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# Cattle Rustling and Its Effects among Three Communities (Dinka, Murle and Nuer) in Jonglei State, South Sudan

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Cattle Rustling and Its Effects among Three Communities (Dinka, Murle and Nuer) in  
Jonglei State, South Sudan

by

Phillip Tor Manyok

A Dissertation Presented to the  
College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences of Nova Southeastern University  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
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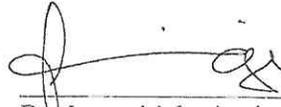
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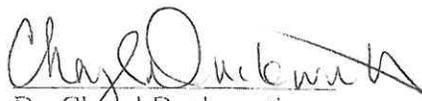
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## Table of Contents

List of Tables .....	v
List of Figures .....	vi
Abstract .....	vii
Chapter One: Research introduction .....	1
Introduction .....	1
Background of the study .....	1
Statement of the research problem .....	4
Research question .....	5
Dinka, Nuer and Murle detailed background .....	6
Scope of the study .....	12
Expected research contribution to the field .....	13
Rest of dissertation organization .....	13
Chapter Two: Literature review .....	15
Introduction .....	15
Theories of the study .....	16
Explaining cattle rustling using social cubism theory .....	16
Explaining cattle rustling using relative deprivation theory .....	18
Explaining cattle rustling using ethnic identity theory .....	20
Historical evolution of cattle rustling and theoretical assumptions .....	23
Summary .....	32
Chapter Three: Methodology .....	33
Introduction.....	33

Constructivist view of the study .....	33
Qualitative research methodologies .....	34
Case study methodology .....	34
Rationale for case study .....	36
Research questions .....	36
Data management and preparation steps for analysis .....	37
Validity, trustworthiness and ethical considerations .....	38
Research reflexivity .....	39
Summary .....	40
Chapter Four: Findings .....	41
Aim of the research and sample size .....	41
Sampling criteria for gathering documentary sources .....	41
Steps in reporting findings .....	42
Documentary sources analysis .....	43
Themes .....	55
Sampling criteria for the interviews .....	62
Participant profiles and demography .....	63
Interviews summary .....	65
Themes .....	72
Observation .....	77
Sampling criteria for observation .....	79
Themes .....	81
Summary .....	82

Chapter Five: Discussion and analysis .....	84
Introduction .....	84
Theoretical frameworks guiding data analysis .....	84
Demographic distribution of the respondents .....	85
Analysis of the collected data .....	86
Subtheme 1: Factors instigating cattle rustling among the three communities .....	88
Subtheme 2: Factors that drive the participation of the three communities in cattle rustling .....	93
Subtheme 3: Common sites of cattle rustling and what's note worth about these sites .....	103
Subtheme 4: Difference between traditional and today's cattle raiding Operations .....	105
Subtheme 5: The politics of Jonglei state .....	106
Subtheme 6: Factors that contribute to the increased cases of cattle rustling .....	108
Subtheme 7: The cycle of violence .....	112
Subtheme 8: The impacts of cattle rustling on the affected communities .....	115
Subtheme 9: How the involved communities can be a solution to the cattle rustling challenge .....	119
Subtheme 10: Possible solutions to cattle rustling challenges .....	122
Cross analysis of the main themes .....	130
Theoretical interpretation of common themes .....	140
Research applicability to practitioners, mediators, peace educators, policy makers and nongovernmental organizations .....	142

Chapter Six: Conclusion .....	146
Summary of the research .....	146
Recommendations for action .....	149
Recommendations for future research .....	153
Limitations of research .....	155
Contribution of the research .....	157
References .....	159
Appendix A: Consent Letter .....	172
Appendix B: Interview questions .....	173
Appendix C: Consent Form .....	176
Appendix D: Maps .....	180

List of Tables

Table 1. Jonglei's major cattle raids between 2009 and 2012 .....182

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Theoretical interpretation of common themes .....	140
Figure 2. Republic of South Sudan .....	180
Figure 3. Jonglei conflict map .....	181

## Abstract

Inter-tribal clashes have emerged to be one of the biggest contributors to rampant insecurity witnessed in South Sudan and in Jonglei state the clashes revolve around cattle rustling. Efforts to quell the violence from government, the international community, religious movements, and other South Sudan national organizations have not yielded significant fruit yet. This qualitative case study research explores the underlying manifestation of the conflicts among three communities Nuer, Murle and Dinka, who live in Jonglei. The main objective was to explore the changing context of cattle rustling and understand the effects of conflicts related to cattle raiding in Jonglei. The approach of the dissertation is unique in that it examines both historical and current trends in cattle rustling to create a better understanding of the conflict situation. The dissertation focuses on Jonglei state because it has produced the highest number of conflicts related to cattle raiding.

