

South Sudan

Peacebuilding Opportunities Fund (POF)



What drives the cattle camps?

Exploring the dynamics of pastoralist communities in western Lakes State, South Sudan

Version 1 – 11/05/2020

Version 2 – 18/05/2020

Final Draft – 10/06/2020

Final – 28/06/2020

What drives cattle camp youth?

About the Peacebuilding Opportunities Fund

DFID's South Sudan Peacebuilding Opportunities Fund (POF) is jointly implemented with CAFOD-Trócaire in Partnership (CTP) and Forcier Consulting. The programme is envisaged to establish a scalable, adaptable, and contextually-driven mechanism to pursue peacebuilding objectives in South Sudan.

The approach to peacebuilding is designed around three funding windows which prioritise investment in organisations and civic approaches four sub-national locations (Bor, Bentiu, Rumbek, Torit), targeting youth who are particularly vulnerable to mobilisation by armed militias, and in supporting opportunities at the national level.

The POF seeks to deliver outcomes which ensure that targeted communities are more harmonious and resilient to conflict, and that political, socio-economic, and cultural institutions key for handling conflict and establishing the conditions for sustained peace are strengthened and more inclusive. As such the desired impact will see stronger national capacity to manage conflicts without violence, and a reduction in violence in targeted areas.

Acknowledgements

The research was a complicated methodological, logistical and relational exercise, for which we owe thanks to many people.

First, to those of the cattle camps who gave us their time and energy, often despite initial scepticism whether it would be of any value to them. They also shared their stories, many of which were of painful experiences, which offered trust to our enumerator team. We hope that the process and this report honours that trust that we do justice to the stories and their meaning.

We also thank the State Authorities. To the former Deputy Governor of Western Lakes State, for his endorsement and approval to move the project forward, as well as his sound advice in approaching the enumerator engagement. To the Director of the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, who not only approved the research and offered his support, but also officially opened the training of enumerators and offered his insights to them from decades of public service. To the Ministry of Public Service and Human Resource Development, for supporting the enumerator recruitment process. To the former State Peace Advisor, who helped guide us through the early stages of the project and offered her support. To the National Security, for authorising our movements and also engaging with interest in the substance of the research.

To the SenseMaker team, who spent hours well beyond the brief adapting the methodology to the context so that it could work seamlessly, and continued engagement beyond the end of the project.

Finally, to the enumerator team from across the area: Austin Marual Machar, Mary Arun Gol Dut, Manasseh Mathiang Mading, Susan Yar Meen Dier, Abraham Chol Akec Chigut, Josephine Akoi Mading Agau, Mangar Maker Athian, John Chol Manyuon, and Thomas Thonamal Chadhan. And to the Area Advisor team of Philip Thon Madit and Mabor Kau Akec.

Enumerator team...



Before...

During...

After...

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Executive summary

There is a normalisation of violence that permeates the reality of the cattle camps in Lakes State. There is also rich tradition, legacy, community, discipline, organisation and an aspiration for a peaceful and prosperous future. Often the conversation around the cattle camps is anchored around the moment of violence and the 'problem' of cattle camp youth. This research approaches the inquiry from the foundation of broader cattle camp values and identity. We distil from that foundation a number of broad categories that will be familiar, together with nuances that cast the issues and possible responses in a different light. Our intention is that these angles can be the basis of a renewed conversation.

The research responded to an interest in understanding the issues affecting a significant South Sudanese youth population who have been, or are at risk of militarisation. There are different regions of South Sudan where a similar inquiry would be relevant, but we have chosen to begin in a relatively narrow, but deadly and conflict-riven band of Lakes State that stretches through Rumbek North, Rumbek Central and Rumbek East: a focus conflict system for the Peacebuilding Opportunities Fund.

We conducted the data collection process over a period of six weeks, towards the end of the dry season, a period that drew in the raw reactions to the annual upsurge in conflict incidents. The methodology was focussed around the narratives of those in the cattle camps, and the meaning that they themselves make of these narratives. After processing the results through a series of synthesis workshops with the team of 10 local enumerators, we have distilled what we describe as six *wuor*¹ of self-identification in the cattle camps. These *wuor* are value neutral, and we find in their dynamic interaction both the sources of conflict and of peaceful coexistence and prosperity.

Leaving a legacy to future generations. There is an immediacy to survival in the cattle camps, and at the same time a deep historical perspective on life that both traces back and projects forward multiple generations. Those in the camps who are connected to this thread have a profound commitment to intergenerational equity and prosperity, though it manifests in often perverse and violent ways, including huge loss of young lives.

The authority of spiritual (spear) masters. There is a strong belief in an underlying spiritual dimension to the camps' survival and prosperity. This confers significant power on the spiritual masters in whom this authority sits. Historically, this power has been deployed in broadly benevolent ways, whereas there is now a growing instrumentalization of the authority for personal gain.

Women as a pillar in sustaining community life. There are demeaning and condescending attitudes in the camp to the human dignity of women. However, there is also a clear appreciation, at least functionally, for the central role they

¹ Dinka word for the pole in the cattle camps that their cattle are attached to each evening; each individual one of the herd with their own rope.

play in sustaining camp life. There is some degree of openness for women to enter more into spaces of leadership and decision-making, though this remains a tentative finding until we can explore it further.

Hospitality and communal responsibility. Once past the threshold of trust, a cattle camp is as safe a place as anywhere in South Sudan. The commitment to sharing and selfless hosting of guests is categorical and instilled in children as part of their upbringing. This collective responsibility creates a social safety net that is preferred to town, even in relatively impoverished camps. The violent side of this communal identification exacerbates cycles of violence, which target innocent individuals and keep communities fundamentally divided from each other through the fear these cycles instil.

Dignity and restorative justice in external relations. The image of a lawless, reckless mass of youth perpetrating mindless violence among themselves belies a structure and values system that is closely respected. Whilst violence is often a response to pressure, there is strong evidence that an overwhelming majority of the cattle camp respondents are increasingly conscious of the trauma it brings, and are desperate for it to end. However, a number of cultural, administrative and technological shifts are working against this aspiration. For now, the commitment to their understanding of justice, which the government is not guaranteeing even where there are agreements, means revenge becomes the default.

Hierarchy, discipline and responsibility. The cattle camp youth are direct perpetrators of violence, and this is the fruit of carefully planned and coordinated attack. Random, unsanctioned attacks appear to be the exception, not the rule. The erosion of the rule of law is lamented by many in the camps, as they also point to the inciting role played by a number of external actors, including 'intellectuals' in Rumbek town, Juba and the diaspora. The capacity for systems and organisation is confirmed in the daily operations of the camps, which require a significant level of skill, specialisation and cooperation to meet the community needs. The traditional concept of *kon koc* ('wait a minute'), whereby communities would ascertain the underlying cause of an issue before retaliating, has been almost completely eroded.

Together, these *wuor* drive behaviour in the camps, supported by environmental factors that at times bias conflict, at other times peaceful coexistence.

The research forms an evidence base for developing new intervention concepts. From the findings so far, we recommend that seven key principles should guide these concept designs.

- Taking a strengths-based approach.
- Emphasising mutual roles and responsibilities.
- Supporting a renewal of appropriate traditional mechanisms.
- Promoting dialogue processes and systems, not only events and peace 'outputs'.

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- Testing the openness towards women's empowerment through education and leadership.
- Working collaboratively on multiple intervention fronts.
- Underlining that pastoralism still has a positive, sustainable role to play in South Sudan's cultural, economic and social identity.

From the findings and principles, an outline set of mutually reinforcing interventions has been identified for further elaboration and refinement in a Phase 2 concept note:

1. **Negotiation of community peacebuilding agreements** that are broader in scope than settling conflicts themselves.
2. **Cattle migration and governance conference in November 2020** that addresses the migration trigger of conflict and builds on the traditions of more peaceful negotiation of migration.
3. **Agricultural equipment and life skills training programs for young men** that meets the clearly expressed desire to diversify economic activity beyond cattle assets, accompanied by a security strategy.
4. **Children's mobile education, including a co-designed cultural component** that blends the aspiration for higher levels of education with the concerns around the loss of cultural heritage.
5. **Women's peace forums within (and potentially between) the camps** that start to explore through a longer term process how women can play a fuller role in an agenda for peace.
6. **Inter-camp cultural and sporting exchanges** as a complementary, not standalone activity that can build some of the softer relational bonds between communities.
7. **Regional leadership networks**, recognising that *galweng* youth leaders, semi-urban and urban intellectuals, including key women, can both contribute to conflict and also be influential collaborators for peace throughout the system.

1 Introduction

This report is structured in five sections.

First, we look at the background to the research. This underlines the rationale behind revisiting a frequently discussed topic, where many actors consider the issues to be clear. It explores the narratives that prevail, and how this research approaches the questions from a different angle.

Second, we outline the research questions and the methodology. Because of the complexity of the exercise, including the security dimensions and the importance of a strong element of trust building in order to access the camps, we describe the process in some detail, with further information annexed. Part of this is also mapping out geographically and ethnically the composition and distribution of the target camps, and the general conflict area. For the research methodology itself, the particularity of SenseMaker as a tool bears some explanation and this, too, has further detail annexed.

Third, we give more description to the context of the research, supplemented by an Annex with portraits of each of the camps. Whilst not germane to the methodology, this provides a broader picture of the camp environment that strikes beyond the image of guns, youth, and violence. This sets the scene for the approach to the findings section.

Fourth, the findings are distilled into the *wuor* of cattle camp self-identification. The findings from the different tools are integrated here – in some cases, the SenseMaker data is most pertinent, in other cases the wider enumerator qualitative data is more central. The findings are not intended as fixed conclusions, but a basis for an ongoing conversation.

Finally, the findings lead to initial framing of the next steps, which we present as a set of guiding principles for the design of follow-up activity and framework of seven intervention opportunities.

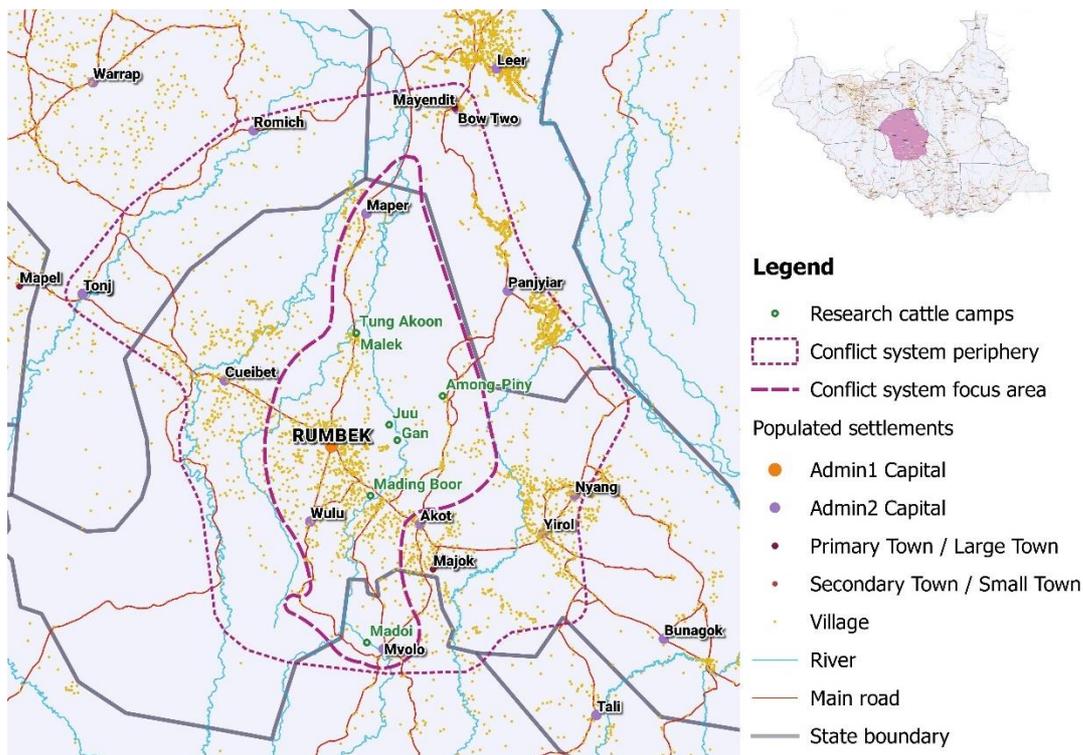
2 Background

2.1 Deadly cycles of violence

Conflicts in South Sudan tend to be interconnected. At the same time, there is an identifiable conflict system that runs through a deadly corridor that is primarily in the western part of Lakes State and largely circumscribes the Dinka Agar communities. The conflict events through the corridor are primarily cattle raids and inter-communal revenge killings, with some overlaps.

This is situated in the broader context of Lakes State. Between 1 July 2018 and 1 July 2019, INSO recorded 286 incidents of inter-communal violence in Lakes State, which substantially overlaps with the current target area (International NGO Safety Organisation, 2019, p. 6). Two INGO experts interviewee described it as the ‘deadliest’ region in the country (scoping interviews). In POF’s own conflict mapping from for the first three months of 2020 (admittedly the height of the conflict cycle), there were 21 conflict incidents and 105 deaths.

Figure 1 - outline of initial target area for research



There has been a proliferation of peace agreements as the main mechanism for conflict resolution, primarily driven by proactive efforts of local NGOs, variously in partnership with INGOs and the UN. One in December 2018 was between the Gak and Manuer of the Pakam community. The provisions of that agreement included commitment to ‘maintain peaceful coexistence’ (art 1), ‘discourage incitement and make it a punishable offense’

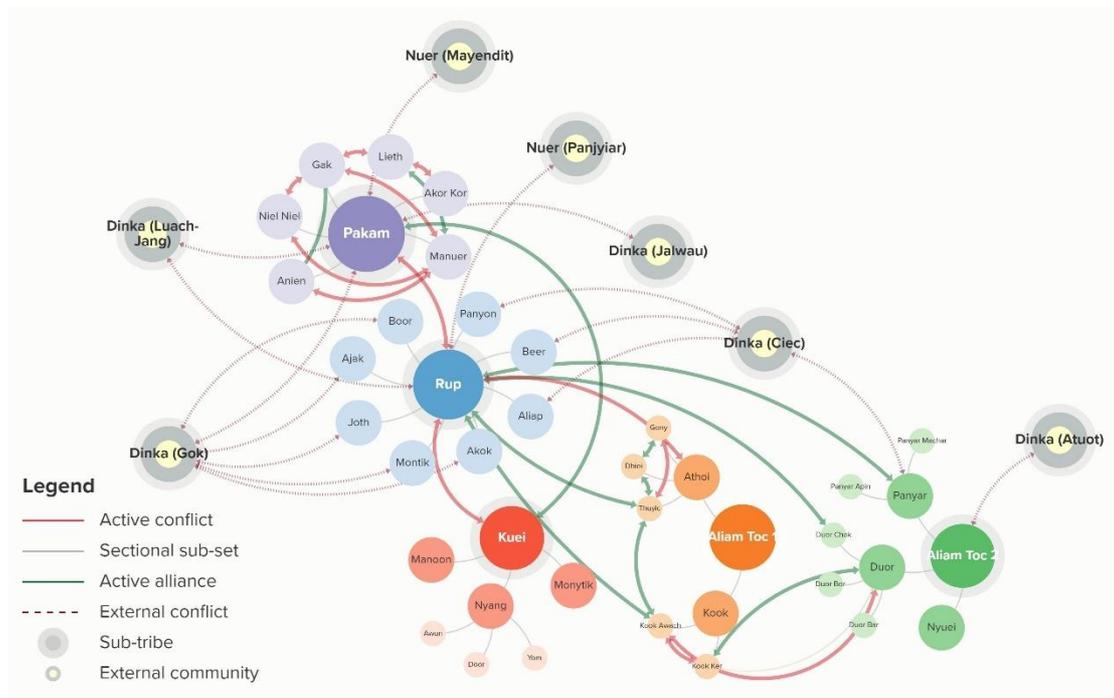
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(art 2), affirm individual criminal responsibility (art 4), and stop 'any form of revenge' (art 5).

Within one year, the return to violence between those same two sections of the Pakam community led to at least 79 deaths and more than 100 injured (Radio Tamazuj, 2019). Two other agreements shared with the POF assessment were between Pakam and Rup communities, and between the Pakam and Kuei communities; both comprising similar commitments and also covering cattle raiding specifically.

The conflicts across the system are driven by a range of factors that we return to in the research findings. A provisional mapping of the *current* dynamics gives a sense of the complexity. The conflicts and alliance are not bounded by sub-tribe, section or sub-section, nor are they necessarily bounded by geography, given the movements of the camps. The system map below is schematically arranged by geography, not precisely. It also does not capture fully the conflicts that arise because of the movements.

Figure 2 - conflict system dynamics



2.2 The culture from inside, not only the 'problem' from outside

A key assumption of the POF as a whole is that in order to improve the overall quality of peacebuilding interventions, there needs to be deeper understanding of dynamics around the intervention point. In relation to cattle camp youth, there is substantial research available, including overviews that draw on an array of literature (Wild, et al., 2018; Idris, 2018).

This is useful in understanding certain dimensions of the cattle camps. It gives us an understanding of what they are, who (demographically) they are and broadly how they are structured and mobilise, including the way in which the traditional 'oversight' of the violence has been undermined by external political interests, with youth frequently mobilised by military leaders and elites when forming local militia in some areas (though, as we will see, this is less pronounced in Lakes State). Conflict analysis of cattle camp related violence is also useful in understanding who fights, when, what happens, and to some degree why they fight (International NGO Safety Organisation, 2019).

Scoping interviews indicated that mobilisation is often against the will and better judgement of youth, as they have grievances of their own with those mobilising them and may have good relations with communities they are mobilised against. They can be, likewise, deeply aware of their lack of education and aggrieved that the children of those mobilising them are enjoying education opportunities in Juba or beyond. They are aware of their lack of access to alternative livelihoods, given their social responsibility to manage herds of cattle, which do not belong to them. At least in the case of the Nuer youth further north, perceptions of inequality and resource hoarding (between social groups, but also along urban-rural divides) also appear to be strong drivers of conflict (Stringham & Forney, 2017).

In the course of initial assessments of the conflict system, a series of considerations enter the equation:

- Whilst the proximate triggers of behaviour are often clear, to what extent are these as random as they might appear and/or to what extent are they calculated and symptomatic of an underlying dynamic?
- Why are Peace Agreements violated, even when ostensibly inclusive in their ownership? How are certain actors excluded or disempowered through peace agreements and what are the consequences of this exclusion? What are the implicit terms of peace agreements that could be interpreted as condoning ongoing violence, for example because there remain scores to settle outside the agreement terms?
- What prevents the state authorities, generally well organised in Lakes State, from responding to the outbreak of conflict and promptly de-escalating situations? To what extent have youth come to see the state authorities in Former Lakes State as using the power of the state to further the causes of certain parties to the conflict?
- Which individuals or coalitions of individuals or groupings have authority in the decisions both to initiate violence and to end it? How does this vary across communities?
- Whilst the material 'objective' of revenge killings and cattle raids may differ (and sometimes overlap), in what respects are the underlying dynamics similar and different?
- To what extent do economic factors feature in the conflict decision? To what extent to those carrying out the conflict actually get material gain from it (can

they keep the cattle?) or are they largely just benefitting their seniors? How often are raided cattle returned to their original owners?

2.3 Shifting perspective from the ‘moment of violence’

These questions are all important, and at the same time they take the ‘moment of violence’ as the starting point of the conversation. The analysis of the underlying structures and causes depart from that premise. This also tends to be inherently based on an ‘outsider’ interpretation of the issues. In turn, this lends itself to analysis that is generalising and emphasises the criminality and negative dimensions of the phenomenon. The brutal attacks and counter attacks rightly receive attention, and can *illuminate* something critical about cattle camp culture, but they do not *explain* how these cultures have been constructed. They can also ignore the daily and structural violence and risks experienced by the cattle keepers themselves.

The guiding questions for the K4D overview on livestock are an example of this; they focus on the dynamics and drivers as it pertains to *conflict*, as opposed to the broader dynamics of cattle themselves (Idris, 2018). Stringham and Forney present a detailed and incisive analysis of the dynamics of the White Army. Again, it focusses on the conflict drivers, though the depth of the analysis is such that it does illuminate the broader issues of cattle keeping and youth.

The phrase ‘at risk youth’ itself is arguably as much a projection of outsider perceptions as it is a faithful description of the cattle camp reality. There is no doubt that, at present, cattle camp youth are subject to certain risks, including of militarisation, and of injury and death when it comes to raids. However, on their own terms it may be that they perceive alternative pathways as presenting an altogether greater risk, as understood from their identity, values, belief perspective. Stringham describes evocatively the risk to dignity and prestige in the ‘cowardice’ of retreating from mobilisation (Stringham & Forney, 2017, pp. 188-9). It is presumptuous of an outsider to suggest that the risk of death is more serious than the risk of humiliation, alienation and dignity. Beyond current manifestations of ‘risk’, the research team’s inquiry creates space for sharing historical stories. This helps surface the origins of some of these traits, and the deeper risks and violence they potentially conceal.

2.4 Shifting perspective from judgment to inquiry

The premise of this project, as outlined below, stepped back from the assumptions behind such an approach. This is not to excuse any of their behaviour or to make any normative commentary on cattle camp culture, but to attempt to understand it more deeply without a priori judgments. From a South Sudanese religious Christian cultural perspective, it also separates the ‘sin’ from the ‘sinner’, whereas some narratives around cattle-camp youth arrive at general moral judgments on the young people involved based on their actions. In initial assessment interviews, some characterised the cattle camp youth as criminals, others as misguided, others as needing to be taught that

violence is wrong, others that they were reluctant participants in raids or carriers of guns (but still culpable), others that they were subject to forces beyond their control.

