

**CIVILIAN DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY ENHANCEMENT
IN THE STATE OF JONGLEI, SOUTH SUDAN**

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Masters in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building

BY

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DECLARATION A

"This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a Degree or any other academic award in any University or Institution of Learning."

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DECLARATION B

"I confirm that the work reported in this thesis is carried out by the candidate under my supervision".

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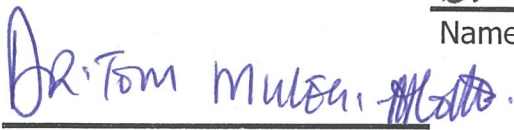
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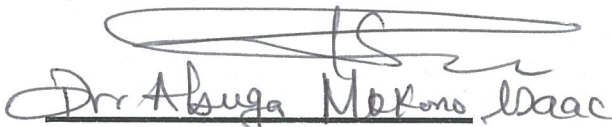
APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis entitled "Civilian Disarmament and Security Enhancement in the State of Jonglei, South Sudan " prepared and submitted by Hawa Khamis Aganas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building has been examined and approved by the panel on oral examination with a grade of PASSED


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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my best friend Aman Catherine Amaniyo Baga for her continued support.

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I wish to give gratitude to the Almighty Allah who gave me strength to accomplish this work. I am also grateful to my supervisor Dr. Tom Mulegi, who tirelessly went through my work and inspired me to dig deeper into the core of the matter. His positive criticism, patience and understanding greatly assisted me.

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ABSTRACT

After signing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, South Sudan is facing a set of problems. The Government of South Sudan has yet to establish security throughout the South and to address internal challenges to its authority, including various militia groups and inter-communal conflicts.

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between civilian disarmament and security enhancement in Jonglei state. But more specifically to (i) establish the causes of civilian armament; (ii) examine the effects of civilian armament and (iii) suggest possible solutions to enhance security in Jonglei state, South Sudan through civilian disarmament programmes.

The study population constituted of NGO officials and ex-combatants. Purposive random sampling technique was used to select the population sample. Questionnaires were used to collect data, which was then coded and analyzed descriptively.

From the findings, it was established that; the major factors for the causes of civilian armament in Jonglei state include (i) cultural practices and values (ii) underdevelopment, political and economic marginalization and (iii) Prestige for acquiring weapons. Similarly, the findings also indicated that (i) death and injury (ii) displacement, breakdown of social order and cohesion are among the key effects of civilians possessing arms and that the best strategy to enhance security in the region is by disarming the civilian population.

However, success cannot be judged solely in terms of the numbers of weapons collected. The study therefore recommended that, (i) disarmament should be carried out simultaneously in Jonglei and in all the States using incentive method e.g. guns exchange with money or cows for it would allow civilians to voluntarily surrender their guns to the government forces (ii) Strengthening decentralization of administration so that the government is much closer to the people; (iii) Changing the people mindset by sensitizing communities about the importance of peaceful co-existence including peace education workshops focused on youth and communities leaders.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
FGDs	Focused Group Discussions
GoNU	Government of National Unity
GoSS	Government of Southern Sudan
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
LRA	Lords Resistance Army
PSC	Protracted Social Conflict
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SPLA/M	Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army/Movement
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SCOPE

Background of the Study

The global spread of small arms since the end of the Cold War has extended violent civil conflicts worldwide, claiming far more casualties annually than conventional weapons have. Small arms also have the potential to militarize societies, normalizing violent means of conflict resolution and undermining trust between neighbors and communities. Long after the end of a conflict, the tools of that conflict are trafficked between and within countries, feeding one conflict after another. Where they proliferate, small arms impede development by facilitating the disruption of livelihoods and aid distribution and discouraging domestic and foreign investment.

The arms race of the Cold War era resulted in an unprecedented availability of military style small arms in societies worldwide, and due to their low price and portability, small arms in many locations are as easy to come by as basic legal commodities. The majority of small arms in circulation today are held by civilians.

Increasing attention has been paid in recent decades to the linkages between arms, insecurity, and underdevelopment, and new initiatives have sprung up that aim to address all three issues in an integrated manner. Voluntary weapons collection programs have been implemented in societies worldwide, both after the end of a conflict and during peacetime. These programs have traditionally offered incentives to disarming civilians in the form of money, food, or developmentally-oriented tools such as sewing machines and farm implements. These programs have been met with varying degrees of success.

On 9th January 2005, the SPLM/A signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) with the Government of Sudan, officially ending the country's second North–South civil war and making the SPLM a partner in the Government of National Unity (GoNU). After the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), Southern Sudan is facing a set of problems. The Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) has yet to establish security throughout the South and to address internal challenges to its authority, including various militia groups and inter-communal conflicts. Within the context of faltering implementation of the CPA and its perceived obstruction by the North, a potentially destabilizing financial crisis, and elections conducted in April 2010, the GoSS is struggling on multiple fronts. Looming over these issues is the prospect of the referendum on self-determination, which the GoSS has resolved and took place in 2011, as stipulated by the CPA. The GoSS continues to be driven by the belief that a confrontation with the North is likely. This stance has shaped its current security strategy, which focuses on defending the border with the North and other strategic positions, as well as containing potential spoilers, including possible allies of Khartoum. The consequence is a limited ability to address insecurity and conflicts emerging within the South.

For instance, Nuer- Dinka tensions flared in late 2005 when the Lou Nuer, one of two main Nuer groups, requested permission to graze their cattle on the lands of the Dinka in Duk County. During the dry season, Lou Nuer cattle herders move in search of wetter areas to graze their cattle, and inevitably they tread on other tribes' lands. The Dinka authorities asked the Lou Nuer pastoralists to surrender their weapons before passing onto the Dinka lands. But the Nuer refused, saying they had never been requested to do so in the past. To defuse the conflict, the Governor of Jonglei State, a Dinka from Duk County, brought the disputing ethnic groups and representatives of the White Army together to resolve their dispute and discuss terms for voluntary disarmament. Forced disarmament was threatened should weapons not be voluntarily surrendered. However, the specific terms for disarmament were never clearly established and, while the governor promised compensation, he did not specify where he would get the money.

Further, neighboring communities occasionally hostile to the Nuer, such as the Murle, were not asked to disarm simultaneously. When the debated disarmament campaign was eventually launched in January 2006, the Nuer resisted, afraid of being left unarmed and vulnerable to attack. The White Army attacked the SPLA.

Before examining the issues surrounding disarmament in Jonglei, briefly the historical and political context of South Sudan will be given. Most people live in compounds composed of a number of thatch-roofed *tukul* (huts) in an enclosure. South Sudan is administratively divided into ten states, which in turn are divided into counties. Jonglei state is divided into eleven counties, and the counties in turn are divided into *payams*, and each of those into a number of *bomas* (villages). A given clan will normally inhabit a particular boma and a *payam* is generally coterminous with the area of authority of a chief (Ashkenazi et al., 2008). The *payam* is also administrated by a civil administrator, who forms the connection between the traditional chief and the GoSS authority. Each county is administrated by a commissioner, and each state has a governor, as well as a number of ministries.

Traditionally, disarmament is part of a three-part process: disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR). Typically, the United Nations (UN) or the host government collects weapons (disarmament), disbands nonofficial armed groups (demobilization), and assimilates ex-soldiers into society through occupational training and support packages (reintegration). South Sudan in late 2005 was fairly typical of a class of "postconflict" states that are particularly challenging for disarmament, especially because large numbers of the civilian population hold weapons.

A UN document on DDR warns: "If the possession of weapons is of cultural significance to the population and has been considered a habit that existed before violent conflict broke out, weapons collection programs are likely to fail."

Jonglei has featured as the site of one of the world's largest development project failures during the twentieth century: the Jonglei canal. Designed to drain water from

massive swamps in the South for use in plantation agriculture in the North, the project collapsed following the outbreak of civil war. The two decades of conflict that followed left the world's largest cranes rusting in one of the poorest areas on earth. Despite some security gains made after the end of the war, Jonglei is still considered unstable and largely insecure, and with only limited investment potential beyond the oil industry (Deng, 2007). The state remains extremely underdeveloped with only 5–10 per cent of children of primary school age attending school and 25–45 per cent (Sudan Household Health Survey, 2007) of people using 'improved water sources'. What limited services have been available are now being stretched further by the influx of returning refugees and IDPs to their homes following the CPA.

