**Report**

**Conflict Assessment in Warrap**

**16- 21 October 2020**

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# Situation Overview

Warrap state is located in the Northern part of the Republic of South Sudan neighboring Unity state to the East, Western Bar el Ghazal state to the South- West, Lakes States to South, Northern Bar el Ghazal to West and Sudan to the North. As per the presidential decree dividing South Sudan into 32 states, Warrap was divided into 3 states of Gokrial, Tonj and Twic states. According to focus group discussion conducted with the youths during the assessment, they reported the socioeconomic impact of the violent conflict which resulted high rate of death amongst youths, displacement of households in villages where battles were fought, disruption of economic activities such as farming and destruction of sources of livelihood which place the state in dire situation of food insecurity, subsequently, forcing majority of the residents to depend on the imported food items[[1]](#footnote-1). These findings were echoed by baseline study of TOCH “during the fights, several people are said to have lost their lives, while many more have suffered and sustained injuries. The movement between the two states has become more restricted and regulated. The farmers cannot freely move to Dinka land and neither the pastoralists to Wau, yet both expressed desire and need to move to either places”[[2]](#footnote-2) TOCH 2018.

Women were highly affected by the conflict in Warrap state. In the focus group discussion, women explained that during the conflict, there is always breakdown of tradition and custom that bring forth bad practices such as rapes. Women and young girls suffer the abuses of rape during the conflict due to breakdown of social norms. In comparison to men, women, children, and elderly are the groups that suffer when the conflict started as they run to places of safety - as displaced persons subjecting them to lack of water, shelter, food, and medicine. One of the women participants stressed that “Women who are married across the ethnic line suffer the most, in some cases, a spouse may send his wife back to her community thereby separated from her children and their livelihood.” women further stated that the number of domestic violence rises, as some men constantly mistreats and beats up their wives as displacement of anger, as they(wives) are looked to be from the enemy ethnic group. The domestic violence in many cases results to separation and divorce[[3]](#footnote-3).

Women, despite the fact they suffer the most in the conflict, they also have a positive contribution in the resolution of the conflict in Warrap. In the focus group discussion, women stated that their role in peacebuilding has always been crucial as they directly participate intercommunal dialogue resolving conflict incidences at hand; do peacebuilding advocacy through radio talk-show for communities to forgive, heal and reconcile; help in dissemination of vital government policies such as Revitalized Agreement of Conflict Resolution in South Sudan and teaching young girls ethic and community values that promote, respect and peaceful coexistence.

Due to the proximity of Warrap state to Sudan, the local market in the state depends on the imported goods from Sudan. The closure of the Sudan- South Sudan border in 2012 due to political and diplomatic misunderstanding between the two states has made Warrap to depend on food which is imported from East African countries (Uganda and Kenya) which take long to reach the market due to poor roads and insecurity. Subsequently, the closure of borders has impacted the South Sudan- Sudan border region as reported by Radio Dabanga in 2019 “…They pointed out that the closure of crossings and the collapse of the South Sudanese have contributed to the worsening economic conditions in the region[[4]](#footnote-4)” When food reaches the market, its prices are always unaffordable to majority of the residents increasing the vulnerability of most of the households that are unemployed. This has resulted to negative socio-economic impact on the community, as cases of cattle theft, force and child marriages becomes common as remedy to alleviate the poverty of the households. As it was reported in the causes of child marriages in Warrap “A number of reasons were given that seems to be gender directed. Over 80% of men respondents reported that child marriages are majority due to the man’s desires for cows - as a source of wealth[[5]](#footnote-5)” TOCH 2019 (P20)

Warrap is inhabiting by four ethnic groups of Dinka, Jur Manager, Jurchol/Lou and Bongo. The dominant ethnic group is Dinka where the President Salva Kiir comes from. At the grassroots level, these ethnic groups do not have structural conflict amongst themselves but rather experience sporadic violence that are trigger by competition over land, water points, pastures, and social issues such as girl’s elopement and adultery, which were use to be resolved by the local tradition courts[[6]](#footnote-6). However, with the independence of South Sudan and the new dimension of politicization of the ethnicity, there has been an increase of intra and intercommunal conflict in Warrap since 2011. This is well captured in the United Nations Peacebuilding Plan 2018 “The conflict in South Sudan is primarily driven by elite interests. While local level conflicts exist and predate the civil war. Conflicts at the local are also exploited by elite interests/Indeed, 46.2% of the South Sudanese feel that inter-communal disputes and conflicts have increased since independence[[7]](#footnote-7)”

The intra communal conflict pit sub-section of Dinka community against each other which is triggered by the competition over land ownership and use, cattle theft, competition over water points and pastures, social related drivers such as girl’s elopement and adultery. These sporadic conflicts are executed by youths which consequently affected the general members of the community[[8]](#footnote-8). The intercommunal conflict on the other hands pits the Dinka against the neighboring communities within, and the neighboring states: The Nuer in Unity State and Fertit and Lou in Western Bar el Ghazal. The conflict drivers and the impact of the intercommunal violence in Warrap remain the same with those of intracommunal violence.

The civil war of 2013 and 2016 do not have military battles which were fought within Warrap state, nevertheless, the neighboring states such as Western Bar el Ghazal and Unity states which were mostly affected have spilt over to Warrap. Since the President Kiir comes from Rek Dinka of Warrap, there was reported target killing of Dinka community by the suspected SPLM-IO in Wau, Western Bar el Ghazal which was revenged by the Dinka against the Lou and the Fertit communities, resulting to many households being displaced to Protection of Civilian (PoC) protected by UNMISS in Wau. The cattle raids and organize attack by the Nuer from Unity against villages of Warrap have drastically increase during the period of civil war. This could be alluded to the increase of arms and ammunitions amongst youth militias, which have turned to use them for cattle raiding and rustling.[[9]](#footnote-9)

The sharing of *toc* (Swampy area for cattle grazing and water) area during the dry season between the communities of Warrap and Unity, and between the communities of Western Bar el Ghazal and Warrap has never become peaceful as they are marred by violent conflict triggered by the destruction of crops, spearing, killing of cows, cattle rustling and theft. When the pastoralists communities migrate on the onset of the dry season to the river side (*toc area*) in search for water and pastures for their cattle, they find crops still in the field not harvested, in the villages along the passage to “*toc’*. With thousands of herds being driven across villages, the cattle trend to trample and feed on crops, which anger the crop farmers resulting to spearing and killing of cows. The pastoralist – crop farmers conflict is summarized below “whereas the migration itself wouldn’t be as ruinous to cause conflict between the pastoralists of Tonj and farmers of Wau, the movement is characterized by destroying of crops on one hand and killing of cattle on another hand, often in revenge. If the pastoralists would move without destroying the crops of farmers, if they would control their cattle so as not to eat crops, and on the other hand, if the farmers and rebels would desist from killing pastoralists animals, there would be minimal or no conflict.”[[10]](#footnote-10) TOCH 2018.

