Rolandsen (2009) p.13; G. Sørbo (2010) p.182; M. Schomerus et al. (2010) pp.75ff.
- ⁴¹ Interview, Lunyaker, Warrap State, 1 December 2012.
- ⁴² Interview, Juba, 14 December 2012. See also video 'Wonduruba Dreams Fulfill[ed]', produced by GADET and RECONCILE, obtained from GADET
- ⁴³ G. Sørbo (2010) p.183.
- ⁴⁴ GoSS South Sudan Development Plan, p.106.
- ⁴⁵ D. Maxwell et al. (2012) 'Livelihoods, Basic Services and Social Protection in South Sudan', London: Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium (SLRC), ODI, and Feinstein International Center, p.20.
- ⁴⁶ W. Lacher (2012) p.7.
- ⁴⁷ The baseline indicators listed in Box 2 are for South Sudan in general. While there are substantial differences between the states and especially between rural and urban areas, indicators for the areas where the research was undertaken are even lower.
- ⁴⁸ GoSS South Sudan Development Plan, p.18.
- ⁴⁹ OCHA (2010) 'Scary Statistics, Southern Sudan', November 2010; MSF (2012) Report.
- ⁵⁰ OCHA (2013) '2013 Consolidated Appeal for South Sudan', p.12; OCHA (2010) 'Scary Statistics, Southern Sudan'; K. Watkins (2012) 'Basic Services in South Sudan: An uncertain future' in 'South Sudan, One Year After Independence: Opportunities and Obstacles for Africa's Newest Country', Washington, DC: Brookings Africa Growth Initiative, p.3.
- ⁵¹ SAS HSBA (2012) 'Threats in the Home'. p. 5.
- ⁵² OCHA (2013) '2013 Consolidated Appeal for South Sudan', p.55.
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ FGD, Kaak, Malueth Payam, Rumbek North County, Lakes State, 29 October 2012.
- ⁵⁵ Interview, Juba, 9 November 2012.
- ⁵⁶ D. Maxwell, et al. (2012) p.vi, p.34.
- ⁵⁷ S. Allison (2012) 'South Sudan: A Country Failing To Thrive After The Euphoria of Independence', Daily Maverick, The Guardian Africa Network, 26 November 2012.
- ⁵⁸ Oil revenue amounted to approximately \$10bn from 2005 to January 2012. See C. Doki (2012) 'South Sudan: No Basic Services for Oil Country', Inter Press Service (IPS) News Agency, 12 December 2012.
- ⁵⁹ WFP ANLA (2012) pp.17–18. In addition, there are an estimated 12.4 million goats and 12.1 million sheep (ibid).
- ⁶⁰ Ibid.
- ⁶¹ Interview with senior pastoralist advisor of a UN agency, Juba, 20 November 2012.
- ⁶² WFP ANLA (2012) p.18.
- ⁶³ J. Coote (1992) 'Marvels of Everyday Vision: The Anthropology of Aesthetics and the Cattle-Keeping Nilotes' in J. Coote and A. Shelton (eds) *Anthropology, Art, and Aesthetics*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p.24. For the Nuer, see *inter alia* S. Hutchinson (1992) 'The Cattle of Money and the Cattle of Girls among the Nuer, 1930–83', *American Ethnologist* 19.
- ⁶⁴ Regarding meat, in Dinka culture, cattle are slaughtered mainly on special occasions and, while milk is an important food source, especially for children, meat consumption is relatively low.

- ⁶⁵ D. Fahey (2007) 'The Political Economy of Livestock And Pastoralism In Sudan', FAO, IGAD LPI Working Paper 06–08, p.36.
- ⁶⁶ Interview, Rumbek, 1 November 2012.