During the civil war, a variety of armed tribal groups competed for power and control of resources in Jonglei. One such armed entity was the 'White Army', an umbrella term for semi-organized militias comprising young armed Nuer men (aged 14–35). The original purpose of the White Army at village level was to protect communities from attacks, many of which are related to cattle-raiding, water sources, grazing rights, and revenge feuds as well as undisciplined acts by disgruntled soldiers (UNSC, 2007; Young, 2007). Though never fully organized, the White Army became increasingly enmeshed in the civil war as both Khartoum and the SPLA supplied it with small arms at different times. Gradually, gun possession became a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood among Nuer males, replacing more traditional weapons, such as spears, which have been part of this rite for centuries. AK-47s could be bartered for or bought, while PKMs, RPGs, and G-3s or G-4s were obtained by stealing from the SPLA, or from local people after fights. Indeed, the price of weapons in Jonglei reflects the heavy supply and demand. The cost of an assault rifle was reportedly ten cows in the late 1980s. From 1994– 2000, the price reportedly dropped to as low as three cows, where it has remained since.

The spread of arms to young males represented a marked departure from traditional local customs, which had prohibited youth under 18 having guns. This increase in firepower has contributed to a rise in confrontations and interethnic rivalries in Jonglei

(Young, 2007) as well as to an increase in the deadliness of these conflicts (Small Arms Survey, 2007). Persistent civil insecurity and unrelenting cattle raids and inter-clan/inter-tribal attacks remain ongoing threats to human security. In late July and early August 2007, for example, reported clashes between Murle and Nuer left 60–80 people dead.

As the case of Sudan exemplifies, this confusion of disarmament goals becomes more than semantics when put into practice in the far-from-ideal real world. While local authorities in Jonglei State described the campaign as 95 percent effective, it resulted in approximately 1,200 White Army, 400 SPLA, and 213 civilian deaths as well as destruction of property and food shortages (Small Arms Survey, 2006). On the other hand, Small Arms Survey reported that weapons-carrying had declined and perceptions of public safety had increased after the disarmament.

Creating a unified south proves difficult, as there is little trust between various groups within the South. Several 'private armies' within the SPLA remain loyal to their commanders whose authority trumps regular chain of command, and reportedly as little as 30 per cent of the SPLA is under control of the SPLA command (Evoy & LeBrun, 2010). Furthermore, tensions remain high and fighting again erupted between the north and the south in Abyei, as well as between different tribes in the south as exemplified by the recent violence in Jonglei.

In this regard therefore, civilian disarmament, which refers to the civil population handing over their arms to government authorities can either be peaceful or forceful surrender of arms. A peaceful disarmament requires civilians to voluntarily give up their arms. If voluntary disarmament doesn't produce the desired result, then the army can be authorized to search for and forcibly remove arms from the population. In Jonglei State, such a move is risky, and previously has been met with clashes between the civilian and the army that left dozens dead. In a country awash with small arms and other ordinance left over from the civil war, civilian disarmament is vital to reduce the violence and instability that still plagues many of the nation's ten states (Adam O'Brien,

2009). Civilian disarmament is also a part of a package of mutually reinforcing interventions to enhance security. It aims at violence reduction, conflict resolution and sustainable human security (Cecile Brewer, 2009).

In this study, Civilian disarmament refers to the removal of arms from the hands of the civil population through a comprehensive approach where all communities are simultaneously disarmed voluntarily. This approach is vital in order to curb security vacuums resulting from selective disarmament, which leaves disarmed communities vulnerable to attacks by their armed counter-parts.

Security is the degree of protection to safeguard a nation, union of nations, persons or person against danger, damage, loss, and crime (Emma Rothschild, 2003). Enhancing security is the act of establishing mechanisms to properly respond to security threats such as crime and disorder that face a given community. Increasing security forces such as the police and involving the community in their safety issues are paramount in security enhancement. While the Division of Public Safety in a given state works to improve its response to crime, the members of the Division rely heavily on the support of the community to reduce the opportunities for crimes to occur. The effort for each member of the community is minimal: a willingness to be aware and involved is all that is required to make the state even safer. For those members of the community who choose to take a more active role, the Division will continue to partner directly with them and their respective units in providing greater educational opportunities surrounding safety (Alex Jones, 2003).

In this study, security enhancement refers to initiatives aimed at improving safety and security of communities that have suffered from armed conflict and violence arising from inter-communal disputes. The study emphasizes comprehensive civilian disarmament and sensitization on peaceful co-existence and reconciliation in order to curb a relapse to armed conflict.

Statement of the Problem

Despite the continued effort to adhere to the terms of the peace agreement, the GoSS's security decision-making continues to be driven by what it perceives to be the unresolved conflict with the North.

Small arms have the potential to impede political stabilization and development in the following ways: by sustaining conflicts, enabling a return to violence in post-conflict societies, allowing small disputes to become weaponized, forcing people and governments to divert resources from developmental initiatives, and flowing easily within and between regions.

Not only do small arms and light weapons account for the vast majority of casualties in post War conflicts, their proliferation in many cases prevents peaceful resolutions to those conflicts: "Although weapons themselves do not cause conflicts, their proliferation and easy availability exacerbate the degree of violence by increasing the lethality and duration of hostilities, and encouraging violent rather than peaceful resolutions of differences." In view of the aforementioned, an empirical study is conceived with a focus on the southern Sudanese state of Jonglei to establish the relationship between civilian disarmament and security enhancement in the state.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to examine the relationship between civilian disarmament and security enhancement in Jonglei state. It is also to add to the existing knowledge on disarmament in the Sudan.

Objectives of the Study

Specifically, the study was guided by the following objectives:

- (i) To determine the profile of respondents with respect to age, gender and educational level
- (ii) To establish the causes of civilian armament in Jonglei state, South Sudan;
- (iii) To examine the effects of civilian armament in Jonglei state, South Sudan; and
- (iv) To suggest possible solutions to enhance security in Jonglei state of south Sudan through civilian disarmament programmes

Research Questions

The study was guided by the following questions

- (i) What is the profile of respondents in terms of age, gender and educational level?
- (ii) What are the causes of civilian armament in Jonglei state, South Sudan?
- (iii) What are the effects of civilian armament in Jonglei state, South Sudan?
- (iv) What are the possible measures to enhance security in Jonglei state of South Sudan through civilian disarmament?

Scope of the Study

Content Scope

The study focused on civilian disarmament in Jonglei state and laid down strategies to improve security in the region through disarmament programmes. The study was carried out from August 2011 - September 2012.

Geographical Scope

This study was carried out in Jonglei state, one of the largest states in Southern Sudan. It is located in the Upper Nile region, with its capital in Bor. It covers more than 122,000 km² but is sparsely populated with an estimated 1,230,000 inhabitants. The main tribes inhabiting the state are the Anuak, Dinka, Jie, Kachipo, Murle, and Nuer. The Greater Bor area, a Dinka stronghold, has been 'the heartland of the SPLM/A since its inception' following the mutiny in Bor in 1983 that marked the start of the second civil war (Rolandsen, 2007).

Theoretical Scope

This study is guided by Azar's theory of protracted social conflict (1990). Conflict Resolution and International Relations scholar Edward Azar offered one of the first analytical attempts to comprehensively analyze and explain the protracted nature of intra-state conflicts. According to Azar, 'a protracted social conflict (PSC) represents "...the prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition and acceptance, fair access to political institutions and economic participation'.

Significance of the Study

South Sudan has been actively involved and committed itself in arms control and disarmament activities as one of the main pillars of its diplomacy. Needless to say, building peace and stability, which has been sought through arms control and disarmament, is a strong desire of the Southern Sudanese people, and is consistent with the idea of pacifism advocated by the GoSS. It is anticipated that the results of this study will assist the GoSS and other stake holders in the following:

1. It may be imperative for GoSS to vigorously promote arms control and disarmament due to the regional security situation.

2. Reaffirmation to the GoSS that the ultimate objective of the efforts of States in the disarmament process is general and complete disarmament under effective international control
3. It may provide assurance of compliance with disarmament agreements for the achievement and maintenance of a weapon-free South Sudan to enhance security for the people.
4. To the students: It is hoped that this study may set stage for effective provision of literature for basic investigations to the students who would undertake similar studies in Jonglei state.
5. This report may assist Non Governmental Organization with a commitment to funding to make more informed decisions to help leverage their resources and have a better understanding of funding and grantee partners.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This section looks at the role of civilian disarmament in enhancing security in Jonglei state. It also presents Concepts, Ideas, and Opinions from Experts. A theoretical framework upon which the analysis is anchored is also presented.

Concepts, Ideas and Opinions from Experts

Since 1998, the United Nations Security Council has explicitly debated a relatively broad and unfocused civilian protection agenda that has encompassed compliance with International Humanitarian Law, operational issues connected to peace operations and humanitarian access, and the council's role in responding to emergencies and tackling disarmament issues.

Reducing demand for weapons in post conflict societies is difficult, especially if weapons are part of the civilian culture or important for self- or collective defense in the absence of a trustworthy and competent police force and justice system.

Even if there is popular support for weapons collection, the way it is done determines its success. Governments often respond to pastoral violence, such as cattle raiding, through politically driven, coercive measures of weapons collection. Yet, a community's weapons may be a deterrent to attacks by a neighboring community, and removing them may invite violence on that community.