But no reference was recorded of a positive angle on cattle camp youth, their values or their capabilities. Singularising any conflicting party, implicitly or explicitly, as the 'problem' creates an unhelpful undertone to an intervention. By moving beyond assumptions that cattle camp youth have a natural propensity to violence, it creates more space to explore the reality of inequalities and daily structural violence, as well as limiting the extent to which others' responsibility is dissolved. Moreover, cattle camp youth are effectively entrusted with primary community assets, which calls into question the uniformly undisciplined narrative.

This is potentially a missed opportunity in two respects. First, it neglects the principle that a precondition to peace is affording dignity to all the parties. Formal dignity is accorded through the increasing inclusion of cattle camp youth leaders in peace conferences, and informal dignity through the deep care that is offered to youth through some of the programs targeting them (for example, the Peace and Justice Desk of the Catholic Diocese of Rumbek). However, there is less evidence of this dignity in the overarching narratives outside the camps themselves.

Allison underlines that the cattle in South Sudan represent much of the country's wealth system (Allison, 2016). Deng's exposition of the economic (and social) centrality of the cow is equally unambiguous (Deng, 1998). In these terms, from an economic governance perspective, cattle camps are an *institution*. All the violence notwithstanding, an interesting separate research question could explore how resilient to conflict this institution has been compared to South Sudan's formal state institutions for economic governance, and how it has changed or not over time. For present purposes, the salient point is that cattle camp youth could be considered as having an institutional role in the country – a kind of mobile hybrid of Wall Street and the Federal Reserve in South Sudan. Seen from this perspective, the conversation potentially shifts.

Second, from an appreciative inquiry perspective (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005)², it leaves some of the potentially most significant building blocks of peacebuilding opportunities on the periphery. There may be an unstated recognition of this, but the livelihoods and skills agenda often carries an implication that these youth are entirely unskilled and undisciplined.

This research is also predicated on the idea that 'persuasion', and even less so instruction (unless from a very small subset of traditional authorities) is unlikely to convince cattle camp to adopt a different attitude to raiding. This is in part because of the relative weakness of rhetoric over (perceived) material interest. It can also be because of the subjectivity of 'morality' – while some characterise the violence as morally bad, others closer to the power centre of these camps characterise it as morally good. The indication from scoping interviews was that there is considerable social and

² This methodology is coded in a western perspective. However, the POF considers that the dynamics of constructive dialogue in South Sudan resonate strongly with this kind of approach. This can be seen even in the deferential way comments are made in public fora. Invariably speakers anchor their comments in appreciation of others, even when their substantive point fundamentally contradicts others.

economic sense to current cattle camp livelihood models. This is not to endorse them, but to recognise that it is a futile exercise to try and convince youth, in the absence of viable alternatives, that their current lifestyle choice is unwise. And furthermore, that a 'viable' alternative will need to be much more sophisticated and compelling than single track offers of short training course in farming methods, or getting a driver's license. These alternatives are competing with both prestige and an obedience to moral and divine authority and ideas that justify their current lifestyles.

As a result, we intend to approach the exercise from the perspective of the cattle camp youth: attempting to understand better the *underlying structures* of the cattle camps, their changing *cultures*, what they themselves value, aspire to, how they identify themselves, and the meaning that *they* attribute to these events that are decried from the outside.

There are three further inter-related assumptions of the research:

- (a) nuance and variation sits within the generalising labels of 'cattle camp youth';
- (b) understanding this nuance and variation will give a clearer picture of potential peacebuilding opportunities;
- (c) A qualitative story-based methodology can be effective because it invites these nuances, as opposed to other methods that can tend to synthesise findings in a way that nuance is easily lost.

3 Research purpose

This research is situated within the nested theory of change under the POF:

If...	POF undertakes action research among cattle camp youth to examine the nuances of the social systems that operate within them ... and if the needs, values and aspirations of cattle camp youth are accurately understood through the research... and if relevant interventions <i>in and around</i> cattle camps, as well as opportunities <i>outside</i> of cattle camps, are made available and accessible to those youth in a way that respond to the incentives identified...
Then...	Cattle camp youth will be less susceptible to re-militarisation and more open to sustainable DDR processes... there will be a growing diversification of relevant livelihoods options and ... the overall peace process will be strengthened at the local level.

The purpose of the project can be summarised as:

How can we understand better the evolution over time of (a) internal cultural values and beliefs within cattle camps (especially regarding gender, authority and wealth accumulation) and (b) attitudes to external relations, and from these identify strategic peacebuilding opportunities?

This can be elaborated under four dimensions:

1. To understand better the self-identification of cattle camp youth:
 - a. Values and beliefs
 - b. Identification
 - c. Capabilities
 - d. Aspirations
 - e. Conflict drivers
 - f. Cultural drivers
2. To understand the relative pervasiveness and strength of the elements above, across different cattle camps; to compare and contrast these with perceptions of non-cattle camp community members. In what situations or under what circumstances do youth step away from the obligations and values of the camps?
3. To map the cattle camp system(s) – internal and external structures, relationships, power relations; including how these have evolved over time, particularly since the CPA.
4. To identify possible interventions that could leverage the outcomes of purposes 1 and 2. This would include:

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- a. Detailing the possible intervention approach
- b. Interlinkages with other POF (and wider) strategies
- c. Necessary preconditions for interventions – eg spoilers

4 Methodology

4.1 Camp sample

The breakdown of Section and Sub-Section composition is outlined in Figure 3 below. The number of camps in the area can vary according to the time of year; during the period of the research, scoping indicated there were roughly 20 camps, of which we chose six. These communities are all in an area that would have somewhere between 20 and 50 cattle camps overall, depending on the season and the movements of cattle (at certain times camps coalesce and at other times they disperse into a wider array).

The criteria (some of which are overlapping) for choosing the camps were:

1. **Security and access** – it is important to note that while this was our primary concern, it did not mean that we did not attempt to reach communities in conflict or at risk of conflict. Indeed, on one occasion while the team was in the camp for the pre visit they were warned that an attack may be imminent and that there should be careful coordination of the data collection dates. This meant that timing was affected, but the data collection in those areas was still able to go ahead.
2. **Representation from all six Dinka Agar Sections** – Figure 3 shows the breakdown of the different camps by Section and sub-section.
3. **Representation from the three Counties (Rumbek North, Rumbek Central, Rumbek East)** – whilst the geographical location of some of the sub-sections was outside these areas, their origin communities represent a cross-section of the three counties.
4. **Representation across inter-communal conflict lines** – most of the key conflict lines are represented in the sample, with the notable exception that Gak is represented, but not Manuer. However, by the time of the validation exercise, when some of the camps had reconfigured, Manuer were represented in one of the camps.

With these criteria forefront, there was also a natural combination of camps that stick more strictly to one location and those that move more widely, as well as different sizes of camps.

A portrait of each of the six cattle camps is included in Annex 1.

What drives the cattle camps?

Figure 3 - focus cattle camps location / composition³

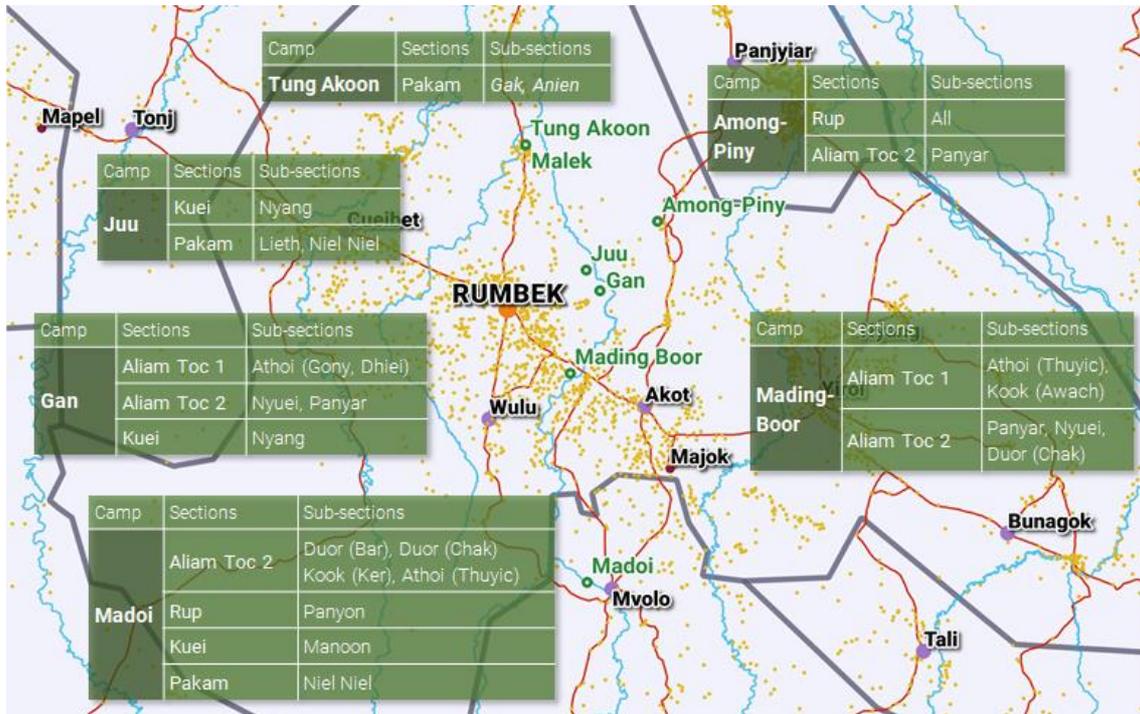
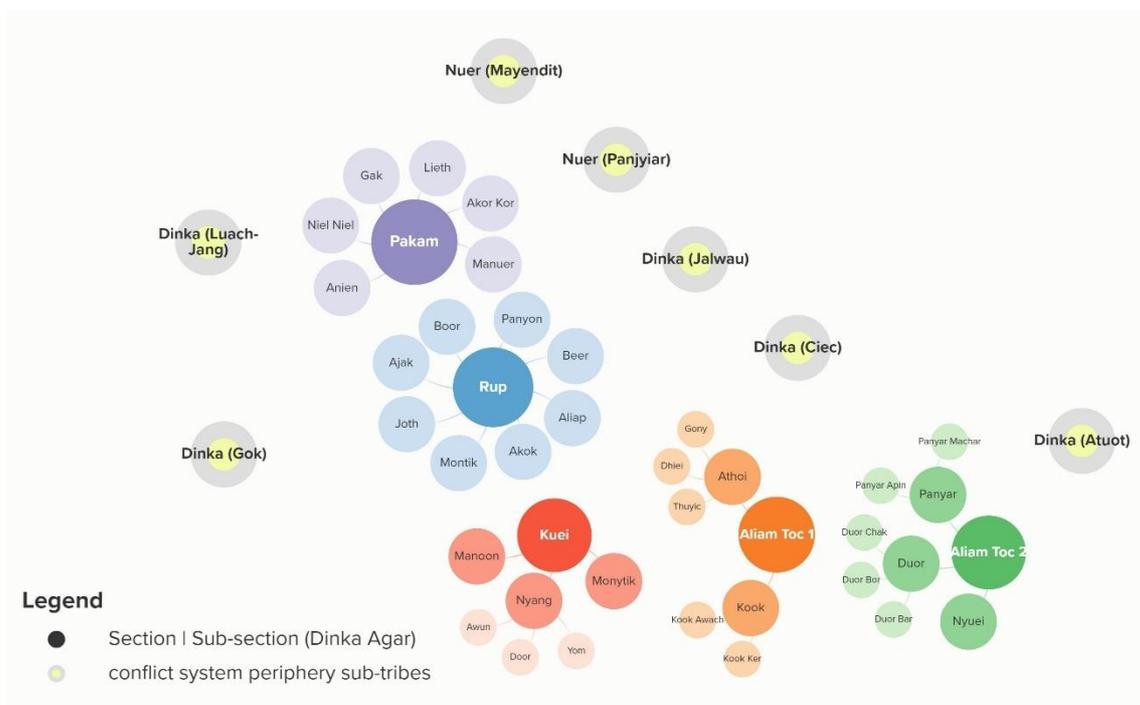


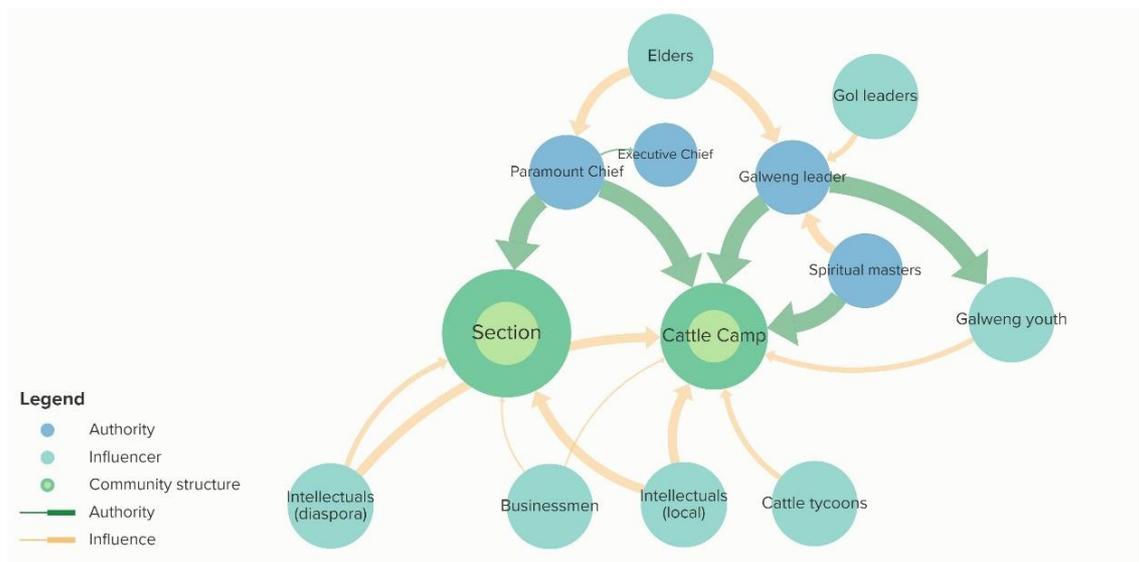
Figure 4 - Dinka Agar ethnic sub-groups



³ Locations are as at the data collection dates. Most of these camps have now moved location.

4.2 General structure of cattle camps

Figure 5 - community authority and influence



The systems of traditional leadership in the system are similar between the camps. There are a number of lines of authority and influence in leadership. It is not always clear in the cattle camp whether the *galweng* leader or the traditional chief has more authority:

- **Galweng leader** (specific to a given cattle camp). *Galweng* ('protect the cow') leaders came up at the time of the SPLA split in 1991 (previously *beny wut*, still used interchangeably in other areas). Their role is to oversee the day to day running of the cattle camp, settle disputes, coordinate attacks and defence of the camp. The line is hereditary.
- **Traditional Chiefs** (Paramount Chief of Sections and Executive Chiefs of Sub-sections). Decision-making and dispute settlement responsibility. The line is hereditary.
- **Spiritual (spear) masters**. There is a strong belief in an underlying spiritual dimension to the camps' survival and prosperity, as discussed below. This confers significant power on the spiritual masters in whom this authority sits. Historically, this power has been deployed in broadly benevolent ways, whereas there is now a growing instrumentalization of the authority for personal gain, as we see further below.
- **Elders**. Role is to guide and advise the *galweng* and the chiefs. They play an influential role. Those who earned the respect at a younger age exercise most influence.
- **Intellectuals**. Not an official community authority, but exercise considerable influence, particularly if they hold positions of power in the modern state system.
- **Businessmen**. Not an official community authority, but can exercise influence through wealth.

- **Cattle 'tycoons'**. Those who have the relatively highest number of cows; exercise influence not formally but because of the status through cows.
- **Gol leaders**. Cattle camps are comprised of sub-groups called *gol*. Each *gol* has a leader, and he will be consulted by the overall camp leadership around decisions, but the camp leadership will make the final decision.

4.3 Engagement approach

To implement the research successfully and safely, we needed a rigorous process of pre-engagement with the relevant actors. We describe the approach also for the benefit of others doing or planning to do similar work and who might find comparisons useful. The detailed process is included in Annex 3. The key principles that were applied were as follows:

- Having the right **balance** in the team of local understanding and community links, neutral South Sudanese presence, and research expertise. There are many possible permutations of team composition, but the premium on local, contextual knowledge should not be underestimated. In this case, research expertise was provided by the SenseMaker team, their infrastructure, and leadership of enumerator training. The Research Coordinator was recruited from outside the Dinka Agar community, in order to have a more objective overview and, as importantly, secure access across all locations. He is from Turalei, Dinka speaking, but external to the conflict dynamics in Lakes. The enumerators were selected from across the three main areas – Rumbek North, Rumbek Central and Rumbek East. This was important for three reasons:
 - a) **access**: having someone in the team from the respondent communities smoothed the authorising environment considerably (indeed, the only issue of this nature the teams encountered in accessing the six camps was with the one camp where we did not have someone from the relevant community);
 - b) **broader community acceptance of the program**: the transparency of the recruitment approach, and the representative nature of the enumerator team quickly became common knowledge in the community. Anecdotally, there was regular community feedback to the team that there was a level of trust in the exercise flowing from this transparent process and its equitable outcome.
 - c) **security**: the nature of the conflict dynamics mean that it is simply impossible for people from certain communities to travel to, or through, areas occupied by certain other communities. This could have been addressed by resourcing the team from a Dinka speaking communities outside the area, but it would immediately have lost a significant level of local ownership and the broader legitimacy that arose from that.
- A **transparent, representative recruitment process**. There was a public recruitment of enumerators, with over 90 applications for 10 positions. The

process was widely discussed, and the wider community noticed the representative composition of the final team – ie this was not only important for the research itself, but for the perception of the research and the ongoing activity of the programme.

- Pre-engagement with the **relevant cattle camp leadership**. In most cases, this was initially with the *galweng* youth leadership. Once in the camps, the Chiefs also played a critical role in the acceptance of the team. Even despite the detailed planning of this process, on one occasion an intellectual from Rumbek interfered with the process for personal reasons and one cattle camp visit was put at risk.
- Pre-engagement with the **State authorities**. This included the Governor's Office, the State High Peace Commission, National Security, the Ministry of Public Service and Human Resource Development, and the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission. Again, despite having engaged all these offices, there was an attempt at one point by one official from one of these (who had been absent for a period) to shut down the research, claiming he had not given the relevant authority – there was no apparent objection to the research exercise per se. Only the wide authorisation and support for the exercise beyond his office (and including his office, despite his dismissal of his subordinates' agency) enabled the team to resolve the issue quickly.
- Engagement with **other NGOs and Agencies**, though more could have been done on this front. We discussed the proposal with UNMISS Civil Affairs, UNDP, Oxfam, AMA, Dard, the Justice and Peace Desk of the Catholic Diocese, and Non-violent Peaceforce. We are hopeful that these and other organisations will be able to take some of the research findings into their ongoing work and also that we can work together to identify some multi-partner peacebuilding initiatives.
- Ensuring **enumerator safety**, and in particular recognising that enumerators may be at risk in certain host communities where there is an outstanding cycle of revenge.
- Identifying a **modest and meaningful contribution to the community**, in return for their time and engagement (also bearing in mind that extractive exercises can often be the prevailing experience). In this case, it involved a small contribution of maize and sugar for distribution by the leadership, and then soap for each individual respondent.
- The activity, even if only research, being predicated on **follow-up**, not an extractive exercise. This includes, at a minimum, returning to the camp communities to validate the results.

4.4 Considerations informing the choice of research methods

Three primary considerations drive the choice of methods for the research: (a) an emphasis on the perspective of the respondents themselves; (b) a qualitative approach that can question existing assumptions; (c) a sufficient large and varied data set.

Method	Consideration
Experiments	Not appropriate at this stage as we are not yet at the point of testing interventions, and any experimental research around this would need careful ethical consideration.
Surveys	On their own, surveys can (a) suffer from stronger biases in question design (b) be gamed (c) are less useful for eliciting subtleties. For this research, survey elements within a qualitative approach can be useful in anchoring the qualitative data in some quantitative measures. SenseMaker incorporates some survey-like questions as part of the sensemaking framework.
Case studies	The research in this case is not looking at 'cases', but attempting to map a cultural landscape and its evolution.
Participant and non-participant observation	The emphasis of the research is the respondents' perspectives, and also the meaning <i>they</i> make of those perspectives. So the observation of those inside and outside the cattle camp system serves in this case more as a tool for triangulation, as well as surfacing lines of inquiry, rather than a basis for conclusions. The enumerator journaling captured key aspects of this perspective.
Focus groups	Focus groups are a significant investment of time and resources in order to ensure that they remain unbiased and serve the stated purpose of reflecting a collective perspective or the range of perspectives within a particular group. In the cattle camp context, it would also be difficult to ensure that the relevant range of voices is expressed through a focus group. However, the concept was applied more at the point of data validation and synthesis workshops.
Ethnography	Deep ethnographic research is a longer process than appropriate for the objectives of this research, which includes identifying potential avenues for action moving forward. However, the SenseMaker approach has an ethnographic dimension, which is captured in the explanation below.
Longitudinal research	This would be a fascinating approach to take in the longer term, but not within the time horizon that the POF is working to.

4.5 Data collection tool 1 – SenseMaker

SenseMaker is a method of identifying what is happening in a community and using it to inform and enable intelligent management of programming in complex contexts. The overall picture is presented as ethnographic maps of the hopes, fears and expectations of people in local communities, organisations and institutions. These maps allow people with local / relevant knowledge to identify patterns, create insights and provide an evidence base to guide action. Repeated or ongoing capture of SenseMaker data allows initiatives to be monitored by tracking changes in patterns on the maps.