The creation of 32 states which divided Warrap into Three: Gokrial, Twic and Tonj states have increase the intracommunal violent amongst Dinka community as the adversaries between the Dinka-subsections which were minimal were expose by the political wrangling for states’ political leadership. This has resulted to the violent conflict that fit Apuk against Aguok of the defunct Gokrial state over the claim of land ownership. The greater Kuanythi and Akop of the defunct Tonj state experience fierce violence over social related incidents of girl elopement (when the suitor runs away with the girl without paying dowries or when girl is impregnated and the man decided to run away with her without consent of her parents), coupling with poor excess to justice at the grassroots. At the community level, the traditional courts which uses to settle the customary cases seem to be losing the power of authority due to inferences from political elites. “There are numerous cases in Warrap were traditional chiefs were threatened by county commissioners not to try some cases they have interest on, denying justice to the victims[[11]](#footnote-11)” The inference of political elites in traditional courts results to breakdown of the rule of law at the grassroots which aggravates the victims whose justice is denied, opting to settle their grievances using violence. With new political dispensation in the country that resulted to revert of the administrative structures from 32 states to 10 states + 3 administrative Area, the political elites are shifting their political focus from community politics to states’ politics enabling the communities in counties such as Gorial to reconcile and experience living in harmony.[[12]](#footnote-12)

There is general feeling amongst groups that participated in focus group discussion that the rule of law that use to be enforced by the local courts is eroding away at the grassroots across Warrap state. With available of the modern courts which took over the customary cases, the local courts felt to be rendered useless and loss the sphere of influence in the community. The mode of operation of the modern court that requires legal representation is popular amongst the political elites who could afford to pay for legal representation. However, the state does not provide appropriate legal representation to those who could not afford it – making justice tilt towards those who have money. Over 80% of the women who participated in the focus group discussion state that “due to the interference of the elites on the customary cases such as cases of adultery, girl elopement and divorce by requesting the cases to be heard in town, it has made many people who do not have elite back up not to access justice[[13]](#footnote-13)” The community further requested that social issues such as marriages, adultery and girl elopement be handle in the local courts without interference by the political class such as county commissioners or military generals. “Out customary laws are very clear in handling the cases of marriages, divorce and issues of rape, when they are taken to modern court and the ruling is done base on the constitutional law, there are always feeling of injustice by the aggrieved party” said by one of women group who participated in focus group discussion. The customary courts value restorative justice, unlike the modern court that seek punitive justice. For example, in Warrap customary law, to settle the case of a murder, the accused is expected to pay blood compensation of 51 cows, unlike the modern court that may convict the culprit to jail terms. Amongst Warrap communities, the former satisfied the aggrieve party then the later.[[14]](#footnote-14)

Cattle migration also caused tension between the pastoralists who are predominantly Dinka and Lou/Jurchol who are crop farmers. Although there are attempts to address this conflict driver by state government and agencies working for peacebuilding through a negotiated settlement known as Marial Baai agreement, “The Marial Baai agreement was drafted as a result of discussions and dialogue between representatives from three states of Tonj, Wau and Gokrial and non-governmental organizations…The agreement committed both parties to stop the destruction of crops as well as the theft and killing of cattle”[[15]](#footnote-15) TOCH 2018. The terms in the agreement have not been implemented fully that made the conflict between the communities imminent during the dry season cattle migration period. The baseline explained the challenges facing Marial Baai Agreement “There are communities, that are not party to the agreement, but they are pastoralists and move also in search of water and pastures. Because they do not feel bound by the agreement, these communities are more reckless and do not care to destroy farmers corps…The agreement has some clauses that are considered unrealistic by the communities. One of the often cited…is compensation for crop destroyed, the pastoralists must pay a cow… finally, the agreement exists in English language, and not well disseminated to the local people[[16]](#footnote-16)” TOCH 2018

# 2. Major Conflict dynamics and Conflict drivers

2.1. Intrastate conflict dynamics

2.1.1. The Dinka Subclans of Apuk versus Aguok

With the division of Warrap into three states: Tonj, Gokrial and Twic; the Apuk and Aguok subclan becomes the dominate forces in the defunct Gokrial state. Through competition for state’s political posts, the elites scratch bares the adversaries between the two communities.Thecompetition exposes the adversaries between the two clans resulting violent conflict that claim over 1500 lives[[17]](#footnote-17). The conflict that started in 2015 after the declaration of the Gokrial state resulted to huge displacement of many households (both from Apuk and Aguok villages to town settlement were there is presence of police forces that ensure personal safety) and destruction of properties. The conflict was carried by youths with blessings from the chiefs and political elites[[18]](#footnote-18). The conflict was narrated to be ignited by the competition over land ownership and use, lack of access to justice and political interference by the local politicians and businessmen. The youths’ focus group discussion stated that “Some of our politicians uses adversary between Apuk and Aguok for political gain, there has been trending policy that if there is an intercommunal fight during the reign of a particular governor, that particular governor should be looked at as someone who have fail the state security and be remove by the president. This has made the opposition of states governments to use their communities as a quick way for the governor to be relief. The businessmen who wish to do business with particular state leadership as well participated in this malicious act”[[19]](#footnote-19)

The Warrap conflict assessment finds the follow as conflicts drivers between the Apuk and Aguok:

1. **Land Disputes:** The ownership of “Toc” area has been claimed by both Aguok and Apuk communities. Toc is the only place that has water and pastures during the dry season. Both communities use the Toc during the dry season to access water and pastures. Due to the politicization of ethnicity, the Aguok and Apuk communities who have been sharing the Toc land during the dry season now felt that they could no longer shared it peaceful, as the contest for the ownership spiral into violence. The complexity of the matter is captured below “…Real and perceived grievances have been ethicized and are being used for political gain. This has eroded social cohesion and led to a general climate of fear, mistrust and revenge attacks and killings between communities. As a result, 45.6 % of the population feel that disputes and grievances between members of the same community (intra- communal) that lead to armed violence have increased since independence. Also, 46.2% of the South Sudan population feel that inter-communal disputes and conflicts have increased since independence.[[20]](#footnote-20)” UN 2018
2. **Lack of Access to Justice:** During 2015-2020 conflict between Apuk and Aguok, there wereatrocities committed by both parties to the conflict such as killing, burning of houses, and raiding of cattle. The atrocities affected almost everyone in both communities to the conflict. This was broken down by women in the focus group discussion “The conflict have negatively affected everyone in both communities, for example, the higher percentage of death were recorded amongst youths who were on the frontline; women and children suffer from the effect of house burning and displacement; whereas, children and elderly who only feed on milk suffer the effect of cattle raid the most” In an attempt to redress the conflict grievances, there was special court constituted by the South Sudan Judiciary to investigate and try the cases of abuses committed during the conflict. It was stated in the focus group discussion with local government that “As you all are aware that South Sudan have limited number judges to cover whole country and render the judicial services. Hence, when the special court was established in Warrap, the judge of high court at the state level was appointed to head that special court with clear mandate to investigate and try the atrocities committed during Apuk and Aguk conflict. However, the judge had cases prior to his appointment to the new role. Hence, the court has never address some of the cases since the judge who was appointed to head the special court was having pending criminal cases that he prioritized without looking into the new conflict related cases.”[[21]](#footnote-21)
3. **Political interference:** The conflict between Apuk and Aguok has political incitement by the politicians who finance the intercommunal conflict. According to focus group discussion with local government representative, it was stated that “The politicians who want to score political goal support the anarchy at the state level so that they could be given chance to political power.” The UN peacebuilding plan explained it better “South Sudan’s peacebuilding challenge is complex and multifaceted. At the heart of this challenge, is a governance crisis that has failed to regulate and manage elite competition over access to and control of the state apparatus; and, by extension, the mechanisms of resource accumulation and redistribution.[[22]](#footnote-22)” The peace actors further explain political attitude amongst communities “There is a general believe in South Sudan when a politician is appointed to a political position, the community where he/she comes from feel that they are represented. contrary, when the community do not have a politician appointed to a particular position either in the state or national government, they felt left out in that government.” Base on this backdrop Some politicians from Apuk felt that they were at the periphery of decision making at the state level, since the governor during the crisis was from Aguok[[23]](#footnote-23)”. The ethnicization of politics at the state is believed to be played by the disgruntle politicians who uses community to achieve political power. The ethnicization of politics has been further explain during youth focus group discussion "The politics of ethnicity has taken deep roots in South Sudan and in Warrap in particular, you have seen every community have association that are not use for socioeconomic aspect but to advance politics. Majority of the community association at the national level are being headed by the politicians, who in many cases misinform their communities back home for their political games. It has been trending of late that communities recommend political appointments, which should be mandate of political parties”. With misinformation coupling with community attitude on political representation, the politicians could easily influence the grassroots communities for peace or conflict.

2.2.2. Greater Akop versus Kuanythii – Tonj North

The conflict between greater Akop versus greater Kuanythii started in 2016**.** According to peace actor focus group discussion, it was narrated thatthe conflict was ignited by the social related incident – A man was injured during a brawl over payment of bride price. The injured person took the case to the court, and when the local court could not delivery justice, he opted for revenge by killing a brother of the person who injured him, thus, escalating the violence between two communities. “The conflict led to death of 94 people from both communities, displacement of many households in villages where battles were carried out and thousands of cattle were raid, others kill in crossfire” youths’ focus group discussion. “The youths were the perpetrators of violence, whereas local chiefs and politicians incite youths for more revenge[[24]](#footnote-24)” The conflict turned into a vicious cycle of revenge attack that entangle various Dinka subclans who have kindship to both greater Akop and Kuanythii into the intercommunal conflict. In 2017, the community of Tonj where greater Akop and Kuanythii fall, had an intercommunal conference that resolved for the special court with support from traditional authorities be formed to investigate and address the triggers of violence. This provide a temporary truce between the communities until the conflict was trigger again within the same year (before the resolutions of the past intercommunal conference were implemented) by a young man who impregnated a girl and refuse to marry her that anger brothers of the girl for went for violence. Due to persistence of conflict in Tonj North, the president decree for disarmament in Bar el Ghazal region. The 2017 disarmament forces never carry out a comprehensive disarmament due logistical challenge. The former governor of Tonj Hon. Tong Aleu was quoted saying “we have so many challenges facing our forces that are carrying out disarmament process at the hotspots, our forces do not have food and they don’t have fuel for their operation cars and motivation for the officers who move with their forces[[25]](#footnote-25)” UNOCHA 2017. In 2020, there was another order from the president for disarmament in Greater Bar el Ghazal. “The SSPDF has justified reasons why it launched the disarmament exercise in Warrap, saying the militarized nature of communal violence there prompted the army to act fast. The Commander of the Disarmament Exercise says civilians around Tonj County are using heavy machinery to conduct cattle raid and kill each other”[[26]](#footnote-26) These views were amplified by the UN Human right commissioner “states that the nature of the intercommunal conflicts has been evolving in recent years, taking on an increasingly militarized character with military-style tactics and military-grade weapons.”[[27]](#footnote-27)

