

Hunger for Cattle is Killing

Case study of conflicts along migration routes in Jonglei state,
South Sudan



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Cover picture: June 2011, Kuerluot boma, Uror county, Jonglei state

For the title I have been inspired by the answer of a respondent to the question if there is a solution to cattle raiding: 'There is no solution, people are hungry for cattle' (D-14).

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South Sudan

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Summary

The Lutheran World Federation is active in Duk and Twic East county in Jonglei state, South Sudan and was planning to extend their projects to another county, Uror. Before doing so a baseline survey had to provide more information about the conflicts that are taking place in Jonglei state. As the people inhabiting Jonglei state are pastoralists, their lives are built around the cattle. In the dry season the people from Uror, the Nuer, migrate to the Nile in Dinkaland where there is enough water and pasture for their cattle. Conflicts involving cattle, cattle raiding, is an integral part of their society but seems to take place a lot more when this seasonal migration takes place.

For centuries cattle raiding is used to restock the herds, all within certain cultural rules and codes designed by elders and chiefs. However, the conflicts seem to increase and change in nature, more deaths, more intense, more cattle taken at once, use of automatic weapons etc. It has been argued by LWF that resource scarcity might play a role in the conflicts along the migration routes and LWF expects water provision to prevent the Nuer from migrating through Dinkaland and thereby decreasing the conflict between the Dinka and Nuer.

This thesis intends to look beyond the resource scarcity theory as an explanation, but instead tries to construct the political ecology of the conflicts along the migration routes. This research has been based on the following research question: **'How can cattle raiding (along the migration routes) in Twic East, Duk and Uror county be explained with reference to ecological, political, economic and social factors and to what extent does the availability of water play a role in a possible solution?'**

This research showed that resource scarcity does not play a role in the conflicts along the migration routes as there is enough water and pasture available for all cattle to be satisfied. The lack of water and pasture does force people from Uror to migrate to Duk, so indirectly climate conditions do play a role, but not the scarcity of water and pastures as such. Also population pressure or climate change do not seem to be features in the occurrence of cattle raiding.

In the beginning it has been assumed that the Dinka and the Nuer are the main actors in the conflicts. However, during the field work it turned out that there are in fact two conflicts affecting Jonglei state: between the Dinka and Nuer (which is related to the migration routes) and the one between the Murle and the rest of Jonglei state. The Murle are a tribe from Pibor county and known for their fearless raiding. In addition to cattle they do abduct children.

The tensions between the Dinka and the Nuer have mainly been influenced by the Bor massacre that took place in 1991 when many Nuer killed over 2000 Dinka at Bor. This event changed the relation between the Dinka and Nuer in a seemingly irreparable way. The continuing clashes between the Dinka and Nuer during the seasonal migration are a result of this massacre. The conflicts between the Murle and the rest of Jonglei state does not have such a clear beginning or reason. The North-South conflict played a role as the Murle received support from the GOS and did not join the SPLA at this time which does not make them very popular. Respondents argued that it is greed that makes the Murle raid as the Murle do not have to migrate in search for water and pasture for their cattle.

The North-South conflict did not only cause a divide between the Murle and the rest of Jonglei, it also caused the proliferation of automatic weapons which contributed to the intensification of cattle raiding. The availability of weapons does not only make the practice of cattle raiding more lethal, it also diminishes the respect for the elders and chiefs. As a result the traditional peace making deals are not capable of solving the cattle raiding conflicts; the scope is too big and the conflicts end up in cycles of revenge. In addition to that, the North-South conflict caused poverty and destitution which made people resort to raiding. The disarmament policies do not bring the relief they should as not all counties are being disarmed at the same time which renders some counties more vulnerable towards

attacks from others. These disarmament policies are expected to be influenced at the political level in Juba and Bor. Cattle raiding is not an apolitical act as respondents argued that politics do play a role as well. Some people feel the struggles for leadership in Juba and Bor are trickling down to the rural areas and hereby influencing the local situation.

Cattle are very important in the pastoralist societies in Jonglei state, and the most important role of the cattle is to serve as the bride price. The bride price has to be paid by the family of the man to the family of the woman and hereby validating the marriage. One's status in the community is determined by the amount of cattle and therefore indirectly also by the number of wives one has. Marriage and producing children are a central part in Dinka and Nuer society as becomes clear from the rules and regulations concerning marriage and producing.

Bride prices are increasing for several reasons and the herds are diminishing as a result of the cattle raiding, which puts pressure on the need for cattle as people continue to get married. Somehow there is a link between the need for cattle in order to meet the bride price and the occurrence of cattle raiding, however very few respondents confirmed this link. Of course the cultural practice of bride price as such is not causing the conflicts, but it creates a need for cattle. And this need combined with the availability of automatic weapons, unequal disarmament policies and the diminishing respect for the elders seems to make the practice of bride price rather dangerous.

Many solutions have been mentioned of which equal disarmament has been the one mentioned the most. Interestingly the respondents only expect the government to solve the problems of cattle raiding; they do not seem to see a role for themselves. Apart from disarmament, peaceful dialogues and the provision of water have been mentioned. Water provision would decrease the seasonal migration and hereby decreasing the clashes between the Dinka and Nuer. In addition, when people can stay at their communities, they will be able to defend themselves against the Murle. However, not all respondents think the provision of water is promising. Jonglei state should also be developed and alternatives should be provided in terms of education and jobs, especially for the youth as they are prone to fighting.

It is worth mentioning that as a result of the report of the base-line survey for LWF, activities have been started in Uror county. Peace committees are being formed and trained and LWF looks into the possibilities of providing water in Uror county. In addition, possibilities for education are investigated further.



Acknowledgements

First of all I am very grateful to the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) in South Sudan for having me on board for a couple of months and especially to Arie den Toom for entrusting me with an assignment for a base line study. This enabled me to gather the data necessary for my thesis. The support of Mary Obara from the head office in Juba has been very valuable.

Special thanks to Mokili Elias Justin who accompanied me during the research. We have been in quite funny and also quite stressful situations and without having him, his humour and his capability to put things into perspective, it would have been rather unbearable, nor would we have had a proper security plan in Uror county. Matthew Masai and Julius Kibet felt very responsible and took good care of me while being in the field. For most of the transport I was entrusted to the skills of Mark Kok and Thuc Ayiik. They made sure the long trips were never boring as they shared their stories and ideas. Unfortunately I just missed Koks wedding, which was extra unfortunate as marriage turned out to play a special role in this thesis. Manyok Ajangdit and Mary Abuk Dau have been, apart from assisting preparing the fieldtrips, a great source of information. Our stay and introduction to the communities in Uror county have been made possible by the enthusiastic Bill Gai Goal. Pastor Moses of the Presbyterian Church in Yuai has been so kind to provide us with a place to stay. I also acknowledge the efforts of everyone who assisted me in translation and their patience with my numerous questions. Everyone I worked with shaped and challenged me with their interesting insights. Many thanks for that.

The support of my family and friends was what kept me in Sudan during the first period when things got tough, and helped me through the rest of my stay.

I would like to thank Peter Tamas who assisted me in the first phase of my research and Gemma ter Haar who took over and did a wonderful job reviewing my work and stirring me in the right direction. For the female aspects of this thesis, I thank Margreet Zwarteveen for advising me.

Obviously this research would have never been possible without the cooperation of the respondents in Twic East, Duk and Uror county in Jonglei state. Many thanks to all the people who were so kind to share their ideas and let me have a look into their lives. During the field work my respect for these people grew each day and (despite all the differences and misunderstandings) they impressed me with their strength and resilience.

Finally I am grateful to God, who kept me safe in the first place and who made things work in the end. Somehow he always provides when I am about to give up.



Foreword

'Are you ready to die?'

'No, I don't think so'

'I see, you cannot possibly be ready to die as you are not yet married and have no children. Without children you will not be remembered when you die.'

These lines are part of a conversation the LWF staff and I had when being on a trip to gather data in the targeted villages. This time we were on our way through the bush to Duk county. As Duk county was not among the safest of the counties in Jonglei state at that time, this topic came up. It is not so much the topic of death that struck me, but more so the emphasis within the South Sudanese culture on producing children. Abovementioned sentences are just part of one of the countless conversations I had with the local people in Jonglei state on the topics that are of most importance to them: getting married and having children. The possible relationship between these topics and conflicts will become clear as the thesis evolves.

In this past year, while I was working towards a thesis subject, uncertainty seemed to be a central theme and this did not stop in South Sudan. The day after my arrival in Juba, I discovered that my original research has been postponed and altered to the extent that I could no longer join Juba University. Therefore the preparation phase as well as the theoretical framework specified for the topic that brought me to South Sudan in the first place turned out to be rather useless. Thankfully I ran into LWF (Lutheran World Federation) who enabled me to do research for them. So instead of doing research on women and their access (or more often lack of access) to land in and around Juba, I ended up doing research on conflicts related to cattle in a different state within South Sudan.

This thesis is partly the result of a base line survey initiated by the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). Mainly together with Mokili Elias (a South Sudanese staff member) I conducted a survey on the conflicts that occur along the migration routes in Jonglei state. The data gathered for this survey, as well as additional data gathered, enabled me to produce this thesis. I could not have come up with a more interesting subject in a more interesting and challenging context myself. In life I usually prefer not to plan too much ahead and too detailed, as that often causes disappointment and leaves no room for unexpected things and surprises or for God to work. This thesis is the result and therefore the proof of that motto. Have fun reading!

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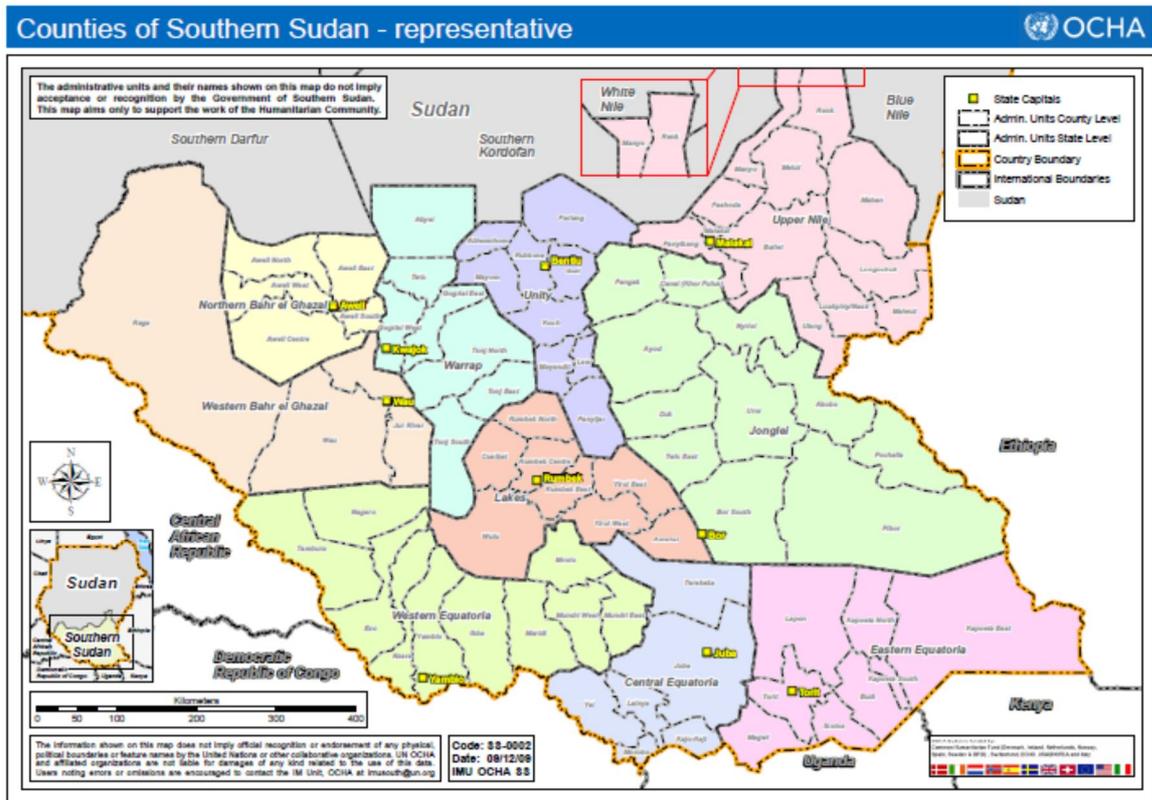
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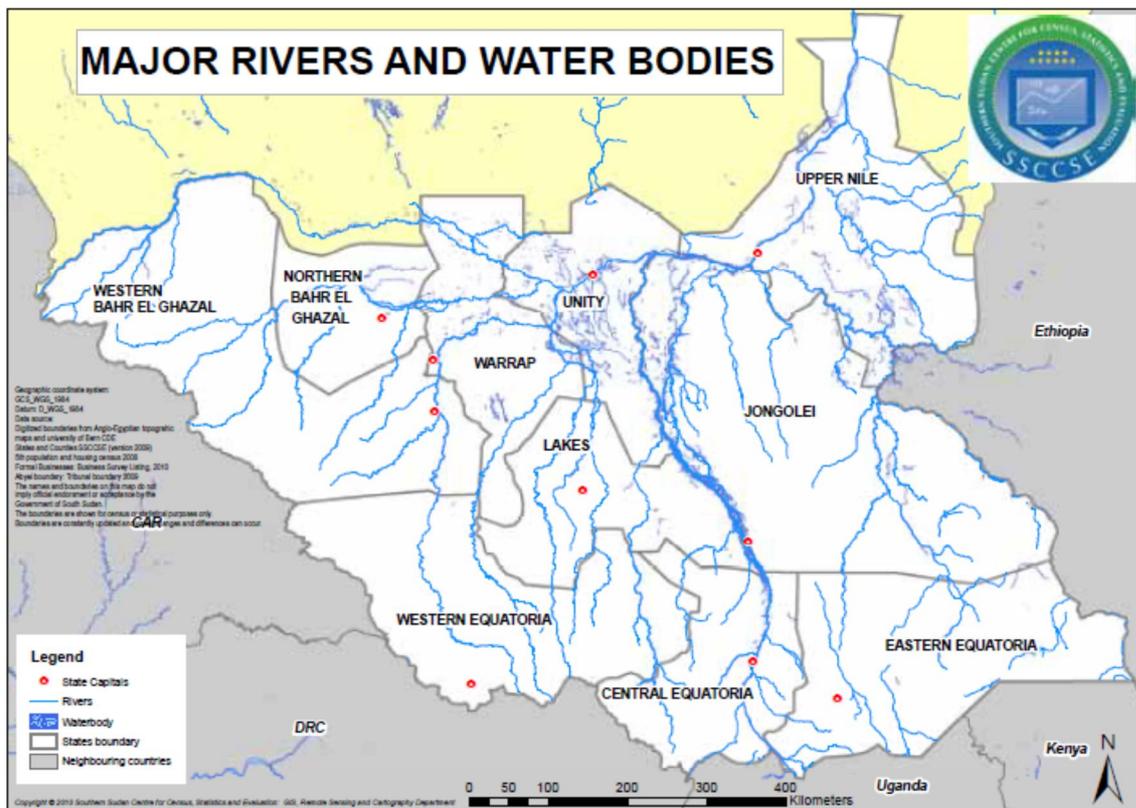
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Map of States and Counties of South Sudan (Source UNOCHA, 2009)



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List of Acronyms

CPA	-	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
FGD	-	Focus Group Discussion
GOS	-	Government of Sudan
GOSS	-	Government of South Sudan
LWF	-	Lutheran World Federation
NGO	-	Non Governmental Organization
SDG	-	Sudanese Pound
SPLA/M	-	Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement
WFP	-	World Food Program



Introduction

South Sudan is the newest independent country at the moment. The sound of the celebrations can still be heard in the ears of the people of South Sudan. Their most recent memory is one of celebrations. Unfortunately there are also many other recent memories that have no reason for celebration. The majority of the people I met in the three months I did my research have never experienced peace in their lives apart from the six years since 2005 when the SPLM signed a peace agreement (Comprehensive Peace Agreement, CPA) with the Government of Sudan (GOS) and hereby officially ending a 21 year old conflict. But what is peace, what does official peace look like?

Despite the official peace there are still many eruptions of violence in South Sudan. Abyei is an area that has been contested for centuries and is still not solved despite the independence. Several militia groups that are mainly operating in the Northern part of South Sudan are suspected to be supported by the GOS to create chaos and instability. Similar accusations are expressed against the Murle (an ethnic tribe that inhabits a part of Jonglei state) that are known for their fearlessness and cattle raiding. More cattle raiding conflicts can be found in Jonglei state. At the time of finalizing this thesis the BBC reported about the ethnic clashes between the Murle and the Nuer. So even though there is official peace in South Sudan and it has been declared an independent country, peace is not a reality for the majority of the South Sudanese, as Truman pointed out 'the absence of war is not peace'. The title of an article of Branch and Ampilly (2004) also reflects this situation 'Winning the war, but losing the peace?' even though they address the issues between the Dinka and the Equatorian people in South Sudan, the same title applies to the entire south as peace is hard to find despite the CPA.

There are opposing, but also to some extent, related explanations for the current situation in South Sudan. North Sudan is often blamed, as it contributed to the marginalization of the South in several ways; colonial policies left their scars; and the fact that South Sudan is a heterogeneous area in terms of ethnicity, religion and politics does not help the situation either (Oded, 1976). In addition, resources and its scarcity (water, pasture, land) as well as its abundance (oil and minerals) are also pointed at when discussing the origins of the conflicts in South Sudan. Also the proliferation of automatic weapons since the 1980's is said to play a significant role in the conflicts. Within this array of explanations, this thesis takes two main lines of thinking as a starting point: the resource scarcity paradigm and the political ecology theory.

Within South Sudan there is a variety of (violent) conflicts occurring simultaneously at different levels. The scope of this research is local and confined to the cattle related conflicts that occur along the migration routes in the largest of South Sudan's states, Jonglei state.

The tribes inhabiting Jonglei state are predominantly agro-pastoralists with livestock in the form of cattle being their main source of livelihood. An important characteristic of agro-pastoralists is the high mobility with the availability of water and pastures for the cattle as the decisive factors. In the dry season pastoralists are forced to move with their livestock to the *toich*, which is the term for swampy areas close to the river Nile that never dry out. The dry season starts in November/December and ends with the first rain in May/June. People from Twic East and Duk

county are somewhat privileged as they are located relatively close to the *toich*, compared to people from Uror county that are more or less 'county-locked' as they don't border the *toich*. This forces them to migrate through Duk or Twic East county, which leads to conflicts along these migration routes. The combination of tensions due to congestion at the *toich*, the passing through areas belonging to other tribes and the scarcity of water and pasture are believed by outside observers to contribute to the conflicts.

Part of this thesis is the result of a research I conducted together with a South Sudanese employee (Mokili Elias) for the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). The proposal for the base-line survey was inspired by abovementioned explanation for the conflicts; resource scarcity. The base-line survey was carried out to get more insight in the conflicts that occurred along the migration routes as part of a water and peace pilot project of LWF, which LWF is planning to implement in Uror county. LWF expects to mitigate the conflicts partly by providing water in the communities in Uror, in order for people to stop migrating with their cattle to the *toich*. Their expectations are deriving from the conviction that conflicts along the migration routes occur as a result of scarce resources (water and pasture) and competing claims generated by that. These scarce resources are expected to become even scarcer in the light of climate change (Lee, 2009). For some background information on LWF and its activities in South Sudan I refer to annex A.

At first sight explanations for the conflicts can indeed be found in the resource scarcity paradigm, as the cattle keepers are migrating in search for water for their cattle and the apparent scarcity of water and pastures at the *toich* is believed to cause conflict. However, when having a closer look there are other aspects that play a vital role. This research tries to look beyond the resource scarcity paradigm and aims to gain an in-depth understanding of what other factors possibly play a role in the conflicts that evolve along the migration routes.

Outline of the thesis

The background against which this research took place is described in the following chapter. The second chapter will elaborate on the theoretical framework underpinning this research and the third chapter is dedicated to the methodology applied. The findings cover four chapters which are more or less grouped according to the grouping of the sub questions as pointed out in the methodology chapter. The first findings chapter focusses on the migration routes, the characteristics of the conflicts and the (non-political/ethnic) developments that influence the migration as well as the conflicts. The second findings chapter mainly deals with the various actors involved and the factors relating to their relationship that have consequences for the conflicts. The third findings chapter does not relate to a specific research question, but tries to answer the main research question partly by discussing the role of the bride price in the conflicts. Finally, the solutions mentioned by the respondents will be discussed in the fourth findings chapter. The findings will be analysed in chapter 8 and a concluding word is written in the final chapter.



Chapter 1. Background

1.1. South Sudan in general

Before the independence in July last year, South Sudan together with North Sudan counted for the largest country in Africa. South Sudan (officially: Republic of South Sudan) consists of ten states and each state is subdivided into counties (see map with counties and states at page xiv), which are in turn subdivided in payams and bomas (village level). The current capital is Juba and is located in Central Equatoria, a state in the south. South Sudan is a land-locked country and borders in the north with Sudan, in the east with Ethiopia, southeast with Kenya, in the south with Uganda, in the southwest with the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the west with the Central African Republic. It is the newest independent country and at the same time also among some of the most underdeveloped countries in the world. This state of underdevelopment is said to be the result of a combination of colonialism, several decades of civil war (between the North and the South), internal conflict, remoteness of the area, lack of infrastructure, the geographical situation and resource scarcity.

1.1.1. History

Since the 9th of July last year South Sudan is independent from the North. Many South Sudanese were relieved at this day and 'Free at last' was a slogan that was found everywhere in Juba. Free from Northern Sudan, a country that they associate with predation and suppression. However, the suppression South Sudan has been experiencing so far did not only stem from North Sudanese policies, but started a long time ago already.

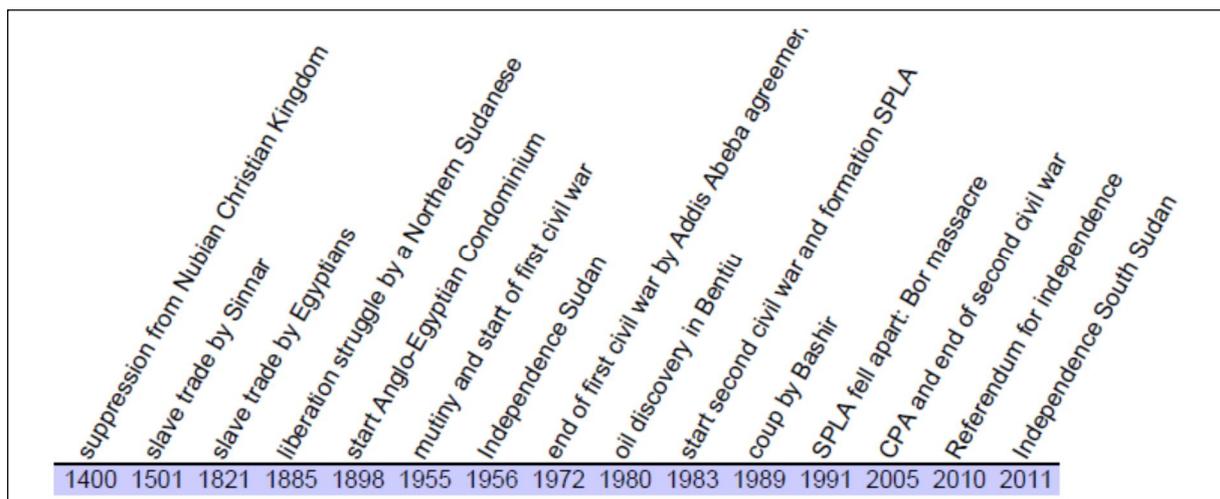


Figure 1.1. Timeline history (South) Sudan, compiled by the author on the basis of Oded (1976) and Omeje (2010).

Pre-colonial period

Suppression started in the thirteenth century by the Nubian Christian kingdom of Alwa, followed by the Islamic Sultanate of Sinnar in 1501 who made slaves out of the Dinka, Shilluk and many others. These slave raids continued in the late eighteenth century by West African slave traders (the Baggara) (Beswick, 2004:186). From 1821 the Egyptians took over from the Baggara and continued with enslaving South Sudanese. In 1885 Sudan was 'liberated' by a Northern Sudanese Muslim nationalist, however, Southern Sudan did not experience this period as liberating.

Colonial period

From 1898 the British took over and the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium¹ started which put an end to the slave trade. This Condominium was characterized by attempts to pacify the pastoralists and applying a 'divide and rule' policy that restricted interaction between Sudanese from the north and Sudanese from the south (Mohamed Salih, 1993:19). This Condominium ended when Sudan became independent in 1956 and the British handed over the economic and political power to Khartoum which resulted in a civil war between the north and the south (Beswick, 2004:195,196).

First civil war

The first civil war was sparked by the 1955 mutiny when Southern Sudanese, part of the Equatorial Corps, killed Northern soldiers and officers. Oded provides a detailed account of the happenings as well as the possible causes for the mutiny, part of which can be found in South Sudan being so heterogeneous (in political, cultural and ethnic aspects), the historical grievances caused by the slave traders, the Egyptian soldiers and the British rule in the 19th century. In addition the transition from colonialism to Self-Rule was disappointing and has been an immediate factor according to Oded (Oded, 1976:232). Colonial structures also enlarged the economic, political and development imbalances that existed between the north and the south (Omeje, 2010:14). This first civil war lasted 17 years in which the Southerners felt discriminated against in several areas; the north tried to impose the Islam as well as the Arab culture to the South; restricted the south regarding education (as the majority of the schools were run by Christian missionaries who got discouraged by the north) and the south got neglected economically as well as politically (Oded, 1976). In 1972 the first civil war came to an end by the signing of the Addis Abeba peace treaty which amongst others provided regional autonomy for the south.

Second civil war

Only 11 years later the second civil war (throughout this thesis also referred to as the North-South conflict) started. This second civil war can largely be attributed to the colonial policy that concentrated economic, political and administrative development in the north, which caused grievances in the south. The conflict is also understood to be rooted in cultural and religious issues, as well as competition for political dominance and oil resources. It is also perceived as a liberation struggle, resistance against Sharia law and a struggle for collective self-determination (Omeje, 2010:13).

More specifically, General Nimeiri's decision to absorb the major oil town of Bentiu (who was till then situated in the south) by introducing a new federal structure after the oil discovery by Chevron in 1980, added to the rising tensions. In addition, a pipeline was planned to transport the oil to Port Sudan (in the north) and a new oil refinery was moved to a town in the north as well. These decisions 'fuelled resentment and violent resistance' amongst the Southerners (Omeje, 2010:15). Another development that would have had a far-reaching impact on the pastoralists (Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk) that inhabited the Sudd² area was the Jonglei Canal that would bypass the Sudd in order to provide the North and eventually Egypt with water, caused a lot of resentment (Mohamed Salih,

¹ A condominium is a political territory over which two or more sovereign powers formally agree to share ownership (dominium).

² The Sudd area is a vast swamp in South Sudan formed by the White Nile.

1993:23). A development that equally influenced the start of the second civil war was of a less commercial nature; the re-introduction of Sharia law as state law by the Attorney General Hassan Turabi (Omeje, 2010:16).

As a result of aforementioned developments a new rebel movement emerged, the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) under the leadership of Colonel John Garang, a Dinka. The ultimate goal of the SPLA (which later also got a political branch, the Sudanese Peoples Liberation *Movement*) was an independent Southern Sudan. Other intermediate goals were control of economic resources in the South (oil), abolition of Sharia law, restoration of the colonial North-South boundary and political inclusion (Omeje, 2010:16). The SPLA split into two factions in 1991 when Riek Machar left the SPLA as a result of leadership issues within the SPLA. SPLA's leader, John Garang (a Dinka), received help from the army of Ethiopian leader Mengistu. As a result of the fall of Mengistu's regime in 1991, the SPLA's leadership became vulnerable to more division. Riek Machar (a Nuer) and Lam Akol (a Shilluk), two senior commanders in the SPLA, took advantage of this event and planned a coup, encouraged by international support³. However, the coup failed as no senior Dinka commander agreed with Machar and Akol. After the failed coup Riek Machar left for Bor and that is where 'one of the worst massacres of the civil war took place between the Dinka and the Nuer', about two thousand people lost their lives over a period of two weeks (Beswick, 2004:217). In addition to the raiding of cattle and other property, women and children were also taken as war booty by the Nuer.

In the meantime in 1989 the current President Omar Bashir came to power in a military coup and sponsored militias, paramilitary forces and tribal self-defence groups that fought against the SPLA and destroyed many southern villages causing massive displacement and misery. An estimated two million people have been killed and about four million people displaced during the North-South conflict (Omeje, 2010:18, Mohamed Salih, 1993:23). Also the conflict in Uganda between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the government of Uganda contributed to the conflict in South Sudan.

The independence of South Sudan has been provided for by a referendum that took place in 2010 which in turn was provided for by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that was agreed upon by the Government of Sudan (GOS) and the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) in 2005 which ended the 21 year old civil war. However, despite the signing of the peace agreement in 2005 and despite South Sudan being an independent nation violence in South Sudan continues. Branch and Mampilly are right in their conviction that sustainable peace is not established by a peace agreement between the SPLA and Khartoum, but that there are 'numerous other fracture lines within post-conflict (South) Sudan that must be taken into account' (Branch and Mampilly, 2004:10). And one of these fracture lines will be dealt with in this thesis, cattle raiding.

1.1.2. Social organization

South Sudan is a polygynous⁴ and patriarchal society, as most African pastoral societies. Wealth is expressed in amount of cattle, and determines one's status within the community. In order to marry one pays a certain amount of cattle over an extended period of time to the family of the bride. By acquiring more wives, one will get more children and therefore eventually more cattle (when the daughters get married). Apart from the economic motive, it was also important to have enough manpower for defence when necessary and previously infant mortality rates were much higher so the risk is spread by having more wives and eventually more children. Therefore the primary role of a family is procreation, or in other words: to produce⁵ (Mangor, 1990:193).

³ It has been argued by scholars that this international support was offered because of the oil reserves of South Sudan (Beswick, 2004:215).

⁴ Polygyny is a form of marriage where a man is married with two or more wives at the same time.

⁵ Which is reflected in the numerous cultural practices the Dinka and Nuer societies have to continue producing, which will be discussed into more detail in chapter 6.

Many South Sudanese societies function as communal or family entities and not as individuals (Beswick, 2004:209). Households are bound in a densely woven fabric of reciprocal rights and obligations that serve to enhance survival, maintain solidarity and redistribute wealth in which cattle play a significant role. According to Markakis ethnicity does not play such an important role when it comes to identification and solidarity, in comparison with the clan (Markakis, 2004:5). A clan is a group of people who trace their descent through the father (to a common ancestor). Several clans together form a section (also called *wuot*). Several sections together form a faction, which is a territorial group, and the factions together form the tribe (Tier and Dhal, 2004:13)⁶.

1.1.3. Ethnicity

As is the case in many African countries, heterogeneous societies in terms of politics, ethnicity and religion often face problems that stem from these differences, which is also true for South Sudan. South Sudan is heterogeneous when it comes to religion, language and ethnicity. It is home to over fifty different tribes, with each their own traditions, habits, customs and languages. These tribes can be grouped according to their languages, physical appearances and tribes into three groups: the Nilotics (Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk and Anuak), the Nilo-Hamitics (Murle, Didinga, Boya, Toposa and Latuka) and the Sudanic tribes that mainly inhabit the Western part of South Sudan (Oded, 1976:230). For the purpose of this thesis, the focus will be on the Nilotics as the majority of the people living in the selected research area are from that specific group. The ethnic groups that play a central role in this research will be described at a later stage.

1.1.4. Governance

South Sudan is subdivided in counties. Each county is run by a county commissioner who is appointed by the SPLM. The commissioner is responsible for collecting taxes etc. Every county consists of payams which are led by payam administrators. The payam knows legislative, judicial and executive bodies (Branch and Mampilly, 2005:8). Each payam consists of approximately six bomas which are sometimes subdivided in villages. Boma administrators are responsible for the bomas and are appointed by the SPLM and serve as a liaison person between the boma and the SPLM. The lowest level of governance is the boma/village level.

During the fieldwork I learned that even though the commissioners and administrators are finally responsible for the boma's, payams and counties, the everyday governance is mainly in the hands of the chiefs⁷. Each governance level knows different types of chiefs. The head paramount chief is the highest chief position and is responsible for a certain tribe (Dinka, Nuer etc) and all the chiefs belonging to that tribe. At county level the paramount chief is in charge and the payam level knows head chiefs (two to five per payam), an executive chief, sub chiefs (five per payam, depending on the population) and some head men to assist the sub chiefs (four to five per sub chief). The chiefs and head men are chosen by the village community and advised by a council of elders. Who deals with the issues depends on the severity of the problem. Up to the head chief, domestic problems are dealt with. When a problem exists between two payams, the headquarters of the county will deal with it. Criminal cases are dealt with by the bench court that consists of head chiefs.