## Chapter One: Research Introduction

### **Introduction**

The aim of this research was to examine the changing context of cattle rustling and understand its effects on the inhabitants of three communities (Dinka, Murle, and Nuer) living in Jonglei state of South Sudan. This subsection maps out what is covered in the subsequent sections in respect to the background of the study, theories of the study, research problem, goal of the study, and scope of the study.

### **Background of the study**

Celebration for the newly independent South Sudan is still fresh in the minds of many. Amid the jubilant and celebratory mood, however, there are many other happenings which are hurtful to the young nation. Violence is still rampant, despite the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, followed by attainment of independence in 2011 (Mbugua, 2012; Mwanika, 2011). South Sudan remains plagued by high violence and inadequate government authority. The criminality and violence are meted out by various actors, and cattle rustlers top the list (Christopher, 2011).

Nearly six years after the attainment of independence by South Sudan many states still remain lawless. For instance, Jonglei state's peace largely remains elusive; amid relentless efforts to quell the violence by the South Sudan government, the international community, religious movements and other South Sudan national organizations (Christopher, 2011). To many this does not come as a surprise because the peace restoration quest has been disjointed, full of conflicting and self-driven agendas, devoid of major strategic and visionary plans, and seldom reflective of the needs of the local people, who are the most afflicted (Mbugua, 2012; Mwanika, 2011). The grievances put forth have been driven by a variety of assumptions, which

include the perceived state's inability to avail protection, security and justice in an equitable manner, the disarmament exercise, perceived inequities in terms of development and distribution of national resources, as well as unequal or imbalanced political representation in the national government. The aforementioned problems are further exacerbated by unfriendly environmental conditions and poor infrastructural facilities, which in turn put undue stress on livelihoods and food security. In addition, many of the remote areas remain inaccessible year-round and, therefore, largely remain ungovernable. The external support sourced by the South Sudan national government from neighboring countries and the international community in general has not borne much fruit yet; if anything, it has only made the insecurity situation more complex in respect to South Sudan's ability to provide security to all corners of the country (Mbugua, 2012; Mwanika, 2011).

The roots of the escalating violence in Jonglei are deep. From a historical viewpoint, the pastoral communities (Nuer, Murle and Dinka) that form the majority of Jonglei's population have been participating in cyclic cattle raiding and the abduction of young children since time immemorial. Livestock is central to the three communities in a livelihood and social and/or cultural sense. However, the 20<sup>th</sup> century, unlike before, saw the proliferation of small arms, commercialization of livestock and a sharp rise in bride price; which made cattle rustling a more violent and lucrative venture in South Sudan. The frequency and intensity of raiding activities superseded the customary methods for addressing cattle rustling as well as the effectiveness of governance mechanisms owing to the decline in recognition and respect for traditional leadership and the introduction of massive quantities of small arms (Christopher, 2011).

The CPA was signed in 2005, bringing to an end the conflict between the Sudanese government and Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). However, it did not

achieve as much as intended in improving peace and security in Jonglei state. The constituent communities in Jonglei remain divided and frequently experience inter-tribal conflict.

Communities such as Murle and Lou Nuer perceive themselves to be largely marginalized by the dominant Bor Dinka. In particular, Murle people feel threatened by the vast presence of Bor Dinka in Bor town. Furthermore, Murle are not a happy lot due to their marginal representation in both the national and Jonglei state governments (Christopher, 2011).