1. **Arms proliferations:** In former Tonj district, it was reported in the focus group discussion with youths that the availability of the illicit small arms and light weapons in the hands of the civilians have increased the tendency of use of violence to address the intercommunal grievances. The youths in the focus group discussion narrated the sources of illicit arms “over the years, generals in the army, influential politicians and the businessmen arm their communal youths in the villages in the assumption of the youths to take care of their livestock. This has increased the number of the arms in the community.” The other aspect that has increase the availability of the small arms and light weapons in the community is the 2020-armed conflict between the civilian and the military who were doing the disarmament in Tonj area. The civilian overran the military barrack and take control of a number of guns and ammunitions that increases their stockpiles. “In July 2020, the SSPDF launched the process of removing guns from the hands of civilians in Tonj North County. It also targeted armed civilians in Lakes, Terekeka, Warrap and Jonglei areas. But the process was suspended after armed youth clashed with the disarmament unit in Luanyjang area. The intense fighting resulted in the death of over 120 soldiers and civilians. Others were killed in Luanyjang County while some died when armed youth attacked military outposts in Romic during the night.”[[28]](#footnote-28)

Initially there has been a mix feeling about the disarmament process, as some section of the communities were supportive of the process, as it was seen to be the viable mechanism for achieving sustainable peace. whereas another section of the community requested for uniform disarmament across the country, to avoid the community that is disarmed, being vulnerable to the neighboring communities which were not disarmed. The conflict between the community and the SSPDF was not a planned but mismanagement of the incident, reported by one youth in focus group discussion. According to eye radio report “The SSPDF said the fighting was allegedly triggered by an argument over a red scarf between some soldiers and an armed youth[[29]](#footnote-29)” Due to the conflict between the SSPF and armed youths on 18 August 2020, the SSPDF decided to suspend the disarmament exercise.

1. **Lack of Access to Justice:** The communities complain of ineffectiveness of theof traditional authorities and mechanism for traditional dispute resolutions through the traditional courts at the grassroots. The poor functionality of traditional court at community level has resulted to the poor access to justice. In focus group with religious leader, it was state that “Majority of community members felt that poor access to justice at the community level have resulted to the aggrieved parties to take laws into their own hands by committing crimes that increase uses of violence as the alternative ways of the dispute resolution.[[30]](#footnote-30)” There have been atrocities that were committed during the conflict of Kuanythi and Akop from 2016 to 2020. These atrocities were not properly investigated and addressed that result to the aggrieved parties to carryout revenge. In the attempt to redress the conflict grievances, there was special court formed for investigation and try of conflict incidences in Tonj North. According to UNMISS 2017 report “A special court was created in Tonj North to hear cases of violence between communities of warrap and Western Bahr el Gahzal[[31]](#footnote-31)” in accordance to focus group discussion with women they stated that due to high load of cases to be investigated and tried, some of the aggrieved parties would not patiently wait for the special court to try and make ruling, rather, they take the law in their hands and revenge which trigger out violence.
2. **Kuac and Jurchol:** The Jurchol/Lou are neighboring the Kuac community. Kuac fall under the Dinka ethnic group who are predominantly the pastoralists. The Jurchol/Lou ethnic group are predominately crop farmers. Since 2012 the relationship between two communities have worsen due crop destruction by the cattle of the Dinka pastoralist, which anger the Jurchol crop farmers to spear and kill Dinka cattle during the dry season cattle migration. When the cattle destroy the crop, the crop farmers retaliate by killing cattle at random. The random killing of the cattle by the crop farmers instigate the violence conflict. The crop farmers and cattle keepers’ conflicts were attempted to be resolved through support from state government, religious groups, NGOs and UN agencies working for peacebuilding - in what is known as Marial Baai conference that resulted to Marial Baai agreement that regulated the relationship between the crop farmers of the cattle keepers.

## 2.2. Interstate conflict dynamics

### 2.2.1. Dinka of Warrap versus Nuer of Unity State

During the dry season, there is always cattle migration from Warrap state to the Toc area. This cattle migration of pastoralists from the Warrap to *‘toc*’ at the Eastern part of the state brings them closer to the Bul Nuer of Unity state. Through the sharing of water points and pastures, the cattle theft intensifies amongst communities that breaks down the social cohesion. In the youths focus group discussion, it was narrated that the cause of cattle rustling “The Nuer and Dinka are River- Lakes Nilots that share the same customs and cultures. One common features of their cultures is paying dowries in form of cattle. The culture of dowries is one of the aspects that put a lot of pressure on the young men who are in the marriage age that trigger them to conduct cattle theft and raid” Nevertheless, there are opposing views on the narrative of bride price influencing conflict in South Sudan. “The current trends of cattle raiding is quite recent and holds no ground to explain the concerns embedded in the South Sudanese institutions of marriage which has been in existence for centuries. The explanations for the rise in cattle raiding instead need to be posited within the context of the general breakdown of rule of law and the collapse of the norms and social order in many South Sudanese societies…The underlying cause of the rise in the phenomenon of cattle raiding is exacerbated by the proliferation of small arms and light weapons as a result of the more than two decades of war with Sudan.” Ding Yual, 2012[[32]](#footnote-32) Although there are political differences amongst the Nuer and Dinka, the immanent conflict driver is always cattle related conflict.