Currently South Sudan has a Transitional Constitution, however at the local level statutory law has been and is for the most part subordinate to customary law as it is customary law system that rules society. Each tribe has its own body of customary law, however these separate bodies have more in common than they have differences⁸.

⁶ See 'The Nuer' from Evans-Pritchard for a very detailed account of the (political) organization of tribes, tribal sections etc. (1947).

⁷ Chiefs are responsible for 300 up to 900 people, the village leader and head man for about 250 people.

⁸ For a detailed account of customary law in South Sudan see 'A Study of Customary Law in Contemporary Southern Sudan', a study of World Vision International, March 2004.

1.1.5. Ecology

South Sudan knows a rainy and a dry season. The rainy season generally runs from April to October. In the past there have been periods of severe drought and famine; the years 1382-1409, 1436-1463 and 1587-1652 forced people to migrate south into what is now Uganda and points beyond (Beswick, 2004:92). In general the predictions concerning the climate are not very positive. Thornton et al (2002) indicate that between 2000 and 2050 the 'length of the agricultural growing period' will reduce severely in West Africa, South Sudan, Uganda and some areas of Ethiopia.

The (White) Nile (see the map with water bodies at page xiv) is a very important water source in South Sudan, and especially dominates the lives of the pastoralists⁹. In the dry season they migrate to the *toich* in search for water and pasture for their cattle and stay in cattle camps.

South Sudan knows several types of soil; semi-arid soils in the highlands (Nuba mountains, Boma Plateau) clay soils (known as the Southern Clay Plains), laterite soil in the Western Bahr el-Ghazal region, ironstone in the far south (the Ironstone Plateau), the Green Belt in Western Equatoria and an area around the Acholi Mountains (in Eastern Equatoria), and volcanic soils at the Boma Plateau. (Beswick, 2004:12).

As a result of the type of soil in Jonglei state, the climate and the insecurity in South Sudan, little cultivation takes place in Jonglei state. According to Beswick the Dinka and Nuer heavily rely on crop cultivation for their food supply (Beswick, 2004:93). The staple food crop in Sudan is *dura* (also called sorghum) as this crop suits the challenging ecological variations. During the colonial period attempts were made to increase the cultivation of cash crops, however this did not succeed as the Nilotics are cattle keepers in the first place (Markakis, 1998:63). The ecology in Jonglei state favours cattle husbandry.

The type of livestock species is mainly determined by the ecology, and as a result you will find more people keeping camels in more arid regions, and more cattle keepers in the relatively wetter regions (Blench, 1999:30). This is the reason why the Nuer and the Dinka in Jonglei state mainly keep cattle and additionally sheep and goats. Since cattle and the related conflicts are central to this thesis, no attention will be paid to other livestock species. According to Markakis, the number of cattle in Sudan has been doubled between 1965 and 1986, which corresponds with the table below (Markakis, 1998:42). Below an overview of the numbers of cattle in Sudan, and some in South Sudan, since 2003¹⁰. According to the deputy director of the ministry of Livestock and Fisheries in Bor there are currently about 1.5 million heads of cattle in Jonglei state. It is difficult to specify the quantity of cattle per county as the cattle move regularly as a result of the raiding that takes place.

1930	1970	1980	1990	2000	2003	2003	2005	2005	2009
2 *	12 *	18.4 **	21.0 **	37,1 **	38.3 **	10.5 (South Sudan) ***	38.3 **	10.5 (South Sudan)***	11.7 (South Sudan)***

Tabel 1.1 Estimated number of cattle in Sudan and South Sudan in millions.

* source: Chapin Metz, H. 'Sudan : a Country Study' 1991

** source: FAO 2005, Livestock Brief

*** source: Statistical Yearbook for Southern Sudan, 2010

⁹ The importance of the Nile to a large part of the population in South Sudan is reflected in the name of these people: 'the Nilotes' (Markakis, 1998:107).

¹⁰ These numbers are estimations and therefore no proper analysis can be based solemnly on these numbers. As a result of the civil wars, and in general the state of underdevelopment of Sudan/South Sudan, numbers on cattle are limited and (when available) not always reliable. The unreliability of the information is caused by the high mobility of the herds in Sudan and also the fact that asking for the amount of cattle is highly inappropriate and therefore it is unlikely that you get the correct information. The explanation for the low number in 1930 is several rinderpest epidemics. It is argued that the civil wars also had taken their toll on livestock resources as cattle is the item most commonly looted (Markakis, 1998:63), the statistics however do not reflect this given.

1.2. Research area – Jonglei state

The actual field work for this research took place in Jonglei state, which is the largest state of South Sudan, comprises 122,581 km² and counts 1,358,602 inhabitants (which is 16,4 % of the entire population of South Sudan)¹¹ and consists of eleven counties. At the same time it is also the most underdeveloped state of South Sudan. Bor is the state capital and is located in Bor county. The population density in the research area is rather low. Currently the population density in South Sudan is about 24.41 – 41.3 persons per km², whereas in Duk county it is 9.49 persons per km², in Uror county there are 14.7 persons living on 1 km² and Twic East county counts 13.99 persons per km²¹².



Figure 1.2. Map research area, source UNOCHA 2009

geographical division of the tribes in Jonglei state.

Jonglei state is inhabited by several tribes. The major tribes are the Nuer and the Dinka, also the largest and most dominant tribes of South Sudan as a whole. In addition some smaller tribes like the Murle, Anyuak and the Kachipos have Jonglei state as their home. The research area that has been selected for this research consists of the counties Duk, Twic East and Uror (see figure 1.2.). Duk and Twic East are inhabited by Dinka, whereas Uror is home to Nuer people. These counties have been chosen as the inhabitants of Uror county migrate through Duk and Twic East county in the dry season¹³ on their way to the *toich* which is located in Duk as well as Twic East¹⁴. See the map from the International Crisis Group below for a

The Dinka and Nuer are closely related as they are both Nilotic people and have a lot in common, such as vocabulary, religious beliefs, shared symbols and they intermarry as well (Elhag, 2008:179). Despite the similarities and apparently shared culture and history, Beswick calls the relationship between these two ‘an enduring mystery’ as it is not clear how exactly they relate to one another and if the Dinka are the original forefathers of the Nuer. Instead of the Dinka and Nuer sharing the same forefathers, it is more likely that the Nuer were formerly a Lou group that lived in much of Southern Sudan before the arrival of the Dinka¹⁵ (Beswick, 2004:164,174).

The Dinka consist of 25 factions and the Nuer have 10 factions. The Dinka factions that can be found in Jonglei are Bor, Hol, Lual, Nyarweng, Paweny, Rut, Thoi and Twic. Jonglei state inhabits the Nuer Gaweer, Lak and Lou. I do acknowledge the different clans and factions among the Dinka and the Nuer, and in Uror I have mainly been dealing with Lou Nuer, however for the purpose of this research I only refer to the tribes, Dinka and Nuer as the research did not offer enough time to concentrate on the characteristics and differences within the tribes also.

¹¹ Statistical Yearbook of Southern Sudan, 2010 (based on the 2008 census).

¹² These figures are based on the census that took place in 2008, adjusted according to the field annual population growth rate of 2.052 percent.

¹³ The dry season runs from October till July

¹⁴ And these counties have been chosen as LWF is currently operating in Duk and Twic East county and is planning to expand it’s activities to Uror county.

¹⁵ For a detailed account of how the Nuer relate to the Dinka and how they came to live where they do nowadays, see pg 164 – 174 of Beswick’s book ‘Sudan’s Blood Memory: The Legacy of War, Ethnicity, and Slavery in Early South Sudan’.

The Dinka have not always been living in South Sudan, but migrated from central Sudan many centuries ago (from the fourteenth century onwards) due to a combination of droughts, military stress, slave raids and a new breed of cattle that enabled them to take their cattle over a long distance. This migration of the Dinka¹⁶ caused many clashes with Southern Sudanese tribes, such as the Funj, Shilluk, Murle and Luel¹⁷ (Beswick, 2004:29-42). Beswick argues that the combination of sorghum grain (introduced by the Dinka) with the hump-backed cattle breeds 'introduced an economic system of greatest efficiency in this region of Southern Sudan'. This explains the political dominance of the Dinka in the region (Beswick, 2004:96).

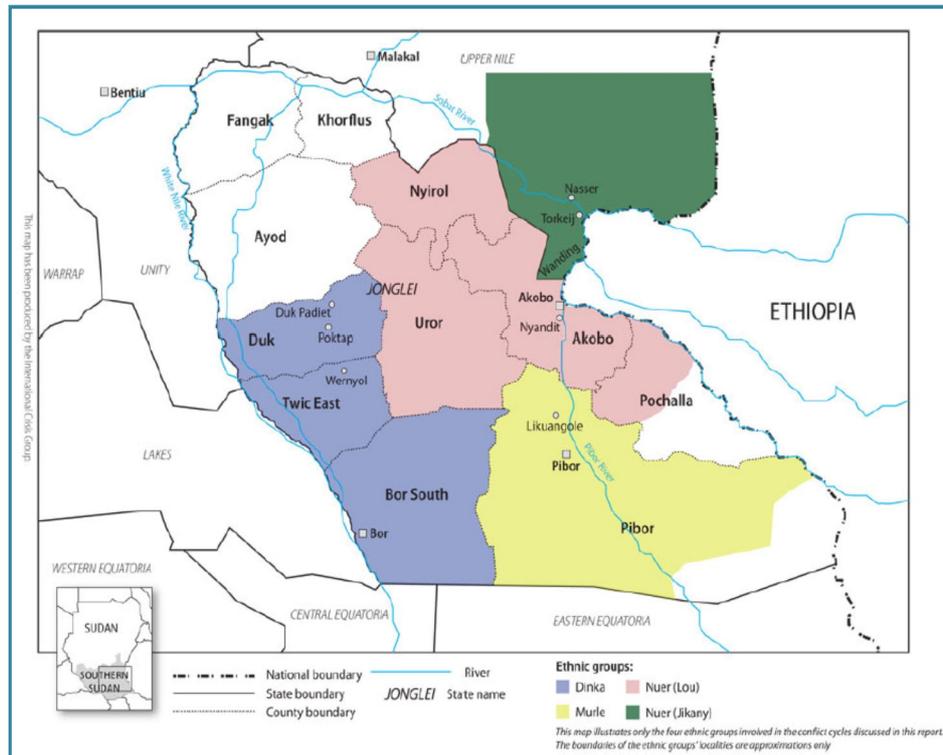


Figure 1.3. Map tribes inhabiting Jonglei state, source ICG, 2009

The Nuer are a tribe inhabiting Uror county. Compared to the Dinka they cultivate slightly less as the environmental circumstances do not allow for a lot of agriculture. The Dinka and Nuer have a lot in common, but it is argued that the Nuer used to have the reputation of being warriors and had greater willingness to fight and raid than the Dinka, their neighbors (Meeker, 1989:68). Southall (in Meeker, 1989) even argues that the terms 'Dinka' and 'Nuer' are somewhat synonymous for 'raided' and 'raider' instead of finding its origin in ethnicity (Meeker, 1989:70). Also Evans-Pritchard noted that the Nuer are prone to fighting (Evans-Pritchard, 1947:151).

The current tensions along the migration routes in Jonglei state are not only involving Dinka and Nuer, but also a tribe from Pibor, the Murle, as becomes clear in the overview below. This overview is a small selection of incidents that took place during the first two weeks of June 2011 in Jonglei

¹⁶ By some it has been argued that the Dinka expanded so fast as a result of the high bride prices among the Nilotics, Beswick adds to that the type of grain crops and cattle species the Dinka brought along on their migration to the south. 'Dhurra, today known as sorghum, survives harsh environments and the Sanga and Zebu hump-backed cattle from the Ethiopia borderlands were capable of long distance migrations and of surviving severe droughts' (Beswick, 2004:91-96).

¹⁷ Beswick gives a very detailed account of all the wars the Dinka encountered when migrating to the South, see pg 29 – 42 in her book 'Sudan's Blood Memory: The Legacy of War, Ethnicity, and Slavery in Early South Sudan'.

state¹⁸, to give an impression of the insecurity in the research area as a result of the current tensions. These incidents have been made known by means of security updates from UNOCHA in South Sudan¹⁹.

(Bor) At Pachual village in Paker Payam, one 13-year old boy was abducted by Murle tribesmen. The father was wounded in the incident, and was taken to Bor civil hospital. Youth are following the footprints of the abductors.

(Uror) Near Pieri Cattle Camp, in Gatwall Boma, suspected Murle tribesmen raided the cattle camp of more the 2000 head of cattle. One person was killed, while another was wounded. The incident occurred in the grazing area.

(Uror) Two attacks took place on 2 June, both by suspected Murle cattle raiders. The first attack occurred in Yuai Afir, with 30 heads of cattle stolen. The cattle owner and one cattle raider were killed. The cattle were later recovered by area youth. The second attack occurred in Wikhol Payam, where 7 heads of cattle were stolen, with no reports of casualties.

(Bor) In Dong Duor village within Baidit Payam, a group of suspected Murle tribesmen raided cattle. One person was wounded in the incident. The cattle were later recovered.

(Uror) The Uror County Coordinator informed that on 1 June 2011, the Murle launched an attack on Lou Nuer in Fiery Payam, killing one person, wounding seven and raiding an unidentified number of cattle. The Lou Nuer were able to respond and recover their stolen cattle.

(Uror) MP James Gadet mentioned reports of attacks in the villages of Dorgen Well in Piery payam, Unbil in Waat Payam, Pad Douch in Piery Payam and Juaad in Boma Payam (all in Uror County). The Waat Payam administrator had reported that one person was killed and a number of cattle were stolen in Unbil Payam (Waat).

(Akobo) A group of Jikany Nuer cattle raiders from Nasser crossed into Ethiopia and attacked Lou Nuer from Akobo, who had moved their cattle into Ethiopia for grazing. Ethiopian security forces assisted the Lou Nuer in repulsing the Jikany Nuer. No reports on casualties.

(Akobo) Murle tribesmen attacked Kuechar village in Denjok Payam. Three people were reportedly killed, while five were wounded. Additionally, four children were abducted and 25 cattle were stolen. The County Commissioner's speedboat was dispatched early in the morning to transport the wounded to Akobo County Hospital.

(Akobo) A group of Jikany Nuer youth attacked Lou Nuer youth in five cattle camps in Akobo County along the Ethiopian border. Reportedly, 4,000 cattle were stolen and 17 people were killed. Lou Nuer followed their cattle and clashed with Jikany Nuer youth in Makak, Kotkea, and Torkeach (all in Akobo County). Reportedly, 23 Jikany Nuer were killed, while 5 Lou Nuer were killed. The Ethiopian Army was involved in the fighting, supporting the Lou Nuer, as they traditionally graze their cattle in Ethiopia during the rainy season. The Lou Nuer reportedly managed to recover their cattle.

Figure 1.4. Overview (selection) incidents Jonglei state June 2011

As becomes clear from this overview, the Murle are very much involved and often blamed for the conflicts, therefore some words here on this tribe. The Murle are a tribe from Pibor county in Jonglei state. Just as the Nuer they mainly depend on cattle for their livelihoods as they only cultivate by

¹⁸ Only a selection of the incidents in the counties the research took place (Duk, Twic East and Uror) and bordering counties (Akobo and Bor) have been mentioned, whereas many other though similar incidents took place at the same time in the remaining counties of Jonglei state.

¹⁹ Mortality numbers of people that died in cattle raids are not exaggerated as nothing can be done (by NGO's) (as opposed to deaths caused by diseases, hunger, floods etc). (Wheeler, 1999:97).

necessity (Lewis, 1972:31). They are known for their cattle raiding qualities and notorious for their disregard of government, no matter what form. In addition to cattle, they are known for abducting children whom they keep themselves or trade within their communities. The Murle can be compared with the Turkana in northern Uganda that also have a reputation of being fearless warriors and even the police is afraid to stop them (Marshall Thomas, 1965:118). They are expert night-fighters and in the past, due to their methods, they have been able to capture considerable numbers of cattle from their Nilotic neighbors (Lewis, 1972:89). This extensive raiding still continues today.

1.3. Livelihoods - Pastoralism

'Cattle, so passionately owned, so fiercely defended' (Marshall Thomas, 1965:116).

As a result of South Sudan's ecology and in order to deal with environmental variability²⁰, the majority of the people in Jonglei state are pastoralists, as is the case in many African countries²¹. Several forms of pastoralism can be distinguished, often depending on the type of climate/soil the pastoralists are dealing with. Blench makes the distinction between exclusive pastoralists, transhumant pastoralists and agro-pastoralists, with exclusive pastoralists being the most mobile and the agro-pastoralists the most settled people. Exclusive pastoralists grow no crops and solely depend on their livestock. They are occupying the arid and semi-arid zones and move long distances, normally taking migration routes that have been used by their ancestors as well. Transhumant pastoralists are more settled than exclusive pastoralists as they have a permanent homestead and the herd is taken to grazing areas by the younger members of the family for a certain period in the year. In this period, the women and elder members remain at the villages with some cattle for food and milk for the children. At the homestead there is crop cultivation, however only for their own use. Agro-pastoralists are semi-settled, do not migrate and even hold land rights in some cases. They are more active in crop cultivation, and also sell surplus at the market (Blench, 1999:31).

The Nuer and the Dinka which are living in Jonglei state can be classified as transhumant pastoralists as they migrate seasonally and only grow crops at their homesteads. However, agriculture used to be a bigger part of their livelihood but cannot be practiced to that extent currently due to the level of insecurity that prevents people from cultivating the land outside the villages.

Pastoralism is not merely a mode of production, 'it is the highly imaginative and original system of intricate modes of social organization and patterns of culture' (Markakis, 2004:5). Apart from a source of food (meat and milk) and income, cattle are mainly used for family matters. When marrying, the bride price has to be paid in heads of cattle, when a dispute is to be settled, compensation is paid in heads of cattle. One's social status is expressed in amount of cattle. Animals play a prominent role in social relations in many pastoral societies, so much so that in the eyes of many outsiders this role tends to obscure their value in economic terms. They do not raise livestock for the market and in capitalist logic this does not make sense. Pastoralists much prefer to accumulate livestock as protection against the challenges of nature and to accumulate 'social capital', which represents status and influence in their community. Herds are maximized as protection against natural and security risks, and in order to maintain an optimum balance between species, types and quality of animals, and as a form of social capital in intra-community relationships.

²⁰ As Markakis explains the choice for pastoralism as a livelihood: 'They make the most out of nature's meagre endowment, by tilling the land where it is possible to do so and herding livestock where it is not, often managing to do a bit of both' (Markakis, 2004:4).

²¹ 'It is estimated that some 500 to 600 million people live in the arid and semi-arid parts of the world and that some 30 to 40 million of them depend entirely on animals. Of these 30 to 40 million people, 50 to 60 percent are found in Africa. The Horn of Africa has the highest proportion of pastoralists in the world; Sudan has the highest percentage in the world, while Ethiopia ranks fifth' (Simala and Amutabli, 2005:206).

Pastoralism in Sub Saharan Africa (as well as South Sudan) as a form of livelihood has been practiced for centuries and has been through several stages that influenced the pastoralist mode, one of which is colonialism. Colonial policies limited the scope of movement of pastoralists (by the new boundaries as well as by confining pastoralists in nature reserves) and hereby fragmented the pastoral domain (Simala and Amutabli, 2005:207). Attempts have been made to promote agriculture, whereby they focussed on commercial agriculture and the expansion of irrigated cultivation. Export-crop production and irrigation were considered to be the shortest way to economic development and therefore favoured over the development of pastoralism. Population growth made governments dedicate more land in order to produce enough food for the population. The combination of these factors withdrew land that had been devoted to livestock production and hereby marginalized the pastoralists. These policies have also been influenced by the idea that pastoralists have a irrational way of dealing with the resources available. The dynamics of land tenure and use by the pastoralists have rarely been appreciated by the colonial officials as they perceived pastoralists to be economically irrational and ignorant as they were reluctant to embrace the capitalist marketplace introduced by colonialism', and hardly exported cattle as a result (Markakis, 2004:8).

The independent African state has shown no more consideration for pastoralist rights to land than its colonial predecessors (Markakis, 2004:11). Policies towards changing the pastoralist behavior in favor of agriculture or seeking to turn roaming herdsmen into town dwellers also failed. This was because arid and semi-arid areas were well suited to pastoralism as an economic activity and few other alternatives could succeed. Part of the solution to the problem of arid and semi-arid lands was to dig wells and develop boreholes in order to promote agriculture. But in certain cases this exacerbated environmental damage to such an extent that the water table and pastoralists' ecosystems were damaged forever (Simala and Amutabli, 2005:208).

Strategies of the pastoralists to cope with the increasing land loss have been migration or sedentarization (conversion to agro-pastoralism).

Recently it has been recognized that mobile herders make a valuable contribution to livestock production and the national economies (Markakis, 2004:25). Instead of being economically irrational, the production techniques of traditional pastoralists have proven to be highly sophisticated as their practices have survived centuries of hardships and have proven to be the most suitable for making the most out of the arid environment. Despite the somewhat changing attitude towards pastoralists nowadays (as people became to realize that their practices are not just irrational, but that there are valid reasons why pastoralists still hold to a certain production mode) the preference for nomads to 'settle down' remains²², according to Markakis based on economic motives. The areas that are saved by sedentarization of pastoralists could be used for agriculture as well as meat production through modern ranching schemes (Markakis, 1998:172).

The common life style of pastoralism that has the potential of binding, is at the same time a source of rivalry. As they both organize their lives around the cattle, grazing areas are important to both tribes. Cattle raiding is a common practice among the pastoralists in South Sudan and therefore also in Jonglei state. Whereas this used to be practiced within certain rules and with spears and sticks as weapons, the influence of automatic weapons alters the raiding and makes the raiding parties more deadly. Baxter refers to cattle raids as man-made disasters (Baxter, 1993:154) and Wheeler even calls the situation of cattle raiding in South Sudan a 'war in its own right' (Wheeler, 2009:94).

²² Also the Nimeiry Constitution (1971, Article 21) in Sudan decreed that the pastoralists should be settled.



Chapter 2. Theoretical framework

Let us begin by stating the obvious. Acts of organized violence are not necessarily an intrinsic part of human nature, but they are endogenous events arising within the evolution of complex systems of social interaction. To be sure, all wars have features in common – people are killed and property is destroyed – but in their origin wars are likely to be at least as different as the social structures from which they arise. Consequently, it is unlikely that there can be a simple theory of the causes of war or the maintenance of peace. The fact that wars are historical events need not discourage us. On the contrary, we should focus our understanding of the dimensions of each conflict, or classes of conflict, on the conjuncture of causes at hand' (Wolfson in Hall and Hall, 1998).

Upon arriving in Juba, South Sudan, my research project had been postponed and I had to look for valid alternatives on the spot. As a result of this change I entered the research area not sufficiently prepared and therefore unprejudiced which is somewhat reflected in this theoretical framework. I will start by describing the type of conflict that occurs along the migration routes in Jonglei state and discuss the different ideas that exist about cattle raiding in African contexts. That will be followed by the theory LWF based its assumptions on, the resource scarcity theory. As this theory does not seem to cover all aspects of the conflicts, I will look at the conflicts from multiple perspectives using the political ecology paradigm. Within this framework the concept of grievance will be paid special attention to.

2.1. Cattle raiding²³

Chapter one closes by stating that cattle raiding is an important aspect within pastoralist societies. Conflict in African pastoral societies often concerns conflict between agriculturalists and pastoralists (agro-pastoral conflicts), which has brought forth a rich literature. Even though this type of conflict does occur in South Sudan, the focus of this thesis is on a different type of conflict; conflict between (agro-) pastoralists²⁴.

The conflicts that occur along the migration route and at the *toich* are manifested in cattle raiding. Cattle are used as a primary currency and the aspects of life of the pastoralists are focussed on cattle. Cattle raiding is a cultural practice that has existed already for centuries and is an 'intrinsic feature of competition between groups in harsh environments' (Hendrickson, 1998:1). The main purpose of raiding cattle from other tribes was to replenish the herds when they diminished as a result of droughts or major outbreaks of animal diseases. Some link the term 'reciprocal' to this

²³ In addition of the term cattle raiding, the term cattle rustling is used in literature as well to indicate cattle raiding, in fact both terms are used simultaneously. For the purpose of this thesis I will be using the term cattle raiding, as that is what most respondents in South Sudan also used. Raiding means stealing or looting.

²⁴ As described in the previous chapter, Jonglei state mainly consists of agro-pastoralists, who apart from keeping livestock also cultivate crops for their own consumption. Of course during the seasonal migration to the *toich* in the dry season, small farms might get damaged by the migrating cattle, but that is not the main source of the conflicts that arise.

activity of raiding (Simala and Amutabli, 2005:201) as groups 'helped' each other in restocking the herds. This is linked to the fact that there are few alternatives to enlarge a herd. In addition, the pastoralist custom that the bride price has to be provided in the form of livestock also accounted for the practice of cattle raiding. Apart from acquiring more cattle, raiding was also a means to acquire more territory (Molosiwa, 2007:200). Beswick explains raiding in South Sudan primarily in economic terms; 'the larger the clan family, the more powerful it becomes'. Therefore the Dinka, Nuer and other Nilotics have been in a state of regular conflict with those on the peripheries (Beswick, 2004:209). Apart from material incentives, men also receive honor and prestige, standing in the community, assert their manhood when a raid has been successful (Knighton, 2001:19). In other cases cattle raiding is part of the rite de passage (when a boy becomes a man) (McCabe, 2004:96). As cattle are the currency used in social transactions in many pastoralist societies, there is often a lot of pressure to accumulate livestock (Hendrickson et al, 1998:8). Also, cattle raiding is also crucial when it comes to defining relations between different groups in pastoral societies and ultimately to re-negotiate access to resources (Hendrickson, 1998:7).

Cattle raiding normally took place between tribes and is not permitted within the family, lineage, clan or same tribe²⁵ (Meeker, 1989:73). Raiding was done with spears, sticks, bows and arrows and therefore relatively humane without too many casualties. Elders made sure that traditional rules of engagement were respected. Hendrickson (et al) calls this type of raiding redistributive. Redistributive raiding serves to replenish herds after loss of livestock as a result of droughts, raids or animal diseases. This type of raiding is closely linked to climatic conditions. However, it should not be romanticised as this type of cattle raiding can also have a negative impact on the livelihood of the pastoralists.

2.1.1. New type of raiding

The practice of cattle raiding as cattle keepers know it today is not so much referred to as (rather innocent) 'redistributive' raiding, but as 'illicit cattle trade', 'commercial' raiding, 'predatory' raiding, 'murderous' raiding and even 'rapacious' raiding (Fleischer, 2002:131, Wheeler, 2009:93). The terms to indicate this new type of raiding are obvious in that this type of cattle raiding is driven by the desire to increase one's herd at the expense of neighbouring peoples, by cultural instinct for power, and even more so for commercial reasons. The nature of and rationale behind cattle raiding changed over the years. It became more individualized and commercialised. Also the rules to limit the damage done to life and property when raiding and instruments such as mediation and compensation have been replaced by retribution and revenge (Markakis, 2004:26).

Molosiwa argues that the practice of cattle raiding already underwent a process of transformation during the colonial period in Botswana as colonial policy turned the traditional practice of cattle raiding into that of commercial theft and cash-oriented smuggling. Pastoralists in Botswana started to perceive their cattle as a 'marketable commodity'. The breakdown of traditional law enforcement mechanisms by the colonial rulers also contributed to this transformation (Molosiwa, 2007:201). The same is argued by Hendrickson et al (1998) regarding Kenya. They argue that the colonial policies in Kenya prevented the pastoralists from pursuing their productive activities and also aggravated the raiding of cattle as the state got greater control over pastoral affairs. As a result of the state having more control, the authority of the elders diminished (Hendrickson et al, 1998:10).

According to analysts the main rationale for an increase in the practice of cattle raiding is the introduction and availability of small arms in the Horn of Africa since the 1970's and 1980's. A shrinking resource base (water and pasture) as a result of droughts is also influencing the occurrence of raiding (Mohamed Salih, 1993:14). Not only droughts are responsible for a shrinking resource base, but commercial agriculture and changing consumption patterns also have their share. Similarly, according to Markakis these current conflicts for survival are often 'woven into larger confrontations,

²⁵ Whereas some argue that tribes can raid within the same tribe, as long as it concerns a different clan (Beswick, 2004:142).

as the pastoralists seek allies and sources of weapons'. To illustrate this he mentions the Sudanese government that assisted in arming tribal militias in the South (Markakis, 1998:44, 2004:26). In addition, pastoralists have also been armed by embattled governments in order to fight their opponents (Markakis, 2004:27). When it suits their interests, pastoralists fight on behalf of the state (Mohamed Salih, 1993:14).

Droughts are also responsible for the death of livestock that needs to be replenished. By some it is argued that (for example in the Ilemi triangle) the demand for livestock has increased as a result of the presence of rebels as they need food to survive and in many cases wildlife has disappeared as a result of the civil wars in Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda (Simala and Amutabli, 2005:202). Also in border areas commercial trading in cattle is on the increase as a result of the increasing demand for cattle. Another change in the nature of raiding is that previously it was more of a 'communal venture, organized and sanctioned by community leaders'. However, individual gain is the purpose of current raiding (Markakis, 2004:27).

However, not all agree that there is an increase in violence or that this type of violence is a new phenomenon, but instead argue that violence has always been a part of pastoral societies and a form of interaction among them (Knighton, 2001:22). Although most authors seem to attribute the transformation from redistributive raiding into predatory raiding to the prevalence of small arms, Hendrickson et al argue that this transformation is caused by the involvement of non-pastoral actors (such as traders and militias) in the practice of raiding and hereby undermining the pastoral livelihoods as well as the socio-economic integrity of the pastoral system (Hendrickson et al, 1998:9). Hendrickson argues that cattle raiding at the local level often resonates with political events at the national level (Hendrickson et al, 1998:10).

The consequences of cattle raiding as many pastoralists experience it today can be devastating, both directly in terms of human lives and loss of property, but also indirectly as the permanent state of insecurity stemming from the threat of raids keeps many pastoralists from cultivating their plots and therefore negatively impacts the food security situation. McCabe illustrates this connection between famine and cattle raiding among the East African pastoralists by describing the case of the Turkana and argues that drought is erroneously often blamed to cause famines as drought is politically neutral, whereas raiding so far has been more devastating than droughts (McCabe, 2004:103). This insecurity also has its impact on the herd mobility as pastoralists are forced to restrict the grazing of the livestock to areas that are relatively secure but often less suitable for cattle (and increases the chances of overgrazing). On the contrary, other pastures are ungrazed and become less suitable for grazing over time as thorny shrubs get the chance to grow when not grazed (Hendrickson et al, 1998:12).

Another consequence (as well as a cause at the same time) of the predatory type of raiding is the breakdown of the moral economy. Hendrickson et al (1998) argue that the moral practices that pastoralists resort to in times of crisis (borrow cereal or livestock from neighbours in times of need) are breaking down (Hendrickson et al, 1998:13). Linked to this consequence is the fact that people and livestock tend to cluster together for protection in times of insecurity, often together with the (extended) family. This clustering makes them extremely vulnerable as when they get raided, there is no one left to turn to for help or cattle to replenish the herd as the support group is clustered together and raided as well (McCabe, 2004:104).

2.1.2. Type of conflict

The most appropriate term to describe the conflict in Jonglei state is probably *ethnic conflict*. Ethnic conflict is defined by Brown as 'a dispute about political, economic, social, cultural, or territorial issues between two or more ethnic communities' (Brown, 2001:211). This definition however does not imply that the ethnic differences are causing the conflicts or disputes as such, only that the conflicts are between certain ethnic communities.

As cattle are a central feature in the conflict in this research, I will also use the definition of Hussein as he describes conflict in relation to cattle: 'simple arguments between individuals or with

the State, but also theft, raiding of livestock, killing of humans or livestock and large-scale violence between groups involving multiple killings' (Hussein, 1998:21). Hussein does not mention the underlying motives or linkages between the warring parties, but instead leaves this open to debate. Even though the conflicts we encounter in Jonglei state might also be influenced by other factors that are not directly related to cattle, in the way the conflicts in Jonglei evolve there is always cattle involved which makes the aforementioned definition the most relevant in this context.

In order to analyse cattle raiding in the context of Jonglei state, several theories will be used. For the purpose of this research, I will focus on a combination of the resource scarcity paradigm and the political ecology theory whereby the concept of grievance will be discussed as well. The resource scarcity paradigm will offer useful insights as the conflicts in Jonglei state are somehow linked to certain resources. Also, the assessment for LWF that initiated this research was inspired by the resource scarcity theory and therefore it makes sense to analyse the findings from this research by using this theory²⁶. Apart from the environmental aspects, social, cultural, economic and political aspects should also be taken into consideration when looking at the conflict, which political ecology will provide for. Even though the following theories have been used in order to look at the findings of the research, the focus of this research has been the local perspectives. During the field research I tried to appreciate the perspective of the people that are living the conflicts and by doing this get an understanding of why they steal each other's cattle and kill people in this struggle, instead of reasoning solely from literature and (apparent) distant theories.