- ⁶⁷ D. Johnson (1989) 'Political Ecology in the Upper Nile: The Twentieth Century Expansion of the Pastoral "Common Economy"', *The Journal of African History* 30, p.463. While there is little concrete data regarding the impact of climate change, in its report 'Crossing The Line: Transhumance in Transition Along The Sudan–South Sudan Border' (October 2012), Concordis International refers to a perception 'that the dry season has extended in recent decades and that the availability of water is becoming increasingly problematic,' p.9. All the counties in which the field study was undertaken are in the western flood plains. See Southern Sudan Centre for Census, Statistics and Evaluation (SSCCSE), 'Southern Sudan Livelihood Profiles, a Guide For Humanitarian And Development Planning', Nairobi: SSCCSE, Save the Children UK, p.28, for a description of the different livelihood zones in South Sudan.
- ⁶⁸ D. Johnson (1989) p.465.
- ⁶⁹ FGD, Bhar-Gel Boma, Malou-Pech Payam, Cuiebet County, Lakes State, 24 October 2012.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid; FGD, cattle camp near Amok, Meyen Payam, Rumbek North County, Lakes State, 31 October 2012.
- ⁷¹ D. Fahey (2007) pp.2–3.
- ⁷² Concordis International (2012) p.8.
- ⁷³ Ibid.
- ⁷⁴ Interview, Juba, 11 November 2012.
- ⁷⁵ WFP ANLA (2012) lists calf mortality rates at about 40–50 per cent and adult livestock mortality at 10–15 per cent, p.18.
- ⁷⁶ A representative of an NGO working on livestock issues explained that the Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries was responsible for drug supplies, with the State Ministries reporting needs and accounting for past use, but that there were many problems with procurement and timely distribution. Interview, Lunyaker, 1 December 2012.
- ⁷⁷ Interview with UN official, Juba, 17 October 2012. OLS was an agreement between the Government of Sudan, the SPLA, the UN, and aid agencies to allow aid into Southern Sudan.
- ⁷⁸ Milk and livestock provide half of the nutritional intake of children in pastoralist societies. See Z. McCormack (2010) 'Between the Town and the Cattle Camp, Community Animal Health Workers in Southern Sudan', MSc thesis in African Studies, 3 June 2010, University of Durham, UK, p.42.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid., p.43.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid., p.37.
- ⁸¹ WFP ANLA (2012) p.14.
- ⁸² Ibid.; P. Sinibaldi (2012) 'Intermón Oxfam Programmes in Gogrial East County, South Sudan: Learning paper', June 2012, Intermón Oxfam, p.12.
- ⁸³ World Bank (2011) 'A Poverty Profile for the Southern States of Sudan March 2011', The World Bank Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit, Africa Region, p.5.
- ⁸⁴ WFP ANLA (2012) p.19.
- ⁸⁵ GoSS South Sudan Development Plan, p.13; D. Maxwell et al. (2012) p.2.
- ⁸⁶ OCHA (2013) '2013 Consolidated Appeal for South Sudan', p.5.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., p.3.
- ⁸⁸ FGD in Amethaker, Thuramon Boma, Toch East Payam, Gogrial East County, Warrap State, 27 November 2012.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid., 31 November 2012.
- ⁹⁰ WFP ANLA (2012) p.11.
- ⁹¹ Ibid., p.12.
- ⁹² GoSS South Sudan Development Plan, pp.7-8; WFP ANLA (2012) p.12; D. Maxwell et al. (2012) p.8; A.A. Awolich (2012) 'Food Security: A Matter Deserving National Discourse', *The Sudd Institute Weekly Review*, 4 December 2012, pp.3–4.
- ⁹³ FGDs in Bhar Gel and Langit Bomas, Malou-Pec Boma, Cuiebet County, 24 and 25 October 2012.
- ⁹⁴ Interview, Thuramon Boma, Toch East Payam, Gogrial East County, Warrap State, 30 November 2012.
- ⁹⁵ D. Maxwell et al. (2012) p.7.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid., p.18.