1. **Dinka Versus Fertit/Lou of Western Bar el Ghazal state:** Due to the current change of the climatic pattern, where rains come late and the dry season come earlier, the relationship between the crop farmers and pastoralists is negatively impacted. The pastoralists communities’ trend to carryout dry season cattle migrate earlier than they use to do 20 years ago in search for pastures and water. This has been captured in the following statement “Despite the fact that pastoralists moved even in the earlier years, it has been noted that their movements have increased and worsened over the last few years as a result of change in seasons. The pastoralists noted that they used to move in January when the dry season started, but now they already have to start moving by October as the bush burning and dry season starts quite early and this is attributed to the general change in seasons as result of climate change. This worsens the conflicts as pastoralists come earlier before the farmers have harvested their crops and before they expect them, causing more tension and conflicts between the two communities” TOCH 2018. The seasonal cattle migration conflict fits the Luo who are crop farmers against Dinkas who cattle keepers are. The migration process came in two fronts: the first front is from Gokrial area towards Wau and the second front is from Tonj area to Wau.
2. **The role of SPLM-IO militia** Western Bar el Ghazal is experiencing active militias that are allied to the SPLM-IO, these groups change the conflict dynamics as they were accused of conducting the target attack on ethnic profiling along Tonj -Wau highway. The SPLMIO were reported in the focus group discussion to be targeting Dinka travelling between Tonj and Wau. “The public vehicles travelling between Tonj and Wau have been ambushed by the militia allied to SPLM-IO and remove passengers out and killed those who are from Dinka ethnic group[[33]](#footnote-33)” Other aspect of SPLM-IO militia contributing to conflict between the two communities was captured by following statemen “…the rebel activities spur anger and resentment in the hearts of people. Sometime during the discussion with pastoralists, they mentioned that they are always not sure if it is the farmers killing their animals or it is the rebels or both because the two were hard to differentiate. On the second note, the rebel activities promote the circulation of guns in the communities, which in turn are also used in the fight between farmers and pastoralists”[[34]](#footnote-34) TOCH 2018 . These activities of the SPLM-IO militias have led to the disruption of the business amongst the communities of Wau and Tonj as the movements were limited that negatively impacting the social cohesion. According to focus group discussion with youth it was reveal that, with the intervention from the Revitalize Transition Government of National Unity, the cases of attacks on the public vehicles between Tonj and Wau have drastically reduced.

# 3. Interdependency

## 3.1. The river “Toc” brings community of Western Bar el Ghazal, Warrap and Unity states together

During the dry season The river “Toc” brings community of Western Bar el Ghazal, Warrap and Unity states together. Historically, the sharing of water and pastures during the dry season were done peacefully as the communities could abide by the norms of peaceful sharing of the natural resources. The Toc strengthen the interdependency as various communities which share the resources could build kindship through the intermarriages and friendship that would be enjoyed through coming together. However, during the recent years, the cattle migration has been marred with conflict as the cattle keepers destroy crops that instigate the conflict between the cattle keepers and crop farmers.

## 3.2: Mayen Jur Primary Schools

The school is located at Mayen Jur village at the border between Unity State that is predominantly Nuer and Warrap State predominantly Dinka. According to the finding of the focus group discussion with local authorities, the school brings together the children from Apuk, Aguok and Nuer children and it is a center of interaction for children of various background and ethnicity. In 2019 the school had 20 boys from Nuer ethnic group[[35]](#footnote-35). The social activities conducted in the school have improve the social cohesion amongst youths, children and women that overall strengthen the interdependency amongst the three communities. The children who attend the schools together trend to build friendship which were used during the conflict to bridge the social divide created by the violent conflict through networking and information sharing. In early 2020 during an attack by purported Nuer youths on Mayen Jur village, the Nuer students who were studying in the school ran and hide together with Dinka for safety. The students, at later time when to their communities and advocate for peaceful coexistence[[36]](#footnote-36).

c. Intermarriages between communities in Warrap (Aguok, Apuk, Kuanythi and Akop) and between the communities of Warrap and those of neighboring state such as Unity State (Nuer) and Western Bar el ghazal state (Lou and Fertit) has been used positively to bridge the intercommunal divide cause by violent conflict in Warrap. One of the youths in the focus group discussion gave an example “I am a Dinka but my mother come from Nuer, my maternal uncles comes from Nuer Bul which are on the border with Dinka Warrap. When the thieves from Warrap go to raid cattle in Unity State, it my maternal uncles who are the one to be affected. so, when I get to know the cattle raiders from Warrap planning to raid cattle in Unity state, I would call my maternal uncles and warn them. The same way, I receive calls from my maternal uncles to alert me if their criminals are planning to attack Warrap for cattle raid[[37]](#footnote-37)” Through the intermarriages, there are kindship which are build amongst communities that strengthen the interrelations during the time of conflict.

# 4. Peace Actors

There are several peace actors in Warrap including UNMISS Civil Affairs Department, UNFOA, The Organization for Child and Harmony TOCH, Council of Churches, Safer World and CSOs including PaCC partners. Each of the agency brings on board unique strengths that enhance complimentary work amongst peace actors promoting social cohesion and sustainable peace. In the peace actors’ focus group discussion, UNMISS-CAD was rated to have strength in logistics, through its both land and air assets that enable peace activities to be conducted in hard-to-reach places. In comparison, TOCH was rated to have strong grassroot network that enable easy mobilizations for peace conferences and dialogues. The UN agencies, funds and program draw their peacebuilding plans from “U.N. General Assembly and Security Council “peacebuilding resolutions” ([A/RES/70/262](http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_70_262.pdf) and [S/RES/ 2282](https://undocs.org/S/RES/2282(2016))) that focus on sustaining peace “at all stages of conflict and in all its dimensions” and on the imperative to prevent “the outbreak, escalation, continuation and recurrence of conflict”, in response to worrying trends such as the spike in violent conflict worldwide and unparalleled levels of forced displacement.[[38]](#footnote-38)” UN 2018

In 2016 UNDP Community Security and Small Control project ended, which usher in Peace and Community Cohesion project. The later project is being implemented through a cluster base approach, which prioritized 5 clusters across the country[[39]](#footnote-39). Amongst the 5 clusters, Warrap state have not feature in. The nonexistence of UNDP in Warrap create gap in peace actors’ coordination, as UNDP usually take lead, which resulted to a weak system of collaboration and reinforcing efforts amongst peace actors in Warrap State. The Peace commission that would have taken lead in the coordination of peace actors forum do not have functional office in Warrap. The South Sudan Peace and Reconciliation Commission gives two reasons of not having a functional office in Warrap: 1 When the country was divided into 32 states, Warrap was divided into three states of Gokrial, Tonj and Twic, none of these states established peace commission at the state level. 2. The national Peace and Reconciliation Commission, due to the national economic crisis do not have financial capacity to support all the state level Peace and Reconciliation Commission, hence opted to use the few existing states’ level Peace and Reconciliation Commission to coordinate for the region, therefore, the Peace and Reconciliation in Wau was coordinating Warrap. With partial appointment of the states’ governments for Revitalized Transitional Government of National Unity, Warrap state had only the governor and deputy governor appointed. The peace actors are waiting for the full appointment of the state government in Warrap so as to push the peace actor’s coordination forum, which will be done in partnership with state government. Since Warrap does not fall under any of UNDP 5 clusters of operation, both the government and civil society organizations have requested UNDP to reopen their Warrap office and support in the reconciliation process.