2.2. From resource scarcity to political ecology

2.2.1. Resource scarcity theory

The main reason for including the resource scarcity theory in this framework is that LWF used this theory as the point of departure for their research set-up and assumed that the conflicts were primarily caused by a lack of water resources (and pasture) for the cattle. In addition, it is a plausible theory that is used to explain many conflicts in Sub Sahara Africa in a time where climate change is high on the international agenda, especially when it concerns pastoral communities that are heavily depending on natural resources for their survival. Since the late 1960's environmental issues appeared on the international political agenda as the widespread view emerged that the environment is degrading partly as a result of population pressure and climate change. This in turn was causing resource scarcity and bringing along with it all sorts of negative consequences on the long term, such as (violent) conflict.

The resource scarcity theory mainly addresses renewable resources, such as water, pasture, land etc. The resources that are dealt with in this research are water, pasture and of course cattle. Even though cattle is an important resource that is central in this research (and is scarce to a certain extent as will become clear when discussing the type of conflict at a later stage), the scarcity that is discussed in this research mainly concerns water and pasture that are needed to sustain the cattle.

The resource scarcity theory finds its origin in Malthus, who argued that scarcity occurs when the population grows at rates that outstrip any growth of resources and that eventually the population will decline as a result of famines, misery and wars (Gausset and Whyte, 2005:8). Neo-Malthusians build on the theory of Malthus and focused on the consequences of scarcity on the environment instead of merely people; people are over-exploiting resources, which leads to degradation, which leads to more scarcity, more over-exploitation and increased degradation. According to Gausset and Whyte, many neo-Malthusians 'are deeply pessimistic, predicting that resources (and population) *must* decline', whereas Malthus expected production (and population) to increase (Gausset and Whyte, 2005:10). Culture is perceived as a threat to nature by neo-Malthusians and therefore the

²⁶ Especially as LWF is not alone in it's assumptions as more NGO's apply the theory of resource scarcity in their projects.

environment should be protected from 'reckless human exploitation' in order to prevent conflict (as degradation leads to famine, migration and eventually to conflict) (Gausset and Whyte, 2005:11).

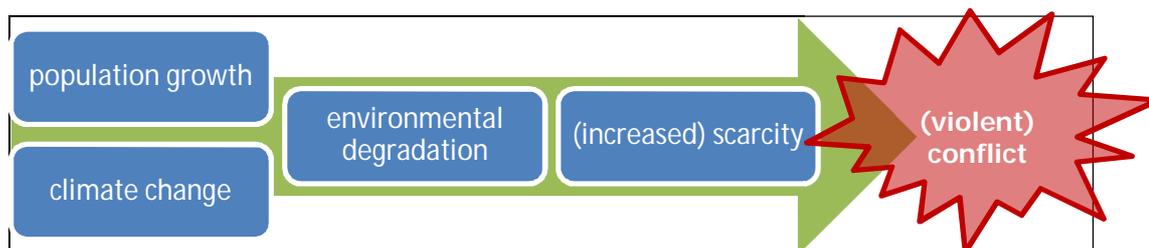


Figure 2.1. Resource scarcity theory

Climate change

As water resources and the availability of pasture are largely depending on the climate and the rainy season, climate change will be addressed shortly in this framework. That the climate of the world we live in is changing is obvious; the global temperature will rise, precipitation patterns will change and more extreme events will occur (Lee, 2009). However, less obvious are the effects this change in climate will have in various areas. Even though it is unclear how the rainfall patterns will change in the future, what is undisputed though is that a warming climate will have a negative impact on water sources, despite a change in the rainfall patterns (Hulme et al, 2001:165). Possible impacts of climate change are crop failure, drought, sea-level changes, river basin degradation, conflicts over fishing resources (as fishing diminishes due to rising temperature), migration related to climate (could increase the risk of political instability and conflict) etc. Reduced water availability may induce conflict between different users (herders and farmers for example). Lee expects states in sub-Saharan Africa to collapse as a result of future droughts, 'Africans will increasingly become caught up in livelihood wars' (Lee, 2009:140), whereas Gleditsch argues that general relationships between environmental change and conflict have been proven difficult to establish (Gleditsch, 2009:13).

Scarcity and access

Many types of scarcity can be found in literature as scarcity is not only determined by the plain availability of a certain resource. Lee describes four types of scarcity: physical scarcity (limits on the availability of finite sources); geopolitical scarcity (the distribution of resources between countries, both finite and renewable); socio-economic scarcity (distribution differences within countries); and environmental scarcity (availability of renewable resources) (Lee, 2009:5). The scarcity the research area is confronted with is most likely socio-economic scarcity. Rather than 'natural scarcity' (created by an unbalance between population and territory) it is argued that it is actually 'political scarcity' (the deprivation of the resources of one group by another) that results in conflicts over natural resource management (Gausset and Whyte, 2005:20).

The deprivation of resources of one group by another comes down to access to a certain territory or resource. Even though a certain resource may be abundant, it can be scarce to a certain group as a result of access. Ribot and Peluso define access as 'the ability to benefit from things – including material objects, persons, institutions, and symbols' (Ribot and Peluso, 2005:153). They mention several types of access, of which one is applicable to the conflicts occurring in Jonglei state; access via negotiation or social relations. Juul confirms this by mentioning that 'in many African societies, relationships pertaining to shared access to resources like water sources play a significant role in binding the community together in on going networks of rights and obligations' (Juul, 2005:114). This issue of access is already pointing towards the political ecology theory as scarcity gets determined not (only) by the availability of the natural resources as such, but more by the socio-economic and political context that shapes the type and amount of access.

In general the resource scarcity theory is rather straightforward in reasoning, which makes it an attractive theory to work with; resource scarcity is considered to be a given and the theory mainly looks at how scarcity can lead to conflict and not so much to whom scarcity might be an issue and how scarcity can influence other aspects in society and vice versa. It does not seem to ask these additional, though necessary, questions about scarcity. When approaching scarcity from a political ecology perspective however, these questions are taken into consideration.

2.2.2. Political ecology

The political ecology theory also looks at scarcity, but from different perspectives; political, social, economic and cultural, and thereby asking different questions about scarcity. Although conflicts might be framed in terms of access to natural resources, and be made more acute by climate change and environmental degradation, it should not be forgotten that their cause is often socio-political. Gausset and Whyte address the need to broaden our understanding of natural resource management and look beyond the assumption that conflict is caused mainly by the combination of population pressure and territorial limitations (Gausset and Whyte, 2005:14). According to Theisen, empirical testing of environmental security models has revealed mixed results and indicated that ‘a shortage of renewable resources is not the most important factors underlying violent social unrest’ (Theisen, 2008:802). As Gleditsch points out, ‘resource and environmental factors might very well play a significant role in conflicts; the relationship is modified by other variables associated with insecurity. Conflicts must be viewed in the context of a multifaceted view (politics, economics, cultural factors and the history of conflict) (Gleditsch, 2001:59). In addition Billon argues that ‘the violent conflictuality of resource exploitation or production is closely linked to the failure and degeneration of political systems’ (Billon, 2001:568). As Gleditsch quite rightly remarks, political, economic and cultural variables are often ignored when it comes to resource scarcity and conflict (Gleditsch, 1998:389). As such, apparent environmental conflicts are also political and social, and should be understood by using a political ecology approach.

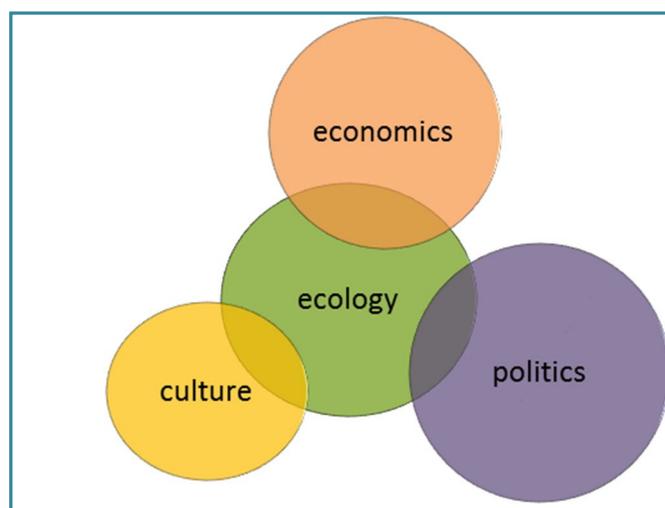


Figure 2.2. Political ecology

The political ecology paradigm evolved as a critique against the aforementioned rather apolitical theory of resource scarcity perceiving conflict as a result of environmental degradation and resource scarcity. Blaikie and Brookfield are usually credited with elevating ‘political ecology’ into an emerging paradigm for human-environmental research. They tried to ‘combine ecological analysis with that of political economy with a focus to the use and management of natural resources at the local level. Political ecology incorporates historical, political, and economic analyses’ (McCabe, 2004:31,32). It tries to identify how political, economic, social and cultural factors relate with

ecological issues. This interrelation between ecology and the political, economic and cultural factors is a central feature in political ecology. As Gleditsch puts it, ‘resource and environmental issues do play a role in conflict, but the relationship between these issues and armed conflict is modified by the general political, economic, and cultural factors at work in armed conflict generally’ (Gleditsch, 2001:64).

Grievance

Scarcity and the lack of access to certain resources have the potential of causing grievances²⁷ within and among groups involved. In the case of Jonglei state the Nuer can feel deprived for not being allowed to the *toich* by the Dinka. Deprivation however can be experienced at different levels, when someone is not allowed access to certain resources, but also when someone's property is damaged by others for example. Therefore I would like to pay some attention to the concept of grievance as that seems to be an important feature in the conflicts along the migration routes in Jonglei state.

The concept of grievance refers to the fact that conflict is fuelled by deprivation and the grievance produced by it. This deprivation can be experienced economically, socially, culturally or politically. Central to grievance are concepts of inter-ethnic inequality and the formation of identity. Murshed and Tadjoeeddin subdivide the concept of grievance into polarisation, relative deprivation and horizontal inequality (Murshed and Tadjoeeddin, 2009:98, 99). With relative deprivation there is a discrepancy between ones 'aspirations and achievements'. Relative deprivation is more of a psychological process whereby the perceptions and frustrations can lead to collective violence whereas horizontal inequality argues that issues of social and economic injustice as such generate the motives behind opposition (Regan and Norton, 2009:321). Relative deprivation as well as horizontal inequality possibly play a role in the conflicts between the tribes involved as historically there are quite some (political) grievances between the Nuer and the Dinka.

Brown also refers to grievances for crimes that have been committed against certain tribes and points out that group histories and group perceptions play an important role in keeping these grievances alive (Brown, 2001:218). In addition identity and ethnicity are central features of the grievance theory which is reflected in how relative deprivation can be expressed: across ethno-communal lines, regional boundaries, and societal classes. Also the horizontal inequalities are often between groups classified by ethnicity, religion, tribal affiliations etc. (Murshed and Tadjoeeddin, 2009:98). This aspect of the grievance concept is also relevant to Jonglei state as the conflicts seem to erupt between tribes and communities, and therefore along ethno-communal lines and regional boundaries.

Economic motives

Conflict is often labelled as irrational, however the continuation of at-first-sight senseless conflicts is sometimes linked to the 'rational pursuit of economic goals' (Berdal and Keen, 1997:816). This corresponds with what Allen refers to as the 'economics of war' when discussing the functionality of violence (Allen, 1999:372). Apart from the economic motives behind cattle raiding, the functionality of this act enhances more than just enlarging one's herd. The size of one's herd determines one's status in the community; wealth and status are expressed by means of cattle. A very important function of cattle is to serve as the bride price, which in time will produce more cattle. Therefore the raiding of cattle is not an irrational act, but functional as it serves to enlarge the herd and thereby increasing one's wealth and status. Also Beswick argues that cattle raiding is functional as it 'is directly related to socio-economic pastoral systems whose subjects customarily rob and pillage their neighbours' (Beswick, 2004:189). The economics behind cattle raiding and marriage will be discussed in chapter 6 in more detail.

2.3. The social contract

It is always a mixture of situations and contexts that causes a conflict to erupt or influences the process of a conflict. Grievances on their own do not count for the cause of a conflict as there are many historical grievances worldwide that never led to armed conflict, in the same way economic motives only cannot count for the eruption or continuation of a conflict (Brown, 2001:209).

However, even when adding resource scarcity to the explanation, the occurrence of violent conflict is still not evident. They all might contribute to the likeliness of the outbreak of conflict, but are not sufficient. Murshed and Tadjoeeddin argue that there are societies that have enough

²⁷ The concept of grievance is understood as the feeling one can have towards others when being treated unfairly.

conditions for conflict to exist, yet these conditions fail to descend into conflict as a result of what they call 'the social contract'. In relation to economic gain and grievances they understand this contract to be 'a framework of widely agreed rules, formal as well as informal, that govern the allocation of resources and the peaceful settlement of grievances' (Murshed and Tadjoeeddin, 2009:102). They discuss the social contract mainly in a context of resource allocation and the grievances that exist as a result of unequal allocation. However, this social contract theory can be applied to a broader context than just resource allocation, economic gain and grievance; when there is a strong state capacity to protect its citizens, to ensure the law is abided to etc., it is less likely for conflict to erupt. In states where this social contract is breaking down or lacking, conflict easily arises. This is also what Brown refers to when discussing the structural factors causing conflict: weak states and intrastate security concerns. Groups do not feel protected by the state and resort to providing their own security (Brown, 2001:218). Also the social contract is relevant at a very local level, that of the governance level in the communities in Jonglei state, as the elders and chiefs are traditionally burdened with maintaining peace within and between communities. And if the respect for these elders and chiefs and their rules is diminishing, the social contract is breaking down, leaving room for conflict.

2.4. Concluding remarks

The resource scarcity theory focuses on what the scarcity (at the ecological level) can possibly generate, such as increasing pressure on the resources available, increasing competition and eventually (violent) conflict. This can be quite useful when looking at the conflicts in Jonglei state along the migration routes as it is assumed by LWF that the congestion at the *toich* and the limited availability of water and pasture generates conflict among the Dinka and Nuer. However, as not only environmental scarcity as such plays a role in the conflicts but politics, culture, economics and social aspects as well, it is important to discover how these are interrelated. Therefore in the analysis of the findings the focus will be on the political ecology of the conflicts in addition to the resource scarcity that can be found in Jonglei state. Grievances at several levels are expected to be the driving factor in the conflicts and it might be interesting to what extent people involved are driven by economic motives. The breakdown of the social contract (or lacking thereof) could also offer some interesting insights since South Sudan is the newest country and many institutions that should provide important components of the social contract, such as security and a proper legal system, are in the process of rebuilding.

The findings of this research will be held to the light of abovementioned framework. Are the conflicts that occur along the migration routes in Jonglei state caused by resource scarcity, or are there other factors that do play a role? To what extent are people driven by accumulation of wealth or grievance, and does the fact that South Sudan is amongst the newest (and one of the least developed) countries influences the conflicts?

However, before answering these questions, the next chapter will discuss the methodology that has been applied to gather the data for this research.



Chapter 3. Methodology

'If we knew what it was we were doing, it would not be called research, would it?' (Albert Einstein)

Often I did not know what I was doing either and therefore Einstein's saying is quite comforting. However, despite not always knowing what I was doing there was a plan, a methodology to guide this research. This chapter will discuss the methodology used for this research; the objective it tries to meet, the questions it attempts to answer, how the data has been collected, but most importantly the challenges faced and how these have been justified and dealt with.

3.1. Objective and Research Questions

The objective of this research is: to gain an in-depth understanding of the conflicts that arise along the migration routes in Uror, Duk and Twic East county during the dry season.

Direction to reach this objective has been offered by the main research question: **'How can cattle raiding (along the migration routes) in Twic East, Duk and Uror county be explained with reference to ecological, political, economic and social factors and to what extent does the availability of water play a role in a possible solution?'**

The following sub questions (grouped according to relevance) have been formulated in order to answer the main research question:

Migration and developments

- Where are the migration routes located?
- To what extent are water and pasture available along the routes?
- What are the characteristics of the cattle raiding in Jonglei state?
- Where does cattle raiding take place?
- What developments have influenced the raiding of cattle?

Actors and factors

- What are the different actors involved in cattle raiding and how are they related?
- How and by what developments have the relationships between the various actors been shaped?

Solutions

- What measures have been taken so far to mitigate the raiding of cattle by the actors involved?
- What can be done to prevent the extensive raiding from happening in future?

3.2. Methodology

This research is a case study with the conflicts along the migration routes being the case and the unit of analysis at the same time. The case study design is the most appropriate as I seek to understand the conflicts as a whole within its context.

This research is partly based on a base line survey that gathered quantitative as well as qualitative data. Apart from the data that was collected for the base line survey, a substantial amount of qualitative data has been gathered in order to complement the base line survey and to get a proper in depth understanding of the conflicts concerned. Multiple sources have been consulted to obtain different perspectives and insights. Abovementioned research questions are quite pragmatic as this research has been woven into the LWF base line survey.

3.2.1. Data collection

Several forms of data collection have been used to be able to describe and understand the different aspects of the conflicts from different angles. The formulated research questions have been answered by means of literature research as well as actual field research. In addition to academic literature, project documents of the LWF have been consulted.

The information that the base line survey was after has been gathered mainly by means of questionnaires. However, the majority of the data collected during the field research for this thesis has mainly been derived from semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (FGD's) in order to get more in-depth information. In addition many ethnographic/informal interviews and direct observations have been a great source of information. In addition to the individual households, several stakeholders have been interviewed like the local authorities (commissioners, payam administrators and village leaders) and other NGO's working in the research areas. For a complete overview of the respondents, see annex B.

Type of interview	Occupation	Number of interviews	
		M	F
Focus Group Discussion (FGD)	Cattle keepers	1	
	Farmers	1	
	Village leaders/chiefs	2	
	Other	4	1
Total number of FGD's		8	1
Questionnaires	Cattle keepers	6	6
	Farmers	28	53
	Village leaders/chiefs	6	
	Other	8	6
Total number of questionnaires		48	66
Semi-structured interviews	Village leaders/chiefs	8	
	NGO staff	1	
	other	4	
Total number of semi-structured interviews		13	0
Total number of interviews held		69	66

Table 3.1. Overview of types of interviews

3.2.2. Sampling

In order to gain an in-depth understanding (and prevent a one-sided story) it was important to involve respondents from both groups involved, the Dinka as well as the Nuer. From both ethnic groups more or less the same amount of people have been interviewed. During the fieldwork it turned out quite soon that the Murle²⁸ are playing a huge part in the local conflicts concerning cattle raiding as well. However, as LWF is not working in that area and as time was limited, but more importantly the area too insecure, I have not been able to involve this group of stakeholders²⁹.

The first stage of the sampling has been characterized by purposive sampling. Within the selected research area (Uror county, Duk county and Twic East county) several payams that are hosting the migration routes have been selected. Within these payams, bomas, and (within these bomas) villages have been selected based on their distance to the migration routes. As I was mainly interested in what happens along the migration routes (as both Nuer and Dinka come together there and the conflicts were expected mainly to take place there), only the villages along these routes have been targeted. Apart from the villages one cattle camp has been targeted as most of the cattle camps are situated at the *toich*, which was not included in the research area. Unfortunately for insecurity reasons I have not been able to reach all selected payams, bomas and villages.

For logistic reasons convenience sampling has been applied for the second and final stage of sampling. The initial idea was to select the households randomly within the targeted villages and I intended to calculate the number of households needed in order to have a proportionate sample, but the number of households per boma/village more often got determined by external forces such as lack of time and lack of means. It turned out that transect walks were the most appropriate way of selecting households. In addition to this it should be considered that Jonglei state itself is three times as big as the Netherlands and the roads are in a very poor condition³⁰, especially during the rainy season.

Apart from the interviews I tried to have at least one FGD in every targeted village. Preferably one with men and one with women, however all (but one) FGD's consisted of men, sporadically a woman was attending. But these women would hardly speak up as that might not be appropriate from a cultural perspective. However, we have been able to interview quite some women as they are the ones that stay behind when the men go to take the cattle to the *toich*.

3.2.3. Tools

For executing the majority of the interviews, a questionnaire has been developed containing a range of open as well as closed questions. See annex C for the questionnaire. The majority of the people in the targeted villages were not expected to be literate, the questionnaires have not been handed out, but instead the questions have been asked and the answers have been filled in by us. For the FGD's a list with relevant topics has been prepared, see annex D for this list. The ethnographic/informal interviews were like open conversations and therefore no official tools have been applied for these interviews.

3.3. Reflections on the methodology

It should be no surprise that during the process of writing the research proposal up to writing the final thesis quite some adaptations have been made regarding the theoretical framework and methodologies as chosen before the actual data collection in the field took place. The research proposal that I was planning to follow was of no use when I arrived in South Sudan as the subject changed quickly. Most of the literature review I had to do when I was back in the Netherlands. Also the research proposal was mainly based on what I learned from LWF as I did not have the time or the abilities to check the information that justified their planned base line survey.

²⁸ A tribe from Pibor (Jonglei state).

²⁹ Apart from one lady who was a Murle but married to a Nuer and therefore considered herself to be a Nuer.

³⁰ In the entire state of Jonglei there is not a single tarmaced road, not even a tarmaced airstrip.

The advantage of looking into most of the literature after doing the field research was that the literature came alive due to the experience and stories heard in the field. This enabled me to apply some of the literature in the process of analysis, whereas otherwise I would have missed out on that literature, simply because I did not expect it to be of any relevance for the thesis. It also enabled me to apply the literature on the things experienced and heard in the field.

However, a backdrop of this reversed process (literature review after field research) is that at the time of developing the questionnaire and list of topics to be used for the discussions and interviews I was lacking sufficient in-depth and relevant knowledge to formulate the right and appropriate questions. Also during the discussions and interviews I could have better managed the responses I received and would have been able to ask questions into more specific directions when having more knowledge on the subjects to start with.

Time was limited as well as the research area. Due to this only a fraction of the population relevant to the research could have been visited and questioned, which might not give a full picture of what exactly triggers the conflicts. Even more so, in order to get a deeper understanding of people's behaviour, long term work is needed in order to be able to see how the tensions change over time as the context, (natural) environment and social relations also change.

When it comes to statistics and numbers, it has to be taken into account that statistics concerning a country such as South Sudan, which has known war for two decades, are not very accurate or complete and also an area of political debate due to on-going border disputes, population movements as a result of the referendum and the independence (Bennett et al, 2010:19). Markakis also noted that 'population projections generally fail to take into account the impact of widespread and protracted war and massive population displacements' and argued that the data regarding Sudan should be used with caution (Markakis, 1998:11). The numbers used in this thesis (regarding the population size of the people as well as the cattle) should therefore also be interpreted as a rough estimation. The most recent population census dates from 2008 and has been adjusted on a yearly basis. However, the massive return of many refugees and IDP's makes it impossible to mention a correct number.

This research might achieve rather good internal validity as it will provide a proper understanding of the conflicts within its context. In this research I have tried to get the local perspective, look at the conflicts from different points of view and see how different aspects might relate to one another. The external validity however is non-existent as a case does not give any basis for statistical generalizing to a wider population than the population the case study is based on. Also the sampling has not been randomised but purposive and convenience sampling has been used instead, and is therefore not representative. However, De Vaus argues that statistical generalization is not something a case study strives for, but theoretical generalization instead (De Vaus, 2001:247). Theoretical generalization is generalizing from a case to a theory, and by means of this particular case study I intend to test the theories as described in the previous chapter. Therefore the statistical generalization is of less importance in this research.

As the sample does not represent the larger population, the percentages mentioned in this thesis should not be read as being representative. The percentages mentioned are only reflecting the percentages of the respondents that have been questioned.

The language barrier is always an issue when doing research in a country of which you don't master the language. Fortunately I still remembered some Arabic phrases, so I could at least greet the people and introduce myself in the language the majority of the South Sudanese are familiar with, which created a bit of confidence. The two other main languages in the research are Dinka and Nuer, which were the languages in which the interviews were conducted by means of a translator. Obviously the use of translators does affect the results and outcomes of the interviews as misunderstandings are easy and some words might not exist in the foreign language and vice versa.

The translators in the Dinka area were LWF staff and familiar with the communities in the areas we held the interviews and discussions. However, the area where people speak Nuer was more challenging as we also had to look for translators on the spot since LWF was not yet operating in that area. In addition to the translation, the local staff in Twic East and Duk counties could introduce us to the communities and acted as cultural brokers as well.

Being an external researcher brings along advantages as well as disadvantages. As an outsider I have a perspective that is not shaped by local conditions. This is a constraint at the same time as an outsider lacks knowledge about the area, the language and customs, which makes it might more difficult to place the findings in the context of the area. In addition my perceptions are formed and influenced by my cultural background, which makes it even more difficult to understand the cultural practices of the people in Jonglei state, especially regarding marriage and the position of women.

When doing research with a NGO chances are that the respondents perceive you as someone being able to change their situation for the good, which could produce socially acceptable answers. However, half of the respondents involved were from areas that would not immediately benefit from the planned intervention, as the future project would be implemented in Uror county. In addition, the topic of the research and more importantly the majority of the solutions to the conflicts as proposed by the respondents, was not something that could be solved by LWF and that was not expected by the respondents either. Also, if they had other requests that were related to their needs, they would ask that separately after the interview/discussion. Therefore I do not expect the answers to be biased to an extent worth mentioning by my affiliation with a NGO. Besides, this research would not have been possible without the facilities offered by LWF, especially when taking the security situation into account.

Regarding security, during the field research I was based at the base of LWF in Panyagor, Twic East county, which is relatively safe. However, the majority of the data has been gathered in Duk county and Uror county which are considered to be insecure areas. This mainly influenced the sampling method as decided upon initially.

Also logistically I could not always go to every payam/boma I selected in the first place. Most of the time it had to fit into the schedule of other project activities (to some extent) as available transportation was limited. Also some areas were just too far to reach. In addition to that was the slow start of the rainy season that made some roads very difficult to access. Also due to lack of communication infrastructure it was very challenging to arrange appointments and to mobilise people.

Apart from that things just work different in areas such as Jonglei state. You cannot just call the secretary of the commissioner if you want to meet him for an interview; you have to meet him first in person to make an appointment. Because things go different and often unplanned, it also has a positive side as people are very flexible in return and willing to volunteer in translation etc. In addition to transportation, every day we had to arrange for people to show us the way in the communities and translate for us. However, proper preparation (in terms of transport and translation) did not guarantee the absence of unexpected events: you always have other people (sometimes armed) travelling with you³¹, or someone's cattle gets stolen and then you have to check out where they are etc.

People in Jonglei state tend to tell stories, oral narratives. In the rural areas the majority of the people is not used to read and write and note things or happenings down, they often do not simply provide facts when asked a question, instead they tell stories. In her book on the history of South Sudan, Beswick describes the pros and cons of using oral narratives. Reliability and accuracy of the stories is reducing over the years, but on the other hand can be very useful (Beswick, 2004:3). For

³¹ Since cars were rather rare in the areas the research took place, and public transport often non-existent.

this thesis I did not rely on oral histories as much as Beswick and I did not intend to reconstruct the history of Jonglei state in South Sudan. However, some historical events will be discussed and the information I got from the respondents were not always uniform, but regarding most of the events I have been able to verify the exact date, location and people involved.

The level of research and analysis is from the individual up to community level. I highly value the stories of the people that lived through the war and are still confronted with a different type of conflict on a regular basis and I would like to tell their story instead of providing a political analysis of the issues in Jonglei state. I am mainly interested why people do the things they do, why they raid cattle, how they deal with their cattle being taken, why do they take a certain migration route and what the effects of their decisions are on the community at large. There is a rich literature on South Sudan from a political and historical point of view, also cattle raiding has been studied by many scholars. However, in this research I tended to capture the perspectives of the people that have to live with it, whose lives are affected by the local conflicts.

By limiting this research to local conflicts that occur along the migration routes and at the *toich* and focusing on certain theories (resource scarcity and political ecology) I do not deny the importance of national politics on the local level, the insecurity that comes along with the presence of militia groups or the fact that international cattle trade takes place every now and then. However, I would like to grasp the local perspective with a focus on cattle raiding as such. So, for this research no helicopter view, but a local view as that possibly offers new interesting perspectives.

The following four chapters contain the findings of this research; the findings that tend provide an answer to the aforementioned research questions. The findings chapters are filled with quotes of respondents. The respondent that is responsible for the information is referred to by means of a code. The code is a combination of the abbreviation of the county with the number of the respondent.



Chapter 4. Conflicts along the migration routes

The initial idea of LWF was to map the several migration routes people take to the *toich* and also to identify the troubled spots and check the water (and pasture) availability along the route and at the *toich* to see if there is a link between the availability of natural resources and the conflicts along the route. This chapter will therefore start with the migration routes and continue with the characteristics of the conflicts; cattle raiding and how the people involved perceive this. This chapter will in part answer whether the resource scarcity approach is applicable to the conflicts in Jonglei state or not.

4.1. Migration

Migration is not a new phenomenon in Jonglei state, respondents argued that their people have been migrating for as long as they can remember. As discussed earlier, due to the harsh climate and natural environment (that does not allow a lot of agriculture and lacks water in the dry season), people are forced to migrate to places where there is water and pasture for their cattle. Considering the climatic conditions, pastoralism is the most sensible production system. Respondents in Uror argued that '*Uror is like the savannah, people have to migrate in search for water*' (U-1)³² and '*Uror has a savannah climate so cultivation in this area is minimal. This makes people keeping cattle. The current situation (of migration) is caused by nature, as there is no choice but to keep cattle. In Equatoria people rely on cultivation as there is better soil and a better climate*' (U-11).

Over the years some change has been taking place regarding migration patterns; more or less migration, different routes. These changes are caused by several factors, of which insecurity (caused by cattle raiding) is a prominent one. Many people fear to migrate to the *toich* as they are afraid they will get attacked and cattle will be looted during the migration. Also, as a result of the disarmament policies, many people don't have guns anymore and are therefore not able to defend themselves. Therefore there is restricted migration this year (U-12). Some respondents argued they have not been taken their cattle to the *toich* for the past three years due to insecurity (U-59). Others resort to travelling by night, arranging an escort to the *toich* or travel in large groups in order to minimize the risk of being raided. In order to protect their people when migrating, the county of Uror sends a police escort along with the people to the *toich* (U-11). The level of insecurity also dictates the period people stay at the *toich* with their cattle, it is therefore not determined by the start of the rainy season only. '*When there is conflict, people stay till April at the Toich. But if there is no conflict, then people will stay till June or July at the toich with their cattle*' (U-65).

The availability of water plays a role as well in the migration patterns, at different levels. Some argued that before the introduction of the boreholes, the entire family migrated and stayed in the cattle camps for the duration of the dry season. However, since most of the villages have

³² The code is a combination of the abbreviation of the county with the number of the respondent.

boreholes, it is only the young boys and men that migrate, with some women to cook and take care of them. But the majority of the children, the women and elder people stay behind.

The other level is dealing with the flood of last year. Many people from Uror did not migrate with their cattle to Duk or Twic East county as there has been a flood in Uror in 2010, which provided enough water and pasture for the cattle to stay in Uror (U-14, D-9). Some went to a local *toich* (Patai) as water from the flood got stored there (U-54). Interestingly respondents in Uror argued that they experienced less cattle raiding this year as a result of the floods and decrease in migration this year (U-50). They added though, that the raiding the held the Murle responsible for increased and was more intense (*'as they even took some women'*) (U-56).

Another reason for people migrating less that has been mentioned is that the amount of cattle available is decreasing as a result of the continuing raids. Quite some respondents in Uror had to reply with a negative answer when I asked how much cattle they own currently, as their got stolen either recently or during previous years (U-43).

4.1.1. Location of migration routes

Every county and community has its own area at the *toich*. This has been decided upon and agreed long time ago by the ancestors. As communities in Uror are depending on the *toich* of other counties, permission is asked and agreements³³ are made between the chiefs of the communities involved.

There are six migration routes that are used by the inhabitants of Twic East, Duk and Uror county, of which five are situated in the selected research area (Twic East, Duk and Uror county). The sixth route is taking the people to the *toich* of Ayod county, and therefore has not been looked at during this survey to the extent that I have been interviewing respondents from Ayod itself. However, the route to Ayod is included in this survey as it turned out that the respondents from Uror mainly travel through Duk county and Ayod county and do not use the route through Twic East. In addition Karam (a local *toich* in Uror) and Akobo have been mentioned by few respondents as places they go to in order to get water and pasture.