Abduction of children in the region is another generating conflict issue as was cited by experts. The cause of the abductions is the low fertility rate of the Murle, combined with a history of slavery in the region.

We [Murle] are trying to discourage this child abduction, since it is similar to child slavery. Any educated Murle is trying to discourage this practice. But men and

women complain that they don't produce [children]. A woman needs to produce ten, and they, or it's because of the men, I don't know, they produce only three or four. (As quoted by Willem, 2008).

It is sometimes also claimed that the Murle are fierce warriors, who have always abducted children from neighboring tribes (IRC, 2004). Indeed, the Murle are generally seen as an aggressive tribe compared to their neighbors. This may partially be attributed to the fact that there is less water on their lands, forcing them to take their cattle further afield for grazing and watering, producing a more aggressive state of mind; a comparable observation is made by Young about the Lou Nuer, Gawaar Nuer, and Duk Dinka.

Moreover, abductions are often linked to conflicts over grazing land, forced recruitment, internal disputes between tribes, and "abductions have been used as a military tactic and tool" (IRC, 2004).

Abductions, however, are not only carried out by Murle, as other tribes are just as known to abduct children. Referring to the Dinka and Nuer, for instance, Hutchinson observes that "it was not uncommon for past generations of raiders to carry off young women and children to be absorbed as full members of the family" (2000: 8). And when people go for cattle raids, they just take the children who are looking after the cattle along. Children are needed to look after cattle (boys), or to acquire more cattle (girls through dowry). Moreover, the more children one has, the more respect one gets, and having more children also means your tribe will have a bigger army.

To enhance security to the Southern Sudanese, the first civilian disarmament campaign after the signing of the CPA took place in Jonglei between December 2005 and May 2006 (Willems, 2008). Problems emerged after Lou and Gawaar Nuer pastoralists requested permission from the Dinka Hol and Nyarweng from Duk County to graze cattle in their lands in December 2005, upon which the State (and predominantly Dinka) authorities requested the Nuer to surrender their weapons before grazing their livestock (Small Arms Survey, 2007; Young, 2007). The Nuer were hesitant to give up their arms,

fearing to be left defenseless, and during clashes with the SPLA, the Nuer 'white army' (Young, 2007) suffered great losses and retreated towards the north, looting from civilians. The pursuing SPLA, employed in the disarmament campaign, did not receive regular food supplies and took cattle and supplies from the local population. During the campaign an estimated 3,300 weapons were collected, and an estimated 1,200 white army soldiers, 400 SPLA soldiers, and 213 civilians were killed (Young, 2007; Small Arms Survey, 2007). In response to this violent campaign, a small UN contingent worked with local government and SPLA administrations to develop a voluntarily disarmament campaign in Akobo and Pibor in 2006 and 2007, during which more than 2,500 weapons were collected without casualties.

The level of disarmament activities varies greatly from state to state, depending on the interest of local GoSS and SPLA leaders. Most activities have been undertaken in Jonglei, while further disarmament in Eastern Equatoria State (EES) has been suspended. In Western Equatoria State (WES) no civilian disarmament was undertaken and no weapons were collected or registered due to the threat of the LRA. In the end, the disarmament campaigns did relatively little to the overall presence of SALW in South Sudan and initial evidence suggests it had little or no impact on armed violence among southern civilians (O'Brien, 2009).

Theoretical Perspective

To research the local impact of peace, Azar's theory of protracted social conflict provides an interesting perspective. For Azar, the critical factor in Protracted Social Conflict (PSC), such as persisted in Lebanon, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland, Cyprus, Iran, Nigeria, South Africa but also Sudan, was that it represented "the prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition and acceptance, fair access to political institutions and economic participation" (Azar, 1991 in Ramsbotham et al., 2005). According to his theory, the role of the state is to "satisfy or frustrate basic communal needs, thus preventing or

promoting conflict” (Azar, 1990). At the core of the conflict, according to the PSC theory, is the “disarticulation between the state and society as a whole” (Azar, 1990) and “how individual needs are mediated through membership of social groups” (Ramsbotham et al., 2005). As such, the deprivation of human needs can be indicated as the underlying source of protracted social conflict: “grievances resulting from need deprivation are usually expressed collectively. Failure to redress these grievances by the authority cultivates a niche for a protracted social conflict” (Azar, 1990). Considering the needs and interests of individuals are mediated through membership of social groups, the societal needs of security, identity and access of the individual are of utmost importance. The researcher does not necessarily agree with all of Azar’s underlying assumptions and thus merely use the very valuable components of the theory in her thinking about peace through disarmament programmes in Jonglei state in South Sudan.

Related Literature

Causes of Civilian Armament

The long standing civil war in Sudan and the associated instability compelled local communities and civilians to acquire arms. The ubiquity of guns has increased the number of gangs and bandits and boosted the frequency of gun violence, lawlessness, and organized crimes. As a consequence, weapons remain omnipresent in Southern Sudan, making post conflict reconstruction difficult. The Sudan case is quite unique given that it has both the UNDDR programme implemented by the UN in collaboration with the government of Sudan (GOS), and the national disarmament process initiated by the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) in South Sudan. This report shall focus on the national disarmament process undertaken by the GOSS and confines itself to Jonglei state in South Sudan. There are a number of reasons why civilian communities acquire firearms, these include;

Insecurity

The inability of the governments of the Horn of Africa to provide adequate security to protect civilians and other marginalized communities from potential cattle raiders from neighbouring communities is one of the major reasons why they acquire arms. For instance, the Turkana have developed a culture of gun ownership arising from the need to protect their livestock from incursions by their neighbours the Pokot and Samburu in Kenya; the Karamojong in Uganda; the Toposa in Sudan and the Merille in Ethiopia. They liken their circumstances to living in a cave, surrounded by hostile neighbours and without protection (Mkutu, 2003). Indeed governments in the sub-region have been unable to effectively combat the unprecedented escalation of inter-tribal conflicts. In many cases the response to livestock raiding by the law enforcement agencies has been slow, ineffective, sometimes overly forceful or non-existent (Khadiagala, 2003).

Cultural Practices and Values

Some cultural practices among the civilian communities such as the high bride-price coupled with diminishing stocks due to drought and the practice of livestock rustling encourage the acquisition and use of small arms. For instance in 2002, a Karamojong young man from a poor family in Uganda was expected to pay 30 cows in pride price and 60 cows if one was from a rich family while among the Jie, bride price was as high as 130 cattle excluding the small stock (Mkutu, 2003). Other cultural aspects like for the people of Jonglei state include initiation rights into adulthood which must be demonstrated through mounting successful livestock raids, killings and other related activities which under the modern justice system are criminal activities. Such cultural practices no doubt exert pressure on the young men to acquire arms for use during raids in order to fulfill this obligation.

Commercialization of Livestock Raiding

Commercialization of raiding which entails funding of raids and purchasing of raided stocks by wealthy business people is fairly a recent phenomenon. The raided stock is then used to supply urban markets with beef products for economic gains (Mkutu, 2000). The implication is that so long as the urban market for beef products remains, shrewd business people will continue funding raids and purchasing raids for economic benefits. This practice promotes livestock rustling as well as demand for small arms.

As mentioned cattle is of very high importance in the culture of most groups in Jonglei State.

Cattle not only has economic value but is also ensures status. The more cows one owns, the more respect the person gets. During one of the focus group discussions an example was given of a case where a man sold the child of the woman he divorced for cows. Cattle can thus even be worth more than one's own children. In another focus group discussion someone mentioned that: "you need cattle for survival. If you have no cattle you must take it". These are thus clearly economic reasons for cattle rustling, which were also underscored by an official of UN FAO (2008).

Underdevelopment, Political and Economic Marginalization

The absence of deliberate viable economic opportunities coupled with political marginalization of civilian areas means civilian communities must struggle to ensure their survival. The civilian communities have not participated actively in key political decision-making at the highest level due to their low representation either by design or otherwise. Even if they have, they have not been able to use their position to initiate sustainable development programmes in civilian areas. As a result, development in these areas has not received adequate attention by the respective governments. However, there are some efforts towards this. For instance, the Uganda Government has established the Karamoja Development Agency and the Ministry of State for

Karamoja Affairs in the Prime Minister's office, purposely to catalyze the development process, to help in advocacy and mobilize development resources (Mworozi, 2000).

Effects of Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation on Civilian Communities

Death and Injury

The global toll of small arms is reported to be in excess of 500,000 per year (Wendy, 1998). Calculating the deaths from small arms in conflict zones is difficult because of the lack of data, but it has been estimated to be at 300,000 per year, of these, a large percentage are civilians, estimated at more than 35 percent (Geneva: ICRC, 1999). While precise data is not available, murders, suicides and "accidents" involving small arms in areas not at war are in excess of 200,000 (Geneva: WHO, 2001).