The peace actors that are operating in Warrap have been trying their level best to reconcile the conflicting communities through intercommunal dialogue. This was captured in TOCH 2018 report “There is a great need to conduct community dialogue… the dialogue should aim at discussing the causes and effects of these conflicts to two communities and triggering thoughts of restoring peace amongst communities” Through the effort of the peace actors in Warrap, Marial Baai agreement was negotiated and temporary truce was reached between the Warrap pastoralists and the Western Bar el Ghazal crop farmers, until the agreement was violated by both parties to the agreement. The Norther corridors that strengthen social cohesion between Warrap, Western Bar el Ghazal and Unity was established and finally the Aguok and Apuk conflict was resolved. The Northern corridor is the intercommunal dialogue initiative from the state’s governments of Warrap, Western Bar el Ghazal and Unity that established mechanism for peaceful coexistence amongst the communities of those states. “The critical aspects of the northern corridor are to promote free movement amongst communities and establish and empower joint police to provide protection of lives and properties of the communities[[40]](#footnote-40)”

# 5. Way forward: Recommendation

## 5.1. Empowering local courts to enhance access to justice

“The conflict has weakened traditional conflict prevention, mediation and resolution structures, and the ability of institutions to withstand political and security shocks. Weak rule of law institutions translates into total impunity of perpetrators of violence, fuels vigilantism and human rights violations[[41]](#footnote-41)” UN 2018. The conflicts in Warrap were attempted to be addressed through peaceful dispute resolution by initiating special courts to tried case of human right abuses conducted during the conflict. This has been a call in Marial Baai Agreement that resolve the intercommunal conflict between the pastoralist communities of Warrap state and crop farmers of Western Bar el Ghazal state; the Northern Corridor agreement that resolves the Dinka of Warrap, Nuer of Unity State, Bongo and Jurchol of Western Bar el Ghazal state disputes and the Aguok and Apuk agreement. All these agreements demand for the establishment of the special courts. “It is the prerogative of Judiciary of South Sudan to establish special court to investigate and try cases of abuses. The special court membership can be driven from judges and local chiefs whom chief justice deems qualified to address the cases in hand. The presence of the local chiefs in the special courts, give the courts customary wisdom to deliver justice that is acceptable at the grassroots.”[[42]](#footnote-42) A special court was established in Warrap to tried Aguok and Apuk conflict but never started to carry out its functions. “Due to poor enumeration of the government official, of which do not come regularly, many judges do not commit themselves to public service of delivering justice. There is a time were judges come to court once a week, delaying justice that is badly need”[[43]](#footnote-43) The poor access to justice has led to many community members to seek revenge through violence that spiral communities back to conflict.

## 5.2. Inclusivity of youths in peacebuilding

Youth have been feeling to have been left out in the issues of peacebuilding in Warrap state. “Despite the fact that we are the major stakeholders in the conflict, during the conflict resolution process, it is always dominated by the community elders, chief and politicians which leave youth out in the decision-making process.” It is within the Dinka traditions that youths take back seat when issues of the community are being discussed - as they are only relegated to the community defense function. Both young men and women do not have much to say in an intercommunal forum that have elders and chiefs. “If you look at the irony of the conflict in Warrap state, all the battles are fought by youths, a good number of deaths in the battles are youth, but it is unfortunate when that conflict that is killing youths is being settle, youths take back seat and allows elders to settle it on their behalf” lamented by one of the youth participants in the focus group discussion. The poor involvement of the youths in dispute resolution make some of the youths not to honor the agreement made by communities without their consent. This has created the vicious cycle of violence amongst communities as the resolutions of the conflict are always violated by youths.

## 5.3. Establish Mechanism for reductio of small arms and light weapons’ proliferation

There has been high rate of small arms and light weapons proliferation amongst communities of Warrap. All the focus group discussion conducted agreed that senior military officers, politicians and businessmen who armed their close relatives in view of provision of private protection to their wealth, particularly the cattle. These illicit arms end up being commonly used to conduct intercommunal conflict that made the conflict more disastrous. In all the session of the assessment all the participants have requested that the national government to find a way of closing all the corridors that bring in the arms. These views were also captured by TOCH “Although the South Sudan government has carried out extensive disbarment in the county, there was still lots of sentiments among both communities, charging each other for being in illegal possession of arms. Although no one would admit that they had guns, and in fact when asked, often people said we do not have the guns, but those people still do… by referring to those people they were often referring to the other community” TOCH 2018. The disarmament that was done in Warrap was partially executed, as the Tonj youths fought with army resulting to the suspension of the disarmament process. Due to the conflict between the SSPF and armed youths on 18 August 2020, the SSPDF decided to suspend the disarmament exercise. The participants in the focus group discussion suggested that to have a trust in the process of the disarmament, the national government should come with robust strategy that effect uniform disarmament across the country. Disarming one community and leave other give the community that is being disarmed the feeling of being targeted as they are left vulnerable to attack from communities that are not disarmed.

5.4. Empower traditional authority to handle customary cases

The tradition authorities are rotting away at the grassroots as the local chiefs who use to have powers to resolve customary incidents are no longer enjoying the power to try cases at the community level. In Warrap communities are organized under traditional chieftaincy which is elected by the community. In many cases, if a chief performs to the expectation of the community, his son inherits the chieftaincy. The chieftaincy established courts at various levels; the paramount chief, chief and subchief courts. These courts try customary cases such as divorces, blood compensation, adultery etc. In the customary cases, traditional courts are popular amongst the residents of Warrap as they believe to deliver justice compare to modern courts that requires legal representation and, in most cases, do not conform to local custom and cultures[[44]](#footnote-44). The poor access to justice at the grassroots level have increases the act of impunity as majority of the civilian take the law into their own hands and act with violence to resolve their grievances.