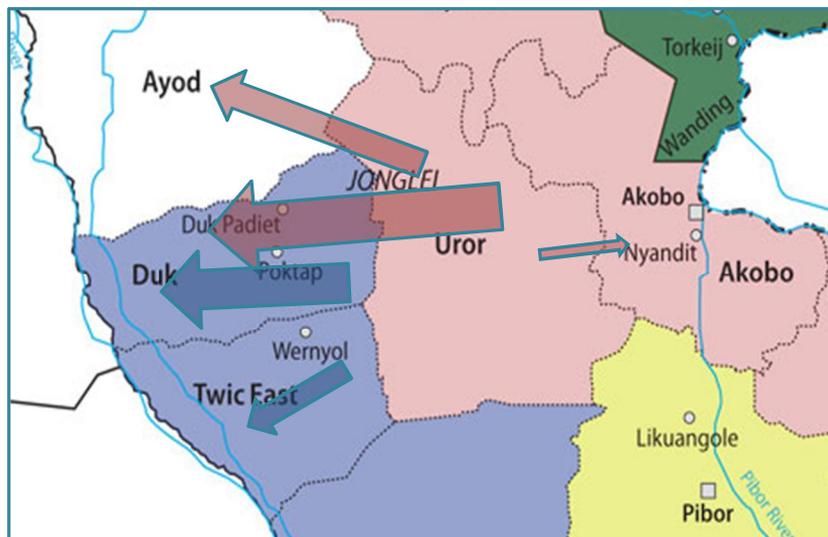


Figure 4.1. Migration routes taken by respondents

(the red arrows represent migration from Uror and the blue arrows represent migration from Duk and Twic East. The red arrow to Duk Padiet also includes the route to Duk Pajut. The blue arrow to Duk Poktap also includes the route to Duk Amiel).

As it was assumed that the majority of the conflicts took place along the migration routes and at the *toich*, it was relevant to identify what migration routes the respondents in Uror county (and Duk county to a lesser extent) are taking and what motivates them to do so. Figure 4.1 shows the routes taken by the respondents, each colour representing a different tribe.

³³ These agreements include rules such as not stealing each others cattle, don't fight, and fines imposed when rules are violated. However, in many cases these agreements have not been respected.

People consider different options when it comes to alternative routes as a result of insecurity. Some argue they take the route to Ayod as that is safer, whereas others argue they avoid the route to Ayod and take Duk Padiet or Poktap for example (U-15, U-38) as there have been many attacks. The migration routes to Akobo, Karam and Duk Poktap are mainly taken because of safety and proximity to the place where people live. Duk Pajut is mainly taken because it used to be near to the homes of respondents, whereas Ayod is mainly taken as that route has less conflict compared to routes to *toiches* in Duk county. The most popular route for the respondents in Uror is the route to Duk Padiet as it is the shortest distance. Apart from taking alternative routes or not migrating at all, some communities are escorted by the police on their way to the *toich*. However, when the people arrive at the *toich* and the escort is leaving them, it often happens they are attacked any way (U-1).

4.1.2. Access

'Nuer from Uror raid whenever they migrate to the Nile and we have, as a result, stopped them from migrating through our soils' (D-3).

The payam administrator made a comparison: when I come to your place you will welcome me and give me a bed and food. But if I misbehave and abuse your hospitality by taking away your money, would you invite me again? (D-14).

'Land is communal, it belongs to God, so who are we not to share it?' (D-1)

Before people migrate to the *toich* with their cattle, the elders make arrangements (rules of safe passage) with the elders from the communities that border the river Nile. Every community has its own part of the *toich* and the demarcations have been decided upon by their ancestors long time ago (see the picture at the beginning of this chapter, an elder from Duk Padiet is drawing the division of the *toich* in the sand). In order to make sure people respect these rules breaking the rules is punished by means of fines. *'If you break these rules, you will be fined with cattle or money to pay'* (D-22).

However, when the rules of safe passage are not respected (because someone got killed, cattle got stolen etc.), communities deny access to the *toich* to the people from Uror. *'People in Ayod are rejecting the people from this area for passing through their area on the way to the toich'* (U-36).

Since the Bor massacre in 1991 access to the *toich* has diminished as a result of the disturbed relationship between the Dinka and Nuer. *'Since 1991 the rules for safe passage with the Nuer changed, the Nuer have been denied access to the route to the toich as they misbehaved. Then there was peace again between the Dinka and Nuer until some years back, then the raiding and fighting started again'* (D-13). The consequences of what happened in 1991 will be discussed into more detail in the following chapter as well as more recent events that influenced the access to the *toich*, such as the killing of the paramount chief of Duk county.

Despite the rules and the denial of access, some communities in Uror county still try to get access to the water and pastures along the river Nile. *'As people in Duk don't want us to pass, we sometimes go by force as we need the water and the pastures'* (U-1). Or alternative migration routes are taken when access is denied. *'We went to Ayod this year as the people in Duk Poktap and Duk Padiet blocked the road since 3 years'* (U-4).

4.1.3. Availability of water and pastures

Regarding water availability along the migration routes, there are some water points along the route in the form of boreholes in the villages and some wells. However, some respondents only consider boreholes to be proper water points, whereas others had a broader definition of water points and consequently also indicated wells along the migration routes. Lack of water during migration is considered to be a problem as it got mentioned as the second biggest issue they face after cattle raiding but according to the respondents not perceived as a cause of conflict as such. For people in Uror county (Yuai surroundings) it takes about three days to travel to the *toich* and most people carry water along as a solution, or travel at night so less water is needed. LWF initially intended to rehabilitate boreholes along the migration routes as well as installing new ones when needed. Even

though this is not immediately an issue that triggers conflict, the migrating population will still be helped with water provision along the route.

I have not really looked into the availability of pastures along the route as the majority of the pastures can be found at the *toich*, since that is why people are moving in that direction.

Apart from the water sources along the migration routes, the water availability in general in Uror county is also relevant as it explains why people migrate. Regarding water availability for the livestock, the wet season provides enough water for the cattle to remain in the villages and surroundings. Under normal climate conditions³⁴ almost all respondents take their cattle to the *toich* in search for water and pasture. The majority of the respondents leave for the *toich* in January in order to return in May or June. However, almost a quarter of the respondents in Uror county did not migrate this year as this area got flooded in 2010, which provided enough water and pasture for the cattle to remain in Uror during the dry season. In most cases some few cattle are left behind in the villages to provide the little children with milk, while the other cattle is at the *toich*. The remaining cattle have the borehole as their water source in the dry season.

4.1.4. Location of trouble spots

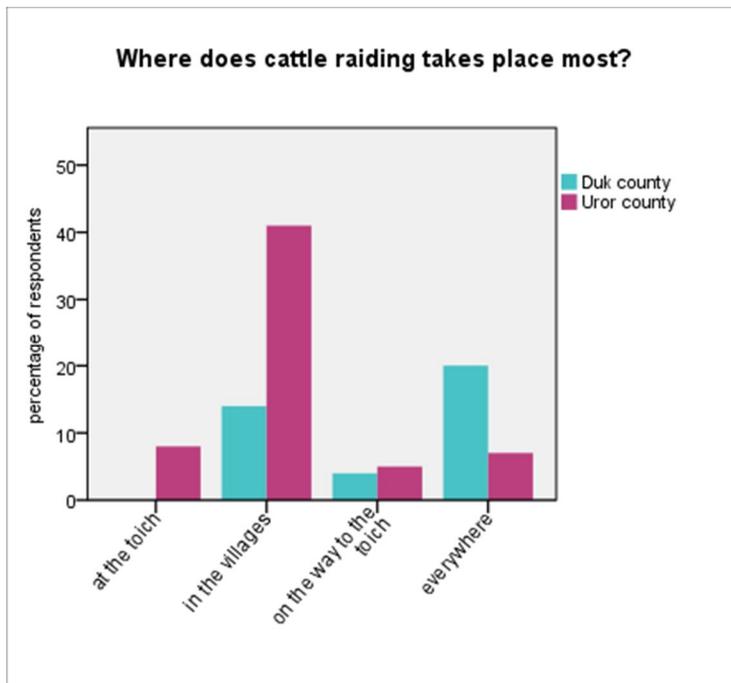


Figure 4.2. Location of trouble spots

The trouble spots, or places where cattle raiding occurs, are not only located along the migration routes as was assumed before the research, and as reflected in the main research question. In stead it seems to occur everywhere; it takes place at the *toich* (in the cattle camps), along the migration routes, and in the villages. This can be partly explained because the lack of water or pasture along the route and at the *toich* as such is not directly causing the cattle raiding as will be explained at a later stage into more detail. For this reason I have not been able to identify the exact locations of the troubled spots and conflicts along the migration routes. However, I got some insight in where cattle raiding is taking

place according to the respondents. There is quite some difference in the location of the cattle raiding according to the Nuer and according to the Dinka as can be seen in figure 5.2. A small majority (51%) of the respondents in Duk think cattle raiding takes place everywhere, whereas a clear majority (67%) of the Nuer respondents considers the villages to be most prone to cattle raiding.

In the same line as cattle raiding is not limited to certain places (*toich* or migration routes), raiding is not limited to a certain period of the year, but instead a threat the whole year through (*'the raiding takes place the whole year through, not just when the migration takes place'* (TE-17). There is however a short pause in July and August because of the inaccessibility of the areas due to the rain (D-36). When stealing cattle one should also be able to take the cattle away, which is impossible during these months, therefore cattle raiding does not take place then. Respondents did also say that

³⁴ Normal implies that the rainy season starts in May/June and the dry season starts in December/January.

the raiders are extra active when people return from the *toich* with their animals, so at the crossroads of the dry and the rainy season.

Even though cattle raiding takes place everywhere and throughout the year, the seasonal migration does seem to offer more opportunities for raiding. *'Cattle raiding takes place during the migration: people come and take our cows'* (TE-16). It has been argued by some that the Murle are waiting for the cattle to pass the water points along the migration routes, therefore the Murle take advantage of the migration. *'The Murle used to stay at the water points. They are lawless and are after cattle and children'* (D-16). Also as the villages are more vulnerable in the dry season as most men are at the *toich*, raiding takes place in the villages as well, mainly by the Murle. *'Women look after the (young) cattle in the community as the majority of the men are at the toich with the cattle'* (D-7). However, others argue that they are more vulnerable to raiding at the cattle camps (compared to being at their village) as these are open areas and they can get attacked from all sides (I-1).

The different tribes that are involved in the conflicts will be discussed in more detail at a later stage, however at this point it might be useful to clarify whom is blamed for the raiding. The Murle are blamed for most of the raiding by both the Nuer (57%) and the Dinka (49% for just the Murle and 36% is ascribed to both the Murle and Nuer). According to the Nuer, the villages are very vulnerable during the dry season as most men are to be found at the *toich*, which corresponds with the finding that the majority (59%) of the cattle raiding takes place in the dry season and the villages. Interestingly the Dinka do not experience cattle raiding to take place at the *toich* mainly, but consider it to happen everywhere.

4.2. Characteristics of conflict along the migration routes

Cattle raiding is the primary cause of conflicts between the pastoral communities of Nuer, Dinka and Murle (TE-20).

'Cattle brings many people into insecure situations nowadays, however in times of insecurity cattle also provide some sort of safety (insurance)' (TE-18).

As discussed previously the conflicts that occur along the migration routes and at the *toich* are characterized by the raiding of cattle. Cattle is taken and regularly people get killed in this process (either the ones who try to protect their cattle, or the ones attacking). According to a fair amount of the respondents (42%), cattle raiding has been around for a long time³⁵. It started as a cultural practice, and only spears and sticks were used which is by far not as deadly as practicing cattle raiding with automatic weapons as is happening today. Due to certain events and factors (which will be discussed later in this section and in the following chapter) the nature of cattle raiding has been changed and is now considered to be the major security threat experienced by the people in the research area. All respondents argued unanimously that the raiding of cattle is currently the biggest security threat. The theories surrounding cattle raiding have been described in previous chapters, for this section I would like to focus on the perspectives of the people whose lives are shaped and influenced by the threat and actual raiding that takes place in Jonglei state.

The act of raiding is mainly focused at communities that belong to other clans and tribes, this might give the impression that cattle raiding is motivated by ethnic differences as the acting commissioner in Uror referred to the conflicts as *'being tribal in nature'* (U-11). However, others do not blame other tribes as such, but blame thieves instead without making a reference to their ethnicity. *'Within Uror county people do not raid each others cattle, no way! It cannot be that one payam raids the other payam. What happens here is done by some special thieves; they take any kind of cattle, just a few and sell them. These thieves do not come from a specific tribe or clan, they are 'neutral'* (U-13).

³⁵ It is difficult to get clear when the practice of cattle raiding exactly started as many refer to the start as 'long before I was born'.

Raiding involving Dinka and Nuer are linked to the seasonal migration as Nuer pass through Dinkaland and thereby providing more opportunities for raiding. Raiding done by the Murle is not directly related to the migration routes: *'As people did not have to migrate this year as there was a flood in 2010, there was less raiding, only by the Murle'* (U-56). *'There was less cattle raiding this year as the people did not migrate due to the flood of last year. When they stay in their village, they will be able to fight the Murle'* (U-57). However, the Murle do take advantage of the Nuer and Dinka migrating as that makes them more vulnerable.

Raiding of cattle exists for a long time already, but somehow people do not perceive it like a problem. What happened before the Bor massacre in 1991 or the North-South conflict in 1983 (two events that influenced the intensity and nature of raiding) was not considered to be raiding, but more of a cultural practice that was accepted generally. They started to see it as a crime from 1983 and 1991 onwards. Below the developments will be discussed that influenced the change in cattle raiding.

4.3. Developments that influence(d) cattle raiding

'The practice of cattle raiding started in 1991, then the Nuer started to raid the Dinka. The Murle were raiding already before the war, but that was no problem back then as there were no guns involved at that time. It got worse since the war, since the proliferation of guns' (D-33).

The developments that will be discussed in this section are limited to the influence of climate change, resource scarcity, legacies of war and some additional ones. Obviously more developments and events have been influencing the conflicts, but they will be discussed into more detail in the next chapter as they are more related to the relationships between the several stakeholders and thereby also indirectly influenced the (development of) cattle raiding.

4.3.1. Resource scarcity

'The Nuer and Murle don't have to raid us if it is for the water or pastures. God created this earth, everything belongs to Him. If they need water and pasture, they can come to ask for it instead of raiding' (TE-20). *It is not a matter of lack of water or pasture as there is more than enough pasture at the toich for everybody. Also, when the Nuer came there was enough pasture for them. It is all about the misbehaviour of the Nuer that make us preventing them from entering our toich. (in 2005 they still tried and even killed our paramount chief)* (D-14).

It could be argued that the scarcity of pasture and water in Uror county forces the Nuer to migrate to the *toich*. However, as stated previously, this has been done for ages and therefore cannot be marked as the cause of the conflicts as such. Also there is no scarcity of resources (water or pasture) at the *toich*, as it has been stated that the *toich* provides enough water and pasture for all. Some respondents from Duk argued that the land belongs to the community and therefore to God, so everyone can use it. It is not so much about scarcity of water and pasture at the *toich* that makes people raid and causes conflict to erupt. *'There is enough water and pasture at the toich for everyone'* (D-36).

4.3.2. Climate change

Of course climate as such determines the seasonal migration to begin with. If it was not for the dry season (and therefore lack of water and pasture for the cattle) in Jonglei state, the Nuer and Dinka (to a lesser extent) did not have to migrate to the *toich*. From the resource scarcity perspective, an event that is expected to influence conflicts is climate change. Climate change is often the explanation for the increase in conflicts related to natural resources, such as water, pasture, especially in Sub Saharan contexts. However, climate change does not seem to play a role in the lives of the respondents in Jonglei state and the migration is not taking different forms due to a change in

weather patterns. Of course there are some years in which the rain comes earlier or later than previous years, but that varies and no clear pattern can be distinguished. In fact most people in Uror county argued that the rain comes later, but is heavier and causes floods instead. Many respondents in Uror county decided not to migrate to the *toich* this year as there was a flood in 2010 and therefore enough water and pasture in Uror county during the dry season.

Also the respondents argued that they have been migrating to the *toich* for ages. That is part of their lives; the seasonal migration is built in. The only changes mentioned by the respondents were that there was less migration due to the insecurity, due to the decreasing number of cattle (as a consequence of raiding) and due to the floods in 2010.

4.3.3. Population growth

The resource scarcity theory argues that environmental degradation is mainly caused by a combination of climate change and population growth, which in turn puts pressure on resources available. The population numbers and numbers on density in South Sudan have been discussed in the background chapter. And even though the population is growing, mainly as a result of peace which encouraged many refugees to return to the south, people themselves have different perceptions. In contrast to what theories argue on population growth and related pressure on resources, the respondents argued that they need to fill South Sudan after the conflict and they need people in order to rebuild their country. They want to fill South Sudan as God commanded people to fill the earth in the beginning. Respondents argued that they should fill South Sudan with people as there is so much land and many people have died or left the country as a result of the civil war.

In the towns and cities (such as Bor and Juba) however, there is a different attitude towards population growth and producing children. The attitude towards having multiple wives and many children changed significantly as these people got used to a certain standard of living (in combination with high living costs) and realize that to be able to continue to have a similar standard, they cannot afford to have more wives and many children. Also most people in towns value education more than people in rural areas do and therefore see the need of sending their children to school, which costs a lot of money which forces them to have fewer kids. This change in attitude is not so much a result of these people not seeing the need for rebuilding South Sudan, but the result of their living standards and different ideas about how to rebuild a country³⁶.

4.4. Motivation for cattle raiding

In the chart³⁷ below political influences (mainly dealing with the Bor massacre that took place in 1991) is most often mentioned as motivation for cattle raiding. This event and how this influenced the conflicts will be discussed in the next chapter as the stakeholders will be discussed there as well. Apart from political influences greed, poverty and unequal disarmament play a prominent role according to the respondents. First the motives relating to the legacy of conflict will be discussed and this chapter will conclude with some additional ones.

4.4.1. Legacy of war

'And during the wartime people have been starting to raid' (D-1).

The conflict between North and South Sudan had and still has quite an impact on the lives of millions civilians in South Sudan. This section will be limited to the direct consequences of this conflict for the cattle raiding conflicts in Jonglei state, whereas the following chapter will go into detail on how this

³⁶ This change in perception is corresponding with Markakis' saying that 'development is the best contraceptive'.

³⁷ The chart consists of data from the questionnaires only, whereas the majority of the findings as put in this chapter are additional information, data from the FGD's, informal interviews and semi-structured interview. Therefore the chart does not always correspond with the written findings as such.

civil war influenced the relations between the stakeholders and thereby influencing the cattle raiding indirectly.

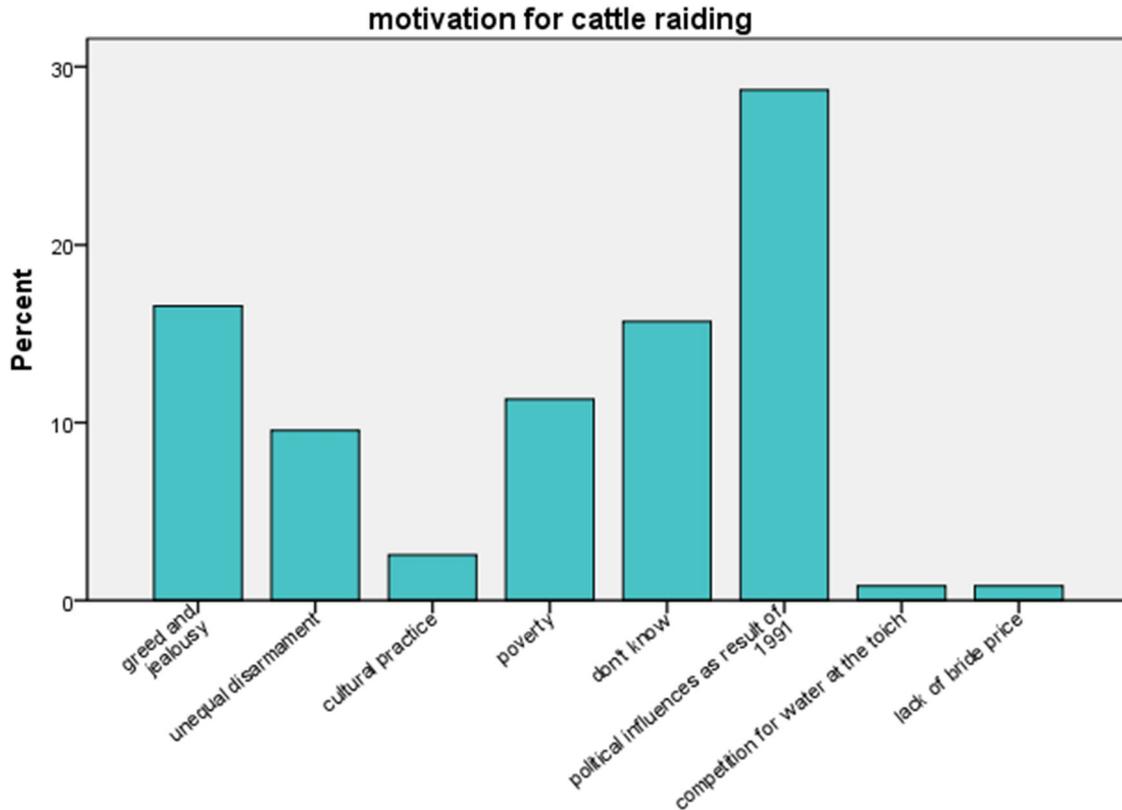


Figure 4.3. Motivation for cattle raiding

Poverty and hunger

'Poverty forces people to raid' (TE-19)

'I used to be wealthy and drink enough milk, but look at me now' (U-49)

Poverty in South Sudan is a legacy of the colonial period, but even more from the North-South conflict. When asked about the reason for raiding, poverty was an important one. *'Poverty makes people raid'* (D-14). *'People raid because of poverty'* (D-21). *'People are engaged in raiding as they are encouraged to raid, to steal. There is a lot of poverty in Uror as it is a very dry area. When they used to pass through our county on their way to the toich they got jealous at our cattle and took the cows'*(D-32). Poverty and destitution are inherent to conflict; moral values alter and insecurity makes that people leave their homes and therefore their farms, which eventually leads to hunger and more poverty. Some respondents argued that in times of conflict people started grabbing what they could find, including cattle belonging to others. This state of lawlessness combined with desperation has influenced people's decision to take refuge in raiding to make ends meet.

Due to the current insecurity, which most respondents ascribe to the attacks from the Murle, apart from some subsistence farming there is very little cultivation. *'The returnees have started to dig and prepare for cultivation; however insecurity keeps them from farming. Cattle raiders cause people to suffer and the floods as well'* (TE-21). People fear to go to their fields outside the villages and therefore mainly stay close to their homesteads, and consequently have relatively small gardens and not enough harvest to feed their family the whole year through. *'There is limited farming in this area as people only make little farms due to insecurity. They just make farms around their homes'* (U-43).

Hunger itself also influences cultivation: *'People also don't cultivate as a result of hunger as people don't have the strength and energy to cultivate. And people are recovering from a conflict'* (U-4). And as the rain was relatively late this year, the need for food was growing. *'There is hunger as people still prepare for farming (due to the late rain). Last year there was a bad harvest due to the floods'* (U-31).

Proliferation of arms and unequal disarmament

'The Nuer and Murle carry heavy guns during raids and they over-power us because we don't have the guns to fight them back, as we were disarmed several times' (TE-20).

'Long time ago this place was ok. The disarmament that took place in 2009 started here. When others heard about that, the Murle started raiding us as we were vulnerable' (D-1).

The majority of the respondents argued that cattle raiding changed since the North-South conflict. Partly this has to do with the relationship between the Dinka, Nuer and Murle that got altered by the war; this will be discussed in the next chapter. The other reason people came up with is a more direct consequence, the availability of weapons as a result of the civil war. The introduction of weapons has been the major explanation for the *change* in cattle raiding. *'Cattle raiding started in 1983, when Garang went to the bush and guns were provided by the GOS (Government of Sudan). 'Initially there was also raiding, but just with spears and sticks and these conflicts were settled by the elders. The entrance of the guns increased the raiding of cattle, also unequal disarmament plays a role'* (TE-19). *'Since the war weapons are around and that is when the Nuer turned against us'* (D-7). *'They (Dinka) see our cattle and then want to take it. They have guns since the time the SPLA went to the bush'* (U-13).

Not only the raiding incidents between the Dinka and Nuer have been influenced by the availability of weapons, the Murle are blamed to be supported by the GOS who provided them with weapons: *'This conflict with the Murle started long time ago when the war between the north and south started. As the Arabs provided the Murle with guns in order to fight the people in the south'* (D-16).

I have not really looked into the trade in weapons in Jonglei state, however some respondents discussed this issue. *'There are many arms since the North-South conflict started in 1983. The Dinka have been selling guns to the Murle due to poverty (they got 5 heads of cattle for each gun). But it is better to have a gun as 1) you can raid and 2) you can protect your cattle against raiding'* (I-18). According to a respondent (Dinka) who was in prison in Uror county for cattle raiding, it is easy to acquire weapons. *'You can easily buy an AK47 from the militias around, businessmen from Arab origin, Kenyan, Ugandans and the local Sudanese themselves. An operational AK47 with bullets (30) is worth 4 heads of cattle if it is through a local trader. The Arab or Kenyan trader wants money for it'* (U-69).

Related to the proliferation of arms are the disarmament policies. Unfortunately I do not have the official records of when disarmament policies exactly took place at what location, however from the information the respondents provided me with it can be concluded that the disarmament policies often have more negative side effects than the positive effects they are designed for. Disarmament policies often leave the disarmed people vulnerable to attacks and raids from other people that have not been disarmed yet³⁸. According to some respondents the disarmament policies are heavily influenced by the politics in Juba and Bor and often inspired and motivated by ethnicity instead of strategic thinking.

³⁸ Reasons for disarmament to fail according to Mkutu: lack of understanding of local dynamics in raiding, lack of consideration of livelihood issues and inadequate provision of public security (Mkutu, 2008:241).

4.4.2. Greed and jealousy

Greed is mentioned in the questionnaires as the second most important motivation for cattle raiding. *'Greed also plays a role, people are jealous and would like to accumulate their wealth' (TE-21). 'It is about wealth' (D-1).*

No mention has been made of cattle being raided in order to make a profit by selling the cattle at the market (local or international), just one respondent (payam administrator) argued that the cattle that is abducted by the Murle is sold in Ethiopia and Kenya (U-14). However, a different type of business has been mentioned several times in relation to the raiding the Murle are held responsible for. Apart from cattle, the Murle are said to take children as well in order to sell them to families that have difficulties with expanding their family (fertility issues as a result of sexual transmitted diseases). *'They (Murle) also take children. They take cattle and children to increase their wealth' (U-11). 'The Murle abduct children and sell them for cattle (one can get 50 heads of cattle for 1 child). The Murle don't sell their own children, only the ones from Uror and Duk (and other counties)' (U-14).* It has been said that Dinka started to trade children to the Murle in exchange for cattle when they found out that there was a market for children. Nowadays the Murle take the children for free by means of abduction (TE-18).

4.4.3. Bride price

As the bride price is to be paid in heads of cattle, some respondents did make a careful link between the need for bride price and the occurrence of cattle raiding. *'Marriage is considered to be the main problem that causes people to value cattle to the extent they do. Unfortunately people are greedy and never satisfied, they always want more cattle' (TE-18). 'Some people raid because they need the cattle to get married' (D-7). 'Initial reason for cattle raiding: the bride price. The conflict between the Nuer and Dinka has increased the raids' (D25).* This aspect of bride price will be discussed into more detail in chapter 7.

Even though greed has been argued to be one of the most important motives for the raiding of cattle, the majority of the respondents explains the raiding to be related to ethnic differences. The following chapter will discuss the different stakeholders involved in the conflicts as well as the events that influenced the nature of cattle raiding and ethnicity seems to play a significant role.

4.5. Concluding remarks

Seasonal migration to the *toich* has always been taking place, and not so much has changed. However as a result of the increasing insecurity people tend to take alternative routes. This year people have been migrating less as a result of the flood in Uror county last year. Access to the *toich* is decided upon by the Dinka as the Nile is situated in Dinkaland. Cattle raiding is a traditional practice in Dinka and Nuer culture, but the nature is changing and intensifying. Resource scarcity does not seem to play a role as there is enough water and pasture at the *toich*. The North-South conflict influenced cattle raiding as it caused the proliferation of weapons and poverty and destitution that made people resort to raiding. Also the unequal disarmament policies have their share in the occurrence of cattle raiding. Very few respondents mentioned the bride price to be affecting the practice of cattle raiding.



Chapter 5. Actors, factors and politics

This chapter will be dealing with a different aspect of the conflicts involving cattle in Jonglei state. Previous chapter dealt with the ecological aspects and the respondent's analysis of what made people resort to raiding. Now it is time to discuss who is involved, how they relate to one another and what events did influence the relationship and the occurrence of cattle raiding as a result.

As has been mentioned shortly in the previous chapter, it is in fact two different conflicts that are threatening peace in Jonglei state at the same time. The nature and outcome of the conflicts is the same; cattle raiding, however the motives underlying the conflicts differ to some extent. This chapter will illustrate that one conflict is mainly between the Nuer and the Dinka and is directly related to the migration routes as the Nuer pass through Dinka land on their way to the *toich* in the dry season. It will also illustrate that the second conflict involves the Murle and is not so much a conflict between two or more tribes, but it is mainly the Murle that attack both the Dinka and Nuer and this conflict is less directly linked to the seasonal migration and at first sight seems to be void of political motives. The focus of this chapter will be on the relationship between the actors involved, how these relationships evolved over time and were influenced by what events.

5.1. Actors

At the start of the research it has been assumed that the stakeholders involved in the conflicts along the migration routes are consisting of the two major tribes in the region: the Dinka and the Nuer. This assumption was mainly based on the idea that the main conflict Jonglei state is facing is related to the migration to the *toich*. However, it became clear that the conflict is not limited to the involvement of these two tribes, but the majority of the conflicts is even said to be attributed to the actions of a third actor, the Murle. As the Dinka and Nuer have been described as part of the context chapter, their features and who they are exactly will not be discussed again in this section. Instead the Murle will be discussed into more detail as they play a prominent role in the conflict.

5.1.1. Murle

'For the Murle cattle raiding is like a culture' (U-13).

The Murle are a tribe from Pibor. Pibor borders the counties of Pachalla, Akobo, Urur, Bor South and Eastern Equatoria and meanwhile it is bordering Ethiopia in the east. They are cattle keepers and cultivate little, whereas they have enough water sources in Pibor. As they have enough sources of water and pasture in their county, they don't migrate with their cattle to the *toich* through Twic East and Duk county.

The majority of the respondents blamed the Murle for the cattle raiding incidents/attacks they were facing. *'Most of the raiding nowadays is the responsibility of the Murle from Pibor. Cattle raiding is part of their culture as is taking other people's children'* (TE-17). However, when asked explicitly only some were sure that the raiders were Murle as they have been able to identify them,

others were just assuming. *'1 raider got killed recently, that's how they recognized him being a Murle³⁹'* (D-20).

There are several myths and stories surrounding the desire of the Murle to raid. Respondents think the Murle raid as they do not farm themselves and therefore solemnly depend on cattle for their livelihoods. It has also been said that the Murle believe that all the cattle in South Sudan belong to them originally (U-31). Others explain the raiding by the Murle as a lack of education and civilization (D-12).

In addition to the raiding of cattle, the Murle are known for abducting children⁴⁰ (and thereby killing the parents) as well. The Murle are believed to have sexual transmitted diseases such as syphilis that make them infertile, or at least less fertile. Children are sold in Pibor to other Murle. There seems to be a market for children in Pibor, people sell the children to couples that are not able to have children themselves. Some argued that Murle abduct children to train them for raiding. *'The raided children of Dinka are grown and trained by the Murle and are sent to kill and raid the Dinka themselves. We are being raided by our sons through the settings of Murle. We can identify the children taken from us through the removal of the lower teeth because, the Dinka remove multiple teeth while the Murle only remove a single tooth. But still, even if we identify our sons, they cannot believe us'* (TE-20). In Kirr (a village in Twic East county) I spoke with some boys in the market. They told me they were afraid of being taken by the Murle and therefore they stay at home from 6 pm onwards as the Murle mainly attack at night (I-3)⁴¹.

Cattle raiding by the Murle is experienced as more of a threat than the cattle being taken by the Nuer or the Dinka. This is partly because of the nature of their raiding, the fact that they take children as well. Also, they have different tactics than the Nuer and Dinka, *'the Murle normally come in big numbers and not only to the village or the toich, but everywhere where cattle can be found'* (U-11). *'They (Nuer) use a different tactic from the Murle; they don't kill people and take just one or two cows, not all like the Murle do'* (I-25). *'Murle put lion fat on their skin so the cattle smell this and think they are chased by lions and run faster for this reason'* (I-31). The Murle raid the whole year through, in the dry season as well as the wet season, whereas the threat of raiding by the Dinka and Nuer is mainly to be felt during migration to the *toich* and therefore easier to control or anticipate upon.