SenseMaker is designed to prompt respondents to describe a relevant experience and then to signify what their experience means to them in their own context, by answering a small number of visual and intuitive sense-making questions. The data can be captured in text or audio. This approach draws out a picture of the reality of a large number of individual respondents, based on their everyday experience rather than their opinions. The questions are crafted in a way that encourages a novel response and minimises less helpful biases.

The process of signification allows individual stories (or 'narratives') to be collected, mapped and explored visually in a quantitative framework; this can be carried out in near real-time without the bias that is often difficult to avoid when qualitative data is coded by 'expert' analysts. Individual responses are represented as separate data items on each of the maps and provides direct access to the underlying narrative; the quantitative-based patterns make the data credible and stories behind it make them persuasive.

4.5.1 SenseMaker strengths:

- **Story-based:** the foundation of the tool is qualitative and builds a rich narrative based landscape of the dynamics under consideration, especially in cultures grounded in stories.
- **Self-signified:** respondents decide what their story means, whereas usually qualitative methods involve a third-party analyst tagging and coding the stories.
- **Neutral:** because the signification frameworks are value neutral, responses are less susceptible to being gamed.
- **Scalable and replicable:** It is an efficient way of collecting large data sets that have both qualitative and quantitative outputs.
- **Simple:** the tool doesn't require of respondents a particular level of literacy.

A key benefit of the approach is that people can attend facilitated meetings to explore data collected in and by their own communities. They can also share this exploration with stakeholders and others who make policy decisions that affect the way they live and work.

To be used effectively, SenseMaker needs to focus on discovering what is not known rather than explaining or confirming what is known. It also needs to be part of a responsive programme led by a team that wants to make sense of a complex situation in order to act.

4.5.2 SenseMaker limitations:

There are some key limitations and considerations around the SenseMaker methodology that we have factored into the research (Van der Merwe, et al., 2019):

- **Anonymity:** given the violence within and between these communities, responses to certain questions could give rise to further violence if the respondent, or even the respondent community can be identified. We have avoided disaggregating the analysis by community (and removed references to specific communities where we quote respondents), and it would be almost impossible to identify any specific respondents based on the stories, which are captured in summary form. There is also no mechanism by which any actors who might misuse the data can access those anonymous individual stories.
- **Dignity and respect:** there is a risk with all data collection, especially in a development context, that it is interpreted by the respondents as an extractive exercise. SenseMaker mitigates this in part by its emphasis on stories rather than more survey-oriented approaches that can be focussed more on what the enumerator wants to know rather than what the respondent wants to share. However, it falls short of a more immersed ethnographic approach. In the way we approached the data collection, we addressed this by ensuring that enough space was given for respondents to share more expansively, beyond the specific questions we were asking through the signification framework. This explains a relatively length interview period for each respondent. The approach to the camps, with the pre-visits and the general conversations that took place outside the interviews, coupled with staying in the camps rather than leaving each evening, all supported a sense that the dignity and integrity of the communities was respected.
- **Technology de-humanising the engagement:** one of SenseMaker's strengths is its use of technology and capacity to integrate and visualise large data sets in real-time. However, this dimension can also be alienating, creating a distance between the stories on the ground and the technological processes those stories are feeding into. In this case, we experimented with an additional layer to the methodology to bridge this element. The signification framework was reproduced on the ground using cloths and hand drawn triangles and rectangles, with wooden markers (coined 'pat pat' by the enumerators). This allowed the respondent to stand and move around with their whole body, as they explored the different anchors. Only after they had answered the questions using those materials would the enumerator show them how they were transposing that response to the SenseMaker software on the tablet.



Enumerators and respondents collecting analogue data on the ground, and digital tablet entry

- **Quantifying social phenomena:** SenseMaker is a mixed method approach and in the presentation of graphs and figures with a weighty quantitative element, there is a risk of presenting the analysis more conclusively than any examination of social phenomena merits. This we manage, as far as possible, by qualifying conclusions as needed and by being as explicit as possible around the strength of different findings. It is also underlined in the outline of the way forward, where we do not identify strict conclusions of what will work, but rather a set of principles that can guide the next steps and a series of possible safe to fail experiments that can be gradually amplified or dampened as appropriate.

4.5.3 Developing the signification framework

The signification framework for the data collection was developed iteratively with community members of the area we undertook research, translated (to Dinka) and back translated (to English for the record), and then refined with the enumerators.

First, there was a four hour consultation process between one of the SenseMaker consultants and a sample of respondents from Rumbek to test and challenge initial assumptions based on a literature review.

Second, we conducted two emergent design workshops: the first with a sample based in Rumbek town. They were asked to share stories based on a prompting question and from those stories they identified key values and anchors, building some possible question frames. The second workshop was conducted with a class of Senior 4 girls from Loreto Girls School. This offered a different perspective on the issues. We asked them to identify for *both* girls and boys the positives and negatives of life in the cattle camps. From there, similarly, we asked them to name the values or anchors that would encapsulate the key points they noted.

Third, in parallel with the week-long enumerator training, the precise wording of the anchors was refined in discussion with the enumerators, who themselves are a sample of the communities in question.

From here, the signification framework was implemented in the data collection phase. The detailed SenseMaker signification framework is included in Annex 4.

In brief, the process with each respondent involved asking them to ‘describe an event of reconciliation in the last five years that used traditional justice and in which you, or a member of your close family, were personally involved’. The enumerator would capture the story in summary form. With their story in mind, they would then respond to a series of questions, followed at the end by some demographic multiple choice questions. The process with each respondent usually took between 45-75 minutes.

All the data collection was conducted in Dinka. Whilst the story invited a story of traditional justice, many had not had a direct personal experience of such a process and many of the stories that were shared were more focussed on violent experiences rather than the use of traditional justice to resolve them.

4.6 Data collection tool 2 – enumerator journals and team synthesis

These two elements were separated as distinct tools in the concept note and were later merged in the design. Given the resources and time available, rather than separating out the data from the journals explicitly, review of the journal material was incorporated into the team synthesis sessions.

There were three team synthesis sessions with the enumerators after the data collection. The first was to debrief the experience, drawing in their own reflections from the journaling and key impressions. This first part was before they had seen the overall data from the SenseMaker. This included sharing two representative experiences from their enumerator perspective; one of an experience from the research project that came to mind where they felt hopeful about the future of the cattle camps, and one of an experience where they felt discouraged about the future of the cattle camps. Then, in small groups, the enumerators coded those experience according to the keywords, emotional data and key issues that were surfaced. A selection are included in Annex 2.

In the final session, we mapped the observations from the enumerator experiences onto the levels of the cattle camp reality (adapted from (Dilts, 2014)):

We grouped the insights from the data according to different perspectives:

	What they already knew	What they didn't know
What we already new	Confirming data	Feedback to camps
What we didn't know	Feedback externally	New insights

Abstract / Internal	Aspirations
	Identity
	Values and beliefs
Tangible / External	Capabilities
	Behaviours
	Environment

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The second two sessions were focussed more on the SenseMaker data itself, surfacing some of the nuances to the responses; elaborating on some of the free ranging qualitative discussions around the responses that appear in the hard data.

All the data from these outputs is synthesised in the findings around *wuor* of self-identification.

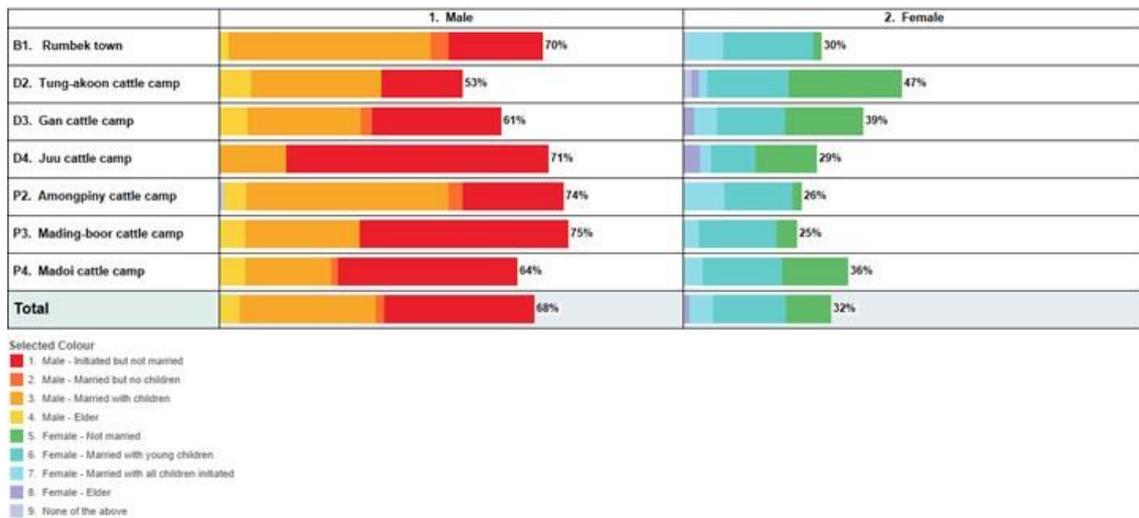
4.7 Respondent demographics

There was a total of 591 respondents across six cattle camps. Within the camps, the team aimed to draw data from a cross-section of the community, which is reflected in Figure 6 below. In selecting respondents, we were aiming for a sample that had significant numbers in different categories of age, marital status and sex. Whilst there was a satisfactory mix of married and unmarried respondents, we had difficulty in interviewing as many elders as we hoped. Whilst the distribution between women and men is still weighted towards men, it is important to bear in mind the default position in these camps, which is that women would have no voice at all.

Even the women *enumerators* were assumed initially in some camps to be the wives of the men in our team, as opposed to enumerators in their own right. It was a process in some cases of persuading men to be interviewed by a female enumerator. Overall, therefore, we are satisfied with the distribution, and there is a sufficiently significant aggregate number of women to compare responses to different questions by sex:

Figure 6 - respondent demographics

Distribution of Responses by Collection Place and Gender



4.8 Adaptations

The process substantively followed the process outlined in the concept note; somewhat surprisingly, given the volatility of the conflict dynamics in the area.

There were three main adaptations:

1. The original concept had envisaged a *comparison* between cattle camp respondents and non-cattle camp respondents. However, during the design of the signification framework, it became clear that the appropriate questions would be oriented to subjective cattle camp experiences; ie it would not make sense to ask the same objective questions both to a group of cattle camp respondents and to a corresponding group of non-cattle camp respondents. Given the tight timeline to the end of the rainy season, and the extra capacity that would be needed to design a distinct set of question for non-cattle camp members, this was reconsidered. Further, the design discussion underlined that the perception of cattle camps from the outside is what is already much better known and not the most purposeful use of resources. Finally, the fact that the enumeration team were primarily of the non-cattle camp demographic (though some came from the cattle camp originally and still regularly visiting) meant that an analysis of those contrasts and comparisons would be possible in a more focus group style, primarily via the enumerator synthesis workshops at the end. Nonetheless, in parallel to the research, the Advisor team has spent time identifying a list of 60 key influential individuals across the system, and they will be a focus of engagement in the second phase.
2. One geographic adaptation came at the outset of the data collection, when violence between focus cattle camps meant the initial data collection was delayed. However, through the *galweng* youth leaders, who had been contacted during the pre-visits, the teams were able to connect with cattle camp youth who were visiting town and begin the data collection on that basis. This does not impact on the overall demographics of the data set, only on the geographic location of that first set of data collection.
3. Whilst the process was largely able to continue as planned, even with the emergence of COVID-19 restrictions and subsequently cases, it did affect the final two visits to camps, as well as the validation exercise. For these, COVID-19 messaging was incorporated into the objectives of the trips. This underlined the lack of information available in the camps, the relativisation of the problem by the communities, and their material unpreparedness if there were to be an outbreak that reached them.

4.9 Validation

This draft report at present has been validated by the enumerator workshops and return validation trips to the cattle camps. The return visits to the camps are also to consolidate the relationship and begin the conversation with the camp communities themselves around the next steps. This part of the process was complicated by the dispersal of the original six cattle camps into approximately 10 camps, as they return closer to their original position.

5 Findings – *wuor* of cattle camp self-identification



We orient the description and discussion of findings around what we are calling '*wuor* of cattle camp self-identification'. *Wuor* is the Dinka word for the pole in the cattle camps that their cattle are attached to each evening; each individual one of the herd with their own rope.

This builds on two principles discussed in the introduction. First, if we base the next steps firmly in the existing strengths of the camps, they will likely be more sustainable. Second, if we focus on the broader reality of the camps, we will have more impact than if we simply focus on the moment of violence.

The violence itself derives from the complex internal interaction of community values and norms. Elements of the external environment then at times support the conditions for conflict. As we will see in the framing below, the data collection team observed little in the identity, values and aspirations of the communities that *inherently* biases conflict as a response. Conversely, given certain conditions, all the *wuor* of self-identification can become drivers of conflict.

What follows is the synthesis of what the cattle camps are saying is important to them as communities, and a discussion of how this may link both to conflict and opportunities moving forward. This section combines observational data with analysis of the respondent interviews and the enumerator synthesis workshops.

5.1 Leaving a legacy to future generations

Summary: there is an immediacy to survival in the cattle camps, and at the same time a deep historical perspective on life that both traces back and projects forward multiple generations. Those in the camps who are connected to this thread have a profound commitment to intergenerational equity and prosperity, though it manifests in often perverse and violent ways, including huge loss of young lives.

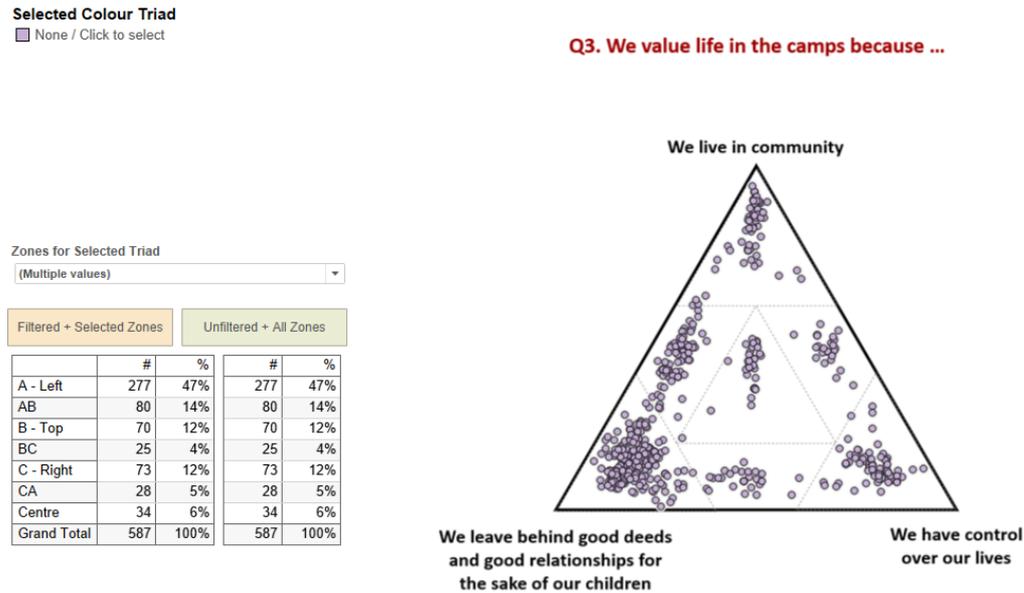
... of cultural identity

Figure 7 below shows almost half of the respondents described the primary value of life in the camp as: 'we leave behind good deeds and good relationships for the sake of our children'. The conversations with respondents as they situated their responses to this question revealed rich elements of the culture. For example, respondents described the

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traditional nurturing of young men’s leadership capabilities as focussed not so much around violence but more relational competencies like taking care of the family and how to host guests. There is an absolute premium on the maintenance of relationships. A son whose father has cultivated relationships with certain individuals or groups is culturally expected to place a high priority on maintaining them.

Figure 7 - the value of life in the camps

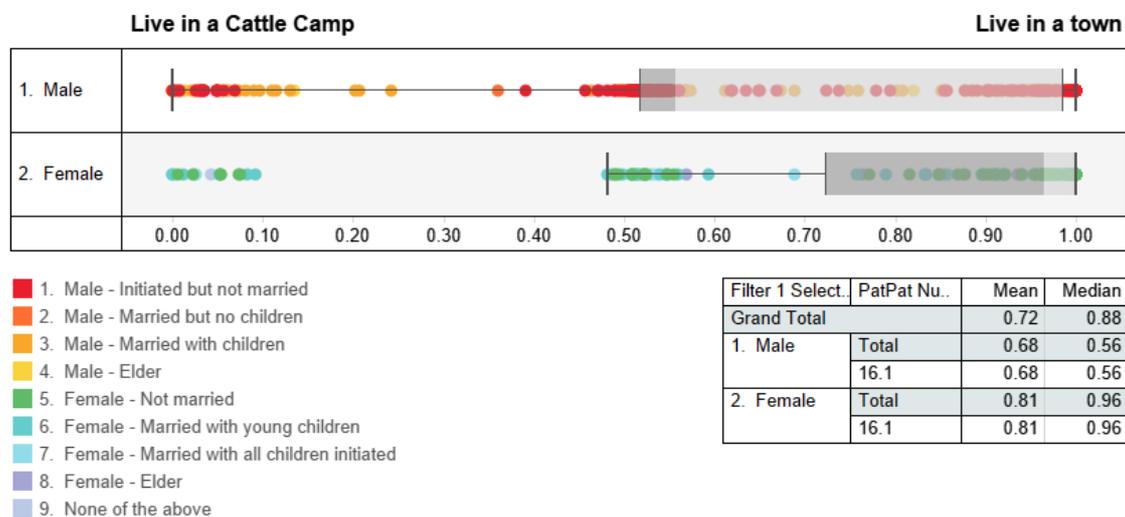


Even living in community per se seemed subordinate to legacy. Many responses on living in community focussed on the principle of collective security; not an end in itself, but a means to securing conditions for a thriving community of relations and activities that can be passed down the generations.

This is complicated by the responses to the question (Figure 8) as to whether they would like their children to grow up in the camps or in town (mean=0.72, med=0.88). And here there is also an appreciable difference in the responses of men (mean=0.68, med=0.56) and women (mean=0.81, med=0.96).

Figure 8 - aspiration for children to be in camps or in town

Q16. I want my children to ...



It is quite clear that women of all groups would like to raise their children in town despite a relatively high percentage of Null returns (32% of 187 respondents). Whereas 41% want positively to bring up their children in town and only 9% to bring them up in a camp.

The men are predominantly ambivalent, with a high percentage of not applicable returns (20% of 401 respondents). There were high values for the center value halfway between town and camp (41%). However, even with the men the positive vote for living in town is higher in all categories (24%) than the vote for living in a cattle camp (10%). Interestingly, again grouping by age, role in the family and education did not have any appreciable effect except that almost all of the tiny population of secondary and degree qualified respondents wanted to bring children up in town.

Overall, the pull towards town seems to be significant. Even when the responses to this question are cross-referenced against respondents in question 3 who indicated they value life in the camps because *'we live in community'*, the weight of responses remains towards life in town, albeit the median drops significantly (from 0.88 to 0.69). So despite the value placed on life in the camps, there appears to remain an underlying dissatisfaction.

The prioritisation of legacy appeared in a different form in the responses to priorities (Figure 9); enumerators explained in the synthesis workshop that in a number of cases there was a negative perception of education because respondents linked it to a loss of cultural heritage. For example, one well-known community leader's family moved to Rumbek town – all four of his sons are now alcoholic and refused to marry to continue the lineage. This failure is attributed, in the camp narrative, to the fact that he moved his family to town. The foreign influences in town culture are also seen as problematic, not just from western diaspora communities, but also other east African countries.

Whilst there is some recognition that being in town can bring opportunities – of education and employment – there is still a sense that camp life has a security

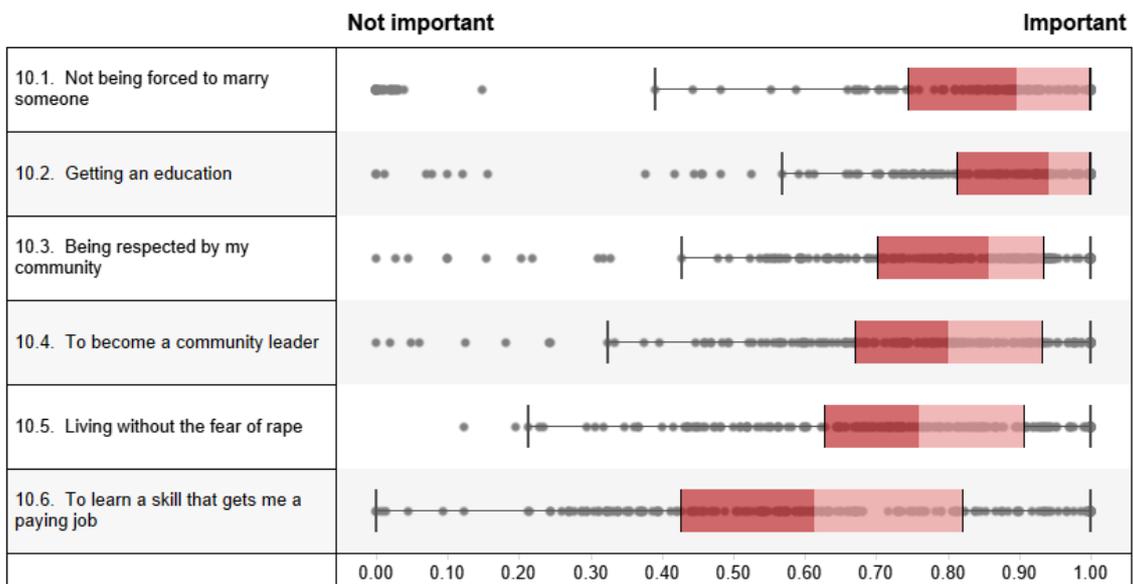
dimension to it. This is from the perspective of community support, containment of excesses like drugs and alcohol (though these are not absent in the camps themselves), and maintaining a respect for authority. The greatest fear in the community is of losing the lineage. Children of the camps will be able to name their lineage 10 generations and beyond. This is one key fear of the drift to town; adopting Christian names, and abandoning the legacy.