The 2010 South Sudan general election resurrected ethnic insurgencies in the entire country especially South Sudan Democratic Movement (Boma Cobra Faction) and White Army militia groups which mobilized youths to fight against the Dinka repressive government (Blanchard, 2012). Despite South Sudan President Kiir's decision to grant a political amnesty to David Yau Yau the notorious South Sudan Democratic Movement rebel leader and other rebel groups, militia related cattle rustling continued to escalate and has taken ethnic dimensions. These militia sponsored raids exploded in late 2011 and the beginning of 2012 when over 6,000 Lou Nuer young men attacked Murle in Pibor County leaving behind massive displacement, loss of many human lives, abduction of Murle women and children, as well as destruction of livelihoods and massive cattle raiding (Manyang, 2012).

Following wanton killings, a disarmament exercise was embarked on by the SPLA in January 2012 across all the communities living within the confines of Jonglei. The exercise went well in most areas except Pibor County, where rape and torture cases were reported by Murle civilians. The SPLA forces were accused of having acted in an inhumane manner toward the Murle people by killing unarmed innocent children, women and elderly people (Zhukov, 2013). Yau Yau was quite unhappy with the injustices inflicted on his people. As a result, he defected to Khartoum, where he began the re-establishment of a militia in Pibor County in August 2012. Ever

since the insecurity and tension in the neighboring counties have been rising. Many communities are now becoming frustrated by the escalating level of violence and cattle rustling and the failure of the government to address the grievous matters has made matters worse (Kramer, Lobban, & Fluehr-Lobban, 2013).

### **Statement of the research problem**

*"You cannot marry without cows... and you are no man without cows." Unknown Jonglei state Youth.....*

First and foremost, the above statement symbolizes the complexity of the problem of cattle rustling among the Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle who call Jonglei state their home. The Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle are pastoralists who equally value cattle and have a long history of engaging in cattle robbery and or child abduction (McCallum & Okech, 2013). Among these communities, animals, especially cattle, occupy a special place. Not only are cattle viewed as a source of livelihood, they are also a source of social and cultural pride. For decades, if not centuries, cattle have served as a major backbone of the local economy among various communities in South Sudan. Throughout history, pastoral communities in Jonglei state have viewed cattle as units for measuring social status and as a wealth indicator. Very often, possession of cattle plays a significant role during the time of marriage or during reparation (restorative justice).

In many parts of Jonglei state, keeping animals mostly depended on seasonal climatic changes. In dry seasons, those who live in very arid regions usually move with their animals to areas with plentiful supplies of water and pastures commonly known in Dinka as *toiche*. Due to weather variability, different pastoralist communities share limited water and land resources

which have often resulted in intergroup conflict over the ownership rights and water or land usages.

### **Research question**

Although, cattle theft has been an issue for a long time, the context has been changed by British policies that divide- and -rule, the civil war and the introduction of massive weaponry into the country. Another factor has been the politicization of ethnic identities of the 1990s especially the split of the SPLM/A movement. Since the start of the civil war in 1983, conflict over cattle thefts has been a constant source of insecurity and instability and a contributing factor to property damage, civilian deaths and displacement among communities in Jonglei state (Blagojevic, 2009).

There appears to be no end for intertribal violence; instead it seems that the conflict's strategies and tactics are continually evolving. In other words, cattle rustling among communities in Jonglei state is no longer the same thing it was before the British colonial rule and the two civil wars. Due to inadequate studies on the topic of cattle raiding and its effects on communities across Jonglei state, the main objective of this research is to explore the changing context of cattle rustling and understand the effects of conflicts related to cattle raiding in Jonglei. In order to investigate cattle rustling phenomenon, the study proposed the following research questions:

1. Are strategies and tactics of cattle rustling in Jonglei state evolving?
2. Is there an ethnic component to cattle rustling?
3. What are people's perceptions about the availability of small arms and light weapons (SALWs)?
4. What are people's perceptions about the capacity of local or traditional institutions to address cattle rustling?

5. What are people's perceptions about national institutions' capacity to address cattle rustling?
6. How did life in Jonglei state change since cattle rustling became an issue?
7. What do people say about climate change?