In the Horn of Africa, especially South Sudan, death and or injury associated with gun related crimes seem to be on the increase. In one incidence that happened in February 2000, nearly one hundred people were killed when Merille tribesmen from Ethiopia raided the Turkana of Kenya and thousands of cattle were stolen (Africa Peace Forum, 2000). In Kenya, it is estimated that the national firearm homicide rate ranges from 10-15 per 100,000. In areas where small arms are widely available, such as Garissa in the North East Province and Lokichoggio in Rift Valley Province of Kenya, the firearm homicide rate recorded was 580 per 100,000 people.

Human Rights Violations

Small arms are also used to commit gross abuses of international human rights and humanitarian law whether in conflict, crime, law enforcement, state repression, or violence in the home. Weapons have been used to facilitate systematic rape – war crime – used to hasten the expulsion of national groups by degrading women and

spreading terror, fear and humiliation. Women and girls are raped at gun point while away from home collecting firewood and water or undertaking other daily tasks. They are also vulnerable in jail or refugee camps, with no place to hide (Amnesty International). Men, women and children are abducted at gun-point and forced to work for their abductors. In Uganda for instance, the Lord's persistence Army (LRA) has abducted more than 20,000 children since 1986 and those caught trying to escape were summarily executed as a warning to others. In some situations, civilians have become strategic targets in many conflicts through summary and mass executions, brutal intimidation and criminality; hence small arms have come to represent a potent and ubiquitous instrument of terror (Geneva: WHO, 2001).

The violations of human rights are not only perpetrated by armed civilians, but are also prevalent during forceful disarmament exercises undertaken by states in the region. According to the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), the disarmament in South Sudan had been marred by torture, beatings, degrading treatment and arbitrary arrests during 'cordon and search' operations, despite a government review following previous allegations made.

Displacement, Breakdown of Social Order and Cohesion

The availability and use of firearms negatively affects behaviour, mobility and decisions about where to live and communal cohesion within society. Small arms availability and misuse leads to forced displacement which in turn separates families and communities, disrupts normal economic activities and undermines human development, persists for refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPS) during and after relocation. In the Horn of Africa, the case of Kenya is illustrative. In both of Kenya's refugee camps at Daadab and at Kakuma, located at the border areas of Northern Kenya, Sudanese, Ethiopian and Central African refugees are subjected to armed violence on a daily basis. In 2003 a study estimated that over 160,000 people were displaced in northern Kenya as a result of civilian conflicts (Intermediate Technology Development Group-East

Africa, 2004). Insecurity has reached alarming levels that more than 150 police reservists were enlisted to police the camps (Muggah and Batchelor, 2002). Indicators of the effects of small arms misuse on social capital include; child-soldiers, rise in armed gangs, repeated criminal activity, a surge in the incidences of domestic violence, and the breakdown of customary authority.

Destruction of Future Generations

The risks presented by small arms to children living in deprived situations are enormous, particularly when the youth lack educational opportunities. According to the coalition to stop the use of child soldiers, the widespread availability of small arms, has also contributed to the child soldiers problem. This enables children to become efficient killers in combat (Global Report on Child Soldiers, 2001). Child soldiers not only lose their childhood and opportunities for education and development, they also risk physical injury, psychological trauma and even death.

Retards Economic Development and Worsens Human Security

The availability and use of small arms have had destructive consequences for formal and informal economic activity, from multinational firms to petty traders in cities and rural communities. The threat of small arms distorts the mechanisms of commerce, influences the transaction costs of trade, and disrupts production and consumption patterns. The destruction and deterioration of physical infrastructure like roads, ports, factories and other fixed capital investments as a result of mortar attack, shelling and automatic gun-fire can have a significant impact on overall economic activity. The cost of rebuilding damaged infrastructure depletes resources that could otherwise be invested in social services and human development (Wendy, 2006).

Possible Solutions to Enhance Security in Jonglei State

Small arms possession by civil population has no doubt aggravated the recurrent violent conflicts in South Sudan, The remedy for the strategy has five components as stipulated in the concept paper (2009) of Southern Sudan Bureau for community Security and small arms control: (i) Ensure that each state has an agreed security strategy and action plan in place before commencing disarmament (ii) Ensure that adequate security forces are trained and in place to avoid creating security vacuums after civil disarmament (iii) Remove the guns from the hand of unauthorized civilians and ensure that they are properly inventoried and securely stored, (iv) Ensure that communities benefit from development to build confidence in peace and GoSS and (v) Ensure that dry season border court are reactivated or created for inter states disputes or crimes settlement.

The concept paper (2009) further outlines the following guiding principles on which the exercise be taken (i) Disarmament and small arms control measures ought to enhance communities' security rather than creating vulnerabilities, This may require the creation of new chiefs' police/payam police or community police auxiliaries under SSPS (ii) disarmament to be carried out within framework of rule of law – including penal code of the Sudan (which contains references to firearms ownership and use) and in accordance with spirit of the Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan; (iii) a holistic approach, involving a range of interdependent security, development, peace-building, and small arms control measures, which underline the main reasons that forced civilians to possess illegally weapons, will be needed in order to resolve small arms proliferation in a peaceful and sustainable way; (iv) Voluntary and peaceful approaches to disarmament should be pursued as the best option; (v) A people-driven approach involving the communities who are affected by insecurity and other stakeholders at the local level.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Qualitative research design was used where the data was descriptively analyzed since qualitative research often has the aim of description. The description is used for frequencies, averages and other statistical calculations such as percentages (Babbie, 1989). Descriptive research is used to obtain information concerning the current status of the phenomena to describe "what exists" with respect to variables or conditions in a situation (James, 1997). Fraenkel and Wallen (1993) describe descriptive research as that method that involves asking a large group of people questions about a particular issue. Information was obtained from a sample rather than the entire population at one point in time. The study employed descriptive research to establish opinions and knowledge about the causes and effects of civilian armament in Jonglei state in South Sudan. Any research undertaking involves lots of cost implications hence this design was deliberately selected for the study because it allows for quick data collection at a comparatively cheap cost (Grinnel, 1993).

Research Population

According to South Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (SSRRC) records, there are 24 International Nongovernmental Organizations (INGOs) and 6 NGOs in Jonglei state. However, the study focused on only 4 INGOs and all the 6 NGOs in the State of 6000 ex-combatants.

Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

Purposive sampling was used to select ex-combatants from the communities in Jonglei state for the study. The sample size was selected through simple random sampling procedure where 25 ex-combatants were randomly selected from Bor (being the capital), 15 from Uror and 15 from Pibor counties giving a total of 55 respondents and sixty (60) officials from both International Non Governmental Organizations and Non Governmental Organizations representing the DDR actors. The sample size of the respondents was determined using a census approach, in which all community members in the selected areas were utilized in the study (Amin, 2005). See sample size determination table in Appendix X.

Table 1

Sample Size Determination

Counties	NGO Officials	Ex-combatants	Total	Sample
Bor	20	25	45	40
Uror	20	15	35	32
Pibor	20	15	35	32
Total	60	55	115	104

Data Collection Procedures

The research procedures involved several steps. These included obtaining an introduction letter from Kampala International University the awarding institution which introduced the researcher to the institutions or organisations from where the research was conducted. The relevant authority and officers from the state were fully briefed by the researcher and formal permission and clearance was received for the activities conducted in the institutions/organisations. As the institutions/organisations were

identified and selected to become part of the study, the activities carried out were explained to the leadership of the institutions and their consent to conduct these activities were sought. The whole data collection exercise was carried out over a period of two weeks.

The researcher engaged the services of three research assistants to aid the administration of the questionnaires/interview guide to the respondents. In all of these areas, interviewers were the local residents of the ethnic groups. The research assistants were initially inducted on how to administer the questionnaires before they are dispatched to the field.

Research Instruments

The following instruments were used in the collection of data:

Questionnaire

The questionnaires were researcher developed using the Likert-Type Scale because it is very easy to analyze statistically (Jackson, 2009). The questionnaires were used to obtain data from the NGO Officials. This is because questionnaires are convenient to use when handling a large group of respondents. The questionnaires contain three sections, section A contains the profile of the respondents, part B contains information on the causes of civilian armament in Jonglei State while section C contains information on the effects of civilian armament in Jonglei State. The questionnaire contains both closed and open ended questions; the open ended questions in the questionnaires were used to extract hidden data from the respondents since they express their feelings outside what the questionnaire required. The closed ended questions were deliberate to allow the respondents to give precise information on what they really thought and believed, rather than presenting the designers' own pre-conceived views.

Interviews

These were used to collect data from the selected community members. The interview involved face to face sessions between the researcher and the respondents. The interviews were expected to help the researcher to probe respondents and seek for clarifications on how NGOs are supporting the disarmament programmes in Jonglei.