## 5.5. Youths and women economic empowerment

Poverty has been one of the conflict drivers in Warrap. Many youths are unemployed. Majority who are pastoralists sometime try to keep the cattle of their relatives and this was done voluntary without pay. The lack of employable skills, coupling with huge expectation that was placed on youths have resulted to high rate of cattle rustling and raid as youth seek for avenues of enriching themselves. To cut down the trend of cattle rustling and raid, youths who participate in the assessment suggested building of the capacities of youth and women on vocational skills so that they could be employed in the private sector. One of the youths in the focus group discussion narrated that an idol mind is the devil’s workshop, majority of youths in Warrap states are not employed and that is why it is easy for them to participate in the criminal activities. Due to lack of technical skills amongst youths, the service provision labor market in the state such as construction and hospitality are being monopolized by the foreigners. If youth are capacitating with employable skills, then they will be self-reliance and cease from criminality. The focus group discussion with women also stated that majority of women are breadwinners in many households in Warrap, through Agricultural and small-scale business practices. The women find it challenging to acquire capital for their small-scale business, as there are no microfinance institutions within Warrap state. Both participants from youths and women suggested that it will have a great impact, if youths and women are supported with microfinance to kickstart small and medium scale business such as bricklaying, carpentry, masonry and electrical wiring.

## 5.6. Establishment of community base psychosocial support

The lack of psychosocial support and counselling has made many individuals who have post traumatic disorder, such as witnessing the killing of love one, to be wild and continue to use the violence as means of resolving differences. In according to the assessment conducted by TOCH organization, it was found out that 30% of the revenge killing experience in Warrap were committed by relatives who have witness the killing of the love one and who were not able to access mental health facilities to recover from the traumatic experience. The mental health issues coupling with poor reconciliation and healing mechanism and lack of access to justice is recipe for revenge.[[45]](#footnote-45) This is well captured in peacebuilding plan “The culture of intolerance and revenge is further entrenched by trauma. To leave the trauma unaddressed is to invite a virulent repeat of cycles of violence, which has marked the painful history of South Sudan. According to a survey undertaken by South Sudan Law Society, 41 per cent of respondents endorsed symptoms consistent with a diagnosis of PTSD. This level of impact is comparable to rates documented after the genocides in Rwanda and Cambodia[[46]](#footnote-46)” UN 2018. In the focus group discussion with peace actors, they appeal for provision of counselling services to those affected by the conflict to reduce trauma and strengthen reconciliation and healing process amongst communities.

5.7. Sensitization of the communities on harmfulness of small arms and light weapon before disarmament

The government forces that were tasked to conduct disarmament in Warrap particularly Tonj area have not conducted proper sensitization on how the government will ensure the provision of security to their lives and properties of the citizens who will give up arms. “During 2020, disarmament process in Tonj, there was power vacuum at the local level, as the county commissioners were not appointed. The lack of county authorities who would have sensitize the community on government program of disarmament and how the security would be provided, create a loophole and mistrust between communities and military. The local community would have trusted sensitization that comes from their local government as they are sons and daughters of the community[[47]](#footnote-47)” The community of Warrap have had a poor social cohesion with Bongo and Lou of Western Bar el Ghazal state, Dinka Gok and Pakaam of Lakes state and Nuer of Unity state. Thus, removing their arms make them vulnerable to the attack from these communities. Furthermore, the army use excessive force which trigger violent response by the already well armed civilian. During 2020 disarmament, the conflict between the army and the civilian led to the death of over 120 people as reported by eye radio. The civilian who overran the military barrack and control guns and ammunitions that results to civilian increasing the stockpile of their ammunitions.

To have a peaceful and successful disarmament in the future, the community leadership at the grassroots should be involved to conduct the sensitization on the harmfulness of illicit small arms and light weapons in the hands of the civilians. This will also help to build the community confidence on the role of the government to provide security to the lives and properties and discourage the situation where each community have militia that provided their community security. The provision of the security to the cattle keepers across the country through empowering of police with logistic and equipment to intervene at the grassroots conflict incidents as well as enforcement of rule of law by convicting criminals who are found to have participated in grassroots conflict drivers such as raid may promote rule of law and order in the communities where anarchy rein[[48]](#footnote-48).

## 6. Risks

In 2020 disarmament, the civilian who fought the army that was conducting the disarmament in Tonj and overran the military barrack have increase the stockpile of ammunitions and illicit guns in the hands of civilians. On 18 August 2020, the SSPDF decided to suspend the disarmament exercise. This has positive and negative impact on the overall social cohesion in Warrap state. The positive impact is that the human right abuses committed both by civilians and military through killing of each other were stopped. On the negative note, the Gokrial community whose guns were disarmed are vulnerable to the Tonj North communities where disarmament did not proceed as planed.

In 2019 through 2020, There is an increase in highway ambushes and robbery that is traded between the SPLM-IO militias and SSPDF. In 2020, there was incident were the SPLM-IO militia kidnapped civilians in retaliation of their colleague who was arrested by the South Sudan People Defense Forces (SSPDF). The incident created a tradition of kidnapping and asking for ransom along Tonj -Wau highway that connects states of Western Bar el Ghazal, Northern Bar el Ghazal and Warrap to Juba. This has been reported to national government of Revitalized Transition Government of National Unity, which promised to investigate the matter. Since the security sector reformed is not implemented in accordance with the Revitalized Agreement of Conflict Resolution in South Sudan(R-ARCISS) through unification of the SPLA-IO and SSPDF, there has been accusation and counter accusation on conflict incidents regarding military criminal activities across Warrap.[[49]](#footnote-49)

**Annexes**

1. **Team for data collection**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| No | Name | Title | Gender |
| 1 | Chuol Rambang Louth | Chairperson, South Sudan Peace and Reconciliation Commission | Male |
| 2 | Benard Abingo | UNDP Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist | Male |
| 3 | Kom Mathiang | Coordinator, South Sudan Peace and Reconciliation Commission | Female |
| 4 | Mayen Muorwel | Community Cohesion and Resilience Officer, UNDP | Male |
| 5 |  |  |  |