- ⁹⁷ D. Maxwell et al. (2012) p.10; G. Sørbo (2010) p.176; S.B. Forojalla and K.C. Galla (2010) 'Land Tenure Issues in Southern Sudan: Key Findings and Recommendations for Southern Sudan Land Policy', Washington, DC: USAID and Tetra Tech ARD. For an analysis of the causes of conflict in Sudan, see D. Johnson (2003, revised 2011) *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*, Kampala: The International African Institute.
- ⁹⁸ D. Deng (2011) p.10.
- ⁹⁹ GoSS South Sudan Development Plan, pp.47-48
- ¹⁰⁰ Interview, Juba, 12 December 2012.
- ¹⁰¹ D. Maxwell et al. (2012) p.11.
- ¹⁰² Interview with director of national CSO, 14 December 2012.

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- ¹⁰⁴ D. Deng (2011) p.7.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p.30.
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- ¹⁰⁷ S. Pantuliano (2007) p.7; D. Maxwell et al. (2012) p.10; D. Fahey (2007) p.31.
- ¹⁰⁸ SAS HSBA (2012) 'Women's Security and the Law in South Sudan', Geneva, p.6 (hereafter cited as SAS HSBA (2012) 'Women's Security and the Law').
- ¹⁰⁹ D. Maxwell et al. (2012) p.12
- ¹¹⁰ Interview, Juba, 12 December 2012.
- ¹¹¹ J. Bennett, S. Pantuliano et al. (2010) p.xvi.
- ¹¹² *South Sudan Medical Journal* (2011) 'A snapshot of Southern Sudan around 2009 – how much have things changed?', Volume 4, No 2, May 2011, p. 39.
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- ¹¹⁴ Ibid., p.20.
- ¹¹⁵ SAS HSBA (2012) 'Women's Security and the Law', pp.5-6; Stern, pp.19-20.
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- ¹¹⁸ Interview, Juba, 7 December 2012.
- ¹¹⁹ FGD, Makerial, Mayon-Piong Boma, Pathuan East Payam, Gogrial East County, Warrap, 29 November 2012.
- ¹²⁰ FGD, Langdit Boma, Malou-Pec Payam, Cuiebet County, Lakes State, 25 October 2012.
- ¹²¹ Interview, Wardiot, Yiik Adoor Boma, Pathuon East Payam, Gogrial East County, Warrap State, 26 November 2012.
- ¹²² Interview, cattle camp near Lunyaker, Gogrial East County, 1 December 2012.
- ¹²³ Older woman in FG, Bhar-Gel Boma, Malou-Pech Payam, 24 October 2012.
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- ¹²⁵ FGD, Kak Boma, Maluet Payam, Rumbek North, 30 October 2012.
- ¹²⁶ Women in Malueth Payam, Rumbek North, Lakes State, 30 October 2012.
- ¹²⁷ Three young woman near Amok, Mayen Payam, Rumbek North, Lakes State, 25 October 2012.
- ¹²⁸ GoSS South Sudan Development Plan, p.8.
- ¹²⁹ FGD in Bhar-Gel Boma, Malou-Pech Payam, 24 October 2012.
- ¹³⁰ O. Stern (2011) p.3; see also M. Sommers and S. Schwartz (2011) 'Dowry and Division, Youth and State Building in South Sudan', Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace (USIP) Special Report 254. For a more detailed discussion of marriage, see F. Deng (2010) *Customary Law in the Modern World: The Crossfire of Sudan's War of Identities*, United Kingdom: Routledge, p.58-102.
- ¹³¹ Prices for cattle vary a great deal from state to state. As an example, prices at the market in Lunyaker, Warrap State in February 2013 ranged from €120 to €500 or more depending on the type and age of the animals.
- ¹³² FGD, Makerial Village, Mayon-Piong Boma, Pathuan East Payam, 29 November 2012.
- ¹³³ FGD, Wardiot, Yiik Adoor Boma, Pathuon East Payam, Gogrial East County, Warrap State, 26 November 2012.
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- ¹³⁵ SAS HSBA (2012) 'Threats in the Home', p.2.