### **Dinka, Nuer and Murle detailed background**

*Dinka ethnic group.* Dinka people of Jonglei are divided into northern and southern Dinka. Northern Dinka is comprised of Rut, Thoi, Lual Yak, Pawich, and Luaich sub-groups, all of which live at the juncture of the White Nile and the Sobat rivers. These clusters of Dinka are commonly known as Padeang Dinka (Hutchinson, n.d). Their present home expanded westward around Khorfullus along the Atar river in what is presently known as Fangak County. Padeang Dinka happens to share a border with northern Nuer and Shilluk who live north of the bank of the White Nile. Southern Dinka comprised of Ghol (Hol), Nyarweng, Twic and Bor Dinka (Hutchinson, n.d.). Southern clusters of Dinka live along swampy ridges along the Nile commonly known as *toiche* which provide pastures and water for their animals.

Socially and politically, Jonglei Dinka people are organized into various age-sets in which men constitute a group based on their age. Each age-set varies among sub-segments of the Dinka tribe. The significance of the age-sets among the Dinka is that they determine social order or structure for the community's defense, especially for the successive youth groups who are expected to follow in the footsteps of the past generations.

With respect to the community's administration structures, Dinka's administrative units primarily consist of Bany Bith (Spear master) and Bany Alath/Magak, Alama (government appointed chief). Bany Bith has spiritual authority and is highly regarded by all the community's members and by those who come to him to resolve their disputes or conflicts (Wassara,

2007). The Bany Alath, Magak or Alama, on the other hand, has moral and judicial authority which community members respect and revere. Among the Dinka, customary mediation is the main form of conflict resolution. Those who have disputes may bring their problems to Bany Bith or Bany Alath, Magak or Alama depending on the nature of the problem. Sometimes, those with disputes can be approached by concerned community leaders to take their dispute to an appropriate mediation forum. If the problem involves theft, witchcraft, requires taking an oath, or both, going to Bany Bith is preferable. If it involves dowry, elopement, killing or property damages, going to Bany Alath, Magak or Alama is the norm (Wassara, 2007).

Whether one decides to go to Bany Alath, Magak, Alama or Bany Bith, one must declare his intention to accept the outcome of the ruling before the panel of Bany Bith or Bany Alath, Magak or Alama. In cases where outcomes threaten the unity of the community, respected elders and youth representatives are allowed to give prejudgment advice to Bany Alath, Magak and/or Alama (Wassara, 2007). However, Bany Bith deliberations are not subjected to outside advice because of the spiritual nature associated with that institution. The common feature of Dinka's conflict settlement is compensation, which applies to civil and criminal wrongs done against individuals or families. For instance, in a dispute that involves adultery, a payment known as akor (adultery fine) is paid to the husband of the wife implicated in the adultery (Wassara, 2007). If it is an elopement case (illegal sexual relation with unmarried girl), a payment known as aruok (statutory rape fine) is paid to the father of the girl—and if the case is about physical injury or accidental death, the payment known as rol (death/ blood restitution) is paid to the family of the deceased (Wassara, 2007).

One may ask how Dinka's traditional system of conflict resolution is relevant to cattle rustling. Actually, Dinka's traditional institutions have changed or been damaged by the last civil

war. For instance, Bath Alath, Magak, Alama and Bany Bith have lost most of their influence when it comes to resolving local conflicts or disputes. Another example is the growth of armed youth groups whose leadership assumed the roles that in past were reserved to Bany Bith or Bany Alath, Magak and or Alama. Essentially, the civil war has resulted in an erosion of traditional social order causing youth with guns to settle disputes by resorting to military force and launch cattle raids or revenge attacks without seeking approval from the community elders.