Picture 5.2. T-shirt with a peace message, Uror county

As will be discussed into more detail at a later stage, several peace agreements have been made with the Murle, however, none of them was really effective. *'In 2007 an agreement was made with the chiefs in Pibor which lasted for 2,5 months. But the cattle got taken by the Murle again which was the end of the peace agreement'* (U-13).

³⁹ Certain tribes in Jonglei state are customed to mark their bodies in several ways. For example the Nuer boys are marked with 6 horizontal cuts on their forehead from ear to ear. Murle can be recognized by one lower tooth that they are missing.

⁴⁰ See annex E for a letter from Modit payam to the head quartes of Uror county to report an attack by the Murle, including the killing of 4 people and the abduction of 2 children.

⁴¹ Interestingly as despite the rumors and myths about the Murle, Lewis also pointed out in his book that the Murle are known for their tactics, especially attacking at night (Lewis, 1972).

In contrast with the cattle that is raided by the Nuer and Dinka, the cattle taken by the Murle are suspected by some to be sold to Ethiopia, Kenya and Dubai as well. *'There are rumours that the Murle trade cattle to Ethiopia and Kenya, but also to Dubai (as the cattle are cheap because they are stolen)'* (I-35).

Unfortunately I have not been able to get the side of the stories of the Murle themselves⁴². This would definitely be worth investigating for another research, as stories and perceptions from other tribes only are not enough.

5.1.2. Other stakeholders

The main actors in the conflicts concerning the migration routes are the Nuer, Dinka and Murle. The central government of South Sudan (GOSS) is also an actor, but is mainly mentioned in relation to possible solutions (disarmament and providing security etc) and the government of North Sudan (GOS) is being blamed for providing the Murle with guns and ammunition.

Little mention has been made regarding militias being responsible for the conflicts along the migration routes, whereas literature and the media often blame the militias for causing insecurity in Jonglei state. When I asked respondents about militias they confirmed they heard from them and thought they were supported by GOS in order to destabilize South Sudan. Some respondents mentioned two militia groups in Pibor county, the ones led by George Athor and David Yau Yau. *'They are gathering in Pibor and we don't know what they are doing. They also collect cattle'* (U-14). *'David Jou Jou, a militia that fights against the GOSS. He is a Murle from Pibor. They are even shooting SPLA trucks'* (I-16). *'Athor and Jou Jou are both looking for seats in politics. When they failed, they started raiding'* (D-33).

The SPLA is not mentioned as an actor in the conflicts regarding cattle raiding, only when explaining the relational gap between the Dinka and Nuer.

5.2. Relationship Murle and rest of Jonglei state

5.2.1. Start of raiding

The cattle raiding by the Murle apparently has a longer history than the raiding between the Dinka and Nuer, and seems to be void of political motives. The Murle started raiding some long time ago. It is commonly stated that one time, a Murle herder met a Nuer counter-part and an argument arose on whose bull was the strongest. To support their claims, the two organised a bull fight, and unfortunately, the Murle bull killed the Nuer bull. The Nuer herder got furious and killed the Murle herder and drove away his cattle. When the Murle people realised that a Nuer man took their cattle, they followed the Nuer man and returned with many cattle as revenge (D-3). This is believed to be the start of cattle raiding between the Murle and the Nuer and it spread to the Dinka and other neighbouring tribes. Of course there are multiple versions of this story each with different details, but the moral of the story is the same in every version: the Murle started the raiding. However, no matter the exact origin of the myth, the outcome is obvious; cattle raiding by the Murle. Until today the Murle are said to believe that their raided cattle multiplied and filled the entire Sudan. That is why they raid everywhere, because they think that it is their right to return home what was once taken from them.

To many other respondents the reason for the Murle starting the practice of cattle raiding is not known, but some do refer to 1964 as the year the cattle raiding by the Murle started. However, none of the respondents has been able to explain what happened in that year. *'In 1964 the Murle started fighting with the Nuer for no specific reason. They just started looting cattle'* (U-11). Some respondents argued that the Anyanya rebellion encouraged the Murle to start raiding. *'The Murle started raiding since Anyanya rebellion'* (U-54)⁴³.

⁴² Apart from one Murle woman who married to a Nuer. However, she considered herself to be a Nuer since she got married and therefore did not want to share her opinions about her own people.

⁴³ This corresponds with what has been stated in several Small Arms Survey reports, that the Murle got armed by the GOS to fight the Nuer Anyanya rebels during the first civil war (Mc Evoy, C and E. Lebrun, 2010:24).

5.2.2. North-South conflict (1983-2005)

Relationships are always altered by conflict, the same goes for the North-South conflict. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, the North-South conflict impacted the occurrence and nature of cattle raiding in several ways. This conflict also impacted the relationship between the Murle and the other tribes in Jonglei state (the Nuer and Dinka in specific).

In general the GOS is blamed for supporting militia groups in the south to destabilize the region, as well as supporting the Murle. They received support in the form of training⁴⁴ as well as arms and ammunition from the northern Government. *'The Murle have been trained by the Arabs'* (I-6). In addition, during the North-South conflict the Murle have been fighting the SPLA which created suspicion towards the rest of the South and the link between support from GOS was easily made. *'Raiding is done by the Murle. They are hired by the North as some sort of militia, used by the GOS against the South'*(D-20).

5.3. Relationship Dinka and Nuer

'The Dinka and the Nuer are brothers, the only problem is that we might not all have the same heart, some people are born with a greedy heart' (D-1).

'In the towns people are forgetting and forgiving and moving on, working together (as Dinka and Nuer), but here in the bush the Nuer still have this 1991 mind set.' (D-33)

'The Dinka have not forgiven the Nuer yet for what they did in Bor in 1991. That is why they continue raiding (us)'. (U-13)

'We are peaceful. The Nuer are attacking. That is the issue. We don't attack anybody.' (D-14)

Previously the relationship between the Dinka and Nuer were rather peaceful, there were intermarriages between people from Duk and Uror and they did a lot of business. *'In the 1980's there were even intermarriages, Uror and Duk were as one community'* (D-32). However certain events influenced this relationship for the bad.

5.3.1. Riek Machar rebellion (1991)

'Since 1991 the Dinka take cattle from the Nuer when they migrate' (I-22).

Even though the North South conflict did affect the relationship between the Dinka and Nuer as well (regarding proliferation of weapons, poverty etc), the event that has been mentioned most regarding altering the relationship between the Dinka and Nuer and being responsible for the occurrence of raiding has been the Riek Machar rebellion in 1991. The majority of the respondents argued that the nature of cattle raiding as well as the intensity has been changing since 1991, when Riek Machar rebelled against the SPLA, known as the 'Bor Massacre'. By doing this he encouraged the Nuer to pick up their guns and fight the Dinka, which caused the death of an estimated 2000 civilians over the course of two months. *'The Nuer started raiding in 1991 when Riek mobilized the Nuer community to attack and raid us'* (D-24). *'The cause of raiding between the Dinka and Nuer has to do with the split of the SPLA in 1991, when Riek rebelled against the SPLA and encouraged his people (Nuer) to raid and fight. This did not stop (the raiding and fighting) when Riek returned to the SPLA. The raiding continues as the Dinka are addicted to this practice. People got shot (our people) and we responded'* (U-13).

1991 is remembered as the year that caused a (so far) irreparable division between the tribes that once used to live in relative peace, the Dinka and Nuer. This is also reflected in the finding that about one third of the respondents argued that cattle raiding takes place as a result of political tensions caused by the Riek Machar rebellion. Not surprisingly the respondents in Duk county mentioned the Bor massacre being the reason for cattle raiding more often (69%) than the Nuer respondents (39%), as the Dinka still feel victimized by the Nuer.

⁴⁴ Some respondents argued that the Murle are such good fighters as they have been trained by the GOS.

5.4. Smaller clashes related to migration

In addition to the Riek Machar rebellion in 1991, smaller clashes also influenced the relationship between the Dinka and Nuer, even though on a smaller scale. In the years after 1991 the Nuer started migrating through Duk county again without too many problems. This peaceful passing through lasted till 2006 when another event happened that marked the distorted relationship between the Dinka and Nuer. In this year the paramount chief of Duk county has been killed by Nuer⁴⁵ and since then access to the *toich* of Duk county has been denied to the Nuer by the Dinka. *'The paramount chief of Duk-Padiet, Mr. Deng Mathieng was killed in 2006 by the Nuer and sparked off serious fights until the governor had to intervene. The Nuer people have been told to compensate the chief with 100 heads of cattle but up to now the Nuer people have not yet compensated the death of the chief'* (D-15). The killing of the paramount chief is not the only incident; many other incidents happened and are still taking place, fuelling the cycle of revenge.

Some respondents have argued that alternatively the Nuer started to migrate through Ayod county, which corresponds with the motivation of respondents from Urur to choose the migration route through Ayod⁴⁶. *'From 2006 onwards the relationship between the Dinka and the Nuer tribes was totally bad until a peace process was initiated by the governor that stopped the raiding for the last six months except two days ago that some raiders attacked but we are not certain whether they are Nuer or Murles. Conflict was very high between 2006 and now whereby attacks, massacres and raids were regular between the two communities'* (D-15).

5.5. Perceptions

The majority of the attacks and cattle raids are attributed to the Murle from Pibor, by the Dinka as well as the Nuer⁴⁷. In some cases people have been able to identify some raiders as being Murle by their weapons or physical features (removal of lower teeth). *'We identified the attackers as being Murle as we found some sticks that are used by the Murle for fighting'* (U-14). However, due to the perceptions people have from the Murle, it is often expected that raids are held by the Murle whereas this is not always the case. *'People say it is the Murle, but it was done by people from Duk in stead. They found out when they caught some of the raiders'* (U-50). *'Sometimes people in this area loot cattle within their own community, but blame the Murle. They need a scapegoat'* (I-26). The perception of the people from Urur and Duk about the Murle is also reflected in several jokes (whereas the people telling the joke argued that it was based on true stories).

A reverent once started a church in a certain community in Pibor county. He built the church in cooperation with the community and everything went fine. The people accepted what he was preaching on Sundays. However, when the reverent read the 10 commandments on a Sunday, people started protesting. They argued they were only willing to accept the church if they could one commandment out of the law of Moses: the one that says 'you shall not steal'.

Figure 5.1. Joke about the Murle

Obviously no single respondent admitted that people from their community are responsible for the raiding of cattle; in a fight, people always blame one another. They will never say the other party is right, it is always the other clan and tribe that will be held responsible. Especially the people

⁴⁵ This event knows different versions and is of course more complicated than just the paramount chief of Duk being killed. The real truth is most likely somewhere in the middle.

⁴⁶ However, despite these incidents, the majority of the respondents continues to take the migration route to Duk Padiet.

⁴⁷ However, the Nuer face relatively more attacks from the Murle as the Murle are situated closer to the Nuer than to the Dinka. Also, the Dinka reported more attacks from the Nuer (than the Nuer from the Dinka).

in Duk and Twic East county tried to convince me that their people are a people of peace and do not raid cattle. And if they do it is a response to the other who started the raiding. *'We are peaceful. The Nuer are attacking. That is the issue. We don't attack anybody'* (D-14). *'Nuer are the number one raiders of Duk-Padiet'* (D-15). *'The Dinka can forget about the past'* (TE-20). The only respondent who admitted that it is both the Nuer and the Dinka that are responsible for the raiding of cattle was the acting commissioner of Uror county. Originally he is from Twic East county and therefore he has a rather independent view. *'It is thieves that loot the cattle on the way to the toich, from Duk as well as Nuer. Both sides are guilty of looting'* (U-11). The Dinka have been blaming the Nuer more often for raiding than the Nuer blaming the Dinka. In some cases Nuer respondents even admitted that they disturbed the Dinka while migrating and that the Dinka are afraid of them.

Previously it has been mentioned that respondents did not perceive cattle raiding as a crime before the North-South conflict. The same can be argued for the perception on fighting and taking revenge. For example, the 1st of July was a national prayer day in the churches in South Sudan to thank God for the upcoming independence and to ask His blessing over the future, for peace to prevail. However, one day earlier, many combatants came back from their 'revenge' trip to Pibor (which will be discussed into detail later on). When asking around people do not seem to notice the irony or the contrast as they see revenging the Murle for what they did to them as their right, they don't perceive that as a crime and neither realize that the prevalence of peace is not so much up to God alone, but the responsibility also rests with them.

5.6. Politics

'Previously the conflicts between the Dinka and the Nuer were solved peacefully as brothers. Nowadays this method is not effective anymore as it is about the competition in leadership on tribal grounds.' (D-33)

'The relationship with the Nuer was normal before the war but after 1991, the Nuer became our constant raiders because of some tribal politics' (D-3).

Obviously the clashes between the Dinka and Nuer are not only motivated merely by the need for cattle. Some respondents argued in a focus group discussion that the civilians are being used by the politicians for their own personal purposes, and by doing this politicising ethnic differences. People think this has to do with the Bor massacre. *'1991 still has its impact. The (Dinka) government still distrusts the Nuer because of what happened in 1991. Overall the government is not happy with the Nuer'* (U-13). *'The Dinka have also not forgotten the massacres that were carried out by the Nuer in 1991 when Riek Machar disagreed with John Garang and defected from the SPLA. This sparked off a deadly bloodshed (the Nuer attacking the Dinka) and the memories of the massacre are still fresh in the Dinkas minds. Now, with the president being a Dinka and majority of the Dinka have secured senior government positions compared to the Nuer people, the Nuer perceive the current government to be a Dinka government and they blame the Dinka for causing misery in their counties. According to the Nuer, the Dinka-dominated government has denied them road access and some vowed to fight the Dinka until the end. Competition for power along tribal lines is what split these two tribes apart'* (I-34).

When asked why the Dinka and Nuer do not make peace locally since Riek Machar is intergrated into the government of South Sudan, I got this reply: *'The issue is that the government should be a government for everyone, people should see themselves as Southerners. But the influence of Riek Machar in 1991 when he called his people to fight the Dinka, this is still in the peoples (Nuer) minds, even though Riek is back to the SPLM. In the towns people are forgetting and forgiving and moving on, working together (as Dinka and Nuer), but here in the bush the Nuer still have this 1991 mind set'* (D-33).

The policies that come from Juba and Bor are suspected to be influenced by ethnic differences. *'When issues (such as disarmament) are being discussed, the people in the parliament (in Bor and Juba) make decisions in favour of their own people (tribe). The Murle people in the*

government (the government officials) will prevent the government to fight the Murle' (U-12). 'The seriousness of the conflict is due to the politics. Previously the conflicts between the Dinka and the Nuer were solved peacefully as brothers. Nowadays this method is not effective anymore as it is about the competition in leadership as well. The Nuer and Dinka want each others chairs in the government and this conflict/struggle trickles down to the civilians' (D-33). As the Dinka are better represented in the government of South Sudan, people in Uror are complaining that they themselves have few seats in Juba (U-12). 'Politics in Juba (and Bor); the dominance of the Dinka is a problem; there are a lot of grievances' (I-17).

5.7. Governance

Another issue that has often been mentioned in relation to the occurrence of cattle raiding, is the diminishing respect and authority of the elders and the chiefs. In the early days raiding would be bound to certain cultural codes and often initiated and approved by the chiefs. When problems arose between tribes and clans (as a result of raiding) the chiefs would intervene. *'But now the conflict is too big to be solved by the chiefs. The village leaders and chiefs are not able to meet with the Murle, and the government does not do anything about it' (TE-16). 'The youth cannot be controlled by the police. Last months we experienced attacks from the Murle in this area. The youth discussed among themselves what to do about the attacks of the Murle. The youth are now occupying an area in between (between Uror and Pibor county). The elders and chiefs are not involved in this, it is the youth that take the initiative, they mobilize themselves' (U-12). 'We as chiefs would like peace. Also the youth act without the knowledge of their parents and elders' (U-13). 'The chiefs have little to no influence over the people that are responsible for the raids and attacks' (U-13).* This act of revenge will be discussed in chapter 7.

5.8. Concluding remarks

The Dinka and Nuer are important actors in the conflicts involving cattle. However, during the fieldwork it turned out that the Murle, a tribe from Pibor county, are another significant actor. The Murle are known as fearless warriors and in addition to cattle they abduct children. The relationship between the Dinka and Nuer has been altered since the Bor Massacre took place in 1991, when Riek Machar (a Nuer) and his people killed over 2000 Dinka at Bor. Since that event the relationship between the Dinka and the Nuer has been rather tense. Cattle raiding by the Murle has been influenced by the North-South conflict as the Murle are said to have received training and automatic weapons by the GOS. In addition, the Murle did not support the SPLA during the North-South conflict which does not make them very popular. Cattle raiding is not an apolitical act as respondents argued that political games are involved in cattle raiding as well. Politics are influenced by ethnic differences and people in the rural areas feel used by the politicians in Bor and Juba for their own aspirations. As a result of the diminishing respect for the elders and chiefs, the conflicts cannot be solved in a local and traditional manner anymore.



Chapter 6. Cattle raiding and bride price

As the Dinka and Nuer⁴⁸ are both a pastoralist people, their lives are built around cattle. The importance of cattle is expressed in many things. People are named after the bull that has been slaughtered when they were born, cattle is used to settle disputes, to compensate, for food, the milk is very important to the children, the meat is consumed. But most important is the bride price that is to be paid in heads of cattle. In Dinka and Nuer culture, marriage is legitimised by the payment of the bride price. When asked why cattle is so important to respondents (and why they always pursue more cattle), their first reason was 'because then you can get married'. Second was food and settling of disputes, but the most important reason was that cattle is needed for marriage. Without cattle, no marriage.

When I started this research in Jonglei I never expected marriage and women to play such a prominent role in Jonglei state, which is why the background chapter as well as the theoretical framework are rather quiet on this subject. However, when asking people why they need (more) cattle in the first place, all respondents argued that they need cattle to get married (to their first wife or additional wives). There has not been a single person that provided me with a different answer. According to me this thesis is not complete without paying proper attention to the role of marriage and especially the bride price in Dinka and Nuer society, therefore I would like to add this chapter. Despite the fact that very few respondents have mentioned cattle raiding and bride price together in one sentence, I still think this chapter should be written to emphasize the central position of cattle and the significant role of marriage in Dinka and Nuer society and how these things are interrelated. So the possible connection there might be between the practice of cattle raiding and the need for bride price is my own interpretation and not so much based on the respondents ideas.

In this chapter the findings from the field work will be discussed and completed with or confirmed by literature as this information has not been provided in background chapter or theoretical chapter yet as I was not aware of role of marriage and bride price in this story before leaving for the field.

6.1. Dowry, bride price, bride wealth or gift exchange?

Several terms exist to describe the numerous practices dealing with material exchanges concerning weddings around the globe; bride price, dowry, bride wealth, gift exchange. Different terms and definitions reflect the different perceptions of the act of giving and receiving and how women themselves are perceived and treated in their culture. The term bride price is a collective name used to refer to various gifts given by the future bridegroom (and/or his family) to the family of his future wife, whereas the term dowry is used to refer to payments from the girl's family to her future

⁴⁸ Here I will not discuss the meaning of cattle to the Murle as we have not been able to question the Murle. However, it can be assumed that the Murle, as they are also depending on cattle, contribute at least the same value to cattle as the Dinka and Nuer do.

husband, or in other words what the girl brings to her marriage (Kisaakye, 2002:281). The term bride wealth is similar to the term bride price and are therefore often used interchangeably⁴⁹. Pol argues that the term 'bride price' is nowadays more appropriate in South Sudan than the term 'bride wealth' as more and more women are bought in stead of wealth being offered to the family of the bride as a gesture of appreciation (Pol, 1998:46). Gift exchange is referred to when both families offer gifts to one another to express their consent with the future marriage. In other cultures (for example among the Hausa) and previously also in Jonglei state, marriage payments consisted of gifts and counter-gifts that involved the women concerned as well (Cooper, 1995:122).

In Jonglei state during the field work, respondents mainly used the term dowry, whereas they only practice the bride price (or bride wealth) as it is only the family of the groom that contributes cattle and not the other way around. However, some respondents argued that a long time ago their ancestors used to exchange goods both ways (gift exchange). Despite the fact that the majority of the respondents in the research area used the term dowry, the term bride price is most appropriate in the case of Jonglei state. Even though the amount of cattle might express the worth of the bride and establishes social relationships (and therefore could be indicated by the term bride wealth), the main reason for transferring the cattle upon marriage according to the respondents is to compensate for the family's loss of the girl and therefore the term bride price has been and will be used throughout this thesis.

6.2. Purpose of the bride price

'You trade goods for goods; a human being (woman) for cows'. (D-1)

'Why shall I take care of my daughters and produce if I will not benefit from them when they leave the house?' (D-7)

The bride price has several purposes. It is argued that the bride price signifies the validity of the marriage and also legitimises the children that will come out of the marriage. In addition, by accepting the dowry, the family of the girl officially accepts the marriage. The dowry also serves as 'a bond to unite the two families and as a stabilizing factor in the marriage' (Kisaakye,2002:281).

In addition, the bride price is supposed to compensate the girl's family for loss of her services and the children she will bare as they will belong to the family of the husband. The bride price is also meant to compensate for all the costs the parents had to make to feed and educate the girl and the pain the woman had to bear when giving birth. Compensation has also been mentioned most often by the respondents as the explanation for the practice of bride price. Markakis adds another purpose of the bride price, as he argues that men pay a high bride price in return for female labour (Markakis, 2004:6).

6.3. Violation of human rights?

In literature opinions concerning bride price vary widely and there are several ways of looking at this practice. Some argue that it is a good habit as it provides the family of the lady with cattle to cover the loss of the labour by taking their daughter. It has also been argued that it is a good thing as people value the woman at least since they had to pay a high price for her.

However, not everybody is convinced of the practice of bride price, and point out some of the down sides of this practice. It has been argued that women are seen as an asset in stead of a person by the man and the family of the woman. Cooper argues quite rightly that the gift itself (bride

⁴⁹ Even though bride price and bride wealth are often used interchangeably, Cooper makes a distinction between the two as the difference in the terms 'price' and 'wealth' implies a different perception. 'The bride price is 'representing a moment in which a calculable loss to one family is materially recompensed through a 'payment' by another', whereas the act of transferring bride wealth in fact establishes the 'worth' of the bride and her kin, expresses and creates social difference and brings into being social relationships which had previously been only potential' (Cooper, 1995:121).

price) has a kind of power over the recipient, which is also expressed by some respondents, 'bride price is no good: you can control a woman whatever you like' (I-5). 'Bride price is a problem for the women as parents see their daughter as an asset in stead of a person' (I-2). Also some men will treat their wife as they feel like (can also be bad) since they paid for it after all, 'bride price is no good for women; as the man thinks he owns her as he paid for her and can do with her as he pleases. Some women are treated like slaves' (I-2). Some (more educated and exposed) respondents even compared marrying a woman to investing in a machine that produces children (I-9). In addition, since the education of the woman is not taken into account when deciding on the bride price, there is no incentive for the parents to send their daughter to school. Poverty adds to the pressure of having children married at an early age so one receives cattle they can live off, which means education is no priority in this case either.

Kisaakye is not charmed by the practice of bride price either, however she perceives this practice (as well as wife inheritance and polygamy) as violation of women's human rights (Kisaakye, 2002:268). She argues that women prefer to accept their position because the values they adhere to are embedded in the communities and it offers them clarity as well as safety, or because they might fear become an outcast if they fight their status quo.

However, it should not be forgotten that it is difficult to understand where these women come from, what they value and what they prefer. From a Western perspective it is easy to condemn the way women are treated in Jonglei state and in many other non-Western societies. Therefore, we should not forget that often their practices also offer them some sort of protection and a certain identity.

6.4. Amount of the bride price

'The beauty of the girl is half the dowry' (Russian proverb) (Schipper, 2004:93)

In parts of South Sudan, such as Central Equatoria, where people depend on agriculture for their livelihoods, the bride price is often a combination of money and animals (like goats, cows and chicken)⁵⁰. In Jonglei state the majority of the people are pastoralists and consequently the bride price consists of cattle mainly.

Currently the price for a bride starts with the amount of 30 heads of cattle in Jonglei state but can rise up to 100 heads of cattle. The amount of bride price to be paid depends on several characteristics of the lady: the length (the taller, the more expensive), the skin colour (the lighter, the more expensive), the background (clan and community she belongs to), the age, virginity etc. There exist different ideas about the education of girls in relation to the bride price. Some parents fear that education will devalue their daughters, whereas others argue that it will be a good development if education will change the current marriage system. Anyhow, the costs that have been made to educate the girl will be calculated into the bride price.

Previously the amount of bride price and the type of bride price was less. Some respondents went back to the time of their great great grandfather and shared that the amount was considerably less (ranging from fifteen up to thirty heads of cattle, compared to fifty up to hundred heads of cattle nowadays⁵¹) and was not just limited to cattle only. Instead the *meloda* (a certain tool used for cultivating) could serve as bride price, or even goats. That was considered to be sufficient. However, nowadays the prices are high and in some cases women are overpriced by wealthy men. If the family of the lady knows the man that wants to marry their daughter is wealthy, they will ask for a higher bride price. On the other hand in Twic East county a respondent argued that when one does not have

⁵⁰ Someone who originated from Central Equatoria trusted me with the details of the price he paid for his wife: 10.000 SDG, 20.000 SDG dowry, 5.000 SDG for the mother of the bride and 5.000 SDG for the father of the bride. So in total he had to pay 40.000 SDG (approximately 12.000 USD) and also 5 cows, 10 goats and 15 chicken in addition to the money.

⁵¹ One cow costs about 1000 to 2000 SDG (Sudanese pound) (which is approximately 300 to 600 USD).

a lot to offer to the family of the girl and one still wants to get married, in many cases it is possible to arrange something with the family. One can agree to pay less, or make the payment by instalments (depending on the reputation and behaviour of the man involved). A respondent in Duk county even argued that it is possible to marry with just ten heads of cattle if the girl involved is really pursuing the man and her family is somewhat open minded (D-32). In Dinka and Nuer culture it is not appropriate for women to know the amount of cattle that their husband had to pay, whereas in Uganda for example (among the Karamojong) women are even proud of their bride price (Mkutu, 2008:243).

6.4.1. Increasing prices

In general the bride price among the Dinka is higher than the bride price of a Nuer woman. Beswick confirms this and argues that Dinka women being more expensive contributed to the rapid (ethnic) expansion of the Dinka in South Sudan (after their arrival) as they could acquire secondary non-Dinka wives more cheaply (Beswick, 2004:138,139).

In Duk county when a family has an available girl to offer, they make this known to the community by putting up a flag in their homestead. Men that are interested can suggest a price and consequently his flag will be attached to the same pole. The flag of the highest bidder is located at the top. This practice encourages competition and as a result increases the amount of the bride price, which is confirmed by many respondents. *'It does not matter if you are beautiful or not, when men are competing the price goes up as a result'* (TE-19). Uror county is not familiar with this competition over women and therefore has relatively lower bride prices.

Some respondents blamed the *lost boys*⁵² for increasing the bride prices as they have a lot of money to offer when residing and working in the United States. In some areas in Southern Sudan the bride price has gone up as a result of the civil war, as many men would like to get married upon return from refugee camps or countries they resided during the conflict. Another explanation of the increase in bride prices is the diminishing herds as a result of the cattle raiding that takes place. There is less cattle available, but the need for at least 30 heads of cattle remains.

As the bride price is relatively high for a single person to contribute, the extended family also contributes (can go up to 10 lineages away). However, these gifts are not just gifts as in acts of kindness; in fact they can be perceived as future investments or loans. The male relatives that contribute to the wedding do this as they will be paid back when the daughter of the person that is going to marry gets married herself. The bride price will then be divided and cattle will be paid back to family members that once contributed to the wedding. In case the couple does not produce any daughters, it is therefore very well possible that the contributors will claim the contributed heads of cattle back (at court if necessary) (I-9). In addition, sisters can be a helpful source for the bride price of their brothers (or dad in some cases).

As said previously, in case a man and his extended family fail to pay the bride price, he can resort to payment in instalments. However, this type of (half-) marriage devalues women as the amount of cattle paid for the bride price determines to an important extent the position and role of the woman in her new family (Beswick, 2001:50). Payment in instalments does not only affect the woman negatively, the man also. When a man fails to pay the bride price in time, his children will be taken to the family of his wife as *'he does not own his wife yet and therefore he has no right to his children either'* (I-9). In some parts of South Sudan it is believed that if a man fails to pay the bride price (in time), the relatives of the bride will curse him and his descendants. I met someone who was still working on paying the bride price of his mother as his father passed away without having completed the bride price of his wife.

⁵² The 'Lost Boys' are a group of over 20.000 boys (and some girls) that sought refuge during the North-South conflict in other African countries (such as Ethiopia and Kenya) and of which about 3800 were taken to the United States to resettle.

According to a large majority of the respondents no link exists between the need for cattle (in order to meet the bride price) and the occurrence of cattle raiding (as will be discussed at a later stage into more detail). However, among the suggestions for how to resolve the conflicts involving cattle raiding, some respondents argued that the government should come with a legal limit for the bride price. Currently customary law dictates that the maximum is thirty heads of cattle. Reducing the bride price seems an impossible task according to other respondents as a lot of cows have been paid for the mothers of these girls and they need to benefit from their daughters in order not to go bankrupt (D-3). Reducing the bride price therefore implies a huge economic loss for the current generation. When one married his wife for forty heads of cattle and his daughter is marrying for thirty heads of cattle, he loses ten heads of cattle (I-9).

Others said that marriage should not be limited by the government by setting a limit to the bride price, as it is something between the family of the bride and the man that wants to marry her. They agree upon what is affordable and reasonable for them. One respondent referred to the period just after the 1991 massacre in Bor. Many people lost their cattle and belongings and still people continued to get married, sometimes even for just one cow. However, in Uror some argued that people did not marry till six years back as all their cattle got stolen by the Murle.

Apart from having a possible positive outcome when it comes to the relationship between cattle raiding and the bride price, lowering the price might also have a positive effect regarding the mobility of women in and out of marriage. Cooper argued that Hausa women enjoyed a high degree of mobility, since the payment of the bride price has not been so high in general that it could not at length be returned to the groom's family. Therefore it is partly in the interests of (Hausa) women to keep the bride price payments manageable (and affordable) in case the bride price has to be returned as a result of divorce⁵³ (Cooper, 1995:122).

6.5. Marriage

'No one can live with only one wife, never!' (U-69)

'A teapot can serve five teacups, but who has ever seen one teacup serving five teapots?' (Chinese proverb) (Schipper, 2004:110)

'When a man has two pairs of trousers, he thinks of a new wife' (Persian proverb) (Schipper, 2004:112)

'Marriage is not for entertainment, marriage is for producing.' (TE-19)

Forms of marriage

Within Dinka and Nuer culture, one can only marry someone that does not belong to one's clan, no blood relation should exist. Marriage in Nuer and Dinka culture can be arranged in three ways. First there is the official marriage in which a man chooses a girl and starts the procedures officially (which implies agreeing on the bride price with both families involved, the payment of the bride price, the actual wedding ceremony and finally the party when taking the bride home). The unofficial way of getting married is by sleeping with a girl (with or without her consent) without being married to her. When this happens and it is discovered by the community, the chiefs will settle such a case in court and the man involved ends up paying the bride price after all. This can be arranged with instalment if the bride price is not available at once. The final way to get married is referred to as *stealing*, which is a somewhat confusing term as it involves the consent of the girl. The guy flees with the girl as he wants to marry her but lacks the cattle for the bride price. He is afraid that by the time he has enough cattle together, the girl will have been given to someone else. Therefore he runs away with her (to another village or town) and comes back after a while. It is possible that he can settle the bride price after all with her family when they return. But it might also happen that the family of her (brothers) comes and look for her (as they want the bride price) and might kill the guy when they find him, or at least loot the bride price themselves (U-12).

⁵³ Often the family of the woman is reluctant to take her back in case of divorce as they are expected to return the entire bride price to the man. This results in many women having no place to go after their divorce and therefore ending up in impoverished circumstances.

Polygyny

In South Sudan a man can marry as many wives as he can afford. The explanation for this was that one wife is not enough; just one wife will not satisfy a man. The lack of satisfaction is stemming from the believe that men are not supposed to touch their wife from the moment she is pregnant, till the moment she finishes breastfeeding the child (which in most cases takes at least up to two years). Against the background of this information saying that one wife does not satisfy is not surprising.

Another reason given for having multiple wives is dealing with the fact that previously many children died due to a lack of proper health care. In order to make sure one will still have many children, one can spread the risk over more women as when having more children chances are higher that some will survive.

Many men also refer to the bible to justify their need for more women. *'A man is meant for more women, but a woman is just meant for one man. Look at Salomon how he did it. He is the example. A women is not supposed to be shared, a man however is'* (I-7). And also *'God asked us to fill the earth, right?'* (I-23).

Having multiple wives also contributes positively to your position in the community. *'When having 1 wife, you are considered poor. You have got nothing to say in the community. The same goes for if you are the only wife to a husband (you have more say in the community when you are having co-wives)'* (I-23). When being the only wife, you do not have a lot to say as that implies your husband is not very wealthy, otherwise he would have had more wives. However, when you are one of the family with co-wives, you receive a lot of respect as by having multiple wives your husband proves he has the ability to provide for more wives (TE-19).