- ¹³⁶ J. M. Jok (2012) 'Negotiating security: gender, violence, and the rule of law in post-war South Sudan', in H. Stein and A. Fadalla (eds) *Gendered Insecurities, Health and Development in Africa*, New York: Routledge, p.162.
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- ¹³⁹ O. Stern. (2011) p.15; A. D'Awol. (2011) 'Sibu ana, sibu ana ("leave me, leave me"): survivors of sexual violence in South Sudan', in F. Bubenzer and O. Stern. (eds) *Pain & Patience: The Lives of Women In South Sudan*, Auckland Park, South Africa: Jacana Media, p.62.
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- ¹⁴² FGD, Amethaker Village, Thuramon Boma, Toch East Payam, 27 November 2012.
- ¹⁴³ Interview, Wau, 5 December 2012.

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- ¹⁴⁵ A. Aldehaib (2010) 'Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement Viewed Through the Eyes of the Women of South Sudan', Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, Wynberg, South Africa, p.6.
- ¹⁴⁶ C. Leonardi et al. (2010) p.28.
- ¹⁴⁷ A. D'Awol (2011) p.71.
- ¹⁴⁸ SAS HSBA (2012) 'Women's Security and Law', p.4; O. Stern (2011) p.17.
- ¹⁴⁹ O. Stern (2011) p.18.
- ¹⁵⁰ Interview, Juba, 17 December 2012.
- ¹⁵¹ Stern (2011), p. 17, SAS HSBA (2012) 'Women's Security and Law,' p.3.
- ¹⁵² J. M. Jok. (2012) pp.161-162.
- ¹⁵³ Ibid., p.161.
- ¹⁵⁴ A. Aldehaib (2010) p.2.
- ¹⁵⁵ Male FGD, Makerial, 29 November 2012.
- ¹⁵⁶ FGD, Wardiot, Yiik Adoor Boma, Pathuon East Payam, Gogrial East County, 26 November 2012.
- ¹⁵⁷ SAS HSBA (2012) 'Threats in the Home', pp.6-8; O. Stern (2011) p.21.
- ¹⁵⁸ D. Maxwell et al. (2012) p.2.
- ¹⁵⁹ G. Brown (2012) 'Education in South Sudan: investing in a better future', London.
- ¹⁶⁰ UNESCO (2012) 'Building A Better Future: Education for Independent South Sudan', Policy Paper 2011, Paris: UNESCO, p.7.
- ¹⁶¹ Interview, 5 December 2012.
- ¹⁶² Interview, Rumbek, 1 November 2012.
- ¹⁶³ Women from Cac Boma, Malueth Payam, Rumbek North, 29 October 2012.
- ¹⁶⁴ On Protection, see Oxfam, 'Oxfam and Protection: A Guidance Note', April 2012.
- ¹⁶⁵ Regarding land tenure, see also the Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security, developed by FAO and partners and endorsed in May 2012 at the Committee on World Food Security (CFS).
- ¹⁶⁶ The AU Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa (2010) recognises the role of pastoralism in national economic development and the need for policies to protect and improve the livelihoods and rights of pastoralists. It also promotes risk-based drought management. The COMESA Policy Framework for Food Security in Pastoralist Areas (2009) *inter alia* emphasises the key role of pastoralist mobility, including cross-border mobility, and advocates for appropriate policies enabling mobility as well as regional harmonisation of policies and legislation. Both frameworks contain a number of specific policy and programming recommendations.
- ¹⁶⁷ In this context, Oxfam can draw on lessons learned from the Horn of Africa.
- ¹⁶⁸ There are four sub-levels of administrative and traditional structures below the county: payam, boma, village and sub village. Payam and boma are administrative, whereas village and sub-village are traditional structures, led by traditional chiefs. See P. Leguene, (2011). *Food Security and Livelihoods Assessment Report. Gogrial East County*, Intermón Oxfam, p. 11

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