*Nuer ethnic group.* The contemporary Nuer population in Jonglei state is comprised of various segments commonly known as Nuer nations. The northern nation is made up of Lak and Thaing and lives around Zeraf territory (Hutchinson, n.d.). Lak is further divided into Kwachor and Jongyang. Lak happen to live in trypanosomiasis infested homelands where tsetse flies constantly affect their cattle. Because the Lak's homeland is infested with deadly tsetse flies, Lak's pastoralists constantly venture into others' territories with their animals to escape the deadly flies. Sometimes they are welcomed and sometimes they are refused access to such territories, which sometimes results in clashes. The second Nuer nation in Jonglei state is Gawaar which is divided into Rath and Bar (Hutchinson, n.d.). Gawaar nation occupied south and east of Lak, Zeraf River, Duk Ridge, and Knolls River. Because Gawaar homelands are situated along many rivers, they often suffer flooding. Thus, Gawaar are continuously on the move during rainy seasons. The third Nuer nation is Lou, which is the largest Nuer group in Jonglei state (Hutchinson, n.d.). Lou is divided into Goon and Moor. They live in the north-central region of Jonglei state and share borders with Gawaar and Thaing (Nuer), Pibor Murle and Anyuak of Akobo (non-Nuer tribes), Luaich Dinka, Hol Dinka, Nyarweng Dinka and Jikany Nuer nation.

Since the start of the civil war, the Lou nation has been encroaching into Dinka homelands (Hutchinson, n.d.). This has been partly because Lou homelands do not lie along the

toiche or swampy area that can support their animals. For this reason, Lou pastoralists frequently migrate into their neighbors' homelands and such migration is seen by other communities as land grabbing by Lou. Finally, the fourth Nuer nation is Jikany which is divided into eastern Gaajok, Gaagwang, and Gaajak. The Jikany nation lives around Sobat and Baro Rivers just next to Southwestern Ethiopia.

Although the Nuer group shares the same administrative structure as the Dinka, Nuer are said to have a very respected social system of governance led by revered elders and sometimes by spiritual leaders known as Kuar Kwac who wield spiritual powers (Wassara, 2007). In each community, elders and spear-masters (Kuar Kwac) preside over community affairs (e.g. disputes over cattle, land, marriage and divorce matters, disciplining youths, setting social rules, and are also in charge of declaring war).

In terms of its relationship with Dinka, Nuer and Dinka since prior to 19th and 20th centuries have had a complex relationship (Hutchinson, n.d.). They experienced intergroup conflict over pasture land, water, and cattle theft. However, there have been times, especially during the British and Arab invasion of Sudan, when Nuer and Dinka have united to fight foreign invaders. This, of course, has changed since 1991, when political division within SPLM/A between Dr. John Garang (Dinka) and Dr. Riek Machar (Nuer) turned into tribal war. When Machar couldn't resolve his political dispute with Garang peacefully, he turned to his tribe, mobilized thousands of Nuer youth, and ordered them to fight Garang and the Dinka led SPLM/A (Hutchinson, n.d.). This brought death to innocent Dinka and Nuer children, women, elderly and destruction of properties, as well as the highest mass raiding of cattle ever recorded between Dinka and Nuer. Furthermore, the events of 1991 and their aftermath seemed to have sown seeds of hatred and ethnic suspicion between Dinka and Nuer which again resurfaced on

December 15, 2013 in Juba when President Kiir (Dinka) once again accused Riek Machar (Nuer) of planning a coup. The outcome was a civil war between the President Kiir Dinka led government and the former Vice President Riek Machar Nuer led rebellion, resulting in the death of tens of thousands of civilians (Gordon, 2014). As of this writing, yet another war broke out on August 7, 2016 in Juba. The forces loyal to the former Vice President Riek Machar and SPLA forces loyal to President Kiir have declared war against each other. And the people of South Sudan are wondering when peace will return to South Sudan.

***Murle ethnic group.*** Murle people inhabit the Southeastern part of Jonglei state and are divided into two main groups. Pastoralist lowland Murle are commonly known as Lotillanya and live around Lotilla River, Pibor River, Veveno River, Kengen River, Maruwo and Labarad Hills. The farming highland Murle, known as Ngalam (one without cattle in Murle language,) lives on Boma Plateaus (Felix da Costa, 2013). Both share a common history and common features such as naming traditions, legends, age-sets, and social strata. Socially and politically, Murle's social institution is centered around age-sets in which men constitute groups based on their age. Each age-set lasts for about 10 years. The significance of the age-sets are that they serve as a source of social order or structure for the community, especially for the successive youth groups who are expected to take the leadership mantle from the previous generations. Among the Murle, a spokesman known in Murle language as Gayoi who knows traditional or tribal laws is charged with the responsibility of interpreting Murle laws. He works alongside chiefs to direct the affairs of the community. The position of Gayoi or spokesman is presumed and hereditary, as oral stories or case laws are passed down through lineage of Gayoi's family to their sons (Felix da Costa, 2013). At the dispute level, chiefs render the dispute settlement while a member of a Bullanec or ruling family, commonly known as Drumchief, decides on important matters,