Abovementioned reasons are all plausible, Samson Jambo however has a more negative view on polygamy. He argues that *'multiple polygamy is the most common and 'trendy' practice in South Sudan'*. This is due to a combination of extreme poverty and a short-lived ambition for quick enrichment, whereas traditionally, polygamy was practiced in *'modest' ways and for 'genuine' reasons*. Infertility and sickness of wives led men to marry other wives (Samson Jambo, 2002:65). Samson Jambo does have a point when he mentions quick enrichment. In Dinka (and Nuer) culture it is very important for a man to have many wives as they produce many children, which in turn bring forth many cattle (Beswick, 2001: 37). Begetting more children, marrying to more wives and possession of large herds of cattle are cultural ideals which every man strives to achieve. Children, and daughters in specific, are a source of wealth, which is one of the main reasons for having many wives. According to women from the Women's Association I spoke to marriage has a single function, which is producing children. *'Marriage is not for entertainment, marriage is for producing'* (TE-19). As a woman it is your task to contribute to the wealth of the family (of your husband) by producing children.

Adultery and divorce

When a man commits adultery with somebody else's wife, he has to pay six heads of cattle that will be transferred to the husband of the wife for compensation and one head of cattle as a fine (I-8). When a women commits adultery the man can decide to divorce her. The woman can also decide to leave her husband. In practice however divorce does not take place that often as the family of the woman is obliged to repay all the cattle the man has paid for the bride price⁵⁴. In case the woman has children, they will stay with the man (as children belong to the man and not to the women, since he paid the bride price which makes everything she produces his) and the man will pay five heads of cattle per child to the woman as compensation for the loss of her children. As a result of these arrangements women will not easily decide to leave their husbands as that implies they lose their children as well and their family will not be happy to receive her home again.

⁵⁴ Not only the same amount of cattle has to be repaid (at least 30 as that is the maximum amount according to customary law) but preferably the same cows that were part of the original bride price, which is very difficult taken into account that the cattle received has been used for other social obligations in the mean time.

Wife inheritance and female-female marriage

In many African cultures the wife will be inherited by the family of her husband when he passes away. The rationale behind this practice is that the woman and her children are always taken care of; it serves as a social network. Another, less social reason, is that as the bride price has been paid by the husband the woman should continue producing children as long as her age allows her to do (otherwise it is considered to be a waste of the bride price). In most cases the wife will be given to the brother or a cousin of her late husband. In case the wife is too old to produce she will not be given to a male family member of her late husband as she will not be able to produce more children.

If she would like to have more children as from an economic perspective she needs more daughters or sons⁵⁵, there is the option of establishing a female-female marriage. The woman decides with her family and clan who would be a good wife and then pays the requested bride price. She takes her wife into her homestead and arranges for a male member of the family of her late husband to make her pregnant. The children her new wife will deliver will be carrying the name of the late husband and she will never have the opportunity to have children of her own (I-11). Besteman (Besteman, 1995:193) interprets female-female marriages in Somalia as strategies to manipulate the system of male authority. However, the women-women marriages in Jonglei state have not been explained like that. Of course this practice is turned to in order to safeguard the inheritance by producing sons or make sure your sons get married by producing (more) daughters. And Besteman focuses on the agency of women, whereas in Jonglei state it is not only the woman who decides upon a female marriage partner, but the entire clan makes part of this decision and the final choice for a wife.

As producing seems to be central to the South Sudanese society there are more ways to continue producing after the husband passed away and he leaves multiple wives and children. When the husband passes away, the eldest son of the first wife is supposed to take over the younger wives and produce more children with them. These children will belong to the late father and not to the son that produced them. However, this practice is changing and nowadays it is more likely that the younger wives are given to an uncle or other male relatives.

As mentioned earlier, the cultural practice of wife inheritance is perceived by some as brutal and a violation of women's rights (Mkutu, 2008:248), whereas others see this practice as a cultural provision and a social safety-net for women in case their husband dies (Beswick, 2001:47). This marriage system which was designed to care for Dinka widows on the one hand and to make full use of their reproductive years on the other, is not functioning as it has in the past (Beswick, 2004:210). This system of widow inheritance is breaking down. This has partly to do with the fact that many men died during the war and too many women are left to take care of (Pol, 1998:45). Male relatives are less willing to take responsibility for these women. In addition, as women have to fend for themselves and require some freedom and self-worth as a result, this makes them more and more resist the cultural practices of wife inheritance.

⁵⁵ When a woman mainly has sons and lacks daughters it will be difficult for these boys to get married as often the bride price the family receives when the sisters get married is used for the bride price of the brothers so they can afford a wife themselves. However, the opposite is not preferable either since the family will receive a lot of bride price due to the many daughters, but as only men can inherit in South Sudanese society, it is advisable to make sure there are sons to inherit as otherwise your wealth will go to the family of your late husband when you die.

6.7. Bride price and cattle raiding

'In Uror there is more discipline. You can eat stolen cattle, but not use it as a bride price, because it is believed that the women you marry with stolen cattle will become barren as a result. This prevents people from raiding for the sake of marriage.' (U-13)

The cultural practice of the bride price creates a need for cattle and as the prices are increasing and herds diminishing, the need for cattle is increasing as well. However, when asked if there could be a relation between cattle raiding and bride price, hardly any respondent provided a positive answer. A few exceptions carefully argued that there might be a link between raiding and bride price. *'Some people raid because they need the cattle to get married'* (D-7). Someone in Duk explained that in their community they are trying hard to discourage competition for a girl in terms of cattle because, to some extent, it promotes raiding (D-16). Some argued that a man can get his bride price together by 'looting cattle' (U-12).

Beswick argues that there are two ways to get married; either through the complicated system of several bride wealth payments, or by raiding with which Beswick acknowledges the possible link between the need for bride price and the raiding of cattle as she argues that 'raiding circumvents this system (of several bride wealth payments) and enables the man to provide the bride wealth at once'⁵⁶ (Beswick, 2004:137). Bollig (1990) also links the need for cattle with the occurrence of raiding as he argues that the payment of high bride prices constitutes a very strong motivation for young men to raid (Hendrickson et al, 1998:9). In addition Markakis also mentions that young men who cannot afford bride prices turn to raiding (Markakis, 2004:8).

During the field work there has been one very clear case of cattle raiding being linked to the need for cattle to pay the bride price as I got to interview a prisoner from Duk that had been caught in a raid in Uror. There was no way he could deny being a cattle raider and when asked if he would do it again after being released in future, he replied *'I need more cattle for marrying a second wife'* (U-69).

Others deny this link as they perceive the cattle raider to be a thief and according to them someone who is a thief cannot be the same person as someone who is planning to get married, these two roles are impossible to combine. *'Cattle raiders take cattle because they are thieves, not because they want to have more wives'* (D-42). Also *'stolen or raided cows are discouraged in marriages. Therefore, bride price is not a cause of cattle raiding in the Dinka tradition'* (D-25).

A respondent from Uror argued that people in Uror have more discipline than those in Duk. It is allowed to consume stolen cattle, but one cannot use it as a bride price. They believe that the woman marrying by means of stolen cattle will be barren as a result (U-13). This conviction prevents people from raiding for the sake of marriage and therefore a link between cattle raiding and the bride price is highly unlikely.

In a community in Kirr (Twic East county) the village leader acknowledged the fact that cattle raiding takes place, also in their area, however when people realize the cattle that are paid as part of the bride price are obtained by raiding, they will not be accepted. According to him the raiders just come for acquiring direct wealth and are not so much interested in marriage. He did not believe a link exists between cattle raiding and dowry, and also pointed out that the conflicts their community faces will not reduce when the bride prices go down, it will not have any effect. This opinion is shared by many others.

⁵⁶ In addition to the raiding of cattle, previously women were also raided by the Dinka and to a lesser extent by the Nuer, instead of waiting long periods to accumulate bridewealth required to get married (Beswick, 2004:192).

6.8. Change

'I have a dream and if I want to pursue it, I have to reduce the number of wives as well as the number of mouths (to feed)' (I-14).

6.8.1. Exposure

Despite the majority supporting the current bride price system, some respondents expressed their hope of their children changing their culture in the future. *'Hopefully our children will change the future. Our culture will be eroded by our children, by the influence of education'* (D-1). A change is visible, slowly but steady. This change is partly caused by exposure to other cultures as a result of the North-South conflict that caused many people to flee to other parts of South Sudan and to countries like Uganda, Ethiopia and Kenya. In refugee camps people became familiar with other cultures and practices. In the same line Beswick argues that South Sudanese gender relations have been restructured by the civil war, both in terms of the loss of men and also in terms of Western influences and ideas brought by aid workers. These developments also influence the way many Dinka and Nuer women perceive cultural practices such as polygyny and wife inheritance (Beswick, 2001:54).

Also in towns things are changing due to exposure to foreign influences. People experience a different (often more demanding and luxury) life style in towns and realize that they will not be able to keep up that same life style anymore when they have multiple wives and many children to take care of. Life in towns is simply too expensive they argue, *'polygamy will disappear gradually when people start to realize that their children should receive education. As education is expensive families will try to limit the amount of children and these children can be produced by one woman'* (I-10). Also, people in towns increasingly value education and would like their children to go to school in order to find a proper job, instead of getting stuck in a cattle camp. Education requires money, so people in towns are reluctant to have many children due to the higher costs of living. Previously children were sent to the cattle camps and did not go to school (in the rural areas this is still the case) (I-20).

This change in ideas about marriage and the bride price system is visible among girls and women as well. Some girls do not want to marry a 'second hand' husband⁵⁷ anymore, but prefer to be the only one. This concerns mainly the girls that are not living in the cattle camp, but in the towns. It is expected that this shift will create poverty for the current generation as people will lose some cattle to education of their girls and as a result of the received education their girls might marry at a later age (I-14).

6.8.2. Commoditization of cattle?

In many other African pastoralist societies a different change is going on as well, the one of commoditization of the livestock. People begin to realize that using money as a currency offers more possibilities than cattle does. As a result, money has been introduced as part of the bride price. Cattle traders have introduced money into marriages and pay part of the bride price in money (Mangor Ring, 1990:202). Cooper points out that in some parts cash became a significant part of wedding transactions, this being encouraged by the growth of transport and infrastructure, markets and links with European trade houses (Cooper, 1995:135).

This commercialisation of cattle is not yet the case in Jonglei state. Of course there are local markets that buy and sell cattle, however, in Jonglei no international or regional cattle trade takes place according to the respondents. So far the bride price solely consists of cattle. Also, if men lack the cattle needed for a wedding but do have a paid job, they go to the market and buy the cattle to pay the bride price.

Money as bride price (instead of cattle) has previously been introduced to the Dinka by the British during the colonial period, however this encouraged the raiding of women⁵⁸, as was a practice

⁵⁷ A second hand husband is a husband that has one or more wives already.

⁵⁸ Baggara women in particular as their bridewealth consisted of money, so her bridewealth 'yielded cash to her surrogate (Dinka) family (Beswick, 2004:210).

that existed since pre-colonial times among the Dinka, Nuer, Murle, Atwot and the Baggara (Beswick, 2004:210). It is not likely that the same will happen when money gets introduced again, but the raiding of cattle might not disappear. On the contrary, when money becomes the new currency for the bride price, raiding might be encouraged as well as people will raid to sell the cattle in order to get married.

Obviously the cattle the bride price consists of does not simply represent the money it is worth. In fact, the cultural value is probably as important as the amount of money it represents. Therefore it will be difficult to replace the cattle by money regarding the bride price as the 'animals no longer serve as vehicles for 'the quality' involved in social relationships'. Broch-Due argues rightly that 'commercialisation drains livestock of its cultural content, especially when there is no proper substitute which carries the same cultural meanings as livestock' (Broch-Due, 1990:158).

6.9. Concluding remarks

In addition to food and income, the most important purpose of cattle is to serve as bride price when a man wants to marry. Payment of the bride price legitimises a wedding. In South Sudan one can marry as many wives as one can afford. When a marriage produces daughters and they get married at their turn, the parents receive the bride price for their daughter. Therefore the more cattle, the more wives, the more children and again the more cattle, it somehow resembles an economic system. That marriage and producing children is a central feature in Dinka and Nuer society is reflected in the numerous rules and practices in society concerning marriage and producing. A woman is worth around 30 heads of cattle. The (extended) family of the man contributes to the bride price, and cattle can be bred in a regular way. However, somehow there is also a link between the need for cattle this cultural practice creates and the occurrence of cattle raiding. Interestingly very few respondents acknowledge this link. The pressure on the need for cattle is increasing as the bride prices are increasing and the herds diminishing as a result of the cattle raiding. In towns the attitude towards marriage, producing children and the bride price is changing as people want to have a certain lifestyle that cannot be combined with many wives and children as people would like their children to receive proper education.



Chapter 7. Solutions

As the type of solutions mentioned implicitly shows what people think about the conflicts and its nature, I always tried to ask what the respondents thought would be the solution to the conflicts and insecurity they experience in their daily lives. They have many ideas about how to solve the issues, or how to improve their situation. It is interesting how many of these solutions are expected to be executed by the government, as the respondents do not see a role for themselves in the solutions.

The respondents in Jonglei state do perceive cattle raiding as the most serious threat to their security and livelihoods. When asked what problems they encounter in their lives, unanimously all answers referred to cattle raiding in the first place. Even though cattle raiding has not been considered to be a crime and a threat before the North-South conflict, currently people realize that the conflicts are changing in nature and something should be done about it. First local responses will be discussed followed by the solutions suggested.

7.1. Local responses

'Do to them what they did to us' (U-36)

Cattle raiding linked to the migration routes is solved by people taking other routes, traveling at night or get an escort for protection which is discussed in chapter 4. The cattle raiding by the Murle is dealt with differently. Most of the respondents argued that they are not able to do something about it as they lack the weapons to fight back or defend themselves against attacks from the Murle.

However, while being in Duk and Uror county for the data gathering people did run out of patience. Men of several counties suffering regular attacks from the Murle (Duk, Twic East, Akobo, Nyirol, Ayod and Uror) had mobilized themselves to fight the Murle in Pibor county. 'Since the beginning of this year there have been many attacks by the Murle. The youth of Uror, Duk, Twic East, Ayod and Akobo decided to wait with revenge until the 10th time the Murle would attack. That happened lately and therefore the youth mobilized themselves and is now fighting in Pibor' (U-14). While being in Duk I heard some rumours about these plans and when arriving in Uror I realized that these rumours were true. Villages I visited for having interviews and discussions had very few men in a certain age category. Also some people I spoke with had husbands and children that left to fight in Pibor. *'Our children went to the side of the Murle to get the cattle back. I am afraid my children will get killed'* (U-58). *'At this moment my sons are also fighting in Pibor. I beg Gods to return them back alive. I agree with them fighting the Murle as the people here are tired of the attacks by the Murle'* (U-51). One respondent even left for Pibor county himself but had to return due to an injury. *'I left a couple of days ago to take revenge for what they did to us (taking cattle, killing people and abducting children). However, I got an injury to my leg and had to return (the fighting had not started yet)'* (U-36).

While still being in Uror some wounded people slowly started to return from Pibor county and NGO's got evacuated from Pibor. The people feared a revenge attack sooner or later and a few weeks after I returned back home, I got the news that over 625 people in Uror (Pieri payam) got killed by the Murle. At the time of finalizing this thesis, the BBC reported that Murle are fleeing for a counter-attack from the Nuer. This cycle of revenge is getting larger and it is important to find out how to break this cycle and have peace return to Jonglei state.

7.2. Solutions

7.2.1. Disarmament

'The cattle raiding decreased after the disarmament; the current raids can be dealt with by the community as no guns are involved' (D-7).

Disarmament has been mentioned most often as a solution to the problems of cattle raiding⁵⁹ as can be seen in figure 7.1.⁶⁰ According to the majority of the respondents cattle raiding altered since the North-South conflict, and mainly due to the proliferation of modern weapons that this conflict and other conflicts in the region brought along. Therefore disarmament is seen as the most effective solution, which should be done by the new government. *'Before disarmament people got killed easily, but now they are disarmed and they just use sticks and spears as previously' (U-12).* One respondent argued: *'if guns are collected, I will start taking proper care of my remaining cattle and live a happy life—a life without fear of Murle or Dinka attacks' (U-69).*

However, disarmament should happen equally, at the same time in all counties of Jonglei state. So far disarmament started in one county, which makes this county extra vulnerable towards other counties. Many respondents argued that their community has been attacked by other communities as a result of these unequal disarmament policies. *'We have had four disarmament exercises here in Duk-Padiet and all the guns on the hands of the civilians are collected and that is why we are vulnerable to raids' (D-15).* It has been argued by some respondents that the decisions of what county to disarm when are inspired by politics at regional (Bor) and national (Juba) level. *'The SPLA met in Ayod county with Duk county as they said they were troubled by the Nuer. So they decided to start the disarmament campaign in Uror' (U-13).* *'Disarmament took place here (Uror), but Pibor, Duk and Ayod are not done yet, it is unfair' (U-13).*

Even though militias have not been mentioned explicitly as direct stakeholders in the conflicts regarding cattle raiding, they are indirectly involved as they are often accused of trading in weapons and providing people with weapons. *'This year it is very bad with cattle raiding as there are many guns in the area due to the rebels (George Athor and David Yau Yau) that brought the guns' (U-11).* *'The Nuer were also disarmed but they get more guns from Khartoum through George Athor and his militias' (D-15).*

It has also been argued that no disarmament has taken place in Pibor yet, therefore the Murle are so strong. *'No disarmament took place in Pibor yet. From 2006 disarmament took place on a yearly basis in Ayod, Duk and Uror county, except for 2009. Only the 2010 disarmament happened in a peaceful manner, the others were done by force. In 2010 the military asked the chiefs to collect the guns from the community. At this moment people just defend their cattle with sticks and spears, they don't use guns' (U-14).* *'In 2010 we have been disarmed as well as the Nuer, but the Murle resisted' (D-18).* *'For disarmament the government also targeted Lou Nuer and the Murle, but only half of the Murle got disarmed' (U-13).*

⁵⁹ However, an interesting difference between the respondents in Uror and Duk is that 85% of the respondents in Duk argued that disarmament would be the best solution compared to 51% of the respondents in Uror. The respondents in Uror opted for peaceful dialogue and provision of water instead.

⁶⁰ The chart consists of data from the questionnaires only, whereas the majority of the findings as put in this chapter are additional information, data from the FGD's, informal interviews and semi-structured interview. Therefore the chart does not always correspond with the written findings as such.

Not everybody is convinced of the effectiveness of disarmament policies. Some respondents argued that people can easily get their guns back at the same depot where the collected guns are stored after disarmament (I-35). Others argued that they do need guns in order to defend themselves and their cattle against raiders. *'Guns are needed in order to solve the problem of raiding'* (U-66). *'We did not have guns anymore to get our cattle back as we have been disarmed recently'* (TE-13). *'Our message to the government is to return the guns collected from the people so that they can protect themselves from the Murle and the Nuer, as the government is reluctant in protecting us and our cattle'* (D-3).

7.2.2. Government to provide security

As stated previously, the solution that has been mentioned most often is disarmament. Respondents argued that the government of South Sudan is responsible for this. Apart from disarmament, the government is expected to provide solutions to fight cattle raiding in other ways as well, such as providing security. Many incidents have happened recently according to the respondents, but they do not see the government taking any action. *'The 2nd paramount chief of Tiam payam got killed by the Murle last April, as well as a headman and three police men, eight people got killed in total'* (U-12).

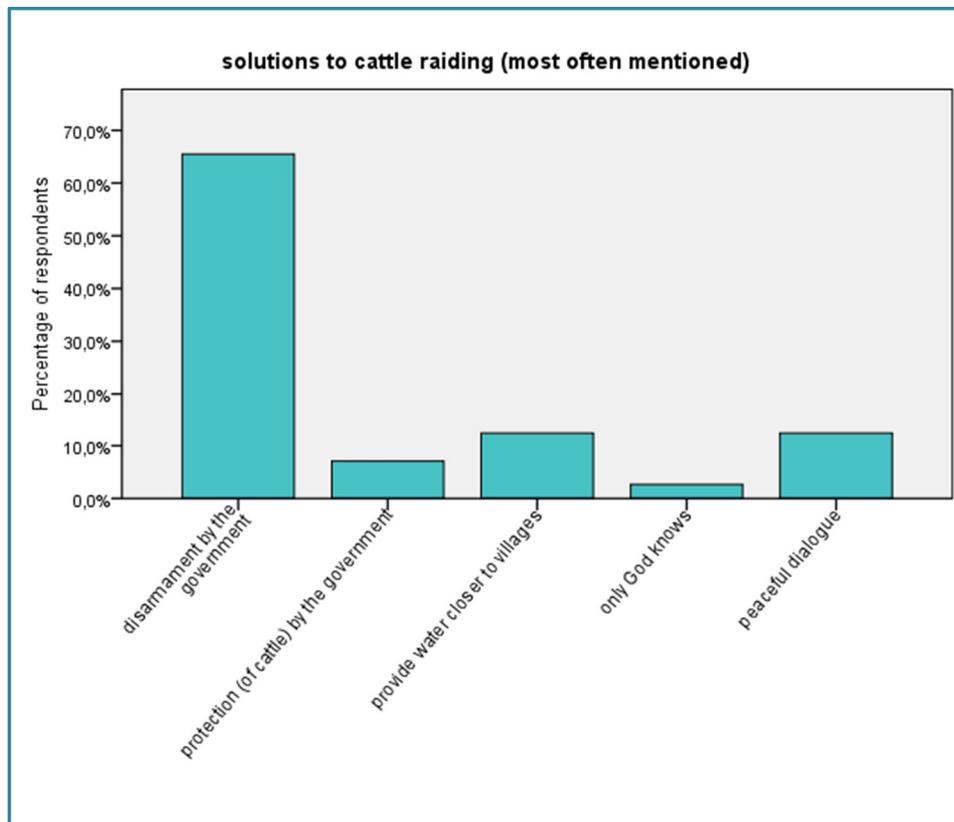


Figure 7.1. Solutions to cattle raiding

This incident has been reported to the state and the minister of law enforcement came to discuss this issue. *'They promised that they would send 200 police men, however, so far nothing has happened'* (U-12). Everywhere respondents complained that the government is not doing anything to improve the security situation, the government seems to be ignorant to the issues that take place in Jonglei state as they are busy with preparing for the independence of South Sudan. Also, *'people in Juba (the government) don't relate to cattle keepers, for them the issues related to cattle keepers are not a priority'* (U-12). *'The government (GOSS) is relaxed about the issue, they say it is just tribal conflict'* (TE-17).

A common complaint was the lack of sufficient army and police forces. *'We need more police in this area, they have to be sent from the county level (and state level)'* (U-14). *'There are very few policemen here (in Yuai, HQ of Uror county), we are not strong enough to fight the Murle. The few police do have guns, but the Murle also have guns. The police fear the Murle'* (I-25). *'Regarding security and defence, there is only a police patrol active in the head quarters of the payam'* (TE-16). As the presence of police and army forces is very little, respondents argued that the police fear the cattle raiders and therefore proper defence is not offered. *'Cattle raiders are normally reported to the police but the police are usually defeated by the heavily armed raiders'* (TE-20). In Uror people argued that for their safety they depend on the few soldiers present that have been installed there after the disarmament took place. But the presence of the soldiers also attracts more problems *'as the raiders come heavily armed to defeat the soldiers'* (D-15).

When the government deploys enough security forces, the government should be strong enough to deal with the issues of cattle raiding (U-12). The government should deploy forces along the borders of each county. *'Conflicts have always been there, but there used to be no government. Now there is some kind of government since 2005, but raiding still exists. This is not very promising for the future'* (U-12).

In order for the cattle to be protected people proposed to form a force that is specialized in recovering cattle after a raid and protecting the cattle while migrating as well. *'There is a need for a force to be established and equipped with patrol vehicles to counter cattle raiders along the border with the Nuer and Murle people. Sometimes the police gets called when cattle raiders are attacking. In some cases they have been able to retrieve some cattle, but in most cases the raiders have been gone already'* (TE-21). *'A cattle recovery unit should be a possible solution to fight the cattle raiding. When the cattle raiders are being chased (and caught) repeatedly the raiding will become less'* (I-7).

In addition to deploying police forces and creating a 'cattle protection force', the law that prohibits the raiding of cattle should be backed up by an effective legal system. *'The raiders will fear as there will be a law that prohibits and punishes raiding. At this moment there is no law, there is lawlessness'* (D-1). For example, the only prison in Uror county was found in Yuai (the HQ of the county) and out of the ten prisoners, one prisoner was caught for cattle raiding (see the picture at the beginning of chapter 5). And in a county where there are at least weekly reports of cattle raiding taking place, just one prisoner is not very realistic.

7.2.3. Peaceful dialogue

'The only way to solve problems is by negotiating and having a dialogue' (TE-17).

'In this culture we are used to talk to one another face-to-face. Therefore we prefer a peaceful dialogue' (TE-20).

Traditionally people used to settle disputes with the interference of village leaders and chiefs. In case of conflicts between communities, clans, tribes or counties, the elders and chiefs would come together and have peace meetings in order to solve the conflicts. Often compensation by means of cattle would be paid. *'Previously the commissioners, the village leaders and chiefs would come together in case of any disputes between the Nuer and Dinka'* (TE-18). Nowadays it is often not possible to solve the conflicts concerning cattle raiding in this traditional way, partly because the scope of the conflicts is too big for the elders to deal with and also because the elders do not receive the same amount of respect (by the youth) as they did previously.

However, quite some respondents argued that peaceful dialogue (between tribes and counties) would still be a good solution (and sometimes the only one) to the cattle raiding issues. *'Peace is needed between Duk and Uror. Not only with Uror, but peace with all counties that Duk is bordering. In order to achieve this (and maintain) the chiefs, elders and youth of all counties should come together and discuss (peace by means of negotiation and dialogue)'* (D-32). They argued that

the government as well as NGO's should be organizing and facilitating these dialogues. *'The only way to solve the disputes between these two communities is for the government to mediate between these two communities because the chiefs alone cannot do much in bridging peace'* (D-3). *'Conflict in relation to cattle can be reduced when inter-tribal peace conferences are organized to enable the elders find out possible causes of further and sort out peaceful solutions before it worsens. The elders (peace mediators) need to be trained and equipped with the skills of conflict resolution to enhance their traditional peace resolution methods⁶¹'* (D-15).

Some respondents said that at payam level and county level there is some sort of dialogue with the Murle from Pibor (they discuss why people raid, how to stop it etc) but according to them these dialogues should also go up to state level in order to be very effective (TE-16).

Not only the NGO's and government should do something in the form of peaceful dialogues, the women association in Twic East county explained that their husbands and sons do not raid as a result of the women influencing and convincing them not to raid. However, they would still like the government (or someone else that has the means) to mobilize the women in Uror and Pibor county to do the same (TE-19).

Peace dialogues should be accompanied by payment of compensation by and to the parties involved. *'Since 2004 there has not been a good discussion on peace and compensation between the Nuer and the Dinka. Because no compensation has been paid for the several deaths (on both sides), there is no peace. It is not that Nuer don't want to pay for compensation (or refuse), but it just has not been arranged for by the government'* (U-12).

Not everyone is convinced of the effectiveness of peace conferences. *'Talking only does not solve anything, people resume the raiding and fighting at a later stage anyway'* (U-12). Peace conferences do take place on a regular basis, however the results do not always last very long. As a respondent in Uror argued: *'In 2006 the paramount chief, the commissioner and some other chiefs from Uror went to Pibor for a peaceful conference, but the Murle did not really respond and started raiding only five days after the conference took place'* (U-14). *'Communities used to bring people together and there would be peace for a short period. However, fighting would start after a while'* (TE-21). Also peace building training sessions that have been offered by an (International) NGO in the area do not always seem to have the expected effect. *'In 2007 they only came to train some people here on peace building but they disappeared until to date. I wonder what was in their heads'* (D-15).

According to some respondents the peace conferences fail as a result of the youth lacking respect for the elders and chiefs and the agreements made. People argued that the youth decides what to do, when to raid etc without the consent of the elders. *'Agreements are made between the chiefs of the communities and counties involved, however the youth of the communities (who are often responsible for the raiding) don't respect the agreements made'* (U-12). *'The elders of Pibor county blame the youth for the raiding. The youth does not listen or accept these peace talks'* (TE-21).

On the other hand it has been argued that the chiefs are very well aware of what their youth is up to. *'The only solution for this is the government to come home. The government should call the chiefs together (as they know everyone and know who is hiding in the bush and raiding) and register the names of the people that are in the bush and the guns should be given to the government. But the chiefs are not always open and honest. They know what each of their 'children' is doing, but might not always tell'* (D-33).

⁶¹ It is difficult to discern whether this solution is purely the idea of the respondents or that it is influenced by the NGO's that already implemented these dialogues.

7.2.4. Water provision

'Water provision will solve the conflict between the Nuer and the Dinka, because the Dinka fear the people here. We shall only be dealing with the Murle, but that is not such a big deal.' (U-40)

'Provision of water for cattle in the communities so that people do not have to migrate, which will minimize raids' (D-3).

At the start of the research it was assumed that the provision of water could possibly make a difference in the conflicts along the migration routes. When asking people for possible solutions, provision of water was one of the solutions offered. The majority of the respondents argued that the provision of water in Uror county would make a difference for the conflicts as they know it today. The seasonal migration will decrease the provision of water in Uror county will make the need to migrate less. This will affect the occurrence of cattle raiding that takes place along the migration routes and at the *toich* as the Nuer do not have to pass through land that belongs to the Dinka and therefore fewer confrontations are expected to take place. *'The provision of water will stop the Nuer from coming here as that was the reason why they came in the first place'* (D-34). At least they expect less raiding to take place between the Dinka and Nuer as that is linked to the seasonal migration. *'When water is provided in Uror, the Nuer people will not come here to look for water and this will reduce cattle raids because when the Nuer come to get water, they raid also'* (D-15). Raiding has been less this year as well, as a result of the floods in Uror last year, which caused less people to migrate to the *toich* in 2011. Therefore people expect the migration to decrease as there will be enough water for the cattle in Uror itself. *'This year there is no conflict with the Dinka and the people from Ayod as we did not migrate due to the floods of the past year. Just problems with the Murle'* (U-55).

However not all respondents were positive about the possible effects for cattle raiding when providing water in Uror county. People argued that just water provided for by means of boreholes or wells would not provide enough water and pasture for the cattle. *'Provision of water in Uror would not really help as they (the people in Uror) also need pastures for their cattle'* (TE-21). *'Only water is not enough, food for the cattle is also needed otherwise people will still migrate'* (D-1). Also *'even if water is provided, where do people take their cattle for pastures?'* (TE-18). Therefore many respondents proposed to build big dams in Uror county as that would enable pasture to grow in that area as well (D-35). Also proper irrigation systems have been suggested (U-12). *'There is no solution, cattle raiding will continue unless you dig a canal in Uror area because people only migrate due to a lack of water'* (U-13).

However, others argued that *'it is better to have thin cows than no cows at all'* (I-21). With this they argued that the provision of water only would be a huge improvement already, even if that means that there will still be a lack of pasture. They prefer to have less food for their cattle, then no cattle at all (U-12).

Even though the provision of water could have a positive effect on the clashes between the Dinka and Nuer, provision of water in Uror county is not expected to stop the Murle from attacking and raiding cattle. *'As a solution for the raiding from Nuer people, provision of water would be a possibility. But for the people of Pibor this will not work as it is their lifestyle'* (TE-20). *'Water provision would be an idea for the people in Uror, that might help, but not for the people from Pibor, they don't lack water, are just after the cows'* (D-17).

Despite water provision not being able to stop the Murle from coming to their villages, in general people feel they will be able to defend their villages and communities when they can stay at home during the dry season. They feel they are strong enough to withstand the threats of the Murle. *'When we don't have to migrate we will be able to defend ourselves better against the Murle as the Murle don't attack as much when they find people in a (large) group together'* (U-43). *'Security in the villages would be better when people would stay at the village in stead of migrating. It would also discourage raiders to come, but it will not fully stop the raiding'* (TE-16). Another positive aspect is

that the police will be closer to the people (when they stay in their villages) to offer protection when necessary (D-23).

Eventhough the majority of the respondents argued that they will be able to defend themselves against the Murle when they stay in their villages in the dry season, others argued that as the cattle will stay in Uror during the dry season this might attract even more Murle and therefore it is safer to be at the *toich* with the cattle (D-1). Some also experience more safety at the *toich*, which is partly why they migrate *'to get away from the attacks from the Murle, as they are most experienced in the villages'* (U-10).