Apart from this a number of informal interviews were held with community members in the bars and hotels, and additional information was gathered in a variety of available literature.

Focused Group Discussions

In addition to the questionnaires, separate guided discussions were held with the selected community respondents (ex-combatants) using Focused Group Discussions (FGDs). The FGDs comprised of smaller groups of 5 respondents and the discussions were held twice per each group for data verification purposes. This involved intensive brain-storming to unearth the major causes of civilian armament in Jonglei and its effects to the people of Jonglei and thereafter to come up with solutions which might alleviate these problems.

Reliability of the Instrument

A Test-Retest Reliability was carried out where the questionnaire was pre-tested to a selected sample of respondents in the state. These respondents were not part of the actual sample. Pre-testing helps in establishing the reliability of the instruments by comparing the responses of the respondents for the same items. The items that elicited responses that had wide variations among the respondents were improved so as to enhance their reliability. On the other hand, items whose responses were almost similar were retained without making further changes.

Data Analysis

The data collected from questionnaires were analyzed descriptively according to the study objectives where; the profile of the respondents according to age, gender and educational level was analyzed using frequencies and percentages. The causes of civilian armament were analyzed using frequencies and percentages, the effects of civilian armament were analyzed using frequencies and percentages and the solutions to enhance security in Jonglei State were also analyzed using frequencies and percentages. The descriptive analysis is appropriate for this study because it involved the description, analysis and interpretation of circumstances prevailing at the time of study. Basic statistical techniques were used to analyze various items of the questionnaire. These include averages, percentages, frequencies and totals. This study used frequencies and percentages because unlike the SPSS, they easily communicate the research findings to majority of readers which is the main intent of research (Gay, 1992). Frequencies easily show the number of subjects in a given category. A number of tables were used to present data findings. Data collected were analyzed according to the nature of the response. Once the coding was completed, the responses were transferred into a summary sheet by tabulating. This was then tallied to establish frequencies, which were converted to percentage of the total number. Responses from open-ended questions were also recorded.

Limitation of the Study

The study was expected to suffer from the following limitation: Attitude towards the exercise: some respondents were not willing to freely share the information (especially negative information). This was for the fear that the information could go to their superiors with repercussions.

However, the researcher ensured that participants knew that their involvement was voluntary at all times. A thorough explanation was given in advance in relation to

benefits and rights involved with their participation and that the information elicited through these interviews were to be treated with utmost confidentiality, no names will be indicated and will also be for the direct use of the investigator and will be presented in a general report to the College of Higher Degrees and Reserach, Kampala International University without identifying individual opinions.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues arise from the kind of problems that social scientists investigate and the methods used to obtain valid and reliable data. Ethical considerations are pertinent to this study because of the nature of the problem, the methods of data collection and the kind of persons that served as research participants. While carrying out this study, cognizance was taken of the fact that this study would be investigating very sensitive issues that were likely to elicit concealment of the real data required from the participants. Participants were informed on the nature of the study and allowed to choose whether to participate or not. There is wide consensus among social scientists that research involving human participants should be performed with the informed consent of the participants (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996).

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

This chapter presents the findings of the study, their analysis and interpretation. The chapter is divided into the following sections (i) the profile of respondents with respect to age, gender and educational level; (ii) the causes of civilian armament in Jonglei state, South Sudan (iii) the effects of civilian armament in Jonglei state, South Sudan and finally; (iv) suggest possible solutions to enhance security in Jonglei state through civilian disarmament programmes.

The above sections correspond with the research objectives and questions in chapter one.

Profile of Respondents

The social characteristics examined include gender, age and educational level of respondents.

Distribution of Respondents by Gender

There were generally less female informants than the male counterparts. The overall ratio of female to male respondents to the study was represented by 35% female and 65% male. This shows the low level of participation of female in the study (Table 1). This return was obtained from all the targeted research informants.

Age of Respondents

The mean of the distribution of ages of respondents were calculated and found the average age of the informants to be 27 years.

Table 2
Profile of Respondents

Gender (Items)		Frequency	Percentage
Female		42	35%
Male		78	65%
Total		120	100%
Age Distribution of Respondents in years			
Age (years)	x (Average)	f (frequency)	fx
Less than 20	10.0	14	140
21 – 30	25.5	69	1,759.5
31 – 40	35.5	37	1,313.5
41 – 50	45.5	00	0
Total	N/A	120	3,213
Educational Level of Respondents			
Items		Frequency	Percentage
Certificate		36	43.2%
Diploma		32	38.4%
Bachelor's Degree		28	16.8%
Masters		10	12%
PhD		0	0%
Others		14	16.8%
Total		120	100%

Educational Level of Respondents

The data returns in Table 3 were obtained from the respondents who were asked to indicate the level of education they had. The response towards the education level of the respondents showed that the uneducated that fall under others were 16.8% while 16.8% of them had bachelor's degree (Table 3).

The researcher asked a respondent in the capital Bor why he did not go to school as a child. His response was as such:

"In those days schooling was perceived as something fearful and therefore only orphans who were sent to school to suffer. But those of us who had our parents alive were not sent to school." (Researcher's field notes, Jonglei 2012).

Causes of Civilian Armament

This section sought to establish the causes of civilian armament in Jonglei state, South Sudan. Table 4 presents the data returns from the field work activities, where the codes 1. refers to Strongly Agree (SA) 2. Agree (A) 3. Undecided (U) 4. Disagree (D) 5. Strongly Disagree (SD) as defined in Appendix III. Respondents were asked to rate the causes of civilian armament by ticking the right option. Their responses were summarised using percentages as shown in Table 4 below.

The presentation in Table 4 indicates that most respondents seem to strongly agree on (i) cultural practices and values (55%); (ii) underdevelopment, political and economic marginalization (60%) and (iii) Prestige as some of the key factors of civilian armament in Jonglei state. However, most of them (58.3%) seem to relax (undecided) when asked on whether substance abuse could be among the causes of civilian armament in the Jonglei state.

Table 3**Frequencies and Percentage Distributions for the Causes of Civilian Armament in Jonglei State****(n=60)**

Students' Responses N = 60						
Items	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Insecurity	21 (35%)	7 (11.7%)	3 (5%)	17 (28.3%)	12 (20%)	60 (100%)
Cultural Practices and Values	33 (55%)	20 (33.3%)	0 (0%)	6 (10%)	1 (1.7%)	60 (100%)
Commercialization of Livestock Raiding	15 (25%)	13 (21.7%)	1 (1.7%)	18 (30%)	13 (21.7%)	60 (100%)
Underdevelopment, Political Marginalization	36 (60%)	20 (33.3%)	1 (1.7%)	2 (3.4%)	1 (1.7%)	60 (100%)
Prestige	25 (41.6%)	21 (35%)	4 (6.7%)	8 (13.3%)	3 (3%)	60 (100%)
Substance Abuse	6 (10%)	5 (5%)	35 (58.3%)	7 (11.7%)	7 (11.7%)	60 (100%)

The data also indicates that commercialization of livestock raiding had balanced feelings to the respondents where 25% strongly agree as it being a cause of civilian armament against 21.7% who strongly disagree with the idea that it causes civilian armament in the state.

Another observation made was that in some communities raiding of cattle is a custom and seen as part of becoming a man. And as a Dinka in Bor mentioned:

"Most of the tribes are cattle owners [i.e. Dinka, Nuer, Murle]. They are constantly raiding each other and it is very difficult for the government to control them, because the government has no means to do something and it is hard to find out where the raiders hide themselves" (Researcher's field notes, Jonglei, 2012).

Effects of Civilian Armament in Jonglei State, South Sudan

The instrument for the data collection also sought to find the effects of civilian armament in Jonglei state, South Sudan. The responses were tabulated using frequencies and percentage distributions as shown in Table 5 below.

Besides the indications from the table, an interviewed Murle commented about the level of death and insecurity in the region:

"Many people were killed, even the sick in the hospitals, who were sent here [Bor Town] because there are no good hospitals in Pibor. And the killing was done by security personnel, those who were supposed to protect them. (...) And the government didn't see it as bad, but they took it as a good lesson for the Murle. The government did, until the present time, not take any action. It is up to now not secure here for the Murle. (...) There is a lot of fear. Everything is controlled by the Dinka. Most of the politicians and all of the police are Dinka. How can we feel safe? (...) If the security forces were mixed, they would not have done this." (Researcher's field notes, Jonglei, 2012).

This was a reaction on an incident which occurred in Bor in November 2007 where many Dinkas attacked the Murle who were in Bor, killing a large number of Murle and causing most other Murle to flee back to Pibor.

The Murle are indeed known to be relatively aggressive compared to the other tribes in Jonglei. Raiding cattle is a question of honor and valor and references to herds captured in battle or raids are made in their songs. Selected statements from Dinka about Murle:

"With Murle stealing is part of life. If you don't want to rob and steal, you are not a man."