especially those that revolve around inheritance. However, the Drumchief sometimes rules over issues of murder, elopement, and unpaid bride-wealth. In such cases, once the Drumchief has rendered his ruling, chiefs or elders decide on the term of punishment, retribution and/or payment. These kinds of checks and balances between Gayoi, Drumchief and elders and/or chiefs make the Murle justice system more reliable and trustworthy; more Murle view it as just and fair. It also means that members of the community have high regard for Gayoi, Drumchief, chiefs and elders who decide on matters related to rules of law. Consequently, those who go before them do so without fear of being unduly treated or ruled against by whoever is deciding their cases because those tasked with rendering decisions are considered impartial and capable of delivering fair rulings.

As stated earlier, these two communities have differences. Their main difference is that for the lowland Murle life revolves around cows, while those of Boma Plateau are farmers whose life revolves around crop cultivation. This means that Murles who live on the Boma Plateau are not directly involved in the current cattle raiding between Lowland Murle and Dinka, and Nuer. Nor are Boma Plateau Murle directly engaged in child abductions from other tribes (Felix da Costa, 2013). However, highland Murle who live around the Boma Plateau do consider themselves to be politically marginalized by the Dinka led government. This resentment usually makes them an easy target for political exploitation by those who like to inject ethnicity into state politics. On the other hand, lowland Murles of Pibor who practice cattle keeping are very dominant. Some even consider them problem instigators (Felix da Costa, 2013). They constantly engage in intergroup cattle raiding against their neighbors, the Dinka Bor, Nuer, and even against Anyuak. Occasionally, Lotilla Murles organize child abduction raids against their fellow Murles who live on the Boma Plateaus. The point is it is prudent for people to recognize these

differences between the lowland and highland Murle people so as to avoid ethnic mistakes or the perception that the Murle are a homogeneous tribe.

In fact, Murle is a fractured tribe. Particularly, the lowland Murle of Pibor has a long history of supporting local militia against South Sudan interests. During the Sudan civil war, they stood by Ismail Konyi who fought against SPLM/A (Felix da Costa, 2013). Presently, lowland Murle still support David Yau Yau who defected from SPLM/A six years ago, and who is now terrorizing civilians across Jonglei state. On the other hand, highland Murles of the Boma Plateau have close ties to SPLM/A; they don't support David Yau Yau and his militias. Therefore, it makes sense to treat Murle community as two separate entities when it comes to understanding their level of involvement in the current conflict (cattle rustling and child abduction).

### **Scope of the study**

Though root causes of the conflict will be revisited, this research is not aimed at exploring the root causes of the conflict. Rather, the main objective is to explore the changing context of cattle theft and understand its effects among communities in Jonglei. This research utilizes the qualitative case study approach. As a case study, the geographical location will be restricted to Jonglei state with specific focus on three tribes, namely Bor Dinka, Murle and Nuer. As mentioned before, the state was chosen because of the high levels of cattle raiding conflicts and wanton killings and abductions in the recent past after the signing of the North-South peace agreement and independence for the South. Approximately 1.4 million people are said to be living in Jonglei (Gordon, 2014). The state is further subdivided into 11 counties, which are Bor, Akobo, Ayod, Old Fangak, Pibor, Pochalla, Duk, Uror, Piji, Twic East and Nyirol. The state covers a geographic area of 120,000km. It is the remotest and most undeveloped part of South Sudan. During the dry season, it is fairly accessible; even though this is largely unpredictable.

The headquarters for the state is located along the Nile River; rendering accessibility of roads to the capital a huge challenge, especially during the rainy season.