1. **Focus Group Discussion Breakdown**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **No** | **Group** | **Male** | **Female** | **Total Participants** |
| 1 | Youth Leaders | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| 2 | Women Leaders |  | 4 | 4 |
| 3 | Local government | 12 | 2 | 14 |
| 4 | Religious group | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| 5 | Peace Actors | 9 | 8 | 17 |
|  | Total | 29 | 12 | 49 |

1. Government Counterparts that participate in KII

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| No | Institution | Male | Female | Number participate in KII |
| 1 | Min. of Health | 2 |  | 2 |
| 2 | Min. of Local Gov | 2 |  | 2 |
| 3 | Min. of Agriculture | 2 |  | 2 |
| 4 | Min. of Physical Infrastructure | 1 |  | 1 |
| 5 | Min. of Rural Development | 2 |  | 2 |
| 6 | Min. of Finance | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 7 | Min. of Gender |  | 1 | 1 |
| 8 | Min. of Child and Social Welfare | 1 |  | 1 |
| 9 | SPLM Secretariat | 1 |  | 1 |
|  | Total | 12 | 2 | 14 |

1. **Focus Group with Peace Actors**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| No | Institution | Male | Female | Total |
| 1 | UNMISS – Civil Affairs | 2 |  | 2 |
| 2 | UN FOA | 2 |  | 2 |
| 3 | The Organization for Children Harmony (TOCH) | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 4 | Norwegian Church Aid | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 5 | Child Hand Made Poverty Action |  | 2 | 2 |
| 6 | Catholic Agency Foundation | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 7 | Pagol Women Association | 1 | 3 | 4 |
|  |  | 9 | 8 | 17 |

1. Focus group discussion with youths, 17th October 2020, Kwajok, Warrap state [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. The Organization for Children Harmony (TOCH) and Gesellschaft for Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), 2018, Baseline study on the causes of conflicts between farmers and pastoralists in Wau and Tonj states [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Focus group discussion with women group, 18th October 2020, Kwajok, Warrap state [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/sudan-south-sudan-border-crossings-remain-closed [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. The organization of children Harmony 2019, Knowledge attitude and practices baseline survey report: Understanding the social norms that undermine the gender biases in Gorial West and East counties of Warrap state of South Sudan [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Focus group discussion with local government officials 16th October 2020, Kwajok, Warrap State [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. United Nations in South Sudan Peacebuilding Plan 2018 [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Focus group discussion with women group, 18th October 2020, Kwajok, Warrap state [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Focus group discussion with local government official, 16th, October 2020, Kwajok Warrap State [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. The Organization for Children Harmony (TOCH) and Gesellschaft for Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), 2018, Baseline study on the causes of conflicts between farmers and pastoralists in Wau and Tonj states [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Key informant Interview with Ministry of Local government. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Focus group discussion with local government [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Focus group discussion with women group, 20 October 2020, Kwajok, Warrap State [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Focus group discussion with youths [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. The Organization for Children Harmony (TOCH) and Gesellschaft for Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), 2018, Baseline study on the causes of conflicts between farmers and pastoralists in Wau and Tonj states [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. The Organization for Children Harmony (TOCH) and Gesellschaft for Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), 2018, Baseline study on the causes of conflicts between farmers and pastoralists in Wau and Tonj states [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Focus group discussion with peace actors in Warrap state. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Focus group discussion with women group, 20 October 2020, Kwajok, Warrap state [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Focus group discussion with youths, 17th October 2020, Kwajok, Warrap state [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. United Nations in South Sudan Peacebuilding Plan 2018 [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Focus group discussion with local government official, 16th, October 2020, Kwajok Warrap State [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. United Nations In South Sudan Peacebuilding Plan 2018 [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Focus group discussion with peace actors [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Focus group discussion with peace actors [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. https://reliefweb.int/report/sudan/logistics-hampering-disarmament-b-el-ghazal-region-governor [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. https://eyeradio.org/sspdf-on-why-it-launched-disarmament-in-tonj-first/ [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. https://eyeradio.org/sspdf-on-why-it-launched-disarmament-in-tonj-first [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. https://eyeradio.org/army-resumes-disarmament-of-tonj-gelweng/ [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. https://eyeradio.org/army-resumes-disarmament-of-tonj-gelweng/ [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Focus group discussion with religious group [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. https://www.csrf-southsudan.org/county\_profile/tonj-north/ [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. https://www.polity.org.za/article/the-complex-causes-of-cattle-raiding-in-south-sudan-2012-05-10#:~:text=Some%20researchers%20have%20thus%20drawn%20a%20correlation%20between,seek%20wives%20from%20different%20ethnic%20groups%20or%20countries. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Focus group discussion with peace actors group [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. The Organization for Children Harmony (TOCH) and Gesellschaft for Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), 2018, Baseline study on the causes of conflicts between farmers and pastoralists in Wau and Tonj states [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Focus group discussion with local authorities, 16 October 2020, Kuajok, Warrap state [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Focus group discussion with local authorities, 16 October 2020, Kuajok, Warrap State [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Focus group discussion with youths [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. United Nations in South Sudan Peacebuilding Plan 2018 [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. UNDP Peace and community Cohesion pro doc [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Focus group discussion with local government, 16 October 2020, Kuajok, Warap State [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. United Nations in South Sudan Peacebuilding Plan 2018 [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Focus group discussion with local government, 16 October 2020, Kuajok, Warap State [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Focus group discussion with local government, 16 October 2020, Kuajok, Warap State [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Focus group discussion with women [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. The Organization for Children Harmony (TOCH) and Gesellschaft for Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), 2018, Baseline study on the causes of conflicts between farmers and pastoralists in Wau and Tonj states [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. United Nations in South Sudan Peacebuilding Plan 2018 [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Focus group discussion with local government, 16 October 2020, Kuajok, Warrap state [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Focus group discussion with local government, 16 October 2020, Kuajok, Warrap state [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Focus group discussion with local government, 16 October 2020, Kuajok, Warrap state [↑](#footnote-ref-49)