7.2.5. Cultivation and development

As food insecurity has been mentioned as a possible cause for cattle raiding, it has been argued that agriculture should be developed more in the future. *'Cultivation is key to peace and development as people are too busy to fight when cultivating (I-18)*. However, increasing farming is restricted at the moment as a result of the insecurity which causes people to leave their farms. Even though people realize that it is the cattle that bring them insecurity and they should spread the risks, they do not consider leaving their cattle in order to focus on agriculture fully. *'People need cattle for marriage and food. People will never leave their cattle; they can sell them in the market, use them for food. The cattle is all they need. When you only focus on planting, the birds might come and eat the crops and seeds'* (U-25).

People also fear the raiding by the Murle to continue despite focussing on agriculture as *'that is a habit for these people'* (TE-19). They refer to the Anuak who did leave their cattle a long time ago in order to focus on cultivation as a result of the attacks of the Murle. *'If you look at the Anuak, they have been raided by the Murle till they gave all their cattle to the Murle in order to get rid of them. However, the Murle continued to steal their goats and children. So if we shift to farming, the threat of raiding will not disappear'* (TE-19).

In addition to the insecurity which makes farming difficult, the soil is said not to be fertile enough for proper agriculture. Respondents also argued they need tractors to work the land and seeds as the only seeds they have are for sorghum and corn (U-13). *'Big tractors are needed so that people can have huge farms to fight hunger as hunger is a major cause of the problems'* (U-47). And agriculture might seem safe in terms of cattle raiding; it can easily be damaged by floods as the people in Uror experienced last year. *'Also the floods damage the crops. Keeping cattle is more secure'* (U-13).

Some suggested that starting a business would be a good alternative to keeping cattle as that is much more secure. *'For cattle keepers it would be better if they would sell their cattle (at least some of it) and start a small business. That would be much safer. But people don't want to leave their livelihoods'* (TE-18). *'The government should create job opportunities for the youth so they will be engaged in other things than raiding'* (D-14). The youth should be offered alternatives so they do not need to resort to raiding in order to make a living, they should learn how to run a business.

However, others argued they do not know how to start a business, they don't think they will be capable of doing so as they have not had the opportunity to go to school during the war. *'I cannot start a business, as that is meant for the educated people who know how to calculate money'* (U-69). *'People have been in war for 21 years, many people are illiterate and how are we supposed to set up a business? Or cultivate? We need training and education'* (TE-19).

Education has been mentioned often as a solution as it offers alternatives and a way out of the misery many people find themselves in. *'Maybe if we get education, things will change in the future and this problem of cattle raiding will be solved by one of our children that went to school'* (TE-19). *'Education is a solution. You see the proof in other parts: due to exposure during the conflict (as people fled to other countries like Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya etc) people got educated and a feeling of how other people live their life. When people receive education, they don't want to stay in the cattle camps, but dress properly and have a home and a proper job'* (I-18).

Education has also been suggested as a solution to the threat of the Murle in specific as they are considered to be a people that do not cultivate, are not educated, have undeveloped norms and values. *'A solution would be to provide schools and other services to the Murle to educate and civilize them'* (TE-17). *'The Murle should be educated, that will lessen the cattle raiding. Schools, health services and churches should educate them. Sexual transmitted diseases (like syphilis) have caused the Murle to be less fertile'* (TE-17). *'The Murle should not forget about the bible, about the 10 commandments. We should connect to churches and start preaching the gospel in Pibor'* (TE-20).

Independence

The data collection took place just before South Sudan would become an independent country, the 9th of July 2011. Everybody was looking forward to this event, to be free, to be independent and the anticipation could be felt in the air. With the independence, people expect many things to change for the best. Independence is not a solution to cattle raiding as such, however independence was mentioned as providing an environment that will enable the people of South Sudan to live in peace, also free of the threat of cattle raiding. *'Independence of the south will give the government time to concentrate on dealing with the cattle raiders'* (D-1). In addition, the independence will also attract international NGO's and companies that are willing to invest in South Sudan (I-27). Independence is also expected to block the provision of weapons and munitions to the Murle by Khartoum, so the threat from the Murle will slowly disappear (I-27).

Mixture

Solutions relating to food security have been mentioned as well. As hunger has been mentioned (and the high prices for sorghum) by some as the cause for cattle raiding, food aid has been suggested as a solution. *'The Nuer were given food aid previously by the UN, then the raiding got less. Also in 2010 the Nuer got food aid, and then the problems regarding raiding were less. So provision of food is one solution'* (D-14). *'Provide food to fight hunger as that causes (forces) people to raid'* (U-48).

Others trusted God to come with a solution. *'There is no alternative; it is God or the government that should come with a solution'* (D-14). One respondent argued that intermarriages between tribes could reduce the conflict. She herself is a Murle that has been married to a Nuer, however according to her that has not contributed as such to a peaceful solution of the conflicts between the Nuer and the Murle (U-66).

One respondents suggested conflict in South Sudan for peace to happen. *'The north and the south have been fighting one another, but the south never really fought itself. A massacre like the one in Rwanda is necessary to scare people off and create a change'* (I-17). *'Long time ago, during the North-South conflict the Dinka went to the bush (to fight the government in Khartoum). This is over now; nowadays it is a conflict between clans, now they turn to one another'* (D-1). At the time of finalizing this thesis this 'massacre' is going on in Jonglei state. However I doubt whether this will bring peace as hoped for.

7.3. Concluding remarks

Revenge is a response that has been used against the Murle mainly. Solutions that have been suggested by the respondents all point towards the government. The government should provide protection of the people and the cattle, equal disarmament should take place and peaceful dialogues are expected to solve the conflicts partially. The provision of water in Uror will enable the people in Uror to stay at their communities, hereby preventing clashes between the Dinka and Nuer on the one hand and enabling them to defend themselves against the Murle on the other hand. In addition the area should be developed and alternatives should be provided, such as education and jobs for the youth.



Chapter 8. Analysis

In this chapter the resource scarcity paradigm and political ecology (with special attention for grievance), as well as what literature claims about cattle raiding, will be confronted with the findings of this research. This chapter will start with an analysis of cattle raiding as perceived by the respondents, followed by the resource scarcity theory. After that the political ecology of the conflicts in Jonglei state will be analysed.

8.1. Cattle raiding

Cattle raiding has always been taking place among pastoralists in Jonglei state, within certain limits and without certain gear (no automatic weapons involved). This traditional type of raiding is often not even referred to as the raiding people know nowadays, neither is it perceived as a crime as it was part of their culture. Richards argues that 'war is inescapably sociological', which means that conflict should be understood in relation to patterns of violence already embedded within society' (Richards, 2005:4,11). This is also the case in Jonglei state as cattle raiding is a practice that has been embedded within Nuer and Dinka society. Only from the 1980's onwards, raiding is perceived as a crime as it changed due to certain developments and events.

Change in raiding

Literature points out that the change in the practice of cattle raiding can be explained as a result of the proliferation of automatic weapons (due to the civil wars in the region) and also as a result of the commoditization of the raiding. This new type of raiding is also referred to as 'commercial raiding' in literature as it has been argued that cattle raiding in the Horn and East of Africa is increasingly commercialising.

This change in the practice of cattle raiding is mentioned and identified by many respondents, however only partly for the same reasons literature refers to. Very few respondents mentioned the trading of cattle, either regionally or internationally. This might be different in border areas such as the Uganda-South Sudan border, the Kenya-South Sudan border or the border with Ethiopia. Jonglei state borders with Ethiopia, but the counties the research for this thesis took place are not immediately bordering Ethiopia. Pibor county (home to the Murle) does border Ethiopia which might explain the extensive raiding by the Murle. The commoditization that might be the case in different regions is not affecting the cattle raiding in Jonglei as such.

That the change of cattle raiding took place since the 1980's, mainly as a result of the civil wars in the region that caused many automatic weapons to be available to the local people, resonates with what the respondents in Jonglei also argued. Proliferation of weapons and, even more so, the unequal disarmament policies have been mentioned as influencing cattle raiding in a negative way. Corresponding is the fact that elders are losing authority and respect and thereby give the cattle raiders more freedom, which is also reflected in literature.

Reasons for this change in cattle raiding that has been mentioned in literature but not confirmed by the respondents are: shrinking resource base, droughts and commercial agriculture that claims grazing land.

The consequences of cattle raiding, as people experience today, mentioned by the respondents do correspond with the consequences mentioned in literature: insecurity that keeps people from practicing agriculture, forcing them to move to safer places and live close together and the breakdown of the moral economy. People are less able and willing to help one another.

8.2. Resource scarcity

The resource scarcity theory learns that population growth leads to environmental degradation, increases the scarcity of the resources and eventually leads to (violent) conflict. Initially it has been assumed that the same theory applies to the conflicts that occur in Jonglei state. It was expected that water and pasture would be scarce along the migration routes and at the *toich*, but that would imply that conflict would be confined to these locations according to the resource scarcity theory. However, the conflicts did not seem to occur only at the *toich* or along the routes where the cattle keepers gather with their cattle (as was assumed), but everywhere.

Also, it had been assumed that the conflicts occur as a result of the congestion at the *toich* and consequently a lack of water and pasture in that area as many cattle keepers gather there with their cattle. However, that has not been the case as it has been argued by the respondents that it is not so much the congestion at the *toich* and that there is enough water and pasture for all the cattle keepers and their cattle to be satisfied during the dry season.

Population pressure

Population pressure does not seem to be a pressing issue according to the respondents. In fact, they are convinced that they have to fill South Sudan as it is a large and vast area and rather empty after more than twenty years of civil war. In addition they see it as an assignment from God to fill the earth, South Sudan especially. Respondents do not see a link between population growth and increasing resource scarcity.

However, not everyone seems to have this opinion when it comes to filling the earth. The people in the towns (Bor and Juba) have different ideas about filling South Sudan. In the towns people have a different life style that brings along certain costs and therefore they often chose to marry one wife and have few children in order to be able to offer them an education. Their ideas correspond with what Markakis argues, 'development is the best contraceptive' (Markakis, 1998:12). He points out that projects that tried to control population growth by coercion failed, whereas fertility seems to decline when development has reached a certain stage. However, Markakis expects that the standards of living for most of the people in the Horn will stagnate or decrease in the future as a result of the population growth that will probably outgrow the food production.

I am not able to say anything about the population growth in relation to the food production in Jonglei state, however, while being there people were suffering from a shortage of food and for a large part depending on food aid. According to the respondents the soil and the climate are not suitable for proper agriculture and the tools are lacking as well. But the major reason for not practicing enough agriculture to feed themselves the whole year through is the insecurity caused by cattle raiding. For that reason they only plant close to their homesteads and do not go to cultivate their plots of land in the forest for fear of being attacked. The food insecurity in Jonglei state is therefore mainly a security issue and population growth does not seem to be relevant.

Climate change

Literature mentions climate change to be a threat to the availability of natural resources and therefore increasing conflicts caused by resource scarcity. However climate change in terms of an increase in temperature as such is not experienced by the respondents. Change in precipitation patterns is experienced to a certain extent as the rain was rather late this year and last year Uror county got flooded. This flood damaged the crops on the one hand, but provided enough water and pasture for the people not to migrate to the *toich* this year⁶². So to argue that climate change is putting extra pressure on the natural resources available is difficult to say as it is unclear what to attribute the changing precipitation patterns to. Despite the change in precipitation patterns, the forecast of livelihood wars (according to Lee, 2009:140) does not seem to apply to Jonglei state in the near future, at least not solely as a result of climate change.

Access

Whether or not cattle keepers are able to get enough resources for their cattle depends on the access they are granted to the areas at the *toich* rather than the actual availability of these resources and therefore the type of scarcity that the people in Jonglei state are experiencing at the *toich* (mainly), is 'political scarcity'⁶³, as Gausset and White refer to it (Gausset and White, 2005:20). Access to the grazing areas in Duk county is granted (or not) by the Dinka to the Nuer (as the land at the *toich* belongs to the Dinka) and is often depending on the status of the relationship between the tribes, which will be paid attention to later in this chapter. This makes the scarcity more of a political and social issue rather than an ecological one. Even if a resource is abundant (which is the case at the *toich* when it comes to water and pasture), it can become scarce to a certain group, most of the time being the Nuer in Jonglei state.

Migration

Even though it might not seem to be absolute scarcity of natural resources (water and pasture) as such that leads to conflicts involving cattle in Jonglei state, scarcity certainly does play a role in these conflicts. As a result of the climate and soil conditions in Jonglei state (Uror county in specific) there is little water and hardly any pasture available in the region during the dry season. It is this lack of resources that forces people to migrate to the *toich* in Duk or Twic East county, which creates space for possible clashes between the different tribes. So resource scarcity does play a role in the conflicts of Jonglei state, but mainly concerning the need for migration. One of the principal social effects of increasing (environmental) resource scarcity that Hall and Hall come up with is increased migration (Hall and Hall, 1998:183). However, this is not the case in Jonglei state, as there is no overall change in migration over the years.

According to the ICG (International Crisis Group), the seasonal migration is in itself a primary trigger of conflict in Jonglei state (ICG, 2009:2). However, even though migration offers possibilities for the tribes to clash, it cannot be depicted as the cause of the conflicts as people have been migrating for centuries from Uror and Duk county to the *toich* for water and pasture for their cattle and always there has been some tension during the migration between the two tribes involved to some extent. These tensions have been characterized by the raiding of cattle, however within certain boundaries and regulated by the chiefs and elders of the communities involved. Therefore an explanation for the seasonal migration becoming increasingly dangerous and lethal has to be sought elsewhere.

⁶² Respondents argued that they experienced less cattle raiding overall this year as many did not migrate to Duk county as a result of the floods. However, the raiding by the Murle did intensify.

⁶³ Political scarcity is the deprivation of the resources of one group by another (Gausset and White, 2005:20).

8.3. Political ecology

The ecological aspects of the conflicts concerning cattle raiding in Jonglei state have been discussed in the previous section, how they relate to the political, historical, social, economic and ethnic aspects will be discussed in this section.

Often the conflicts in South Sudan are easily attributed to ethnic differences and hence explained as being tribal and ethnic in nature. Brown defines ethnic conflict as ‘a dispute about political, economic, social, cultural, or territorial issues between two or more ethnic communities’ (Brown, 2001:211). This seems to be the case for the conflict between the Dinka and Nuer as well as the conflicts concerning the Murle. However, the fact that there are ethnic differences between the three tribes is not the reason for the conflicts as such. Conflicts are not always ‘isolated incidences of ethnic hostility’ as Mohamed Salih illustrates with his account of the conflict between the Ngok Dinka and the Humr pastoralists in South Kordofan. He argues that many more aspects are involved, such as the nature of the Sudanese state, regional inequality, Arab domination, colonialism, slave trade and also the national power structure (Mohamed Salih, 1993:16). Even though not all aspects as Mohamed Salih mentions correspond with the situation of conflicts involving cattle, the same can be argued for Jonglei state.

8.3.1. Two different conflicts

Actually the conflicts in Jonglei state can be roughly split in two separate conflicts that are different in nature and involve different actors and are triggered by different issues. The conflict I expected in Jonglei is the one between the Nuer and the Dinka, which is to a certain extent related to the seasonal migration. The other conflict (which I was not aware of at the start of the research) is between the Murle and the Dinka/Nuer and is not directly related to the migration routes. Below the political ecology of these conflicts will be set out.

Nuer vs Dinka

The conflict more directly related to seasonal migration is the one between the Dinka and Nuer. In general it seemed that the Nuer feel more deprived than the Dinka. As became clear in previous section on resource scarcity, the Nuer are deprived ecologically as they do not have access to the resources at the *toich*, whereas the Dinka do have this access.

Deprivation is also experienced at economic level. In terms of development of the area, Uror county is less developed than Duk and Twic East county when it comes to infrastructure and provision of education. There is a clear difference between the level of development between Duk and Twic East county and Uror county. Uror county has very few schools, no phone network, less medical facilities, in every aspect they are less developed than Duk (where the Dinka reside). People in Uror themselves blame the government in Juba and Bor for this (as they are primarily Dinka).

This deprivation is linked to politics as well as ethnicity, things that seem to be interrelated in Jonglei state. The respondents in Uror county argued that the political choices (that influence education and infrastructure among other things) are influenced by ethnic differences. Politically the Dinka are better represented, at the national level as well as at the local level. Often it has been argued by respondents (what resonates with literature) that the conflicts in Jonglei state are political in nature and are mainly dealing with leadership struggles. These struggles that are played out at the national and regional level are trickling down to the local level often along ethnic lines. Ethnicity becomes thereby more and more political.

The Dinka on the other hand nurse historical and political grievances against the Nuer, as they are still blaming the Nuer for what happened in 1991 in Bor, when many Nuer (followers of Riek Machar) attacked the Dinka community in Bor and killed over 2000 people. These grievances are still felt today as is reflected in the numerous clashes between Dinka and Nuer along the migration routes

during the seasonal migration. These clashes produce a cycle of revenge and cause legitimate grievances at both sides, the Nuer as well as the Dinka.

However, Brown also points out that groups 'tend to whitewash and glorify their own histories and they often demonize their neighbours, rivals and adversaries' (Brown, 2001:218). This whitewashing and glorifying is certainly true for the Dinka and Nuer as they are blaming one another and argue they do not raid themselves. During my fieldwork I only met one respondent who admitted to be guilty of cattle raiding, in fact he did not have much of a choice denying it as he was imprisoned for that act. Apart from him, no one admitted having been involved in cattle raiding, always the other tribes got blamed for that⁶⁴.

The Bor massacre is responsible for a seemingly irreparable ethnic division between the Dinka and Nuer. At national level this division seems to be repaired, however at the local level this division determines to a large extent the conflicts involving cattle. People in the rural areas argued that they are still living with the 1991 events in their memory and are not forgiving and forgetting, whereas they think people in Juba are living in peace together. Interestingly Beswick argues the opposite, that recent tensions between the Dinka and Nuer are mainly to be found among the elite politicians and military leaders, whereas at the village level, these tensions are less obvious (Beswick, 2004:219). This corresponds with some respondents blaming the politics in Juba for spilling over to the rural areas and influencing local politics and the way people perceive one another.

Murle vs Dinka/Nuer

Apart from the conflicts between the Dinka and Nuer (mostly related to the migration routes), the Murle are quite an influential actor in the conflicts in Jonglei state. The idea exist that the Murle are among those groups that have received support from the northern government during the civil war. During the civil war the Murle have not been supporting the SPLA in their battle against the Islamic northern government, and thereby automatically opposing the Dinka and Nuer in South Sudan. According to the International Crisis Group (ICG, 2009) the many apparently tribal conflicts in Jonglei state do have a political character. The government in Khartoum is often blamed for the tensions in the south, as they should try to divide the south by arming militia and rebel groups. Whether supported by the northern government or not, political deprivation is mentioned as the main motivation for some recent rebel groups to mobilise themselves and rebel against the SPLA. George Athor and David Yau Yau have been mentioned by respondents as rebels that are active in Jonglei state, however not so much in relation to cattle. Initially they tried to join the new government and applied for seats; however denial of political positions made them resort to rebellion. But apart from the historical and political grievances that exist towards the Murle that are influenced by the North-South civil war, the Murle are often blamed to raid because of greed.

Many stories and myths exist about the Murle, who are believed to be fearless and infected with sexual transmitted diseases that make them infertile. That is among the main explanations for the raiding of the Murle. The Murle are said to believe that all the cattle in Jonglei state belongs to them and as they do not cultivate and are solely depending on cattle, there is a need for cattle among the Murle that can only be met by raiding other counties. In addition to cattle they abduct children to sell them for cattle to other Murle families as a result of the infertility. While being in Uror county a raid took place and four children got abducted as well and the parents got killed. Even though the abduction of children by the Murle might be true to some extent, it is also that people would like to put a face on the danger they are facing. In many cases the attackers have not been identified and therefore people assume it was done by Murle⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ Therefore the only motivations for cattle raiding I noted from respondents were their perception of what others would do, why others would resort to raiding.

⁶⁵ Despite not having been able to interview the Murle extensively and therefore gathering rather one-sided data on this tribe, interestingly some of the perceptions respondents had about the Murle are confirmed by the account of Lewis on the Murle, for example their fighting tactics (Lewis, 1972:89).

8.4. Causes and triggers

Apart from the Bor massacre (that mainly influenced the conflicts between the Nuer and the Dinka) and the North-South conflict (that played a role in the conflict with the Murle) additional issues that are not specifically linked to one of abovementioned conflicts also play a role in the occurrence of cattle raiding.

Proliferation of weapons and disarmament

The civil war between North and South Sudan (as well as other civil wars in the region) made automatic weapons available to the civilians in the 1980's, and the nature of the current conflicts in Jonglei state is shaped by this given to a large extent. Before the onset of the North-South conflict cattle raiding was waged with traditional sticks and spears, which limited the deadly impact of the raiding. Also the raiding was bound by cultural rules and elders and chiefs were in charge and capable to foster peace between communities when raiding took place. The influence of the automatic weapons made that raiding emerged into larges conflict cycles, too big for the elders and chiefs to settle the disputes in a traditional manner. As Allen puts it: 'The 'new' type of conflict⁶⁶ is characterized by modern weapons and lack rules that govern the conflict' (Allen, 1999:368).

Related to the proliferation of weapons are the disarmament policies in Jonglei state. Respondents argued that these policies are executed in an unequal manner, and are influenced by the politics at national and regional level. These unequal disarmament policies are responsible for a lot of grievances in Jonglei state, especially as disarmament takes place per county and therefore often also along ethnic lines, which might intensify ethnic tensions. Respondents argued that in Juba it is decided whom to disarm first and if a certain tribe is disarmed before the other tribes are disarmed, they are vulnerable to attacks from the others.

Poverty and greed

Both the North-South conflict and the Bor massacre caused widespread poverty and destitution. Many respondents argued that this destitution also made people resort to raiding as the moral standards decreased on the one hand and the need for food on the other hand was immense.

Apart from this acceptable type of raiding (due to the circumstances), respondents also mentioned raiding being motivated by greed. Greed as mentioned by respondents can be understood in terms of accumulation of wealth. Interestingly greed has been mentioned more often as a motive for cattle raiding in combination with raiding the Murle are responsible for than the raiding by the Dinka or Nuer. According to the respondents cattle that is stolen is not sold on the market or traded to other regions (as is the case in many other countries like Kenya and Uganda). Instead, the cattle serve to accumulate wealth in a direct way (to increase the herd) and an indirect way; the indirect way being the bride price⁶⁷.

Bride price

People in Jonglei state desire larger herds in general as that adds to their status and enables them to marry (one or multiple wives). Cattle are used mainly to strengthen and support social ties within the communities, especially by getting married. Everyone I asked why they need or want more cattle, they responded with 'I would like to marry (another wife)'. People would like to marry more wives as these wives will give them more children and therefore in the end more cattle, especially when it concerns girls. By marrying one accumulates one's wealth and therefore also one's status and power. Marriage is a means to gain more wealth through children.

⁶⁶ By 'new' type of conflict Allen means a form of conflict that is very intense and destructive, uses modern weapons and is not governed by rules, in contrast with the 'old' types of conflict that were limited in scope and intensity, using old and inefficient weapons and were governed by certain norms of combat (Allen, 1999:368).

⁶⁷ Paying the bride price is an indirect way of increasing one's wealth as when daughters produced by the marriage get married themselves one receives bride wealth.

Therefore I suggest there is a link between the cultural practice of the bride price and the occurrence of cattle raiding. I do not suggest that the bride price as such causes the raiding of cattle, but at least it explains the need for cattle. The bride price has to be paid in cattle which creates a significant need for cattle, and the necessary cattle can easily be obtained by means of raiding. Of course the fact that there is a need for cattle as a result of the bride price, does not automatically imply that people that need cattle are also willing to steal and kill in order to obtain the cattle. Interestingly very few respondents argued that there was such a link and that some people resort to raiding cattle when they want to marry; in general this link has been denied. Nevertheless, despite this missing link and the majority of the respondents denying the link, for me the link between cattle raiding and the need for cattle in order to pay the bride price became more and more clear while being in Jonglei state.

Conflict is often labeled as irrational, whereas cattle raiding is functional; gathering cattle to get married. Allen refers to functional violence as the 'economics of war', and even though he discusses conflict at a different level than is the case in this thesis, there is some truth in it (Allen, 1999:372). People raid cattle for a reason, for accumulation of wealth by means of marriage. Marriage is an important institution in Jonglei state, the backbone of society (as it is in many less wealthy societies); everything seems to be built around and focused on the marriage. Contrary to Western ideas and ideals about marriage, marriage in Jonglei state is mainly functional and economical; a marriage enables a man to produce children through his wife, these children are considered to be a source of wealth. Boys will offer wealth in the form of labour and girls will offer wealth in the form of cattle upon marriage.

The practices of raiding and paying the bride price have always been part of Dinka and Nuer society. These practices are not directly to be blamed for the insecurity as the inhabitants of Jonglei state face nowadays. The increase of the bride price could play a role in the feasibility to meet the bride price. In Duk county (and Uror county to a lesser extent) people complained that the bride price is on the increase. The increase of the bride price in Duk county is as a result of the bidding system they use for their girls to get married which easily increases the price. Apart from this fast increase there is the gradual increase over the years⁶⁸. In addition, herds have been diminished as a result of the civil war and are still diminishing as a result of the cattle raiding that takes place. With less cattle being available it is increasingly difficult to meet the bride price, which makes obtaining cattle by means of raiding more and more attractive.

An issue brief of the small arms survey (Mosel and Murray, 2010:4) mentions a different factor that influences the availability of cattle and indirectly also the feasibility to meet the bride price: the lack of male relatives. The civil war took away many male relatives (apart from cattle) which are a very important source of gaining cattle to get married (cattle to get married is often acquired through relatives as everyone contributes something).

Still this does not fully explain why the situation is currently so insecure in Jonglei state. As discussed previously respondents mainly mentioned the proliferation of weapons and even more so the unequal disarmament policies that are executed by the government. They argued that the raiding took different shapes since 1991 (between the Nuer and the Dinka), as a result of the Bor Massacre which intensified ethnic tensions. The cultural practice of paying the bride price upon marriage has been transferred into a rather dangerous situation. However, normally conflicts would have been dealt with by the elders and chiefs of the communities and tribes involved, but it has been argued that this is made impossible by the scale of the conflicts, the lack of authority of the elders and chiefs and the unending cycle of revenge the tribes find themselves in.

⁶⁸ Lewis gives an interesting account of the increase in bride price over the years at the Murle (Lewis, 1972:114).

Revenge

Revenge is often linked to feelings of grievance, which is obvious in Jonglei state as well. According to Wheeler the Dinka and Nuer people have been 'locked into a cycle of raiding and counter-attacks for years, killing hundreds and displacing whole villages' (Wheeler, 2009:93). Respondents in Duk, Twic East and Uror county also discussed revenging each other, but revenging the Murle for their raiding became a reality while being in the field. Mainly youth from the surrounding counties had mobilised themselves, without the knowledge or consent of the elders and chiefs of the respective communities, to fight (some respondents even called it 'finish') the Murle. During my stay in Uror county some wounded Nuer returned from the 'battlefield' in Pibor county. Due to this unending cycle of revenge, the conflicts that once might have started over the theft of some heads of cattle, ends up in conflicts that are out of reach for the elders and chiefs to deal with.

Breakdown of the social contract

The fact that the elders and chiefs are losing authority and respect is pointing to the breakdown of the social contract at the local level. Previously raiding took place within a certain set of rules that had to be respected, but the presence of automatic weapons undermines the authority of the elders and chiefs. Wheeler refers to the current situation: 'Their systems (of inter-community peace deals) survive but like a skeleton; the war has washed the meat off' (Wheeler, 1999:93). Mkutu also refers to a body part when discussing the same process: 'the actual powers of the elders has decreased with the elders having legitimate authority, but the muscle in the form of the guns belonging to the warriors' (Mkutu, 2008:250). The elders and chiefs are being replaced in their leadership by people that carry the guns (Knighton, 2003:432).

Unlike intra-community conflict that is regulated by enforced customary law, inter-community conflict is difficult to mediate (Markakis, 2004:5). The issue with the legal system in Jonglei state is that it is not always enforced due to a lack of security forces and clarity concerning the legal system.

The social contract is breaking down (or lacking) also at different levels, nationally and regionally. As South Sudan is a new nation, a new structure has to be rebuilt, such as a proper security force. Instead people provide their own defence against other groups as they realize and experience that the state fails in providing security and defence. Despite disarmament actions, the Dinka and Nuer try to arm themselves in order to protect themselves against the Murle and regular cattle thieves (Brown, 2001:218).

8.4. Solutions

From the solutions that have been mentioned and proposed it can be derived how people perceive the conflict, and what they think the conflicts are caused and influenced by. Interestingly the majority of the respondents looks at the government to solve the problems, as they do not have any faith in the ability of the elders and chiefs to solve the problem. And as both the Dinka and the Nuer do not see themselves as perpetrators, but as victims instead, no solutions have been proposed that require action from their side.

Disarmament

(Equal) Disarmament has been mentioned most often as a solution and this reflects how respondents perceive the problem of current cattle raiding. The majority thinks that the conflict will end when there are no more, or at least less, automatic weapons circulating in the area. People also expect the traditional peace making efforts to be effective when the automatic guns are taken away. Likewise the cattle raiding is expected to take traditional forms again; fought with spears and sticks and therefore easier to solve by the elders and chiefs. An important condition of the disarmament as proposed by the respondents is that it is executed in all counties at the same time in order to prevent disarmed tribes being vulnerable regarding tribes that have not been disarmed yet.

Protection and dialogues

Apart from disarmament, the respondents do expect the government to protect them in general by providing sufficient police and army forces as they do feel unsafe and unprotected. Despite a lack of protection since the peace agreement between the SPLA and the Sudanese government, they do expect everything from the new South Sudanese government upon independence; their hope is on the new government. Apart from protection for themselves respondents also proposed a security force to protect the cattle from cattle raiders.

Slightly more than 10% of the respondents expect peaceful dialogues to offer the solution to the current cattle raiding. Since people experience and realize that the traditional peace making efforts do not have the capacity (any longer) to solve the conflicts involving cattle between communities and tribes, the hopes are focussed on the peace making efforts by several NGO's and the government. The respondents still believe in the effect of peaceful dialogues, however on a whole different level.

Water provision

Also water related solutions have been mentioned, with the focus of water provision in Uror county. This solution has two objectives; the first is to limit the seasonal migration from Nuer to Duk and Twic East county and the second one concerns defence against attacks from the Murle. The majority of the respondents argued that less migration will take place to Duk and Twic East county and as a result less confrontation between the Nuer and Dinka will take place during the dry season. When people are not forced by a lack of water and pasture to move to the *toich*, they are able to defend themselves in their communities as they are many and will be able to fight the Murle. However, the availability of pasture is still a problem as providing water does not automatically imply the growth of pasture in Uror.

Many people experienced less cattle raiding incidents this year as they did not migrate to the *toich* due to the floods in Uror county in 2010 that provided enough water for the cattle in the dry season. It can therefore be argued that there is a positive relation between the availability of water and the reduction of cattle raiding.

The conflicts directly related to the seasonal migration might decrease when people do not have to migrate, the cattle raiding for which the Murle are held responsible does not automatically decrease by the availability of water. However, people argue that they will be stronger and able to defend their homesteads when they can stay at home as there is enough water and pasture for their cattle in the dry season. Even though the raiding by the Murle are not directly related to the seasonal migration, the Murle do profit from people migrating as they are more vulnerable when travelling, as well in the villages when the elderly and women stay behind.

Alternatives

In order to shift the focus on cattle as a livelihood to other forms, several alternatives have been discussed with and mentioned by respondents, mainly in relation to small businesses and agriculture.

As cattle are such an important asset in Dinka and Nuer culture, shifting to alternative forms of livelihoods does have many consequences and also implications, mainly in the social realm of society as cattle are an indispensable part of an extensive and strong network of reciprocal obligations. The Dinka and Nuer cannot subsist from their herds, and social relationships can no longer be mediated through the transference of rights in stock (Baxter, 1993:147). The importance of cattle to Nuer and Dinka society is reaffirmed when people argued they will never abandon their cattle and focus on agriculture or businesses (like the Anuak did in order to prevent themselves from being raided by other cattle keepers). Cattle are so much interwoven in the social fabric of these societies, the majority of the people do not see possibilities of a life without cattle (or with less cattle) and consequently less attacks from raiders. A person stripped of stock is stripped of most active social relationships and thereby of self-hood and self-respect; so it is no wonder that almost everyone strives to keep some stock, and that those fortunate few who have incomes from trade or regular employment continue to invest in stock (Baxter, 1993:148).

For those who do see a focus on cultivation or small business as a valid alternative to cattle keeping, education and other inputs such as machines and seeds are necessary. According to Beswick the introduction of small business during the past century in South Sudan provided alternatives for accumulating wealth (based on an individual economy rather than a corporate one) and occasionally discouraged the practice of raiding. However, when the war returned in 1972 (and with it the reversal of the individual economy to the family economy) pastoral raiding increased (Beswick, 2004:209,210). Now the war Beswick refers to has ended and South Sudan is entering into a new chapter, focus on these alternatives might be key in developing South Sudan and creating and maintaining peace among the pastoralists.