"If a Murle dies during a raid, people don't cry. It's normal. Previously they didn't even bury their dead, but just left them for the vultures."

"It is the way of survival they have adopted, and they are a very tough people. They can survive in the bush for a long time, and just sleep in the open air, eat what is around. They can even eat mud if there is no food."

"If we want to stop the problem, we have to stop the problem at the roots; which is the Murle." (Researcher's field notes, Jonglei, 2012).

Table 4**Frequencies and Percentage Distributions for the Effects of Civilian Armament in Jonglei State****(n=60)**

Students' Responses N = 60						
Items	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Death and Injury	41 (68.3%)	13 (21.7%)	0 (0%)	4 (6.7%)	2 (3.4%)	60 (100%)
Human Rights Violations	20 (33.3%)	20 (33.3%)	2 (3.4%)	12 (13.7%)	6 (10%)	60 (100%)
Displacement, Breakdown of Social Order and Cohesion	47 (78.3%)	11 (18.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.7%)	1 (1.7%)	60 (100%)
Destruction of Future Generations	51 (85%)	9 (15%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)
Retards Economic Development and Worsens Human Security	39 (65%)	20 (33.3%)	1 (1.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)

As indicated in Table 5, none of the respondents strongly disagreed with the idea that (i) Destruction of Future Generations (0%) and (ii) Retardation of Economic Development and Worsening of Human Security (0%) as major effects of possessing arms by civilians. However, all the preconceived ideas of the researcher seemed seconded by the respondents where they agreed strongly with the reasoning that (i) death and injury (68.3%), (ii) Displacement, Breakdown of Social Order and Cohesion (78.3%) and (iii) Destruction of Future Generations (85%) are some of the effects of civilian armament in Jonglei state, South Sudan.

Possible Solutions to Enhance Security in Jonglei State

The last objective for this study was to suggest possible solutions to enhance security in Jonglei state. Frequency tabulations were made as follows in Table 6.

Table 5

Frequencies and Percentage Distributions for the Possible Solutions to Enhance Security in Jonglei State

(n=60)

Students' Responses N = 60						
Items	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Ensure that each state has an agreed security strategy	20 (33.3%)	13 (21.7%)	2 (3.4%)	9 (15%)	6 (10%)	60 (100%)
Ensure that adequate security forces are trained in place	39 (65%)	21 (35%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)
Remove the guns from the hand of unauthorized civilians	58 (96.7%)	2 (3.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)
Ensure that communities benefit from development	50 (83.3%)	10 (16.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)
Ensure that dry season border court are reactivated for inter states disputes	30 (50%)	29 (48.3%)	1 (1.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)

The data return as indicated in Table 6 shows that the majority of the respondents strongly agree with the concept paper (2009) of Southern Sudan Bureau for Community Security and Small Arms Control as the possible solutions in enhancing security in Jonglei state, for instance (i) Ensure that each state has an agreed security strategy and action plan in place before commencing disarmament (33.3%); (ii) Ensure that

adequate security forces are trained and in place to avoid creating security vacuums after civil disarmament (65%); (iii) Remove the guns from the hand of unauthorized civilians and ensure that they are properly inventoried and securely stored (96.7%); (iv) Ensure that communities benefit from development to build confidence in peace and GoSS (83.3%) and (v) Ensure that dry season border courts are reactivated or created for inter-state disputes or crimes settlement (50%).

The data returns also indicate that to solve disputes between communities there are often peace conferences, either organized by the communities themselves or by local or international NGOs. Although these conferences doubtlessly contribute to the interaction between the different communities, there are some limitations to them and a number of lessons learned have been observed. One official, for instance, stated that,

"Big conferences (with people at GoSS level) don't have much impact, but if small groups understand themselves from the grassroots and then from there know how to continue, it will lead to something. If it is done at the GoSS level without knowing what is going on in the community they [conferences] are nothing but political rallies." (Researcher's field notes, Jonglei, 2012).

In general, people do want disarmament, but the insecurity is still a great obstacle. People do not want to give up arms if other groups remain armed. As also mentioned in several interviews, people expect some form of compensation for arms surrendered. An Official of Bor County explained that because,

"There is no compensation for the guns and people run. But if there was compensation the people would maybe hand in their guns. But I know that with this [current] policy they will try to run and sell elsewhere or store the guns for later use when disarmament is over." (Researcher's field notes, Jonglei, 2012).

Similar observations were made in other interviews conducted in Jonglei where most people are overwhelmingly in favor of disarmament. However, communities were only willing to voluntarily disarm if there were guarantees for security, there had to be simultaneous disarmament of communities, a neutral party must be involved, and compensation for weapons was required.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This study has focused on examining civilian disarmament in Jonglei state and henceforth lay strategies to improve security in the region. It has attempted to (i) establish the causes of civilian armament in Jonglei state (ii) examine the effects of civilian armament in Jonglei state; and (iii) suggest possible solutions to enhance security in Jonglei state, South Sudan through civilian disarmament programmes. In this final chapter, the researcher summarizes the study key findings and makes some concluding remarks and recommendations for policy planning within the sphere of improving security in Jonglei state.

Findings

All the targeted respondents were surveyed. The relatively high achievement in terms of the targeted informants was as a result of the dry season which made life fairly easy to the researcher.

It is now hoped that this research can make a modest contribution to the existing literature on disarmament in Jonglei and South Sudan, and thereby be of academic and social relevance. While extremely complicated, tackling the proliferation of arms in South Sudan is vital for its stability and the prevention of a relapse into war, which many in South Sudan at the moment already view as inevitable with most arms in Jonglei state in South Sudan in the hands of those labeled as civilians, and yet with most civilians having been actively involved in the civil war as what could be labeled a combatant, the context of Jonglei is found to be very suitable for a case study to the possibilities of community-based disarmament programme.

During the field work in Jonglei state a number of conflicts were mentioned during various interviews and focus group discussions. As mentioned there was a conflict between Duk (Dinka) and Uror (Nuer), which was primarily about cattle. Other conflicts identified were between Pibor (Murle) and Pochala (Anyuak), between Pibor and Uror (Nuer), (i.e. between Murle and Dinka, Murle and Nuer, and Dinka and Nuer). These and other conflicts had in most cases economic causes, with cattle raids being the most important one. Other issues related to access to water points and grazing lands and abductions.

However, due to financial constraints, the research assistants offered a limited number of man-days to conduct the field work. The findings of the survey are discussed below capturing the causes and effects of civilian armament in the state.

Causes of Civilian Armament

The data returns show that there were three major factors for the causes of civilian armament in Jonglei state namely (i) cultural practices and values which is consistent with Mkutu's (2003) study; (ii) underdevelopment, political and economic marginalization which is also consistent with Mworosi (2000) and (iii) Prestige for acquiring weapons as some of the key factors of civilian armament in the Jonglei state.

Effects of Civilian Armament

All the informants interviewed perceived all the preconceived ideas of the researcher where they agreed strongly with the reasoning that (i) death and injury (ii) displacement, breakdown of social order and cohesion, (iii) destruction of future generations and (iv) retardation of economic development and worsening of human security as major effects of possessing arms by civilians. These findings are consistent with Geneva (WHO, 2001), Muggah and Batchelor (2002), Global Report on Child Soldiers (2001) and Wendy (2006) from the literature review.

Possible Solutions to Enhance Security in Jonglei State

The majority of the respondents from the field returns strongly agree with the Southern Sudanese Bureau for Community Security and Small Arms Control concept paper (2009) of the possible solutions in enhancing security in Jonglei state of ensuring that (i) each state has an agreed security strategy and action plan in place before commencing disarmament (ii) adequate security forces are trained and in place to avoid creating security vacuums after civil disarmament (iii) the guns from the hand of unauthorized civilians and ensure that they are properly inventoried and securely stored and (iv) communities benefit from development to build confidence in peace and GoSS.

Conclusion

Although the GoSS claimed disarmament will this time be comprehensive and include all communities, people believe that it is only aiming to disarm particular groups. Or disarm all communities to store weapons and rearm some when thought necessary. Past disarmament campaigns have always neglected the arms in the hands of Dinka. Nevertheless, the SPLA is not popular everywhere, and they must try to implement the disarmament to all communities at the moment. Another problem with the current disarmament is that it does not take away the root causes for people to possess arms. Indeed, arms itself are seen as root cause of the problems.

While disarmament campaigns in Jonglei yielded a significant number of guns and reduced access to them for a period, it is impossible to judge how successful the campaigns were without comprehensive data about the numbers of guns still being held by the same communities. But it is clear that success cannot be judged solely in terms of the numbers of weapons collected. Account must be taken of the 'costs' of the campaigns in terms of lives lost, residents displaced, and damage done to the fragile ecosystem of shifting loyalties and oppositions in the delicate post-CPA environment.