...of material prosperity

The signification questions around priorities (Figure 9) give some further colour to this picture. Men and women respondents were asked an equivalent (but differently phrased) set of questions relating to their priorities. It is clear overall that women and men place a high importance on most of the elements identified, with the exception for men of ‘being recognised by my camp as a brave fighter’ and for both men and women relatively less emphasis on ‘learning a skill to get a paying job’. In debriefing with respondents, one clear theme emerged that is consistent with the pattern of the data – that there is a substantial consideration given by many to investment strategies, both in terms of individuals (eg education) and livelihoods (eg cultivation and cattle).

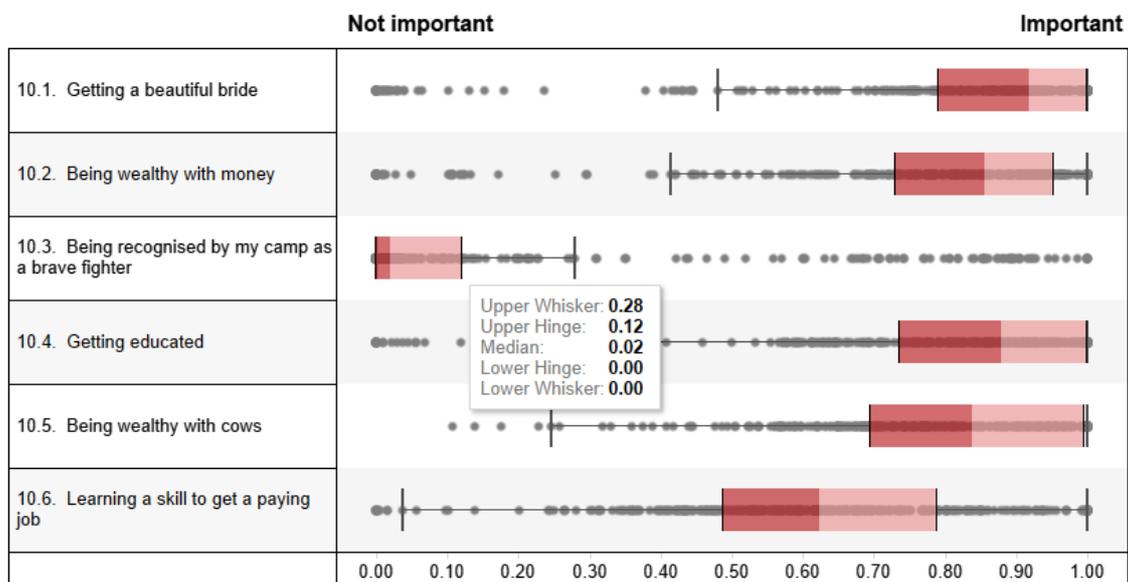
Figure 9 - women and men's priorities

Q10b. As a woman my priority right now is ...



	Mean	Median
Total	0.76	0.83
10.1	0.76	0.90
10.2	0.86	0.94
10.3	0.79	0.86
10.4	0.77	0.80
10.5	0.74	0.76
10.6	0.62	0.61

Q10a. As a man my priority right now is ...



	Mean	Median
Total	0.67	0.78
10.1	0.81	0.92
10.2	0.78	0.86
10.3	0.17	0.02
10.4	0.81	0.88
10.5	0.81	0.84
10.6	0.63	0.62

For example, being wealthy with money and being wealthy with cows have very similar distributions. In some cases, one is distinctly prioritised over another, sometimes at opposite ends of the spectrum. And there are more people who see highly limited value in money, with 9% of respondents in the first two quintiles for priority towards money, whereas only 3% for priority towards cows.

Enumerators clarify, however, that in many conversations this was not seen as an either/or, but contextually weighing the relative merits of assets in livestock, land, or cash. It also surfaced a discussion among enumerators regarding the ways in which some cattle owners are starting to see the merits of holding investments, variously in cattle, business and land development (cultivation).

Cattle have the risks of being visible and susceptible to raids and disease in particular. Businesses are particularly susceptible to market conditions and speculative risk. Land development is susceptible to natural vagaries, as well as being perceived as a more insecure livelihood (cultivation is perceived as giving greater exposure to opportunistic attack than keeping cattle). These are all dynamics of which cattle camp inhabitants are increasingly aware.

As part of this, the balance of values and risk assessment is perhaps shifting, with even some leaders and spiritual masters of cattle camp communities recognising that a legacy in property might be more attractive than a legacy in cattle. They also see the

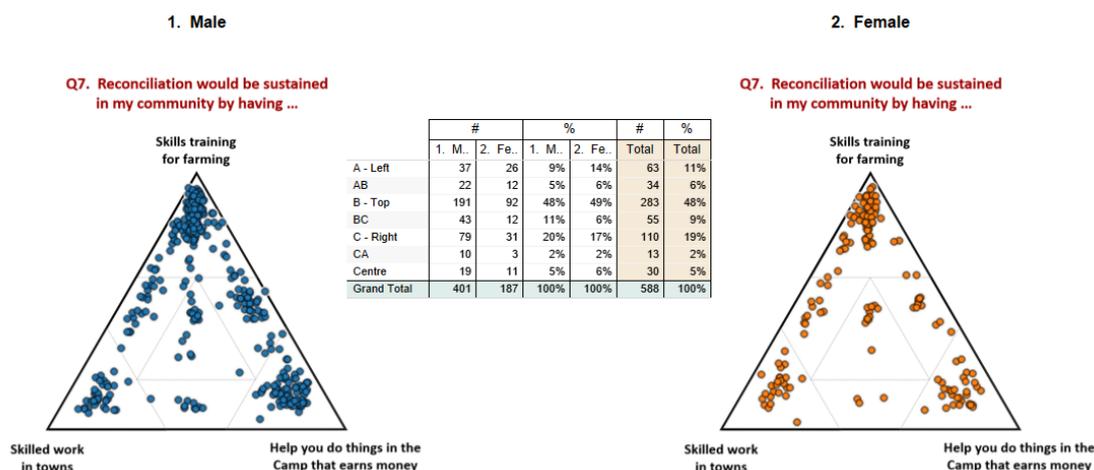
services that money can buy in education opportunities and medical support for families.

Whilst learning a skill to get a paying job was overall less of a priority for people, the reasons that were articulated in discussion with the enumerators generally focussed on the value of the investment relative to what could be achieved by other pathways – they implicitly understand opportunity cost, even if their factor analysis is skewed at times. There was a distinction on this point between the older and younger generations, where the older generations felt that the time had passed for them to learn new skills.

Being recognised by the camp as a brave fighter was generally not considered important. Those who did consider it important referred to the reputation of brave fighters, the fear that fierce fighters inspire, the songs the community will compose about you. Though there may have been some evasion on this point, it triangulates with other responses to other questions and the categorical impression from general conversation that most respondents do not value violence. Respondents referred to the very tangible risks of getting killed, as well as the more spiritual risks of being haunted by those you have killed yourself. One young boy asked the research team if they would take him back with them to go to school.

These observations are supplemented in the responses to the question linking peace drivers with economic activity. The prevailing narrative around cattle camps, including in some international NGO leadership consulted in the scoping phase, is that there is a singular and naïve preoccupation in cattle camps with... cattle. This broad reality of an emphasis on cattle is clear. However, the responses below (Figure 10) indicate there is a strong appetite for diversification, particularly in the direction of skills for farming (48%), and supporting income generation in the camps themselves (19%). This runs alongside the desire to remain directly in the agriculture sector, with opportunities in farming strongly preferred over skilled work in towns (11%).

Figure 10 - practical skills and opportunities



We discussed above the overall tendency for respondents to prefer a town future for their children over a camp future. An internally consistent interpretation of this data would be that there is a desire to move away from the *current* camp life. This is

expressed in an aspiration for children to live in town, with its better security and education, and with the caveat that there are concerns around loss of cultural heritage. For older respondents, they express it in a desire to diversify into more cultivation, which would primarily be around villages. It is important to note that in this context, cattle keeping and cultivation are not zero sum. The nomadic phase of the annual pastoral cycle naturally dovetails into the sedentary period that corresponds to the start of the rainy season. However, given the fertility of the land, it may well be that cultivation for many actors becomes a substitute. Security remains a key obstacle to realising a shift in this direction. One elder summarised the bind:

"We the elders are confused why the government is not taking away our guns. My cattle were raided and nothing left for the family consumption, my children some of them are killed by the enemies. Now that my cattle are raided what can I do to feed my family? No agriculture because of fear of being kill while cultivating, no visiting of your relative because of unknown gun."

5.2 The authority of spiritual (spear) masters

Summary: there is a strong belief in an underlying spiritual dimension to the camps' survival and prosperity. This confers significant power on the spiritual masters in whom this authority sits. Historically, this power has been deployed in broadly benevolent ways, whereas there is now a growing instrumentalization of the authority for personal gain.

There were consistent stories of the role played by spiritual masters in different aspects of community life. Their role in conflict is particularly salient from an outside perspective, but they also have a role in rain-making, endorsing individual leadership aspirations, blessing marriages, identifying and ritually blessing appropriate fishing waters and grazing grounds, and protecting communities during migration (for example, through ritual pouring of milk and goat sacrifice at river crossings). Communities will consider as cursed any ventures into unblessed territories or on unblessed missions, likely to result in death. On arrival in a new camp, a spiritual master may circle the camp, taking milk, addressing the ancestors for their protection over the community, in general and from sickness.

Their role in conflict can be positive: for example, community members wanting to avoid conflict can request the spear master to bring rain for days to remove the window of opportunity for attack. For the most part, anecdotal evidence from the enumerators suggests that their role tends to incite violence, and the spear masters themselves benefit materially from the violence. In one case, a young man who was reluctant to launch a raid was told by a spearmaster that he would be killed. As reported during the research, the young man was so convinced that there was no hope of avoiding this fate, that he was steeled to move forward with a raid. And he was killed. They have successfully constructed a narrative where all success is credited to them and all failure is attributed to force majeure. Respondent stories also mentioned their role:

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"In 2017, I was a part [...] peace dialogue between [...] and [...] sections of Rumbek central county. The dialogue was so fruitful from the beginning but later one of the spear masters who is also an Executive Chief spoiled it in less than two months. So I was really unhappy about that and up to now I don't attend most of the peace initiatives."

There is a well-known hierarchy among spearmasters across the Agar community. So whilst an individual spearmaster has some degree of authority, if his status diminishes, community members will travel further afield to find the answer they are looking for.

Whilst the spiritual masters continue to perform a benevolent role in some dimensions of community life, the trend is away from a wider community orientation towards accumulation of individual material benefit.

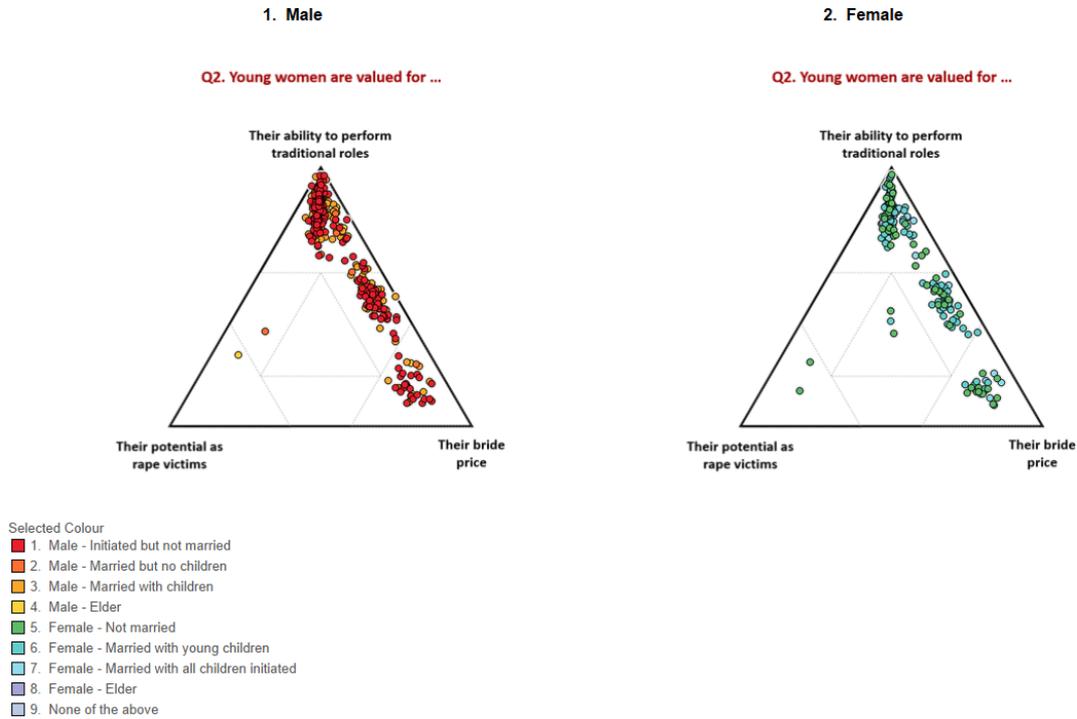
5.3 Women as a pillar in sustaining community life

Summary: there are demeaning and condescending attitudes in the camp to the human dignity of women. However, there is also a clear appreciation, at least functionally, for the central role they play in sustaining camp life. There is some degree of openness for women to enter more into spaces of leadership and decision-making, though this remains a tentative finding until we can explore it further.

... through performing traditional roles

In the signification framework, 65% of respondents indicated that women are valued primarily for their ability to perform traditional roles (Figure 11), with a significant bias towards this over even their bride price. There is no appreciable difference in distribution between the responses of women and men. A question for possible experimental interventions is how to leverage this *awareness* of the importance of women to promote further progress on women's education and empowerment.

Figure 11 - the role of women



The camps would not function or survive without the daily work of the women: they are responsible for the cooking, fetching water, tending and feeding the calves and animals unable to graze by themselves, constructing makeshift shelters to keep children and elders from the rain, collecting wild fruits and vegetable. And of course, milking the cows, the technique for which is passed down through the generations.

Each day, after the cattle are driven to the pasture, the women spread the cow dung to dry, later to create mounds that can be burned in the evening, keeping pests away. Women also decorate the shacks, build basic fences and walls. At times when the camp moves, it will be women who carry the bulk of luggage. They travel for very long distances to sell milk and purchase supplementary food items for the family back in the cattle camp.

When the cow is killed, the girls and women are ones who prepare the meat. They don't touch it. If the part of a cow is given to be prepared, they do it in a way to maintain dignity, without tasting it. They put a stick in their mouth so that no-one thinks they are tasting the meat (as if brushing their teeth). If a woman were to take any, communities believe that a curse will fall on her and she will not find a good husband in future. If the meal is well prepared, then it will be remembered and recalled by the men who have eaten.

Another specialty they prepare is butter in a hollowed out cabbage. The youth are then called inside to eat.

Women always eat last, and have to wait until the last moment of the day, in the event that any unexpected visitor should come and need feeding. Only then, if food remains, will they eat. They should not be seen eating, and so will not eat in an open place.

... strengthening its material prosperity

Men have an apparent objectifying attitude towards women, and this is culturally endorsed by the material questions around women. There are some nuances to this, however. Despite the emphasis on bride price, the value of the woman for their ability to contribute to the community's sustainability is preferred. Respondents themselves explained that if even a beautiful woman, worth many cows, has a questionable character or behavioural traits, men and their families will recognise this as a potential liability for community relations down the track.

This is confirmed in responses to men's priorities (Figure 9 above) where a beautiful bride is placed as important but in the enumerator debriefing they underlined that many people also saw issues with beautiful brides, despite the potential benefits. Beautiful women can be perceived as dishonest, and men fear they can bring problems from covetous men. They can be perceived as a source of bad luck, who bring unwanted spirits to the family, as well as difficult and expensive to maintain. They can be considered lazy, for example if they don't go for collecting wild fruits and vegetable for the family, seeing it as a less dignified task.

In relation to sexual and gender based violence, two trends were apparent. First, despite most women not considering themselves primarily a sexual object, this is not a reflection of the prevalence of gender based violence. There are many examples shared with the enumerators in informal discussion on the prevalence of rape and other gender based violence. There is a strong disincentive to reporting, to avoid being perceived as the cause of further problems. Some women do not report rape cases simply because of the stigma it carries. Others report through relatives, but rarely directly. There are anonymous counselling services in town for those who have been raped, but nothing of this nature in the cattle camps themselves. Responses are simple and bleak:

"...Once in my life time as a married woman I was actually miserable, because I don't have freedom to do my work without fear of being forced which discouraged me as a woman; no gender equality in the family."

The second is that there appears to be in the responses a strong acknowledgement of the normative injunction against rape. Men uniformly placed their responses as far as possible from this corner. This is of little succour to women currently oppressed by these dynamics; however, it indicates that it is primarily a behavioural change that interventions can target, as opposed to demanding a fundamental values shift.

... supporting its cultural life

As with other communities in South Sudan, the anecdotal evidence from respondents (outside the SenseMaker) interviews indicates women exert a pressure on the men in

many cattle camp communities. Songs are composed to encourage fighting and revenge, and the pressure extends into family homes.

One respondent recounted the example of a woman with four sons, one of whom was killed at the beginning of the crisis. She tried to communicate to the remaining brothers that they should revenge. Preparing food one evening, rather than bringing it with three spoons, one for each son, she brought four spoons. They asked why. She replied that they knew exactly what the issue was. After dinner, they took their guns and went to seek revenge.

Anecdotally, another respondent explained how after one cattle raid, the respective girlfriends of three boys left them because they reputedly did not show bravery in the battle. Another incident involved a young man with a reputation for bravery, deliberately putting himself at greater risk in a skirmish with soldiers because he knew his girlfriend was watching. He was killed in the fight.

On the other hand, women are closely involved in early warning mechanisms across camps. Women with relatives (through inter-marriage) with other communities will take it upon themselves (and at risk to themselves) to alert to the imminent threat. They certainly see a role for themselves, as one respondent indicated:

"As a woman we are not involved in the conflicts but we are the most affected. I have witnessed so many conflicts and death. No one listens to our voices otherwise we would have offered some suggestions. Young men with guns have become very hostile and out of control. I wish the government could help."

Another shared similarly:

"Life of a female in a cattle camp is very hard. Our culture dictates that women should not participate in any decision making even when the matter directly involves them. We see young men go to fight and not many of them return. If I had the capacity, I would remove all the guns. They are the cause of all our problems. Some young men do not wish to go to fight but because of pride they cannot refuse - they will be called cowards and bring shame to their families. My two brothers were killed in one attack. I am now left alone and according to our culture I don't count at all. My father is heartbroken."

Women also take the main role for singing and dancing in general, which is a sign of the prosperity of the camp. They look after the injured during the conflict, collect dead bodies and prepare them for burial, prepare food and water for the youth coming back from the fight. They also drive the cattle away when their youth are defeated, as well as looking for the lost cattle. They celebrate and praise the young men when the raided cattle are brought to the camp.

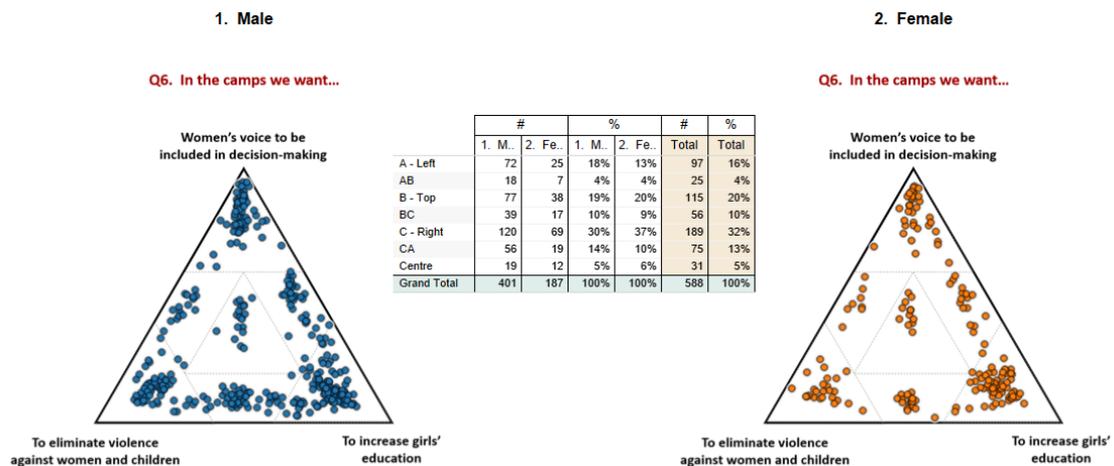
... towards a more empowered role?

There is a sign of possibly significant change, albeit with some unconvincing foundations, with regard to gender equity. We have discussed above that the issues around sexual and gender based physical violence. Their direct drivers appear to be behavioural and attitudinal, not fundamentally cultural. The structural violence or oppression does appear to be more culturally endorsed.

At the same time, looking at the aspirations of women, and then mapping that on the responses of men, we see a possible openness to higher levels of education for girls and more women’s voices in decision-making.

In relation to education, there are two findings starting to emerge from this research. The first is the aspirations of women themselves in relation to education and leadership. Getting an education is appreciably the highest aspiration for women (including married women). In an earlier question, 30% of male respondents indicated that in the camps they want ‘to increase girls’ education’ relative to including women’s voice in decision-making and eliminating violence against women and children.⁴

Figure 12 - future role of women



By contrast, their aspirations to leadership are *relatively* lower but still high. Nonetheless, though some men expressed categorical aversion to women in leadership and decision-making roles, many others placed the responsibility for women’s empowerment with women themselves.