Conclusion

This thesis intended to provide an answer to the main research question as developed in the beginning: ***'How can cattle raiding (along the migration routes) in Twic East, Duk and Uror county be explained with reference to ecological, political, economic and social factors and to what extent does the availability of water play a role in a possible solution?'***

The ecological factors in this question refer to the resource scarcity theory. Initially it has been assumed by LWF that the scarcity of resources (water and pasture) plays a significant role in the conflicts along the migration routes in Jonglei state. However, according to the respondents there is enough water and pasture for all the cattle to be satisfied at the *toich*, neither do population pressure or climate change seem to be relevant. The only role resource scarcity plays is being the motivation behind the seasonal migration as the cattle keepers in Uror county are forced to take their cattle to the *toich* due to a lack of water and pasture in the dry season. This seasonal migration seems to offer conditions that facilitate clashes between the Dinka and Nuer, as the Nuer have to pass Dinkaland as the *toich* is located there.

This migration is an ancient-old habit and as such is not causing conflict between the Dinka and Nuer. However, some political and historical factors altered the relationship between the Dinka and Nuer. The Bor massacre in 1991 disrupted the relative peaceful relations between the two tribes and ever since clashes involving cattle raiding occur. This disruption is nowadays expressed in cattle raiding, but also in access to the *toich*. Often the Nuer are not allowed access by the Dinka, which implies that it is not so much the scarcity of resources as such but the access granted or not.

Another conflict that is taking place in Jonglei and is somewhat overlapping with the conflicts between the Nuer and the Dinka, is involving a different tribe, the Murle from Pibor county. This tribe is known for its fearless actions of cattle raiding and abduction of children. The cattle raiding they are held responsible for is not directly linked to the migration routes as they are not taking their own cattle to the *toich* as Pibor county provides enough water and pasture. They do however take advantage from the Dinka and Nuer migrating as they are more vulnerable while migrating, being at the *toich*, or in the village during the dry season. It has been said that the Murle received support from the GOS during the North-South conflict in order to create instability in South Sudan.

The North-South conflict (1983 -2005) mainly contributed to the severity of cattle raiding by causing the proliferation of automatic arms. The solution to this proliferation, disarmament, does not always seem to offer relief as it is often executed in an unequal manner which makes disarmed tribes vulnerable to attacks from tribes that have not been disarmed yet. Equal disarmament is the solution mentioned the most by the respondents. As a result of the availability of automatic weapons, cattle raiding is becoming more lethal and the scope is increasing which makes it impossible for chiefs and elders to settle the disputes between the tribes involved. They have to compete with the weapons for respect and authority. The conflicts are ending up in cycles of revenge.

Abovementioned political, historical and ethnic factors play a significant role in the conflicts in Jonglei, however when looking what creates the need for cattle in the first place, a whole different aspect seems to be involved; the bride price. The payment of the bride price validates the marriage in Dinka and Nuer culture. When asked what people need cattle for they unanimously answer that the possession of cattle enables them to get married. Marriage is a means to accumulate their wealth and to increase their status. Cultural practices create a need for cattle, which in many cases is difficult to meet for many people as a result of rising prices and diminishing herds. However, this need neither explains the conflicts as such. It can be argued though that the combination of seasonal migration, proliferation of weapons and ethnic tensions as a result of the Bor massacre are creating conditions that favour cattle raiding. Also, the diminishing respect that elders and chiefs receive makes it impossible for them to solve the issues of cattle raiding in a peaceful manner.

To come back to the second part of the research question, solutions to this complex problem are not straightforward. Solutions suggested by the respondents have been peaceful dialogues, (equal) disarmament and provision of water in Uror county. The provision of water in Uror will be a valid solution as that will limit the migration to the *toich* and enables people in Uror to withstand the attacks of the Murle. Disarmament is something that should continue, however in an equal manner.

Despite the scope of this research being local and confined to the migration routes in Jonglei state, it turned out that cattle raiding is not a problem that stands apart, but is somehow related to larger conflicts and power struggles within South Sudan. Cattle raiding and the struggles elsewhere in South Sudan both have a different dynamic, but are also linked in some way to one another. It has been argued by respondents that people in the rural areas are used by political opponents at regional and national level for example. Unfortunately I do not have it clear to what extent and how exactly, however to what extent cattle raiding and politics at regional and national level are interrelated, is something worth investigating. Apart from this, there are more missing links obviously. For example, the fact that people need cattle for their bride price does not automatically imply that they are willing to steal and kill for that. Also underexposed is why the bride prices are rising exactly and to what extent this might influence cattle raiding. Also, the Murle have not been interviewed whereas they turned out to be an important player in the conflicts in Jonglei.

Usually the conclusion is a place where solutions are given and recommendations are made with regards to the subjects investigated. Many solutions to cattle raiding have been given by the respondents in chapter 7 of which some are ones I can relate to. However, the longer I spent in South Sudan, the less worthy I felt to formulate proper and relevant solutions as I am an outsider and do not fully understand (and never will) where the people in Jonglei state come from. At first I could not help but think that people should leave their cattle (at least a large share) and focus on agriculture. Also the bride price should be limited somehow. However, these suggestions, no matter how much sense they make in our view, they do not seem feasible or realistic in their context. As the time passed I realized that these people will never leave their cattle as it provides them with an income, an insurance in times of need, food, social significance, status and an identity. Apart from realizing this given, respect for the pastoral lifestyle increased as these people are practicing a lifestyle that has been able to withstand centuries of oppression and change.

It is nice to mention that as a result of the report of the base-line survey for LWF, activities have been started in Uror county. Peace committees are being formed and trained and LWF looks into the possibilities of providing water in Uror county. In addition, possibilities for education are investigated further.

Obviously apart from NGO's, the government does have a huge responsibility in terms of rebuilding South Sudan, providing proper security and infrastructure, an educational system and health care. Disarmament policies should be part of their strategy even though it has not proven to be the most

effective tool so far. In stead of suggesting my own ideas, I would like to close with a rather controversial solution given by a respondent in Uror county. He suggested that the government should provide television network and hand out televisions so that as a result of exposure people will gradually change. Even though this suggestion is rather extreme and unrealistic, there is a sence of truth in it as exposure will cause change, change from within. This change is visible in towns already, and even though it might take a long time, there is hope.

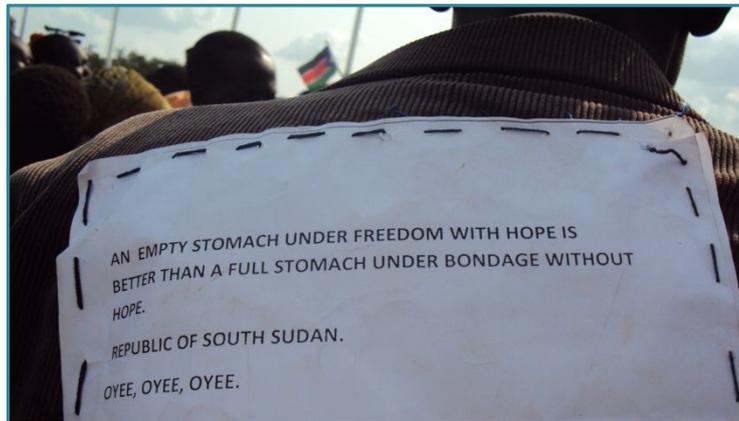


Figure 8.2. Picture attached to a jacket at Independence celebrations

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ANNEX A. Lutheran World Federation

LWF/DWS

The Lutheran World Federation is a global communion of Christian churches in the Lutheran tradition. Founded in 1947 in Sweden the LWF now counts 145 member churches in 79 countries all over the world. LWF puts faith in action, among others by the Department for World Service (DWS). This department is the relief and development arm of LWF. LWF/DWS works together with local and international partners to alleviate suffering, combat injustice and poverty and lay the foundation for a life in dignity for all. LWF/DWS works in 34 countries and all these country programs began at the invitation of local partners in response to emergencies. LWF/DWS focuses on the following priority areas: responding to and preparing for disasters, creating sustainable communities, combating HIV&AIDS, promoting peace, reconciliation and human rights, transforming gender relations and protecting the environment.

LWF in South Sudan

In Jonglei state LWF/DWS focuses on creating sustainable communities, promoting peace and responding to and preparing for disasters. Since 2005 LWF/DWS is active in Twic East and Duk county, two counties in Jonglei State, by implementing projects that promote peace building and conflict prevention at a grassroots level. Due to the North-South conflict local structures have been (partly) destroyed and LWF/DWS has been assisting the local chiefs and leaders to rebuild the structures in the form of village peace committees. According to LWF, these committees have proven to be very effective and capable of resolving domestic problems as well as conflicts arising over water and grazing areas. The VPC's have been institutionalised and accepted within the communities; the counties are even exploring the possibility of introducing the VPC's on county level as well. In addition to these village peace committees, schools have been built and boreholes have been installed in Duk and Twic East as well. LWF/DWS would like to expand their operations to Uror county as there seems to be a lot of conflicts emerging over water and grazing areas. Some focus group discussions have identified the lack of water as one of the main factors that triggers conflict as that forces people to move from Uror county through Duk and Twic East county in search for water and pastures for their cattle. By creating boreholes along the migration routes at critical points (and even providing water in Uror county itself) LWF expects to contribute to the mitigation of the conflicts.



Source: www.lutheranworld.org

ANNEX B. Overview respondents

Remarks:

- The data is ordered per county. The combination of the abbreviation of the county with the number used in the report is referring to the respondent/group of respondents in the list below. The combination of the informal interviews starts with the letter 'I' instead of the letter of the county.
- Explication 'type of interview':
Questionnaire : interview by means of a questionnaire (1 person)
Semi-structured : semi-structured interview by means of a topic list (1 – 2 persons)
FGD – focus group discussion: > 3 persons
- For privacy reasons the names of the respondents are not mentioned, their functions and sex are mentioned instead.
- Inhabitants of Twic East county and Duk county are Dinka people. Inhabitants of Uror county are from the Nuer tribe.
- A separate list with informal respondents can be found below. This contains respondents that provided information during informal conversations. The majority of the respondents are local LFW staff. Therefore, some might have provided information multiple times as the data has been listed per day and I got to work with the staff on a daily basis.

Twic East county					
No.	Payam/village	Type of interview	Date	Occupation	Sex
1	Cattle camp (Payor)	Questionnaire	17-05-2011	Cattle keeper	M
2	Cattle camp (Payor)	Questionnaire	17-05-2011	Cattle keeper	M
3	Cattle camp (Payor)	Questionnaire	17-05-2011	Cattle keeper	M
4	Lith/Kirr	Questionnaire	18-05-2011	Student	M
5	Lith/Kirr	Questionnaire	18-05-2011	Carpenter	M
6	Lith/Kirr	Questionnaire	18-05-2011	Farmer	F
7	Lith/Kirr	Questionnaire	18-05-2011	Farmer	F
8	Lith/Kirr	Questionnaire	18-05-2011	Farmer	F
9	Lith/Kirr	Questionnaire	18-05-2011	Farmer	F
10	Lith/Kirr	Questionnaire	18-05-2011	Farmer	M
11	Lith/Kirr	Questionnaire	18-05-2011	Housewife	F
12	Lith/Kirr	Questionnaire	18-05-2011	(former) village chief	M
13	Lith/Kirr	Questionnaire	18-05-2011	Village leader	M
14	Lith/Kirr	Questionnaire	18-05-2011	Housewife	F
15	Lith/Kirr	Questionnaire	18-05-2011	Housewife	F
16	Lith/Kirr	Semi-structured	23-05-2011	Village leader	M
17	Mabior/Panyagor	Semi-structured	23-05-2011	Commissioner	M
18	Mabior/Panyagor	Semi-structured	25-05-2011	NGO staff (NPA)	M
19	Mabior/Panyagor	FGD	08-06-2011	Women's Association Twic East county	F
20	Kongor/Payuel	FGD	08-06-2011	Peace committee Kongor payam	M/F
21	Mabior/Panyagor	Semi-structured	10-06-2011	Members of SSRRC (South Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Committee)	M

Duk county					
No.	Payam/boma/village	Type of interview	Date	Occupation	Sex
1	Ageer/Poktap/Apiraguaeng	FGD	27-05-2011	Cattle keepers/farmers	M

2	Ageer/Poktap/Apiraguaeng	Questionnaire	27-05-2011	Farmer	F
3	Ageer/Poktap/Apiraguaeng	FGD	27-05-2011	Cattle keepers/farmers	M
4	Duk-Padiet/Akoi	Questionnaire	28-05-2011	School cook	F
5	Duk-Padiet/Akoi	Questionnaire	28-05-2011	Farmer	F
6	Duk-Padiet/Akoi	Questionnaire	28-05-2011	Farmer	M
7	Duk-Padiet/Akoi	Semi-structured	28-05-2011	Police seargant	M
8	Duk-Padiet/Akoi	Questionnaire	28-05-2011	Businessman	M
9	Duk-Padiet/Jioom City	Questionnaire	28-05-2011	Farmer/cattle keeper	F
10	Duk-Padiet/Jioom City	Questionnaire	28-05-2011	(former) payam administrator	M
11	Duk-Padiet/Jioom City	Questionnaire	28-05-2011	Farmer	F
12	Duk-Padiet/Jioom City	Questionnaire	28-05-2011	Farmer/cattlekeeper	F
13	Duk-Padiet/Jioom City	Questionnaire	28-05-2011	Farmer	M
14	Duk-Padiet centre	FGD	28-05-2011	Mixed	M/F
15	Duk-Padiet centre	Semi-structured	28-05-2011	Payam administrator	M
16	Ageer/Patenuoi (HQ)	Semi-structured	29-05-2011	Paramount chief (Ageer)	M
17	Ageer/Patenuoi/Paniet	Questionnaire	29-05-2011	Farmer	F
18	Ageer/Patenuoi/Paniet	Questionnaire	29-05-2011	Farmer	F
19	Ageer/Patenuoi/Paniet	Questionnaire	29-05-2011	Farmer	F
20	Ageer/Patenuoi/Paniet	Questionnaire	29-05-2011	Farmer	M
21	Ageer/Patenuoi/Paniet	Questionnaire	29-05-2011	Farmer	F
22	Ageer/Patenuoi/Paniet	Questionnaire	29-05-2011	Farmer	M
23	Ageer/Patenuoi/Patuenoi	Questionnaire	29-05-2011	Farmer	F
24	Ageer/Patenuoi/Patuenoi	Questionnaire	29-05-2011	Farmer/cattle keeper	M
25	Ageer/Patenuoi/Patuenoi	Questionnaire	29-05-2011	Teacher	M
26	Ageer/Patenuoi/Patuenoi	Questionnaire	29-05-2011	Farmer	F
27	Payuel/Mapatish	Questionnaire	29-05-2011	Cattle keeper	M
28	Payuel/Mapatish	Questionnaire	29-05-2011	Prison ward	F
29	Payuel/Mapatish	Questionnaire	29-05-2011	Cattle keeper	M
30	Payuel/Badeng	Questionnaire	29-05-2011	Farmer	M
31	Payuel/Badeng	Questionnaire	29-05-2011	Cattle keeper	F
32	Payuel/centre	Semi-structured	29-05-2011	Payam administrator	M
33	Dongchak/Amiel/Amiel centre	FGD	30-05-2011	Cattle keepers/farmers	M
34	Dongchak/Amiel/Amiel centre	Questionnaire	30-05-2011	Farmer	M
35	Dongchak/Amiel/Amiel centre	Questionnaire	30-05-2011	Farmer	F
36	Dongchak/Amiel/Amiel centre	Questionnaire	30-05-2011	Cattle keeper	M
37	Dongchak/Amiel	Questionnaire	30-05-2011	Farmer	F
38	Dongchak/Amiel	Questionnaire	30-05-2011	Cattle keeper	F
39	Dongchak/Amiel	Questionnaire	30-05-2011	Farmer	M
40	Dongchak/Amiel	Questionnaire	30-05-2011	Farmer	F
41	Dongchak/Amiel	Questionnaire	30-05-2011	Farmer	M
42	Dongchak/Amiel	Questionnaire	30-05-2011	Policeman	M
43	Dongchak/Amiel	Questionnaire	30-05-2011	Farmer	F
44	Dongchak/Amiel	Questionnaire	30-05-2011	Farmer	F
45	Dongchak/Amiel	Questionnaire	30-05-2011	Farmer	F
46	Dongchak/Amiel	Questionnaire	30-05-2011	Farmer	F

Uror county					
No.	Payam/village	Type of interview	Date	Occupation	Sex
1	HQ Uror/Kurkuojng	Questionnaire	16-06-2011	Government official (wildlife police)	M
2	HQ Uror/Kurkuojng	Questionnaire	16-06-2011	Farmer	M
3	HQ Uror/Kurkuojng	Questionnaire	16-06-2011	Farmer	M

4	HQ Uror/Kurkuojng	Questionnaire	16-06-2011	Farmer	M
5	HQ Uror/Kurkuojng	Questionnaire	16-06-2011	Farmer	M
6	HQ Uror/Uleng	Questionnaire	16-06-2011	Businessman	M
7	HQ Uror/Uleng	Questionnaire	16-06-2011	Government official (wildlife police)	M
8	HQ Uror/Uleng	Questionnaire	16-06-2011	Cattle keeper	F
9	HQ Uror/Uleng	Questionnaire	16-06-2011	Farmer/cattle keeper	F
10	HQ Uror/Uleng	Questionnaire	16-06-2011	Farmer	F
11	HQ Uror/Yuai	Semi-structured	17-06-2011	Executive Director/Acting Commissioner	M
12	HQ Uror/Yuai	Semi-structured	18-06-2011	Bill from SSRRC	M
13	HQ Uror/Yuai	FGD	19-06-2011	Chiefs (5x)	M
14	Motdit/Kwergwen Nyabial	Semi-structured	20-06-2011	Payam administrator	M
15	Motdit/Kwergwen Nyabial	Questionnaire	20-06-2011	Farmer	F
16	Motdit/Kwergwen Nyabial	Questionnaire	20-06-2011	Cattle keeper	F
17	Motdit/Kwergwen Nyabial	Questionnaire	20-06-2011	Cattle keeper	F
18	Motdit/Kwergwen Nyabial	Questionnaire	20-06-2011	Police officer	M
19	Motdit/Kwergwen Nyabial	Questionnaire	20-06-2011	Farmer/cattle keeper	M
20	Motdit/Kwergwen Nyabial	Questionnaire	20-06-2011	farmer	F
21	Motdit/Kwergwen Nyabial	Questionnaire	20-06-2011	Cattle keeper	F
22	Motdit/Kwergwen Nyabial	Questionnaire	20-06-2011	Police officer	M
23	Motdit/Kwergwen Nyabial	Questionnaire	20-06-2011	Farmer/cattle keeper	F
24	Motdit/Kwergwen Nyabial	Questionnaire	20-06-2011	Farmer	F
25	HQ/Yuai	FGD	20-06-2011	Women's Association	F
26	Wokol/Pamai	Questionnaire	21-06-2011	Farmer/cattle keeper	F
27	Wokol/Pamai	Questionnaire	21-06-2011	Police officer	M
28	Wokol/Pamai	Questionnaire	21-06-2011	Farmer/cattle keeper	F
29	Wokol/Pamai	Questionnaire	21-06-2011	Farmer	M
30	Wokol/Pamai	Questionnaire	21-06-2011	Farmer	F
31	Wokol/Pamai	Questionnaire	21-06-2011	Farmer	F
32	Wokol/Pamai	Questionnaire	21-06-2011	Farmer	F
33	Wokol/Pamai	Questionnaire	21-06-2011	Farmer	F
34	Wokol/Pamai	Questionnaire	21-06-2011	Farmer	M
35	Wokol/Pamai	Questionnaire	21-06-2011	Farmer	F
36	HQ/Kuer Nyakuong	Questionnaire	22-06-2011	Cattle keeper	M
37	HQ/Kuer Nyakuong	Questionnaire	22-06-2011	Farmer	F
38	HQ/Kuer Nyakuong	Questionnaire	22-06-2011	Farmer	F
39	HQ/Kuer Nyakuong	Questionnaire	22-06-2011	Farmer	M
40	Patai/Uleng	Questionnaire	22-06-2011	Farmer	F
41	Patai/Uleng	Questionnaire	22-06-2011	Farmer	M
42	Patai/Uleng	Questionnaire	22-06-2011	Cattle keeper	M
43	Tiam/Uror	FGD	24-06-2011	Chief, boma administrator and	M

				bench court member	
44	Tiam/Uror	Questionnaire	24-06-2011	Farmer/cattle keeper	F
45	Tiam/Uror	Questionnaire	24-06-2011	Farmer	F
46	Tiam/Uror	Questionnaire	24-06-2011	Farmer	F
47	Tiam/Uror	Questionnaire	24-06-2011	Farmer	F
48	Tiam/Uror	Questionnaire	24-06-2011	Farmer	F
49	Tiam/Uror	Questionnaire	24-06-2011	Farmer	M
50	Tiam/Uror	Questionnaire	24-06-2011	Farmer	F
51	Tiam/Uror	Questionnaire	24-06-2011	Farmer	F
52	Tiam/Uror	Questionnaire	24-06-2011	Police officer	F
53	Tiam/Uror	Questionnaire	24-06-2011	Farmer	M
54	Patuet/Kuerluot	Semi-structured	25-06-2011	Chief	M
55	Patuet/Kuerluot	Questionnaire	25-06-2011	Cattle keeper/farmer	M
56	Patuet/Kuerluot	Questionnaire	25-06-2011	Farmer	F
57	Patuet/Kuerluot	Questionnaire	25-06-2011	Farmer	F
58	Patuet/Kuerluot	Questionnaire	25-06-2011	Farmer	F
59	Patuet/Kuerluot	Questionnaire	25-06-2011	Farmer/cattle keeper	M
60	Patuet/Kuerluot	Questionnaire	25-06-2011	Farmer	F
61	Patuet/Kuerluot	Questionnaire	25-06-2011	Farmer/cattle keeper	M
62	Patuet/Kuerluot	Questionnaire	25-06-2011	Farmer	F
63	Patuet/Kuerluot	Questionnaire	25-06-2011	Farmer	F
64	Patuet/Kuerluot	Questionnaire	25-06-2011	Farmer/cattle keeper	M
65	Patuet/Kuerluot	Questionnaire	25-06-2011	Farmer/cattle keeoeer	F
66	Patuet/Kuerluot	Questionnaire	25-06-2011	Farmer	F
67	Patuet/Kuerluot	Questionnaire	25-06-2011	Farmer	F
68	Patuet/Kuerluot	Questionnaire	25-06-2011	Farmer	F

Informal respondents					
No.	Location	Date	Nationality	Occupation	Sex
1	Cattle camp	17-05-2011	Dinka	Cattle keeper	M
2	Office	17-05-2011	Central Equatorian	LWF staff	M
3	Lith Payam - Kirr	18-05-2011	Dinka	School boys (age 16 and 17)	M
4	Lith Payam – Kirr	18-05-2011	Dinka	Farmers - cattle keepers	F
5	Office	19-05-2011	Dinka	LWF staff	M
6	Office	19-05-2011	Dinka	LWF staff	M
7	On a trip	23-05-2011	Dinka	LWF staff (several)	M
8	On a trip	24-05-2011	Dinka (and 1 Kenian)	LWF staff (several)	M
9	Duk	24-05-2011	Dinka	Commissioner Duk	M
10	On a trip	27-05-2011	Dinka	LWF staff	F
11	Trip to Duk-Padiet	28-05-2011	Dinka	LWF staff	M
12	Trip to Ageer	29-05-2011	Dinka	LWF staff	M
13	Trip back to office	30-05-2011	Dinka	LWF staff	F
14	Trip back to office	30-05-2011	Dinka	LWF staff	M
15	Trip to Panyagor	7-06-2011	Mixed (Dinka, Central Equatoria, Kenia)	LWF staff	M
16	Panyagor	12-06-2011	Dinka	LWF staff	M
17	Yuai – HQ Uror	15-05-2011	Kenyan	Secretary of Commissioner	F
18	Yuai – HQ Uror	16-06-2011	Nuer	Cattle keeper	M
19	Yuai – HQ Uror	16-06-2011	Nuer	2 nd secretary of Commissioner	M
20	Yuai – HQ Uror	16-06-2011	Nuer	Staff Commissioner	M
21	Yuai – HQ Uror	16-06-2011	Central Equatorian	LWF staff	M
22	Yuai – HQ Uror	17-06-2011	Central Equatorian	LWF staff	M

23	Yuai – HQ Uror	17-06-2011	Nuer	Police man	M
24	Yuai – HQ Uror	18-06-2011	Dinka	PAH staff	M
25	Yuai – HQ Uror	18-06-2011	Dinka and Kenyan	PAH staff	M
26	Yuai – HQ Uror	19-06-2011	Nuer	Market people	M
27	Yuai – HQ Uror	20-06-2011	Nuer	Translator/teacher	M
28	Yuai - HQ Uror	21-06-2011	Nuer	-	M
29	Yuai – HQ Uror	22-06-2011	Nuer	-	M
30	Yuai – HQ Uror	24-06-2011	Kenyan	PAH staff	M
31	Yuai – HQ Uror	28-06-2011	Central Equatorian	LWF staff	M
32	Bor	04-07-2011	Dinka	MP of Jonglei state	M
33	Juba	07-07-2011	UK	PACT staff	M

ANNEX C. Questionnaire

Introduction to the respondent: we work with LWF in Jonglei state and we are carrying out a study to collect data to identify migration routes, availability of water and pastures along migration routes in Urur, Duk & Twic East Counties in Jonglei State.

A - Data to be filled in by the interviewer

Name interviewer		Date (dd/mm/yy)	
Place (payam, boma, village)			

B - Personal data

1. Tribe _____

2. Occupation: _____

3. Age: _____

4. Sex: _____

5. Marital status: Married: Single: Widowed: Divorced:

6. (a) Residential status: Resident (Was here during the war)

Returnee (was elsewhere during the war)

6. (b) In case of returnee, mention the year of return: _____

C - Livelihood

7. (a) What is your primarily livelihood?

Pastoralism Farming Other _____

(b) What is your secondary livelihood?

Pastoralism Farming Other _____

8. In case your livelihood consists of livestock, please prioritize the type according to the amount (1 = most, 4 = least):

Cattle

Goats

Sheep

Other _____

No livestock

9. What is your major challenge in taking care of these livestock? Please tick and prioritize if relevant according to importance (1 = very important, 5 = least important).

Water

Grazing land

Cattle raids

Diseases

Other _____

D - Water/pasture availability and migration routes

water for family use

10. What is your source of water for your family use? Tick and prioritize if relevant according to importance (1 = most important, 6 = least important):

Borehole

River

Rain water

Well/Apiir

Other _____

Water for livestock

11. Please indicate below where you find water for your livestock in what season.

Source	Wet season	Dry season
<i>Toich</i> /river Nile		
Sobat		
Akobo River		
Borehole		
Well/Apiir		
Rain water		
Other		

Source of water for cattle that remain in villages when the rest is to the *toich*:

12. If you go elsewhere to look for water/pastures in the dry season, what migration route do you regularly use?

Via Duk Padiet

Via Duk Pajut

Via Twic East Lith

Via Duk Poktap

Via Duk Amiel

None, I don't go elsewhere

Other _____

13. When migrating, why do you regularly use the above mentioned route? Please tick and prioritize if relevant (1 = very important, 3 = least important)

It has more water and grazing water points

It has less conflict

It is closer to my home

We have always been using this route

Other _____

14. What month do you leave for migration and what month do you go back to your village? (indicate leaving by inserting D (=departure) and indicate coming back by inserting R(=return) in the table below)

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec

15. (a) How many water points do you use during migration in the dry season? Tick

0-5 5-10 10-15 15-20 >20

(b) Give at least five (5) names / locations of these water points and specify the type of water point

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

E - Conflict(s) and solutions

16. (a) Do you experience any problems along the route as you go to the *toich*?

Yes

No

(b) If yes, please specify the problem and explain the reasons for the conflicts/problems below:

17. (a) In what way have you tried to solve the problem as stated above?

(b) Have you been able to solve the problem as stated above? Please explain why/why not.

Yes _____

No _____

18. (a) Are there any agreements made with the host population in Duk/Ayod/Twic East county during migration? (for passing and using the Toich?)

Yes

No

(b) If yes, what are these rules?

(b) Are these rules effective? Explain.

19. (a) Have you ever lost cattle due to cattle raids?

Yes

No

(b) If yes, please specify by whom _____

(c) How many did you lose in 2011? _____

20. (a) Have you been able to recover some or all of your lost cattle?

Yes

No

(b) If yes, how did you recover them?

21. In your own view, what do you think can be done to reduce the occurrence of types of conflict mentioned below?

(a) Conflicts related to cattle raiding:

(b) Problems related to the migration route (different from question above):

(c) Any other conflict(s) you experience:

F. Migration routes and cattle raiding

22. (a) Since when do you (and your ancestors) migrate to the *toich*?

(b) And have there been changes over the years? (more migration, longer period at the *toich* etc).

23. Since when is there cattle raiding and why?

24. Where does the cattle raiding takes place most?

At the *toich*

In the village

On the way to the Toich (when migrating)

Other

25. When does the cattle raiding takes place most?

In the dry season (when migrating)

In the wet season (at the village)

Throughout the year

Between the dry and wet season

26. Do you think that provision of water in the village (for cattle) will make a difference in the conflict? (will that stop people from going to the *toich*?) Explain.

Thanks a lot for your cooperation!!

ANNEX D. Topic list for FGD's and interviews

government officials, elders and chiefs

General

- Population, ethnicities, economic activities, surface land, facilities, NGOs

Governance

- Role chiefs, commissioners, changes over time, relation with neighbouring counties (Uror and Duk)
- land tenure, livestock keeper, customary law regarding land and use of graze-crop farmer, developments

Livelihood

- Crop farming: land owning families, swamp/upland land
- Livestock keeping: migration
- Diversification of economic activities
- Role women

Main problems land users/livestock owners

- Crop destruction, cattle damage, cattle raiding, lack of water etcetera
- migration routes, problems along these routes, since when, influenced by what?
- Several stakeholders involved (whom?)
- Biggest threat for cattle owners? Why is cattle so important? (how was that previously?)

North-South conflict

- What happened in this county during the war, changes since the war/CPA

Solutions

- solutions for conflicts/problems? (cattle raiding, along migration routes etc.)
- can availability of water play a role?

NGO's (in Uror county)

General

- about your projects, scope, focus, effectiveness
- area, problems

Insecurity

- what type of insecurity, reasons for that? Change over time?
- Parties involved/stakeholders
- To what extent does availability of water play a role?

Solutions

- What are possible solutions? Long term, short term, implications?

FGD's in villages (with cattle keepers/farmers)

Origin and migration

- Origin, getting access to present location (since when are they settled here?) Did they use to settle before, or fulltime migrants?

North-South conflict

- Locality during war
- Changes after war/after CPA

- how do they see the future for South Sudan?

Livelihoods

- Animals: type, numbers, use, care taking
- Crops: type of crops, type of land, size plots, harvests, who is farming
- Other sources of income: cattle trading, business enterprises, housing
- (Education: children)
- changes in livelihood over time? (due to insecurity?, fulltime cattle keeper not sustainable anymore?)

Land tenure

- Ownership land (according to customary law? Who decides where to live?), access, rent paying
- Problems land tenure or gaining access

Migration to *toich*

- since when migration to *toich*?
- How was access to grazing lands secured? (safe-passage rules?) (changes in this?)
- Changes over time (more or less migration and why?) (climate change, insecurity)
- Problems regarding migration (relation with host population and other migrating people?)
- When enough water would be available in place of settlements, would they still migrate?

Cattle injuries or killings/cattle raiding

- by whom and why?
- Why are cows so important? Role of bride price?

Contact with others

- relationship with other tribes
- how did this evolve, if problems since when?
- authorities

Solutions

- Solutions to problems (make a problem tree!)

ANNEX E. Letter from Modit payam to Uror HQ, report of attack by the Murle

Goss
Gongli state
Uror County
modit payam
to Uror County H.Q.
CC Police Office



Modit Payam
Uror County Yual
Office
18 JUN 2011

pakam village attack by murle
4 people were been killed most of
them women and children last night around
(18/6/2011) at 1:30 pm

description
casualty

(1) yosal Reath Bim Killed by murle
(2) Ntakon Tutdel Killed by murle
(3) Ntatoot Chuol Gathuak muol Killed by murle
(4) Ntawawari Gatbuol mar Killed by murle

Abducted Children -

(1) Ntadoang Gatbuol mar : 5 years Abducted
(2) Tut Gatbuol mar : 1 year Abducted

600? herd of cattle were been Looted:

This is for information detailed.

thank



Thou Civil Authority
Chuol Dick
modit payam

Modit Payam
Uror County Yual
Office
18 JUN 2011