While residents reported that they were willing to disarm, they were understandably not willing to remain defenseless in the face of attacks by others who had not yet undergone disarmament, or who were not willing to participate fully in the campaigns. Thus it appears that even in 'disarmed' areas rearmament may have occurred (or communities cached weapons during the campaigns). For these reasons, perceived 'gains' from the campaign may have been short-lived.

Recommendation

Although disarmament is an important part of a comprehensive approach in bringing peace and security to the state, however, the disarmament campaign may not resolve the current conflict in the state because (i) the government do not know how many guns are in the hands of civilians. Some civilians own several guns and therefore may only give one gun and remain with the rest (ii) civilians may feel insecure to hand in their guns because there is no guarantee of protection against armed militias from other communities as the government has failed on numerous occasions to protect the civilians. Therefore any recommendations on disarmament in Jonglei must be made with great modesty. The following recommendations should be considered by the government of South Sudan as part of a comprehensive strategy in bringing a comprehensive peace and security to the state:

1. Carrying out disarmament simultaneously in Jonglei and in all the States using incentive method. E.g. guns exchange with money or cows. Incentives can allow civilians to voluntarily surrender their guns to the government forces.
2. Comprehensive legal frameworks addressing guns ownership, gun sales, cattle rustling/raiding, interethnic/communal attack, child abduction and identification of perpetrators using local community leaders like chiefs. Such a law will restrict gun ownership, register guns owners and license gun sale and prohibit and punish any illegal sale and ownership. The law will give maximum punishment for child abduction, civilian massacres and cattle rustling, allowing the national

armed forces to forcefully apprehend any armed groups which may be engaging in such activities.

3. Building of trust between communities through peace and reconciliation and intercommunity trade and sporting activities;
4. Changing the people mindset by sensitizing communities about the importance of peaceful co-existence including peace education workshops focused on youth and communities leaders and establishing a peace village;
5. Comprehensive community economic development programs which include creating jobs for the youth, education and vocational skills centers and modernization of cattle economy as well as introduction of crop farming;
6. Establishing buffer zones and deployment of armed forces to protect the communities, strong police forces in strategic areas prone to violence to enforce law and order and establishment of monitoring and communication networks to alert authorities of imminent attacks;
7. Strengthening decentralization of Civil Administration so that the government is much closer to the people.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: TRANSMITTAL LETTER



**KAMPALA
INTERNATIONAL
UNIVERSITY**

Ggaba Road - Kansanga
P.O. Box 20000, Kampala, Uganda
Tel: +256 - 414 - 266813 / +256 - 772 - 322563
Fax: +256 - 414 - 501 974
E-mail: admin@kiu.ac.ug
Website: www.kiu.ac.ug

**OFFICE OF THE HEAD OF DEPARTMENT, ECONOMICS AND
MANAGEMENT SCIENCES
COLLEGE OF HIGHER DEGREES AND RESEARCH (CHDR)**

Date: 4th June, 2012

**RE: REQUEST FOR HAWA KHAMIS AGANAS MCR/43772/91/DU
TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN YOUR ORGANIZATION**

The above mentioned is a bonafide student of Kampala International University pursuing Masters In Conflict Resolution and Peace Building.

She is currently conducting a research entitled " The Role of Civilian Disarmament in Enhancing Security in the State of Jonglei, South Sudan."

Your organization has been identified as a valuable source of information pertaining to her research project. The purpose of this letter is to request you to avail her with the pertinent information she may need.

Any information shared with her from your organization shall be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Any assistance rendered to her will be highly appreciated.

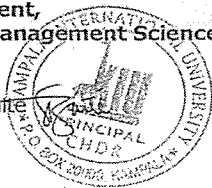
Yours truly,

for

**Mr. Malinga Ramadhan
Head of Department,
Economics and Management Sciences, (CHDR)**

NOTED BY:

**Dr. Sofia Sol T. Gatte
Principal-CHDR**



"Exploring the Heights"

APPENDIX II: INFORMED CONSENT

I am giving my consent to be part of the research study to be carried out by Hawa Khamis Aganas that will focus on 'Civilian Disarmament and Security Enhancement in the Southern Sudanese State of Jonglei'

I shall be assured of privacy, anonymity and confidentiality and that I will be given the option to refuse participation and right to withdraw my participation any time. I have been informed that the research is voluntary and that the results will be given to me if I request for them.

Initials _____

Date _____

APPENDIX III: RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

Questionnaires for NGO Workers

Dear Informants,

I am a Masters candidate at Kampala international University conducting research on **"Civilian Disarmament and Security Enhancement in the Southern Sudanese State of Jonglei"**. The purpose of my research is to examine civilian disarmament in Jonglei state and henceforth lay strategies to improve security in the region.

I would like to solicit your participation in this research. All participants are assured anonymity and confidentiality throughout each stage of the research, including the presentation of the research results.

I am hopeful that you will have the time to participate in my study. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Hawa Khamis Aganas

MCR/43772/91/DU

Kampala International University

Section A: Face-Sheet

Please put a tick (✓) or fill the information in the spaces provided

(a) Your age group

- ☐ Less than 20 years
☐ 21-30 years
☐ 31-40 years
☐ 41 Plus

(b) Sex of respondents

- ☐ Male
☐ Female

(d) Your highest level of Education

- ☐ Certificate
☐ Diploma
☐ Bachelor's degree
☐ Masters
☐ PhD

☐ Others

What is the mission of your organization

What are the objectives of the organization?

What service do you give to the community?

For how long have you been working?

Section B: Causes of Civilian Armament in Jonglei State of South Sudan

Please indicate your agreement with the statements below using the scale provided. Tick in the appropriate box against the number that best reflects how you rate it. The numbers range from 1 to 5.

1. Strongly agree (SA) 2. Agree (A) 3. Undecided (U)
4. Disagree (D) 5. Strongly Disagree (SD)

Items	SA	A	U	D	SD
Causes of Civilian Armament					
1. Insecurity	1	2	3	4	5
2. Cultural Practices and Values	1	2	3	4	5
3. Commercialization of Livestock Raiding	1	2	3	4	5
4. Underdevelopment, Political and Economic Marginalization	1	2	3	4	5
5. Prestige	1	2	3	4	5
6. Substance Abuse	1	2	3	4	5
Any other? specify					

Section C: Effects of Civilian Armament in Jonglei State

Please indicate your agreement with the statements below using the scale provided on the effects of civilian armament.

Items	SA	A	U	D	SD
7. Death and Injury	1	2	3	4	5
8. Human Rights Violations	1	2	3	4	5
9. Displacement, Breakdown of Social Order and Cohesion	1	2	3	4	5
10. Destruction of Future Generations	1	2	3	4	5
11. Retards Economic Development and Worsens Human Security	1	2	3	4	5
Any other? specify					

SECTION D: Possible Solutions to Enhance Security in Jonglei State

Please indicate your agreement with the statements below using the scale provided on the Suggestions For Improvement of security in Jonglei.

Items	SA	A	U	D	SD
12.Ensure that each state has an agreed security strategy and action plan in place before commencing disarmament	1	2	3	4	5
13.Ensure that adequate security forces are trained and in place to avoid creating security vacuums after civil disarmament	1	2	3	4	5
14.Remove the guns from the hand of unauthorized civilians and ensure that they are properly inventoried and securely stored	1	2	3	4	5
15.Ensure that communities benefit from development to build confident in peace and GoSS	1	2	3	4	5
16.Ensure that dry season border court are reactivated or created for inter states disputes	1	2	3	4	5
17.Voluntary and peaceful approaches to disarmament should be pursued as the best option	1	2	3	4	5
Any other? specify					

Interview Guide for Ex-combatants

(To be translated in the local language) Although years have passed since the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) ended the second North–South Sudanese civil war (1983–2005), security has not improved demonstrably in many areas of the South. On the assumption that small arms and light weapons are one source of ongoing insecurity

1. What do you think could be the Causes of civilian armament in Jonglei state, South Sudan?
2. What effects has the armament of civilians brought to the people of Jonglei?
3. How do you think this insecurity problem in Jonglei could be improved?