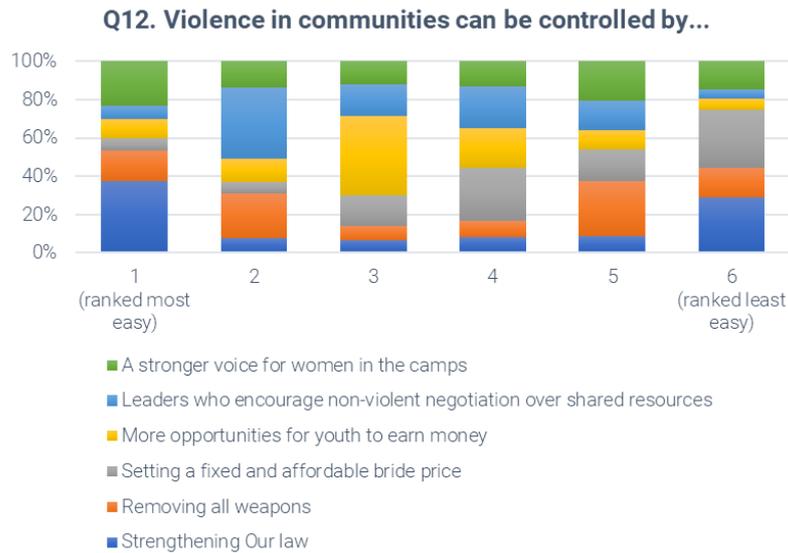
A relative openness in this area is supported by the prioritisation of issues for the future of the clan. Though ‘women to have a stronger voice’ was overall the least important, and there was a wide distribution, the mean (0.62) and median (0.67) were still well beyond the midway point of the spectrum from not important to important.

When we explored the relative ease of measures to control violence in communities (*relative ease*, not *importance*), the results are overall remarkably ambivalent. We return to this more broadly below, but draw out one point here in relation to women’s empowerment. We extracted the raw data responses, and based on the placement of pat pats looked at the relative *ranking* of the options for each respondent.

⁴ In the design of the survey, we discussed whether to include an n/a option for respondents and decided against it. Nonetheless, enumerators indicated that respondents were genuinely expressing a positive preference in their responses rather than feeling forced to choose between three undesirable realities. Moreover, given other questions where the moral wrong of violence against women, an easy way of avoiding endorsement of education and leadership for girls on this question would have been to place the *pat pat* in the corner promoting the elimination of violence against women and children.

What it shows (Figure 13) is that 23% of the pat pats ranked as ‘easiest’ by respondents were for ‘a stronger voice for women in the camps’. The only option that was more often ranked as easiest was ‘strengthening our law’. A quarter of respondents suggesting ‘a stronger voice for women in the camps’ is the low hanging fruit means there is a solid foundation for exploring this avenue further.

Figure 13 - Distribution of individual respondent answer rankings



There is an important caveat in outlining the current structural bias against women’s voices in decision-making and general leadership. That is that behind the scenes there are women who give de facto leadership; men in leadership who consult wives over key decisions, as well as the more generalised pressure that women exert in other ways, including towards violence (as discussed above).

Nonetheless, the current status of women is unequivocally inferior. The attitudes from men range along a spectrum from considering women effectively sub-human to a more open-minded, but a highly sceptical posture to the idea they might take on roles or responsibilities normally assumed by men.

5.4 Hospitality and communal responsibility

Summary: once past the threshold of trust, a cattle camp is as safe a place as anywhere in South Sudan. The commitment to sharing and selfless hosting of guests is categorical and instilled in children as part of their upbringing. This collective responsibility creates a social safety net that is preferred to town, even in relatively impoverished camps. The violent side of this communal identification exacerbates cycles of violence, which target innocent individuals and keep communities fundamentally divided from each other through the fear these cycles instil.

The process of the research itself was a lesson in the hospitality of the cattle camps. We observed this both in the pre-visit to camps to confirm permission to return for the data collection, as well as during the data collection itself.

External advice and security preparation for the research was predicated in large part on the insecurity inside the cattle camps themselves. As it turned out, once the research project was accepted, the guarantee of security from the respective cattle camps' leadership was categorical.

As part of a contribution to the community for the partially extractive data collection process, teams took bags of sugar and maize. Clearly in token volumes, these were carefully distributed according to a calculus of need within the community.

Whilst there are issues concerning the treatment of children in some cases, traditionally there has been a culture, regarded by many respondents as healthy, of communal responsibility for the upbringing of children. It would be entirely permissible for any community member to discipline a child for misbehaving.

The flipside of this arguably constructive communal responsibility manifests in the collective responsibility principle as it applies to revenge killings. The principles of dignity and restorative justice is applied at a community level. So whoever the individual perpetrator of a killing, the 'responsibility' lies with their community, not with the individual. More specifically, the community will seek revenge for an 'equivalent' person to the victim in the community of the perpetrator.

This has considerably exacerbating effects on inter-communal divisions because if community x has a blood grievance with community y, then it will not be safe for any individual from community y to move in areas controlled by community x. In building the research team, we were conscious of ensuring representation across the Agar community. However, this meant that certain team members could absolutely not travel to collect data in certain other communities.

Moreover, the danger can extend to shared spaces, for example in Rumbek town. The recent killing of an administrator of the Kiir Mayardit Women's Hospital in cold blood as he left work has absolutely nothing to do with the individual concerned; other than the killers' community considering his death commensurate to the death they were avenging.

5.5 Dignity and restorative justice in external relations

Summary: the image of a lawless, reckless mass of youth perpetrating mindless violence among themselves belies a structure and values system that is closely respected. Whilst violence is often a response to pressure, there is strong evidence that an overwhelming majority of the cattle camp respondents are increasingly conscious of the trauma it brings, and are desperate for it to end. However, a number of cultural, administrative and technological shifts are working against this aspiration. For now, the commitment to their understanding of justice, which the

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government is not guaranteeing even where there are agreements, means revenge becomes the default.

Whilst violent and entrenched, the intercommunal violence in the area has clear norms and expectations, and a system of 'honour', as part of it. These appear to have eroded relative to historical standards, but are still very much present.

Accounts of how fighters die in battle are confronting, but speak to this sense of code among conflicting communities. This is to the extent that fighters reserve the right, if overwhelmed in battle, to be killed by someone worthy of their own status. The defeated fighter will wait for such a counterpart to be called; he will be invited to share any words he may have (which may be significant in what is told in the folklore) and then is killed. This is not a recent practice. Stories from more than 40 years ago are still recounted of similar principles even when spears were used.

The responses to conflict are not straightforward. The most reductive analysis of the responses would be that there is a sub-optimal equilibrium in the relations between communities, a feature of which is that violence is all but inevitable. But it is clearly more complex.



The visibility of guns belies more nuanced stories and aspirations of those who carry them; the assumption that everyone carrying a gun wants to be part of conflict is misplaced.

First, we address the question of preference for violence. Based on the data and the informal conversations with enumerators, although a majority of young men are involved in violence, there is a small minority of cattle camp youth who demonstrate a preference for violent resolution of conflict. Putting all the data together, the majority have not only a preference for alternatives but a visceral antipathy towards violence, especially the prevalence of guns. 'Take away our guns' was the echoing theme throughout the data collection. What this implies in policy response terms is more complicated, but it reflects a disposition in the communities.

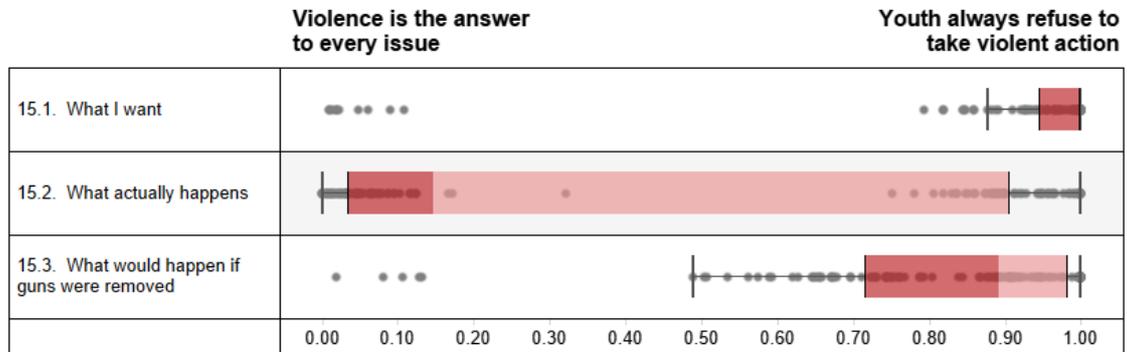
Asked to what extent, in their clan, 'violence is the answer to every issue' or 'youth always refuse to take violent action' (Figure 14), the overwhelming response was towards the refusal. This is clearly fanciful as a response, given the reality, but indicates an intention. To clarify, in the final round of data collection (two camps), we disaggregated the response to 'what happens', 'what I would like' and 'what would happen if guns were removed'. This confirmed that the reality is violent, the desire, is non-violent, and the removal of guns is presumed to reduce the resort to violence.

What drives the cattle camps?

Figure 14 - attitude to violence

Q15. In our clan ...

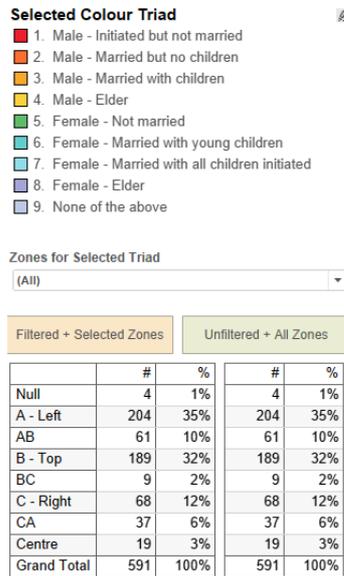
Round 3 only



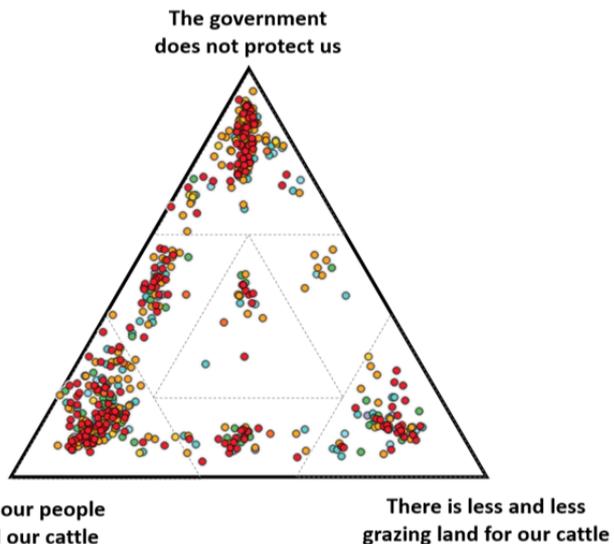
	Mean	Median
15.1. What I want	0.90	1.00
15.2. What actually happens	0.46	0.15
15.3. What would happen if guns ...	0.81	0.89

To make some more sense of this, we read it alongside the responses to two other questions. The first asked respondents why they believe they have conflict with other camps. The response options were as below in Figure 15:

Figure 15 - reasons for conflict between camps



Q4. We have conflict with other camps because ...



What emerged in the enumerator debriefing of the wide distribution of responses to this question was the intersection of various factors. Overall, the attitude that was described

was defensive and protective rather than offensive and belligerent, including historical issues. Six factors impinge on this:

First, the **guns** were previously not there, and the negotiation of sharing of pastoral lands was generally peacefully mediated. The scale of violence is directly attributable to modern automatic long barrelled personal weapons such as the ubiquitous AK-47. The shape of intercommunal violence in the area has evolved over time. In terms of weapons, the key turning point was the SPLA split in 1991. In response, there was a large scale arming of youth in Lakes State by those loyal to John Garang in order to quell the advance of forces under Riek Machar. This crude short-term tactical instrument laid the foundation for a militarised civilian population until today. By contrast, even in more recent times intra-communally violence has been used in a more controlled way to address conflict:

In ten years ago, my clan [...] went into fierce communal fighting with our counterpart clan called [...]. Both of us were from [...] section of [...] payam, Rumbek central county. Our fighting didn't involve guns because there were no guns in our hands during our time, but we were using sharp spears instead of guns. In the fighting, I was seriously wounded on my arms. After a week, the traditional chiefs intervened and blood compensations were made for the deceased and lastly the reconciliation was made successfully until today.

Second, the **mediator** traditionally would have been a neutral community third party. It is perceived as a sign of weakness to seek dialogue, hence the traditional resort to a third party to broker an engagement. Given the emerging configuration of alliances, there are no longer neutral parties in the same way. This leaves a vacuum insofar as there is an expectation on government to perform this function, and yet the perception in the camps is that they rarely do so. In many cases the government's inaction or ill-considered action is perceived as exacerbating the problem:

"In 2018, we were told to migrate to Rumbek North by the state government. We told them to wait for our crop to be harvest but they were impatient, they burnt down our products and forced us to go to our remote areas. On the process my first wife felt sick and die instantly. We migrated to Yiol instead and also had a fight with people from Yiol, our cattle were raided but I managed to come back to Rumbek. This story had never gone off my mind up to now. But I later understand that failure to respect the government laws is so harmful to our lives."

Another respondent described the role of government:

"I am from a cattle [camp] call [...]. Our cattle were raided. We followed them and found who took them. At first the local authorities intervened and agreed to return the cattle. We went back and waited as told but they didn't return the cattle as promised. We decided to go back and find out why they did not return the cattle. In that process misunderstanding took place and conflict started. 18 people from my section were killed and 10 people from their side. At the end young boys brought back the cattle."

The general customs of respect between communities have also faded in some cases – so where some communities in principle do not object to respectful requests for sharing land and pasture, they will retaliate with force if another community presumes to migrate to their territory unannounced.

Third, where there was previously a much greater prevalence of camps comprised of a **mixture of communities** and a general principle of comity, increasingly camps are more homogenous in composition and, where it is mixed, on the basis of protective alliances. Previously, revenge killings were more targeted to the family unit concerned, but now there is a broader targeting of whole communities. This becomes a reinforcing cycle where, despite inter-marriages, movement is highly restricted – even after a peace agreement, as one story underlined:

"In 2017 during [...] and [...] sections of Rumbek Centre and Rumbek North peace initiative, I happened to visit my maternal uncle from [...] community with assumption that we are in peace. When I reached a place called [...], less than a mile from the main town, one of our enemies saw me and started shooting at me immediately with nine (9) bullets but fortunately, he missed the target and I was eventually rescued by people of good will and Almighty God and I was advised to go back to our home village of [...]. This means that there was no room for peaceful coexistence because our minds are preoccupied by culture of violence."

Some individuals are of such 'value' that they don't leave their community boundaries at all. This in turn makes dialogue more challenging, as invariably these same individuals are key to effective peace agreements.

Fourth, discrepancies between **traditional and current administrative boundaries** further muddled the waters on who actually has traditional presence and 'ownership' of the land. Such disputes under British rule were resolved with blunt measures, including in one case of the disputed claim to Kabur – the two claimant communities were instructed to cook a meal in their hometowns, set out for the disputed territory and whoever should arrive with the food still hot would be confirmed as the rightful owners. This remains a disputed border to this day.

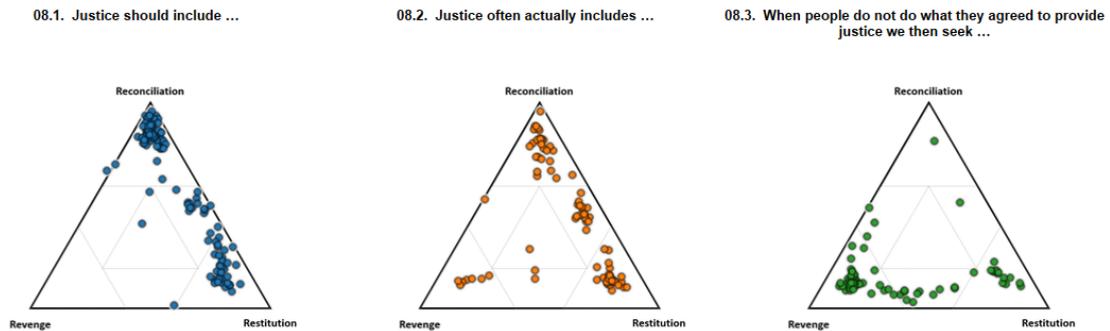
Somewhat surprisingly, between cattle raiding, loss of grazing and failure of government response, the emphasis lay primarily between the raiding and the government response. The perception is that now the responsibility for protection lies with government, and that they are not acquitting that responsibility.

Fifth, a systemic failure to meet the **need for restitution**. There is a strong overall bias towards resolving conflict peacefully. We initially did not ask the standard question to assess preference between reconciliation, revenge, and restitution. However, to seek validation of the qualitative indications, we did add it to the framework for the final round of data collection (n=80) to gauge the response. 73% of respondents situated their preference at reconciliation, restitution or in between the two. Only 18% squarely preferred revenge.

These values hold across gender, role in family and age filters, suggesting strong ubiquity and a genuine basis for using traditional justice as a basis for future conflict resolution regimes between camps. Supporting this prioritisation was the response to the question on the factors blocking peaceful co-existence, where average and median responses to 'revenge is necessary when one of us is killed' were lower than for 'guns are everywhere', 'no respect for our law', and 'less and less grazing land for our cattle'. At the same time, such is the insistence on effective restitution as a pre-requisite to peaceful resolution that revenge is regularly, if not always, the fall-back resolution. When

the general failure of restitution meets with the culture of collective, not individual criminal responsibility, the cycle of violence is locked in.

Figure 16 - revenge, reconciliation and restitution as responses



This is the nub of issues with peace agreements. Though there are a number of peace agreements that have been brokered in response to specific conflicts, on the whole these have ultimately failed, often precipitated by one off killings or events that are not sanctioned by the community leaders. Two features of the approaches to peace agreements stand out:

First, restitution arrangements are unsatisfactory. In some cases, there is provision for them, and in other cases not. In most cases, it appears that the overall package of restitution is insufficient to be accepted in the long term.

Second, there are no mechanisms, or unrealistic mechanisms, for conflict preventing triggers leading to a rapid conflagration rather than a resolution process, as noted succinctly by another respondent:

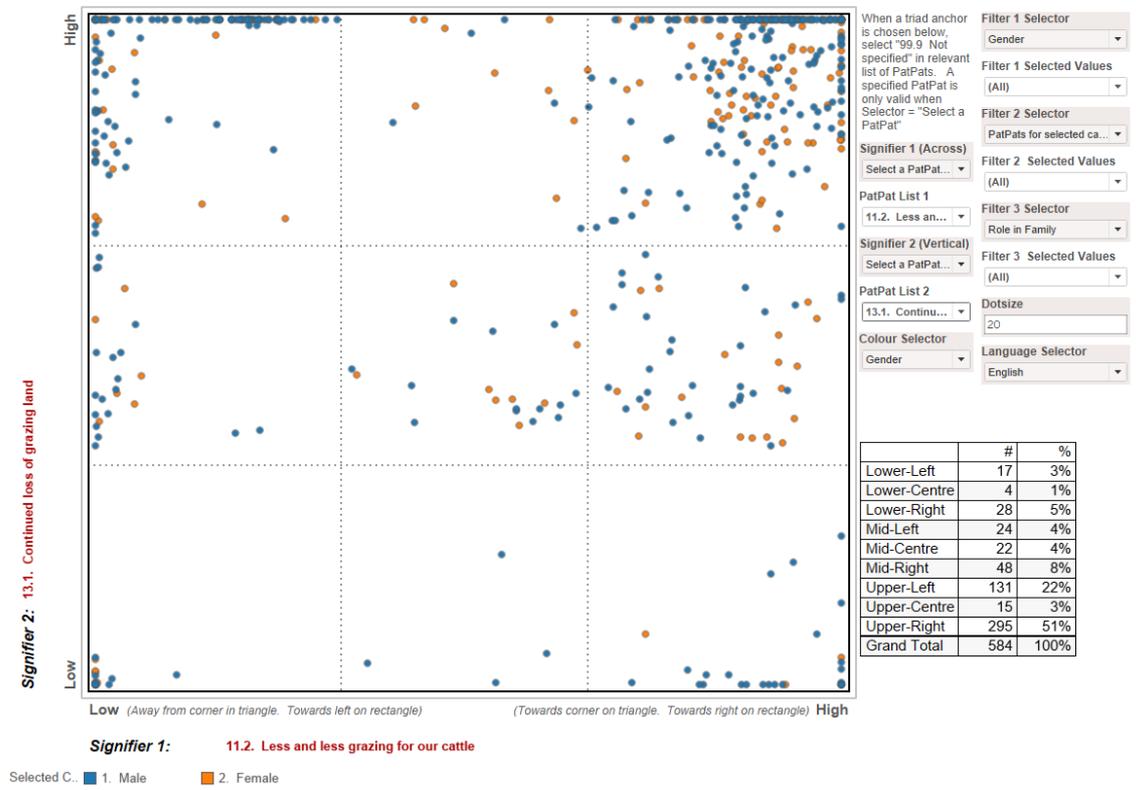
"In 2017, all the Paramount chiefs, executive chiefs, gelweng youth leaders, elders and the intellectuals of greater Rumbek were brought together by the government and NGOs peace partners in an attempt to curve down the boiling communal conflict and violence in three areas of Rumbek Centre, Rumbek North and Rumbek East counties.

The initiative went successfully and many rituals and ceremonies were conducted in praise for successfulness of peace. But nevertheless, it wasn't hold for long. It got collapse in 2018 in the hand of thieves and merciless cattle raiders."

Finally, we turn to the critical question of **grazing land**. In Figure 15 - reasons for conflict between camps, access to grazing land presents as *relatively* less salient to respondents as a conflict driver. However, two triangulation points were included in the design for grazing land. In question 11.2 ('the factors blocking peaceful coexistence are...'), it is likewise *relatively* less important than other options, though still important. However, in question 13.1 ('in the future, the biggest problems will be...'), respondents perceived it much more consistently as an issue. The combination of those responses is seen in Figure 17 below:

What drives the cattle camps?

Figure 17 - concerns over loss of grazing land



What it shows is that, when viewed on its own terms, the issue of grazing land is categorically perceived as a concern, with over half of respondents situating it as both a 'high' block to peaceful coexistence *and* highly dangerous in the future. More than three quarters see it as a highly dangerous in the future.

Before settling on intervention responses, it will be important to inquire further into the objective environmental factors. It would be flawed to assume in future programming that there simply needs to be a better negotiation over migration routes, if indeed there is already or is likely to be in the foreseeable future an objective scarcity.

In terms of possible ways of controlling the violence between communities, we explore this in the next section.

5.6 Hierarchy, discipline and responsibility

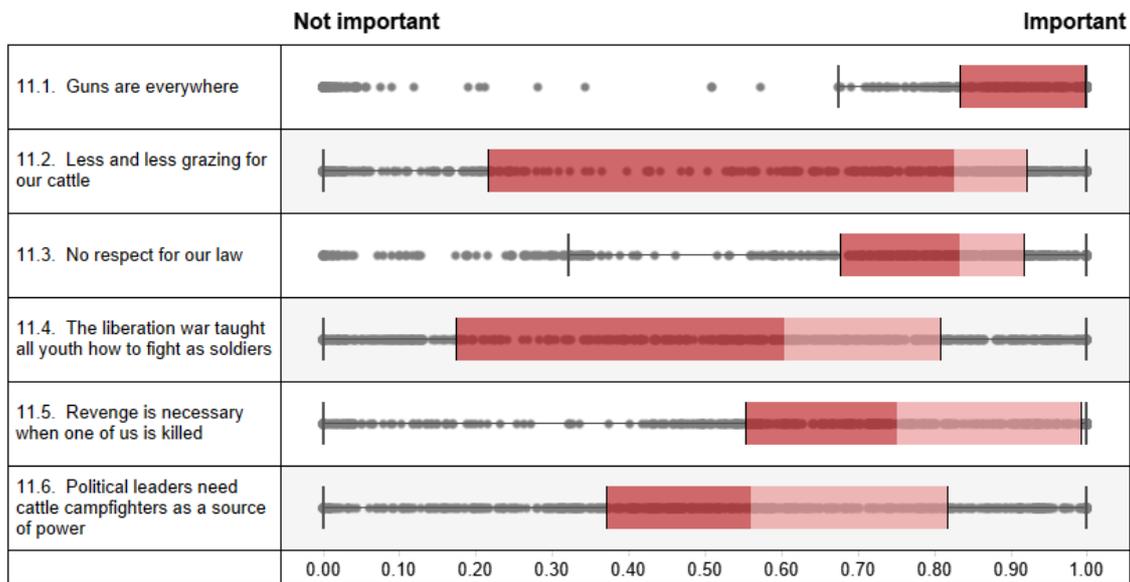
Summary: the cattle camp youth are direct perpetrators of violence, and this is the fruit of carefully planned and coordinated attack. Random, unsanctioned attacks appear to be the exception, not the rule. The erosion of the rule of law is lamented by many in the camps, as they also point to the inciting role played by a number of external actors, including 'intellectuals' in Rumbek town, Juba and the diaspora. The capacity for systems and organisation is confirmed in the daily operations of the camps, which require a significant level of skill, specialisation and

cooperation to meet the community needs. The traditional concept of *kon koc* ('wait a minute'), whereby communities would ascertain the underlying cause of an issue before retaliating, has been almost completely eroded.

There is an overwhelmingly strong desire for the guns to be taken away and destroyed, despite a very small minority who thrive on the violent culture. When asked about the factors blocking peaceful co-existence, the first named issue is 'guns are everywhere', with more than half of respondents placing the issue as far to the end of the spectrum as possible.

Figure 18 - factors blocking peaceful coexistence

Q11. The factors blocking peaceful co-existence are...



	Mean	Median
11.1. Guns are everywhere	0.81	1.00
11.2. Less and less grazing for our..	0.63	0.83
11.3. No respect for our law	0.74	0.83
11.4. The liberation war taught all ..	0.53	0.60
11.5. Revenge is necessary when ..	0.70	0.75
11.6. Political leaders need cattle ..	0.57	0.56



A youth leader, killed two days after this photo was taken

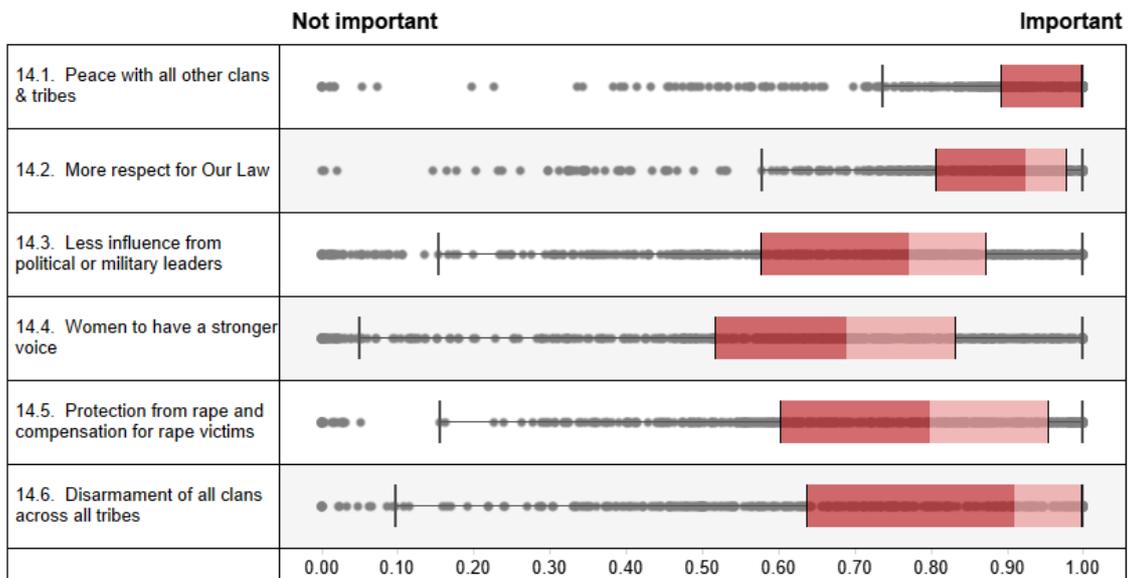
This boy hopes that he can go to school one day.

A group of girls who echoed the hope that guns would be taken away.

When asked about the future and the prioritisation of issues, the emphasis on peace and respect for the law was also pronounced.

Figure 19 - hopes for the future

Q14. In the future my clan wants ...



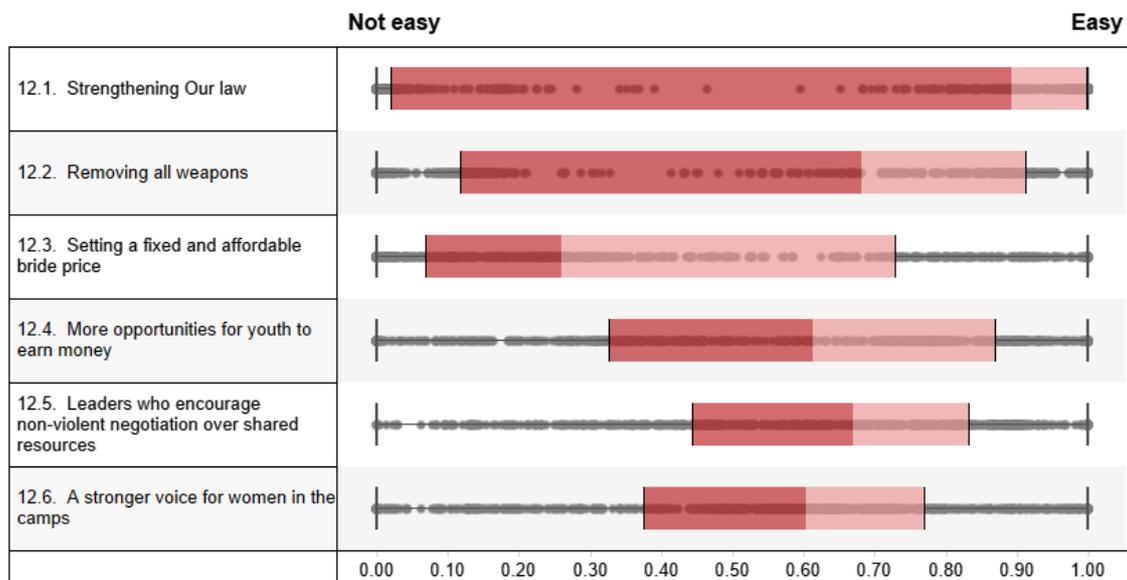
	Mean	Median
14.1. Peace with all other clans & t..	0.91	1.00
14.2. More respect for Our Law	0.86	0.92
14.3. Less influence from political ..	0.69	0.77
14.4. Women to have a stronger v..	0.64	0.69
14.5. Protection from rape and co..	0.74	0.80
14.6. Disarmament of all clans acr..	0.79	0.91

We also asked respondents how easily they considered 'violence between communities can be controlled by...' different measures. The responses are in Figure 20. The

responses here are widely distributed, and serve more as a context to ongoing conversations than as a guidance on which measures are conclusively easier or more difficult than others.

Figure 20 - relative difficulty of conflict mitigation measures

Q12. Violence between communities can be controlled by...



	Mean	Median
Total	0.55	0.61
12.1	0.60	0.89
12.2	0.54	0.68
12.3	0.37	0.26
12.4	0.58	0.61
12.5	0.62	0.67
12.6	0.56	0.60

In the wider conversations between enumerators and respondents, the latter lamented the breakdown in traditions and the rule of law. Some trends could be explored on this question: for example, some camp leaders suggest that there is a direct link between the resort to violence, on the one hand, and whether or not the group’s leadership is in town or in the camp, on the other. They propose that camps where the leaders are in town are less able to exert their authority over the behaviour of the youth; both specifically in relation to violent aggression against other communities, and the social behaviours (drinking etc) that support the conditions for violent aggression.

Camp community members often referenced their perception of the negative role of the ‘intellectuals’ in town. Cattle camps perceive them as detached, superior, and often responsible for inciting communities to violence: both in propagating unsubstantiated rumours and in financial and material support for firearms and ammunition. This material support extends also from the diaspora, with repeated references to one individual from the Dinka Agar community in Australia. Much of the local supply is facilitated by well-known figures who have direct links to arms and munitions supplies.

The business place in one town centre where arms and munitions can be bought is well known.

Beyond the data collection, the research project underlines the capabilities and behaviours that characterise general camp life. From the young boys diligently parading their bull each evening after returning to the camp, to the practising of hand to hand fighting with sticks, crafting shields from buffalo skins, to learning fishing from their elders. Women prepare the dung piles for burning in the evenings, and pound grains in small holes dug in the ground, taught the technique by their elders. There are particular roles for those who castrate bulls and those responsible for initiation ceremonies.

Unsurprisingly, some of the keenest capability surrounds the cows themselves. One boy may be responsible for looking after up to 100 cows, and yet will be able to identify each individual cow and the specific rope that is used to tie each one, and the same rope is always used. The expertise for making the ropes themselves is in the camps. Creating the shape of the horns is an arguably cruel process, but is a skill that is diligently cultivated by a few in each camp. The final form will be easily recognisable to the craftsman and the owner.

Every cow is individually identifiable without any system of branding, and it is the responsibility of the cattle keepers to have a forensic inventory of their stock. The identification process is so well honed that boys from camps will be sent to cattle auctions in town, with instructions to call back if they see any cows previously raided from their community that are being sold at the market. 'Cattle laundering' therefore requires more sophisticated systems of trade/exchange across the national cattle market that take the stolen cows sufficiently far from the owners' realistic reach.

The normalisation of death in the lives of these camps cannot be captured in a research report. Whilst never accepting violence against them, and taking revenge where necessary, there is a pervasive resignation to normalisation of violence and death. In the first visit to one of the cattle camps, enumerators engaged with tens of young men who warmly welcomed them, participated as respondents, and told their stories. In that one camp alone, two respondents were killed within 48 hours of the research team's visit. The retaliatory response is vigorous, focussed and brutal, but it is a fundamental mischaracterisation of the camp values and spirit to believe that the majority of youth enjoy it. Many despise it, despite knowing little else. And there is little prospect of them knowing anything different until, as they see it, most likely they are also killed.

6 Moving forward

This research is designed to provide a basis for moving forward. As much as the findings above provide a basis for understanding how the cattle camps see themselves, the *process* of the research has provided a basis of relationships and trust that we can build on. In each of the validation visits, the community leaders remarked that when we had initially said we would come back, they hadn't believed us.

To consolidate this foundation, and maintain an emphasis on process rigour, we propose below a set of principles that would guide the design of prototype interventions.

At present, the camp spirit expresses both an aspiration to a more prosperous, secure future and a resignation to the current, violently bleak reality. Aware of the aspiration side of the coin, and the ways in which the *wuor* can be peace drivers, we have an opportunity to nudge communities in that direction, and build confidence that there are ways out of the current reality. Some of those will require support of other actors, some will be in their power to engage with.

6.1 Guiding principles

1. **Taking a strengths-based approach.** The research underlines that the cattle camps have many of the fundamental values, aspirations, capabilities and behaviours that can support prosperity. There are some gaps that can be supported with outside support of different varieties. If this outside support is injected through the strongest channels, there may be scope for marked early progress. This equally applies to the role of the 'intellectuals' in Rumbek, Juba and the diaspora. Whilst they currently also contribute to conflict, their education, networks and mobility are a potential source of strength for development.
2. **Emphasising mutual roles and responsibilities.** One feature of many peace agreements has been the weakness in systems of 'follow up'. Part of this is a question of design, and insisting that agreements between communities, or between communities and government, or between communities and NGOs, articulate credible and specific commitments from all parties. These commitments should be accompanied with consequences for 'breaches' that are likewise realistic and credible. An enforcement mechanism could take a variety of forms, and there should be collective responsibility for its implementation, which implies consequences when it is not implemented. A key part of this involves peace actors rejecting agreements whose success relies on highly improbable events, such as a short-term, comprehensive disarmament exercise.
3. **Supporting a renewal of appropriate traditional mechanisms.** There is a gradual erosion of traditional mechanisms, to varying degrees in different communities and in different aspects of community life. This would be a loss in any circumstances, and is exacerbated because modern mechanisms have not effectively assumed those roles. The conversation around this may well link in

particular to education initiatives (see pt 6 below) and dialogue systems (pt 4). It will also likely involve dialogue processes within communities, working closely with the traditional leaders in the design process.

4. **Promoting dialogue processes and systems, not only events.** As with other areas in South Sudan, there have been a range of different 'dialogues' and peace agreements. Some have appeared relatively successful as an event, including identifying mechanisms for follow-up of the agreement. However, in practice the degree of follow through has been limited, and space for more intentional learning from past breakdowns in agreements. In this sense, the process around dialogue needs more rigour and realism. Dialogues also, understandably, tend to be initiated as response mechanisms after conflict has taken place, and there is much less attention given to dialogue systems that mediate differences long before they arrive at a moment of conflagration. This also links to the need for a sufficiently robust system that is resilient to one off conflict incidents (often revenge killings) after long periods of peace. These in turn often trigger immediate eruptions of inter-communal violence, as described above.
5. **Testing the openness towards women's empowerment through education and leadership.** If anything, the free-riders of the cattle camps – in terms of basic survival – are the young men. The central role of women and girls is recognised by everyone, and as discussed above, there appears to be an openness for more empowerment of women. This may prove not to be the case, but interventions should both pro-actively test this appetite as well as design approaches that nudge further towards women-oriented education and leadership programmes. These should also address women's role in conflict and avoid singularly characterising women as victims; the structural violence and oppression in cattle camps is not split along gender lines, but clearly manifests in different ways along gender lines.
6. **Working collaboratively on multiple fronts.** It is impossible to identify in advance *the* intervention to pursue. Effective efforts will emerge through learning over time. This also demands a portfolio approach that can target opportunities in multiple areas simultaneously, adapting (and amplifying or dampening) as the feedback loops come in. A portfolio approach that includes systematic service delivery (eg mobile clinics or mobile education) also creates a package of incentives that can be part of community agreements. The provision of the services would be predicated on the community meeting its obligations under the agreement. For this multi-dimensional approach to work, a programme of activity will need a collaborative effort among external actors, especially the development agencies and organisations.
7. **Government should be included, consulted, encouraged, and at the same time expectations of Government should remain realistic.** The apparatus of State is a potential lever, and the support and ownership of government is a potential strength. At the same time, the reality is that South Sudan's politics remains volatile, and whilst there are structures of state at the sub-national level, the policy leadership can change dramatically, frequently and with very little notice.

The antipathy towards government from the camps, and a sense of neglect by the government, is not surprising in this regard. With this in mind, interventions should seek to be realistic about the extent to which Government takes a fundamental role, as opposed to an authorising and supportive role.

These principles are all based in an assumption that **pastoralism still has a positive, sustainable role to play in South Sudan's cultural, economic and social identity**. This means, for example, that education may not only be about drawing more young people to schools in towns but crafting bespoke mobile curricula that have stronger agricultural and traditional components. Skills training may not be about substituting for cattle keeping but supplementing it. Governance may not be about subsuming cattle camps under modern administration, but building its own strength in a way that is complementary.

A networked approach that aims to distribute leadership and draw on the collective wisdom of the community can build resilience into programmatic interventions. So far, the reception to the POF approach has been positive, including for its emphasis on this dimension. We will continue to work on embedding it through the next steps.

6.2 Intervention opportunities

Flowing from the findings and the principles above, we propose a set of experimental interventions, each to be piloted in up to 10 camps and then expanded or scaled down based on an iterative, adaptive approach; [in brackets are the *wuor* that the proposal is tied to]. These are not proposed as a menu to choose from, but as a set of inter-related and inter-dependent initiatives – all may not be required, but some will clearly be ineffectual without others. These relationships will be further mapped out in a concept note for Phase 2:

1. **Negotiation of 'live' community peacebuilding agreements** [5.5]. Based on the experiences so far, pure peace agreements do not have a successful track record, in part because there is no mechanism for enforcing consequences if they are breached (as opposed to a mechanism being outlined but with no substantive power accompanying it). The proposal here is to shift into community agreements with cattle camps, where other service components of an intervention can be tied to parties meeting their commitments: these commitments could include, for example, not instigating violence, engaging in dialogue with other communities, and allowing relevant communities to pass through their traditional land.
2. **Cattle migration and governance conference in November 2020** [5.4, 5.5, 5.6]. The patterns of violence demonstrably have a cyclical dimension to them. One of the triggers is the movement in the dry season to find water points and food for cattle. A migration conference would create the opportunity to bring together key actors around an issue that all recognise as problematic. The agenda of such a conference would also identify what monitoring mechanisms are in fact realistic for ensuring the peaceful implementation of the outcomes. This would need to include the issue of cattle thefts that will inevitably continue to arise in the

medium term by virtue of the proximity of camps in the dry season. Previous migration conferences have often been limited to the inside of a day due to funding constraints, which necessarily means that the output is more likely to reflect formal rather than substantive (and collectively owned) agreement.

3. **Agricultural equipment and life skills training programs for young men** [5.1, 5.6]. The desire for farming skills is one of the clearest findings from the research, and should be integral to any suite of activities. There are existing frameworks within DFID (DFID, 2015) for thinking about the form this could take from a livelihoods perspective, and the design could supplement this with peacebuilding components and commitments as well. The key design feature this needs to integrate is a credible approach to security for cultivation activities, which is identified as the key obstacle for many of the cattle camp young men.
4. **Children's mobile education, including a co-designed cultural component** [5.1, 5.6]. Based on the strong desire for better education, but the fear around loss of culture, an education intervention that blends the two has significant potential. A curriculum with modest scope that is in part co-designed with the communities has significant potential.
5. **Women's peace forums within and between the camps** [5.3]. The finding around women's desire for education and a greater voice was strong. The finding around men's openness to greater women's empowerment is weaker. We propose starting among women in the camps with a more focussed space for exploring the role of women in peace and conflict.
6. **Inter-camp cultural and sporting exchanges** [5.2, 5.4]. These types of interventions are often maligned as ineffectual, but are rarely integrated to a wider program of activity. Creating ever-increasing non-violent touch points of exchange between communities can over time diminish the ease with which young people resort to conflict. It is not a strategic approach on its own, but can be effective in complementing more substantive initiatives.
7. **Regional leadership network** [5.1, 5.3, 5.5, 5.6]. As well as establishing links with the leadership in these cattle camps, the POF team has identified a representative group of about 60 key intellectuals and community leaders across the conflict system to begin developing as a network. Given the role of those outside the camps in conflict, and as potential peace actors, a mechanism for engaging them is important. This research provides a point of convergence to begin that conversation.

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Annex 1 – Cattle camp portraits



Malek / Tung Akoon

Tung-Akoon is in Malek Payam on Rumbek North road towards Maper, approximately 75 miles from Rumbek town. Its population comprises Rup and Pakam sub-tribes of the Dinka Agar community. It is a medium size cattle camp with approximately 10,000 herd of cattle.