APPENDIX IV: MAJOR TRIBAL GROUPS, SOUTH SUDAN

Tribal group	Approximate % of South Sudan population	State (s) of origin
Dinka	40%	Bahr El Ghazal (west and north), Warab, Abyei, Jonglei, Upper Nile, Lakes
Nuer	20%	Jonglei, Upper Nile, Unity
Azande	10%	Western Equatoria
Toposa	8%	Eastern Equatoria
Shilluk	5%	Upper Nile
Murle	4%	Jonglei
Anyuak	1.5%	Jonglei
Mundari	1.5%	Bahr El Jabal (Central Equatoria)
Bari	1%	Bahr El Jabal (Central Equatoria)
Didinka	1%	Eastern Equatoria
Others	8%	
	100%	Total

Source: John Young, 'The South Sudan Defence Forces in the Wake of the Juba Declaration' (Small Arms Survey, Geneva, 2006)

**APPENDIX V: A TYPICAL VILLAGE IN JONGLEI COMPRISING OF
TUKUL (HUTS)**



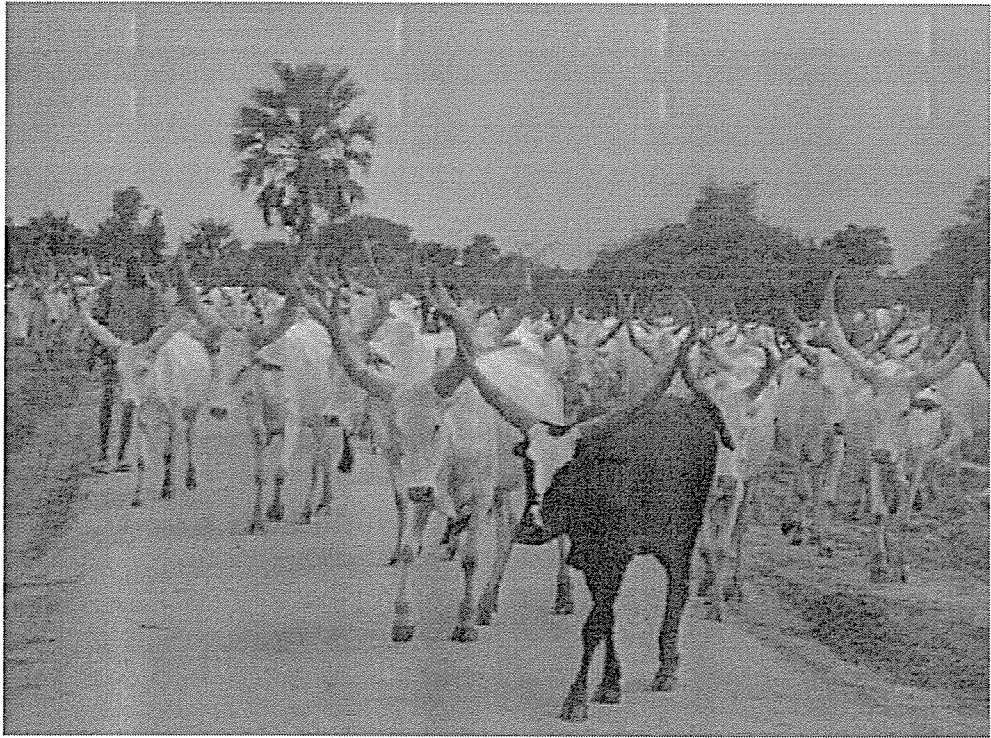
Adapted from Willem (2008)

APPENDIX VI: SPLA MILITARY POLICE GUARDING THE STREETS OF BOR



Adapted from Willem (2008)

**APPENDIX VII: A HERD OF CATTLE GUARDED BY A MAN WITH AN
ASSAULT RIFLE**



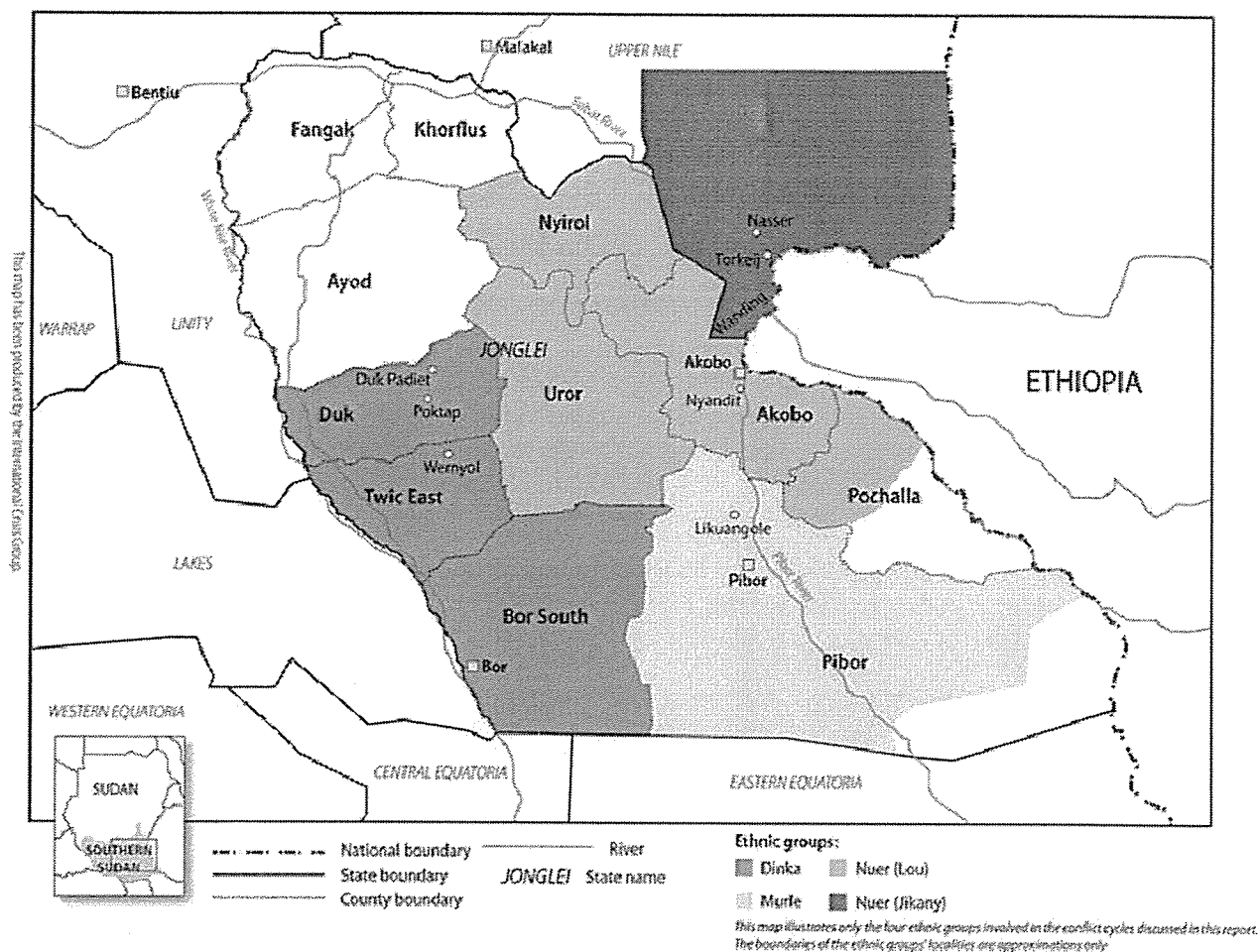
Adapted from Willem (2008)

**APPENDIX VIII: CIVILIANS CARRY WEAPONS TO A
DISARMAMENT COLLECTION POINT IN JONGLEI STATE IN 2006**



Adapted from Mohamed Nureldin Abdalah/Reuters

APPENDIX IX: MAP OF JONGLEI STATE, SOUTH SUDAN



APPENDIX X: TABLE FOR DETERMINING SAMPLE SIZE
FROM A GIVEN POPULATION

N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S
10	10	100	80	280	162	800	260	2800	338
15	14	110	86	290	165	850	265	3000	341
20	19	120	92	300	169	900	269	3500	246
25	24	130	97	320	175	950	274	4000	351
30	28	140	103	340	181	1000	278	4500	351
35	32	150	108	360	186	1100	285	5000	357
40	36	160	113	380	181	1200	291	6000	361
45	40	180	118	400	196	1300	297	7000	364
50	44	190	123	420	201	1400	302	8000	367
55	48	200	127	440	205	1500	306	9000	368
60	52	210	132	460	210	1600	310	10000	373
65	56	220	136	480	214	1700	313	15000	375
70	59	230	140	500	217	1800	317	20000	377
75	63	240	144	550	225	1900	320	30000	379
80	66	250	148	600	234	2000	322	40000	380
85	70	260	152	650	242	2200	327	50000	381
90	73	270	155	700	248	2400	331	75000	382
95	76	270	159	750	256	2600	335	100000	384

Note: N is population size and S is sample size.

Adapted from Amin (2005)

APPENDIX XI: RESEARCHER'S CURRICULUM VITAE

Personal Profile

Name: Hawa Khamis Aganas
Gender: Female
Nationality: South Sudanese

Educational Background

Masters degree in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building (KIU)	2012
Bachelors degree in Environmental Management (MUK)	2004
UACE (Mvara SSS)	1998
UCE (Mvara SSS)	1995

Work Experience

2 years as Trainer of Trainees (WENIPS)
2 years in Administrative work (SSCCSE)
3 years in Social Work and Community Reconciliation (UNMIS/UNMISS)



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2012