It has a small dam which was dug during the construction of Rumbek North road. This dam is used as a source of water for animals and human consumption. The majority living in Tung-Akoon cattle camp are young men, women and children.

The main food is milk supplemented occasionally with whatever women would have bartered for using milk. They do not cultivate.

Women and young girls are the ones who carry out the main chores like, cooking, cleaning and tending the calves. Young men are often out looking after the cattle and only return in the evening.

The security of the camp is taken seriously, and this is performed by young men. The entire camp perimeter is fenced using thorny trees and scrubs to protect people and cattle from wild animals and any outside attack. Because of their numbers, they believe they are stronger than other Agar communities.

Tung Akoon is a seasonal camp, not spending more than three weeks in one location. They move frequently in search of green pasture and water once the seasonal dam dries up during some months.

During the wet season, Tung Akoon is cut off completely for almost six months from the rest of the Agar communities. There is no network connection, making it difficult to communicate with the people in the cattle camp.

The majority of young men and boys have no formal education. They are taught informally by elders how to look after cattle and defend the cattle from outside attack.

It is common to see underage boys carrying a gun.

They believe in traditional spiritual leaders who perform different ritual ceremonies and sacrifices, which are made often to appease gods for the protection from outside evils and enemies.

Gan

Gan is situated at the bank of Bhar el Naam (River Naam), about 20 kilometres North East of Pacong Town. It is inhabited by five sections of Agar community: Athoi, Kuei, Nyuei, Panyaar and Kook.

It is a large cattle camp with approximately 21,000 herd of cattle.

The common form of trade is barter trade, exchanging goods like milk, flour, fish and other food items. The main source of water for human consumption is Bhar el Naam and a dug well around the cattle camp.

Their administrative unit is the *gelweng* leaders of the five sections supported by local chiefs and elders.

Gan cattle camp also attracts fishermen and women from other allied communities who come to fish along Bhar el Naam. This has provided business opportunities between the fishermen's communities and cattle keepers.

The main road between Gan and Pacong is always busy during the dry season. It is considered safe to travel anytime. People and goods move freely. The cattle camp is less populated during the wet season as some families would travel to the village to cultivate.

Gan is a contested area because of the Bhar el Naam and the vast land call 'toc' in Dinka. It is a major point of conflict between different sections within Agar community.

The living conditions are considered average compare to other communities because of the barter trade between the cattle keepers and the fishermen all year round. It is also because of its proximity to Pacong town. Women from Gan would travel to Pacong town to sell milk.

The entire camp is fenced to prevent any attack from outside enemies and from wild animals.

There are clear distinctions of roles and responsibilities, young men look after the cattle and keep general security of the camp, whereas women carry out all domestic chores including but not limited to tending to calves and preparing meals for the family.

Apart from looking after the cattle, some youth engage in fishing as an additional activity.

In Gan cattle camp, they stay longer in one place than other camps. During the wet season, they move closer to higher ground towards Pacong Town.

It is a large cattle camp inhabited by Rup and Panyar with ~15,000 herd of cattles.





Among-Piny

Among-Piny is located approximately 75 miles North East of Rumbek town. Its current composition is from Aliap, Beer and Panyon communities.

These communities migrated there as a result of continuing conflict with other Agar communities; specifically, the communities of Kuei, Pakam of Malek, and Athoi.

It is considered a large cattle camp with approximately 15,000 herd of cattle. In the most recent conflict, they reported their cattle have been raided, hence the numbers now living in Among-Piny who do not have cattle.

Among-Piny is completely cut off from Paloc and Rumbek town due to the ongoing conflict.

The main transport means is using the *boda boda*. People are regularly ambushed and killed on the main road to Among-Piny.

The overcrowding has caused major problems and as a result there is scarcity of food and clean water for both animals and human consumption.

The entire area has no network coverage, making it difficult to communicate with the central authorities in Rumbek. There is a clinic that was once operated by CUAMM – but it is no longer operating. The health nurses have left because of the conflict.

Although the community in Among-Piny do not have good relationship with some of the communities in the former Western Lakes state, they however enjoy a good relationship with the community of Panyjier of Unity State. This relationship was as a result of peace dialogue between these two communities and has lasted since 2016 – they enjoy free movement of goods and people. It has promoted the little business opportunity they enjoy now.

Also included in this agreement is the introduction of blood compensation and cattle recovery which the two communities continue to observe.

The famous Bhar el Naam is about 20 kms away from Among-Piny and because of the hostility with the surrounding communities they cannot access the river, which would otherwise have been a good source of water for their animals and for fishing.

The cattle camps travel more than three hours to access water for their animals. This makes it very tiring for both human and animals on a daily basis.

Among-Piny is also considered a supply route of guns and ammunition through Panyjier.

Mading Boor

Mading boor is located 17km South East of Rumbek town. It is inhabited by Aliam Toc 1&2 and its population is approximately 2,500 people.

It is also along Bhar el Naam, adjacent to Thiakuei and Bhar el Naam bridge. It is situated in the middle of Aliam Toc 1 and 2. It is a swampy land.

The community's main economic activities are fishing, cultivating tobacco and locally found vegetables during the dry season.

The nearest health clinic is in Aduel and Panawach.

They are also involved in local trade of exchanging milk with other food items.

Youth from Mading Boor are heavily armed to protect their cattle and properties. The relationship with other communities is not good. They are involved in cattle theft, revenge killing, cattle exchange and road ambushes.

Like other cattle camps, they have fenced the entire camp to prevent cattle theft and wild animal from entering the camp.

It is on the main road to Juba which gives it easy access.



Madoi

Madoi is about 75 miles south east from Rumbek town. The communities living in Madoi are from Rup, Aliam Toc 1&2 and Kuei. It is adjacent to Bhar el Naam which is one of river Nile tributaries and it provides a good fishing ground for the cattle keepers of Madoi.

Madoi, with its vast rocky and thick bushes, provides a good grazing land for the cows and that is why they love it around there. It also provides home to many varieties of wild animals.

The community depends on fishing and milk and agriculture during wet season. The native community of Madoi area keep bees, which they exchange with milk from the cattle keepers.

The cattle keepers of Madoi and the local communities of Belle of Mvolo and Wulu have a good relationship. These two communities have reached a peaceful agreement on how to share farming and grazing land, which generally holds. They have developed set of rules and regulations that govern them and it is monitored by elders from these communities.

The only community that has conflict with the cattle camp Madoi are the Atuot community of Yirol county who are also cattle keepers.

The road to Madoi is a national main road that connects Juba, Yei, Mundri, Mambe and Maridi. It is the only accessible road that connects former Western Lakes State to the Juba.

Nearby Mvolo is also a main entry point of guns and ammunitions to greater Lakes state which makes it a key town for the cattle keepers.

Juu

Juu cattle camp is situated at the bank of Bhar el Naam. It is located at the North East part of Rumbek town, approximately 13 miles from Rumbek. It is a small size cattle camp of about 6000 herd of cattle. It is largely inhabited by Nyang and small sections of Pakam.



Its main source of water is from Bhar el Naam and dug well that they use for animal and human consumption.

There are business people, mainly fishermen who live around Juu cattle camp. They have negotiated with the cattle keepers so that they can stay around the cattle camp. Both communities benefit from the other. They participate in barter trade, mainly exchanging milk, flour and fish.

Because of its proximity to Rumbek town, women from Juu would travel the 13 miles by foot to sell their milk products. The main path through the thick forest is frequently busy which also makes it dangerous as people are attacked on the road.

It is also adjacent to Lake Akau which is another source of fish for the cattle keepers and it provides water for their animals.

Juu is a swampy and semi desert environment; there are no trees.

Juu enjoys good relationship with many neighbouring communities of Pakam and some sections of Aliam Toc 1 & 2. They consider the area of Juu to be their ancestral land.

The area around Juu attracts other communities because of the Bhar el Naam and Lake Akau as a source of fishing – it is a potential conflict point as well.

It is populated during dry season and less populated during wet season as majority of cattle keepers go back to their villages to cultivate.

Annex 2 – representative enumerator narratives

During the synthesis workshops, enumerators were invited to share two stories from their own experience of the research process – one where they felt hopeful about the future of the cattle camps, and one where they felt discouraged about the future of the cattle camps. They gave each one a title, and a selection are included below.

Tragedy that involved death of six family members

When I had a conversation with one of the respondents at Tung-akoon cattle camp, she told me a very shocking story about a night shooting which occurred in 2015 as a result of revenge killing on family. The incident happened at 12:00am, when unknown gunmen suspected to be from Gok came and killed her husband and her 4 children plus her co-wife on spot. She narrowly survived the death with minor injuries on her body. Nevertheless, it was not only the killing of human beings but 18 cows were also killed in the shooting. However, the perpetrators remained at large without being brought to book for justice. Not only this kind of story but a lot of its kind are happening in the cattle camp and no justice system that is taking its course. This traumatic experience gave me sleepless nights (nightmares) during research time, therefore, the future of the cattle camp is not very clear now at all.

Building trust with cattle camp youth

Before I went to the cattle camp, my attitude was that they were not actually good in building trust but now what's said about them is not true at all. As we reached at the camp, they welcome us even when some of us didn't know them and interact with them. After welcoming us, we started the work. A certain man tells me that if a woman is included in the decision making, there will be no more corruption in power sharing and we are fed up of carrying guns.

The hope for revival of traditional laws & cultures in the camp

Throughout the research, we visited to various camps. We were well received and taken care of in terms of security, feeding and among others, by gelweng youth leaders of the above mentioned camps. We built trust with them that lead to high level of interaction in a friendly manner. We conducted our research peacefully and successfully in those three cattle camps without all kinds of fear.

In the end when we were about to leave each camp, there was one common question and word of hospitality which all of them said; when will you come back to us?; "We will miss you". This gives me a hope that one day in the near future, the cattle camp live will become normal if rule of law and traditional justice is restored.

The impact of living in uncleaned environment

Based on the observation I made from three camps which I have visited, the general environment and living conditions for the people were not good, especially during the rainy season. For instance, when we visited Madoi cattle camp, we stayed for two days and on the third day, the rain was raining at night and almost everyone – the children, the youth, ladies and elderly people – came and disturbed us seriously in our tents as well as in the car because of the rain. We condoned the situation till morning when the whole camp became very dirty with a lot of flies that can easily affect the human health. I began to lose my eating appetite since then until I left the camp because of such environment.

The vulnerability and negligence of gender in Lakes State conflict have great impact on women and young girls

In our time, the team visited Tung- kon cattle camp. The culture of reception is the first fundamental issue that people in the cattle camps provides; we were warmly received and were given an accommodation where to sleep and were to work. In the morning, I got one of the respondents. She was extremely beautiful. I think she must have cost her husband a lot of cows as her bride prize.

She was calm and focussed on the process. As we continued, she narrated to me her story/experience. The woman was going to cattle camp, she met criminals along her way, she was at gunpoint and drove to the forest. They used her from morning till evening. She was later released and was told not to tell anything to anyone or else she would be killed. The woman accepted the threat. She reached the cattle camp very tired and exhausted. She later on told her husband what had happened to her. The husband had nothing to do because there were no clinics in the cattle camps.

The woman has gone two years now without conceiving a child. I finally came to conclusion that our society has no kind of humanity in their hearts. This was my most disappointed experience that I got in the cattle camps.

The routine of work and exploration of environment with activities that brings peaceful co-existence if correctly used.

"when you are not in the cattle camp, you presume gelweng youth are notorious but when you are in, you find out they are kind and caring".

When we reached [the cattle camp], we found them waiting for us. We were received and accommodated comfortably. In the morning, we went for our routine and when it was lunch time break, we took a ride to River Naam. It was cold and moderate, along the river. There are no trees but only palm tree and reed in the river that makes the beauty of the river look fresh and clean. It is worth visiting for leisure. Along the river, they do fishing, swimming, relaxing, and some other commercial activities of exchange of the following; flour, fish, biscuits, salt etc. When we reached there, we found there were a lot of fish types. We had the appetite to eat fish, we were offered by the youth of this cattle camp instead of buying, we cooked them and had enough of it there and to carry some of them to cattle camp for dinner. This continued for those days we spent in the field.

What drives the cattle camps?

In those few days we spent there, we built relationship and trust with most youth and elders of Gan cattle camp. We exchange contacts and had enough photos for remembrance and archives. Before we left that morning of our field trip, they all gathered around us and we had unforgettable moment both the girls and youth; they were so concerned when we should come back with the items that they had requested from organization such as plastic sheet, blankets, tents, and other shelters but we promised them to come back again not mentioning the date. They all wished us well and prayed that God as supreme would guide us till our last destination.

That was my remarkable trip that I wish to attend again and meet all of them. Up to now most of them used to call me. May God guide us till we meet again.

Annex 3 – engagement approach

Exploring what other peace actors in the former Western Lakes are doing

From the onset the team recognises the value in reaching out to as many organisations as possible who are currently operating in the former Western Lakes state.

We wanted to make sure we avoid any duplication in case there had been a similar research conducted with youth in the cattle camps.

In this process we managed to connect with several organisations as listed below:

- UNMISS Civil Affairs Division Rumbek
- Oxfam
- ICRC
- DARD
- AMA
- Diocese of Rumbek (Peace Desk)
- Former Western Lakes State Governor's office
- Carter Centre Rumbek

The other aim of this step was to find a suitable local partner on the ground with the knowledge and experience of working with the youth in the cattle camps.

We did not want to operate under the assumption that no research of this kind has been conducted before in the former Western Lakes state with the cattle camps youth.

This step revealed several important considerations we had to make:

- That, some organisations have had an ongoing interaction with the cattle camps' youth but not in a significant way. For instance, we found ICRC was active in the cattle camps, but they are not specifically engaging with youth. ICRC are offering veterinary services in the cattle camps and that is their only point of engagement with the cattle camps' youth. However, the discussion we had with their staff was useful in understanding the overall issues we may run into and how to navigate them.
- We also found that at least to the best of our knowledge, no previous research has been conducted with the cattle camps' youth in the former Western Lakes state.
- It was at this point too that we decided, instead of partnering with a local organisation we would recruit enumerators with the local knowledge and expertise we needed.

What drives the cattle camps?

- We decided that it is important to work closely with the Peace Advisor and State Peace High Committee at the time, under the office of the Governor.

This gave us the confidence and confirmation that we were on the right track with our research project plan.

Consulting with the UK Embassy staff members and experts in Juba.

Concurrently, we also consulted with the staff members including local South Sudanese who are currently working for the UK embassy in Juba and some research experts who were able to share their knowledge and experiences of conducting research and/or engaging with the youth in the cattle camps.

It was a useful phase of the plan as it gave us further information on how to plan our approach once on the ground. For example, at a meeting with one of the staff members who worked with the cattle camps' youth in his previous role with VISTAS was able to suggest who to meet when we are in Rumbek. We followed up with the contacts he provided, and this was useful.

We were also able to look at our overall plan and incorporate some of the suggestions shared in various meetings.

Recruitment of the Rumbek Area Advisors and Enumerators.

Eventually, instead of going down the line of finding a local partner to support the implementation of the research, it was decided that we would use POF Area Advisors and then recruit enumerators with the local knowledge, experience and connection we needed to help guide our process and approach.

Two area advisors were recruited. One was through the connection we established from the various meetings with the local partners and the second advisor was working with the State High Peace Committee.

With their combined local knowledge, experiences and expertise we were able to start exploring next steps together.

It was an open recruitment; the advertisement was put out and several candidates applied for this position.

Vigorous process of Recruiting the Enumerators.

Recruiting enumerators was a very rigorous process because of the nature of the relationship between the communities (sections and sub-sections) of Agar.

Based on our first assessment, we decided to recruit five enumerators – these are the locals who we will train using a special research tool called SenseMaker.

These were the key skills and experience we were looking for in our enumerators:

- Deep awareness and understanding of the culture, social and economic drivers among cattle camp youth, including relative strength and pervasiveness of different elements.

What drives the cattle camps?

- Existing networks in the areas and/or a proven capacity to develop networks and relationships with minimal resources.
- Experience in grassroots peacebuilding initiatives, formally and/or informally.
- Have a good command of written and spoken English.
- Excellent speaking skills for at least one of the locally preferred languages.

The advertisement was put out on various public notice boards in town calling for those interested to apply for an assistant field researcher position. We ended up receiving ninety-seven applications.

We encouraged women to apply and we particularly talked to the State Peace Advisor (who is a woman) to put a word out to different women groups to apply.

The trickiest bit of this recruitment process was to make sure all the sections and sub-sections of the Agar community were represented.

This is important because people do not move around anyhow in the former Western Lakes state because of the ongoing rampant revenge killings.

Knowing which sections the applicants were from became an important consideration. The applicants were first categorised into sections and then sub-sections.

It was also important for the research team to understand which section or sub-section are fighting each other.

After this thorough process, nine enumerators were recruited, six men and three women.

Dissolving the office of the State Governor – former Western Lakes State.

As stipulated in the recent peace agreement, the thirty-two states' offices were dissolved by the president, and this had a slight impact on our plans.

By this time, we were almost half-way through with our process. We had met the state officials several times to discuss our plans to travel to the cattle camps and what their roles would be moving forward.

We had also established that the Peace Advisor was enthusiastic and actively engaging with the research team. We had good connections with the former peace advisor and the State High Peace Committee acting chairperson. This was a huge breakthrough as it helped things move faster and smoothly.

After the announcement (dissolving the states' offices across South Sudan) the state peace committee and peace advisor were not able to continue their engagement with us. This was a small glitch in our plan, but we quickly resolved it.

According to the decree by the president, the state operation and authority were placed under the State Secretary General whom we decided to engage with.

The meeting date was established, and the research team met with the State Secretary General who then gave us a go ahead.

What drives the cattle camps?

At this stage we were about to embark on the pre-visits and in order to do this we needed permission from the state authorities.

Meeting with the State National Security Operators to seek their permission

The National Security office in the former Western Lakes State became very central in overseeing the activities of the state. Any large gathering or activities that involved the community was to be reported to their office first.

To conduct pre-visits into the six identified cattle camps, we needed another clearance from the national security office.

Another meeting date was established, and we met with the Director of the National Security – Western Lakes State.

To our amazement, he was very interested in the research itself, and wanted to know our methodology.

We shared the tool we were going to use called the SenseMaker and that even made him more interested and asked if we could show it to him.

A couple of days later after our equipment arrived from Juba we went back to his office and showed him the sample questions using the SenseMaker.

He was pleased and granted us permission to conduct pre-visits and research into the cattle camps.

He was cautious about our security and warned us that it was dangerous to travel to these cattle camps without security.

Cattle Camps mapping

We came to understand that there are twenty-five camps across the former Western Lakes State.

It was difficult to decide which of the cattle camps to pick from.

We had to consider two main factors in deciding the six cattle camps.

- **Representation** – it was important that we consider equal representation otherwise this could cause a problem with the already very fragile communities.
- **Accessibility** – how accessible some of the camps were in terms of their distance from Rumbek town.

With the help of our Area advisors and the office of Peace Advisor, these six cattle camps were identified.

1. Gan
2. Tung-Akoon
3. Juu

What drives the cattle camps?

4. Among-piny
5. Madoi
6. Mading-boor

These cattle camps represent all the four sections and sub-sections of the Agar community.

It was after this that we decided to initiate contacts with the local chiefs and *gelweng* youth leaders of the identified camps.

Training of the enumerators

The cattle camps' youth research deployed the use of a special tool called the SenseMaker. Sense-making is a process by which people/respondents give meaning to their collective experience.

This process empowers the respondents to own their own material – in other words, the respondents could engage with the process in an authentic way which makes it feel so real.

Paul Ader the trainer from ThinkClarity, a UK based company, delivered this very stimulating and engaging training. It was very practical, and the enumerators enjoyed working with the tablets that they were issued to use during the data collection.

The training had two parts.

- **Part one** – establishing team building, understanding that this needed to be ascertained immediately as the success of the data extraction would depend on the team working very well together. It was envisaged that each team will be spending up to one week in one cattle camp. It is important that they all get along well.
- **Part two** – Understanding the tool – SenseMaker. The remaining days was dedicated to going through the process of collecting data using sense-making.

The training was half delivered in English and half in native local language – Dinka. This is to make sure the enumerators understood the steps for the accuracy of the data to be collected.

Allocation of the enumerators into two teams

After the six cattle camps were identified, the enumerators were then put into two teams based on the formula, cattle camp-section-sub-selection that they come from.

This is to make sure that each enumerator is assigned to a team that would visit the cattle camp where he/she comes from.

The six cattle camps were split into two teams.

Team A	Team B
- Among-Piny	- Tung-Akoon

What drives the cattle camps?

Team A	Team B
- Mading-Boor	- Juu
- Madoi	- Gan

This classification incorporated sections and sub-sections. The enumerators then were placed into the two teams headed by a team leader.

This meant that all the enumerators in Team A can freely go to all the three cattle camps in Team A and same to Team B.

It is not safe to travel most of the roads across the former Western Lakes State. There are road ambushes, looting and people are often killed due to revenge killings – those who are found not to come from that area are killed.

The formula we used became extremely useful. On several occasions, both teams reported that they had been stopped several times by armed youth on their way to the cattle camps and that they inspected the car to see who was in it.

When the armed youth knew who is in the car, they would then allow the car to continue its way.

Trust building – Cattle camps pre-visits

This became a particularly important phase of the project plan. Connection was established with all the six cattle camps' leaders.

The *gelweng* youth leaders, local chiefs and elders were informed in advance of the plan to visit their camps.

During the call which was made by our area advisors, an introduction to the organisation and the project was made.

The *gelweng* leaders were asked permission for the team to come and conduct the research in their camps with young people.

Security of the team while in the camp was discussed and the *gelweng* youth leaders confirmed that they would protect the enumerators for the duration of their stay. And indeed, all through the research period we did not encounter any problem; none of our enumerators felt threatened or insecure. This was due to the thorough planning put in place beforehand.

During the actual pre-visit, the research coordinator, two area advisors, one national security personnel and *gelweng* youth representative or local chief living in Rumbek town would often accompany the team.

This was to make sure that, should the vehicle get stopped, which happened a lot, the *gelweng* youth representative would talk to the armed youth. Once the armed youth recognised their guy in the vehicle, they would then allow the vehicle to continue with its journey.

According to the culture when you visit someone, you would take something with you, and this was also observed as a part of the pre-visit. The team took with them some tokenistic gifts in the form of, maize flour, cooking oil, biscuits, sugar and tea leaves.

What drives the cattle camps?

On arrival, these food items were presented at the general meeting in front of those who attended. The *gelweng* youth leader then took the food items and distributed them to the cattle keepers. Obviously, these food items were not enough for all but they have a system in place on how these are distributed.

General meeting in the cattle camp

As soon as the enumerators arrive in the cattle camp, the first thing was to meet with as many people as possible. This meeting is often attended by youth and elders who are present. Often most of young people would be out during the day looking after the cattle. They only return in the evening.

This is usually the format of the meeting.

- **Introduction of the team** – this is often done by one of the enumerators who comes from that camp or section. He/she would introduce the team, outline the reason for the visit and welcome the team leader to add anything left out.
- **Overview of the research** – a detailed information is shared about the research project. Who we would like to talk to, how long one interview will take, introduction of the materials and the special method that the team will use – SenseMaker.
- **Demonstration** – the team would give an example of the type of the questions and what to do.
- **Team security** – this is discussed as part of the agenda as well.
- **Response from *gelweng* youth leader and elders** – after all these steps are outlined, the *gelweng* youth leader would often speak first, observing the protocol and responding accordingly. Usually whatever he said would then be supported by anyone else who spoke after him.

This meeting is usually shortly followed by the *gelweng* youth leader identifying where the enumerators would erect their tents.

The enumerators would then be shown around the cattle camp and those who come from this section/cattle camp would also get a chance to visit their relatives and families.

Thuraya for the teams to maintain communication between the teams and with the central coordination

There is no network coverage in most of the areas visited and the only means to communicate with the central team back in Rumbek and Juba was to purchase a satellite phone.

Three satellite phones were purchased, one with each team and one left in Rumbek for the central coordination.

Standard procedure on how to use the satellite phones was established between the teams and that included:

What drives the cattle camps?

- How to maintain battery
- Daily text messages alerting the central coordination point of the team's wellbeing, location, and any issue the team may have experienced.
- When moving – for the team leader to activate geo reporting that identifies the exact location of the team every thirty minutes.
- When the team arrives – deactivate the geo reporting after the final coordinates showing the location of the camp is sent.

This was the level of detail the team had to maintain and this went smoothly.

Annex 4 – SenseMaker signification framework

Peacebuilding Opportunities Fund What drives the cattle camp youth?

Signification Framework for Ethnographic Research using SenseMaker®

Draft 2 - 25th February 2020

Not specified

Enumerator: Please select your name from the following list.

Your response to this research will be anonymous if you do not say anything that can be used to identify you.

Please describe an event of reconciliation in the last five years that used traditional justice and in which you, or a member of your close family, were personally involved.

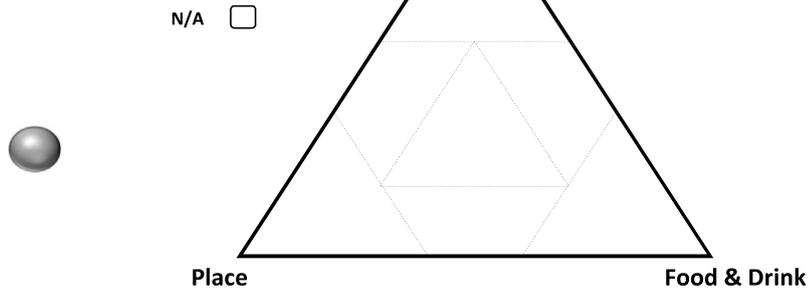
This can be a good or bad experience, but it must be true and something that happened at a particular time.

Enumerator: Please make handwritten notes while listening to the respondent's experience and then read these back to the respondent to confirm they are correct. Your notes should, where possible, include words and phrases used by the respondent.

Keeping in mind the true experience I described

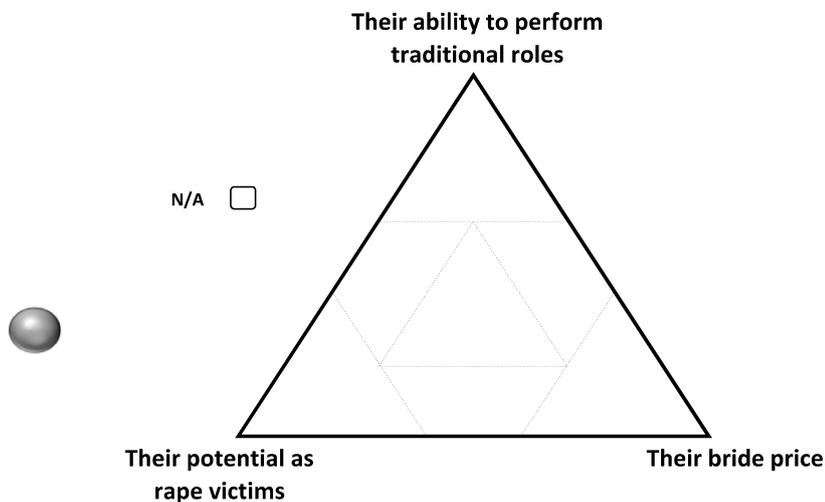
Q1. Example Triad: What was important at the last family gathering I attended?

Place the marker on the triangle where it shows the relative strength of the labels at each of the corners in how you respond to a typical family gathering. The closer the marker is to a corner, the stronger that corner is relative to the other corners.



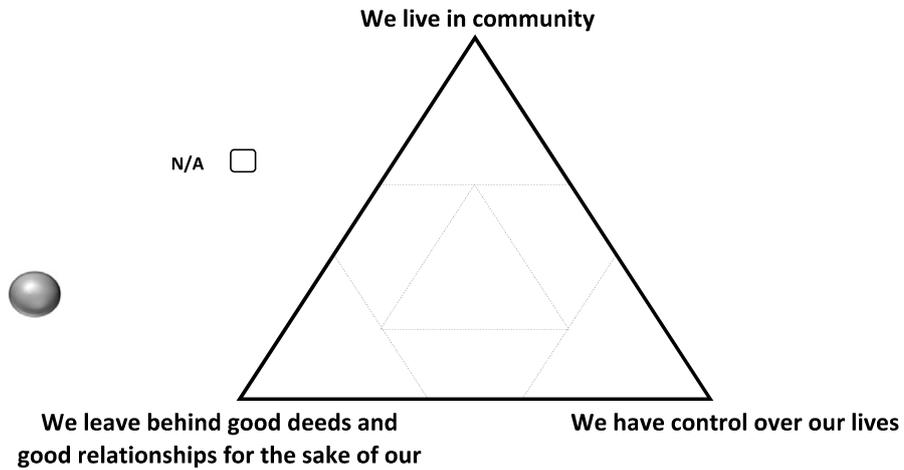
Keeping in mind the true experience I described

Q2. Young women are valued for ...



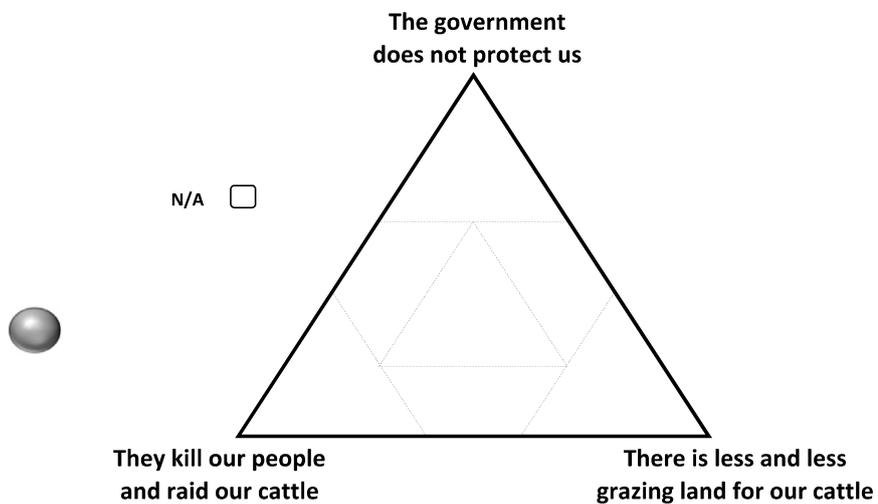
Keeping in mind the true experience I described

Q3. We value life in the camps because ...



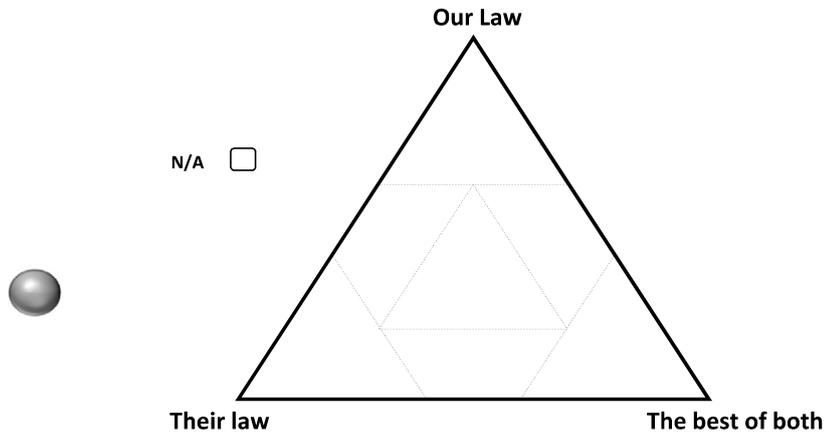
Keeping in mind the true experience I described

Q4. We have conflict with other camps because ...



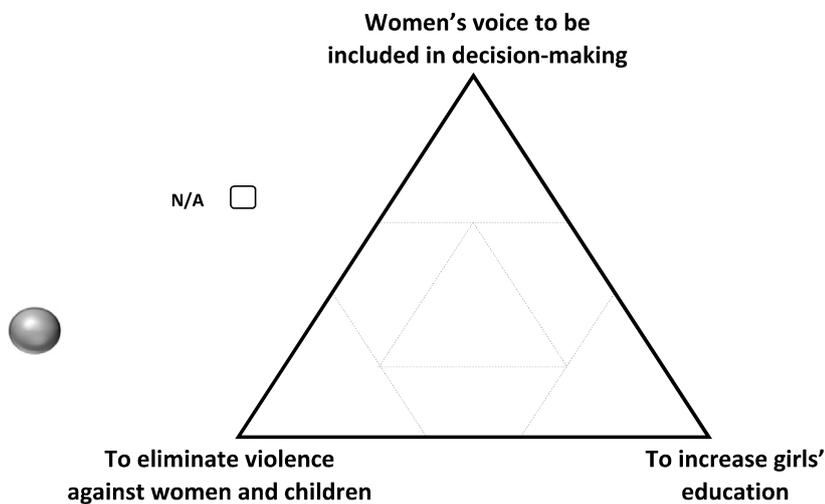
Keeping in mind the true experience I described

**Q5. In my grandfather's time everyone accepted our law.
In the future we will need...**



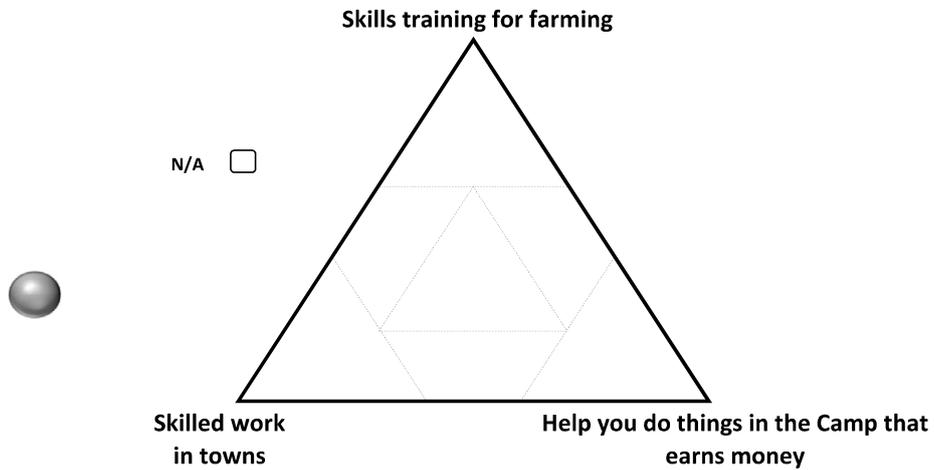
Keeping in mind the true experience I described

Q6. In the camps we want...



Keeping in mind the true experience I described

Q7. Reconciliation would be sustained in my community by having ...

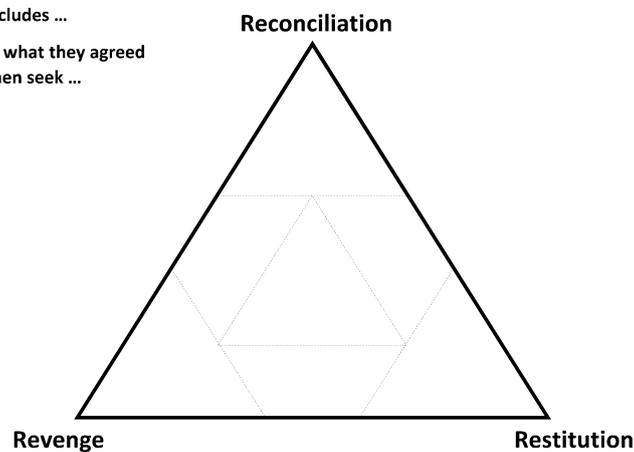


Keeping in mind the true experience I described

Q8. Justice for problems with other camps

Answer the question by placing at least one of the PatPats in the triangle

- 1 Justice should include ...
- 2 Justice often actually includes ...
- 3 When people do not do what they agreed to provide justice, we then seek ...

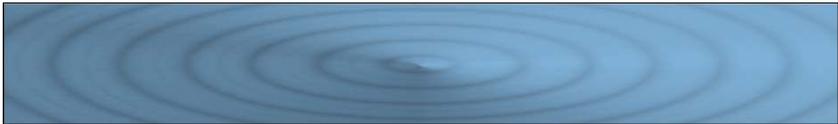


Q9. Example Pat Pats: What was important at the last family gathering I attended?

Place each relevant Pat Pat in the blue area to answer the question from your own experience of a typical family gathering. Any Pat Pats that are not relevant should be left alone.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

Least important



Most important

1 = The place

2 = The people

3 = The food

4 = Inviting our enemy

5 = The time it took to prepare

N/A

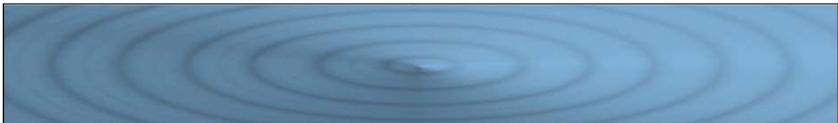
Keeping in mind the true experience I described

Q10a. As a man my priority right now is ...

Place each relevant Pat Pat in the blue area to answer the question. Any Pat Pats that are not relevant should be left alone.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6

Not important



Important

Not specified



1 = Getting a beautiful bride

2 = Being wealthy with money

3 = Being recognised by my camp as a brave fighter

4 = Getting educated

5 = Being wealthy with cows

6 = Learning a skill to get a paying job

N/A

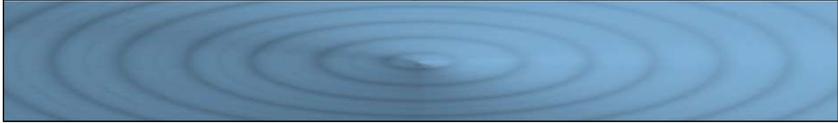
Keeping in mind the true experience I described

Q10b. As a woman my priority right now is ...

*Place each relevant Pat Pat in the blue area to answer the question.
Any Pat Pats that are not relevant should be left alone.*

1
2
3
4
5
6

Not important ←→ Important



1 = Not being forced to marry someone
2 = Getting an education
3 = Being respected by my community
4 = To become a community leader
5 = Living without the fear of rape
6 = To learn a skill that gets me a paying job

N/A

Keeping in mind the true experience I described

Q11. The factors blocking peaceful co-existence are...

*Place each relevant Pat Pat in the blue area to answer the question.
Any Pat Pats that are not relevant should be left alone.*

1
2
3
4
5
6

Not very important ←→ Very Important



1 = Guns are everywhere
2 = Less and less grazing for our cattle
3 = No respect for our law
4 = The liberation war taught all youth how to fight as soldiers
5 = Revenge is necessary when one of us is killed
6 = Political leaders need cattle camp fighters as a source of power

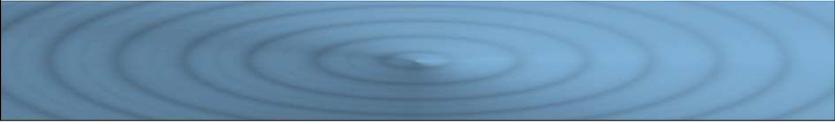
N/A

Keeping in mind the true experience I described

Q12. Violence between communities can be controlled by...

Place each relevant Pat Pat in the blue area to answer the question.
Any Pat Pats that are not relevant should be left alone.

1 Not easily ↔ Very easily



2

3

4 1 = Strengthening Our law 4 = More opportunities for youth to earn money

5 2 = Removing all weapons 5 = Leaders who encourage non-violent negotiation over shared resources

6 3 = Setting a fixed and affordable bride price 6 = A stronger voice for women in the camps

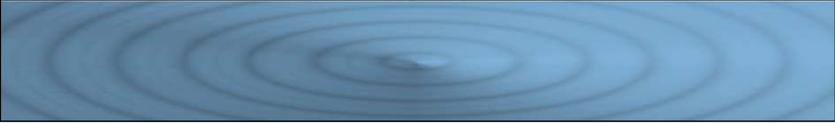
N/A

Keeping in mind the true experience I described

Q13. In the future the biggest problems will be....

Place each relevant Pat Pat in the blue area to answer the question.
Any Pat Pats that are not relevant should be left alone.

1 Not very dangerous ↔ Very dangerous



2

3

4 1 = Continued loss of grazing land 4 = Increasingly large numbers of Cattle raids

5 2 = Complete loss of respect for traditional law 5 = Revenge killings will involve more and more victims.

6 3 = Political power struggles in Juba

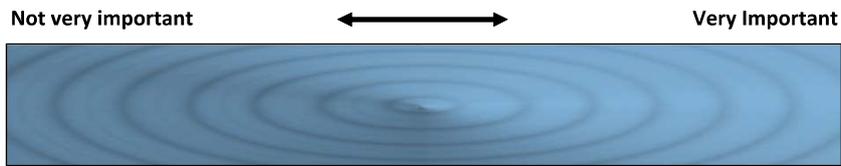
N/A

Keeping in mind the true experience I described

Q14. In the future my clan wants ...

Place each relevant Pat Pat in the blue area to answer the question.
Any Pat Pats that are not relevant should be left alone.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6



1 = Peace with all other clans & tribes
2 = More respect for Our Law
3 = Less influence from political or military leaders

4 = Women to have a stronger voice
5 = Protection from rape and compensation for rape victims
6 = Disarmament of all clans across all tribes

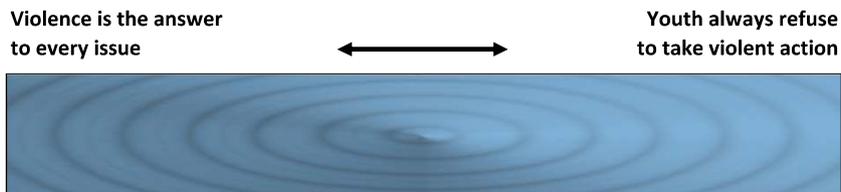
N/A

Keeping in mind the true experience I described

Q15. In our clan ...

Place the Pat Pat in the blue area to answer the question.

- 1



1 = What I want
3 = What would happen if guns were removed

2 = What actually happens

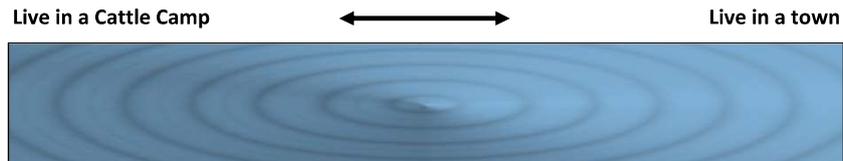
N/A

Keeping in mind the true experience I described

Q16. I want my children to ...

Place the Pat Pat in the blue area to answer the question.

1



N/A

Q17. Gender

- Male
- Female

Q18. Age

Select one of the following options

- Male - Not yet initiated
- Male - Married with children
- Male - Married but no children
- Male - Elder
- Female - Not Married
- Female - Married with young children
- Female - Married with all children initiated
- Female - Elder

N/A

Q19. Your role in your family ...

- First son
- Other son
- First daughter and married
- Unmarried daughter
- Married without sons
- None of the above

-

Q20. Education

Select one of the following options

- No school education
- Completed lower class at primary school
- Completed upper class at primary school
- Attended secondary school
- Attended university
- None of the above

N/A

This page is for use by the enumerator after the end of the interview

Enumerator: Please use your handwritten notes to input the respondent's experience in the following text box. Where possible, you should include words and phrases that were used by the respondent.

Enumerator: Please use your notes to provide a short title for the respondent's experience. This should include a few descriptive words as well as the subject.