### **Expected research contribution to the field**

Since 2011, world attention has been focused on building South Sudan governing institutions. As a result, internal issues like cattle rustling and child abduction have been left unattended particularly in Jonglei state. Furthermore, there is less academic literature that explores cattle rustling across South Sudan. Since this study is aimed at exploring the changing context of cattle rustling, it has the potential of generating knowledge in the following areas. First, because this study explores historical evolution of the conflict, it has the potential to produce literature that would lead to further understanding on how cattle rustling have evolved over time. Second, there is a need to understand the impact of cattle rustling among ethnic groups in Jonglei state. This study has the potential of contributing to that end. Currently, South Sudan government and other concerned entities have little understanding about how to correctly deal with the problem of cattle rustling. Thus, knowledge or literature generated by this study could be instrumental to South Sudan's government, especially in understanding and formulating solutions to address the problem of cattle rustling. Furthermore, since this study focuses on affected individuals, it has the potential of bridging ethnic understanding on how each community views the problem of cattle rustling.

### **Rest of the dissertation organization**

The remaining section of this dissertation is organized into five parts or chapters. Chapter two delineates relevant literature related to cattle rustling in Jonglei state. The literature review chapter provides a crucial base for developing evidence or data central to evaluating the problem of cattle rustling. Chapter three explores the methodological approach and describes how the

qualitative method is used as a tool to explore the subject under investigation. Chapter four discusses the detailed process of data collection, as well as enumerating common themes that resulted from the interviews, relevant literature and the researcher's own observations. Chapter five discusses findings and critical analysis of the emerging evidence. Finally, chapter six summarizes emerged findings/evidence provides recommendations pertaining to future research, and research limitations.

## Chapter Two: Literature Review

### **Introduction**

Hope for peace returning to South Sudan once hinged on the region's total independence from Sudan. However, South Sudan's celebration of independence on July 9, 2011, was not followed by a halt to the violence, especially in Jonglei state where the problem of cattle raiding displaced thousands of civilians. Although communities in Jonglei state had been known to practice cattle rustling, the forms that cattle rustling took after South Sudan became independent left people asking why are cattle rustling on the rise? Is it possible that violence associated to cattle raiding is an extension of an ethnic politics that has pitted Dinka, Nuer and Murle against each other? And do the economics of cattle keeping play a part in perpetuating violence among the communities? In other words, the ongoing discussion has concerned what motivates cattle rustlers to engage in deadly raids. Because there have been fewer studies done about cattle rustling in Jonglei state, little is known about motivational factors and the effects of cattle rustling among the affected people. As such, this study explores problem of cattle rustling to highlight conflict effects among Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle who call Jonglei state their homes.

This chapter provides an insightful thematic review of the relevant literature related to cattle rustling in Jonglei state. It also serves as a brief overview of other scholars' perspectives about cattle rustling practices among civilian populations in Jonglei state, South Sudan. The first section discusses relevant theories— as well as providing theoretical grounding under which this research will be explored. The second section of the chapter explores the historical evolution of cattle rustling, research assumptions, current shifts in cattle rustling and ethnic polarization and present political divides from the scholars' perspectives. The last section is a summary of the chapter's main points. It also identifies the research gap that this research seeks to fill.

## Theories of the study

### Explaining cattle rustling using social cubism theory

To understand the complexity of cattle rustling among Dinka, Nuer and Murle; it is fitting to approach it from social cubism perspective. As a theory, social cubism has been utilized in identifying challenges experienced in places where violence has erupted and in the assessing the appropriateness of the interventions initiated to alleviate the problem (Byrne & Carter, 1996). Initially, the theory of social cubism was predominately used in analyzing territorial conflicts, but this does not mean that it cannot be used in the analysis of small conflicts occurring in areas which include conflicts witnessed due to cattle rustling practices in Jonglei state of the South Sudan. This approach is indispensable in the understanding of the cattle rustling related conflict (s) because it explores conflict from historical, demographic, economic, psychological, religious, and political perspectives. According to Byrne and Carter, social cubism contains six aspects that are interrelated:

1. *Historical Aspect of Social Cubism:* Byrne and Carter argue that history is a powerful frame of understanding almost everything about human existence. As one aspect of social cubism, understanding historical factors and/or events helps people understand some of the reasons behind intergroup dynamics and relationships.
2. *Religious Aspect of Social Cubism:* Religion is one of the most polarizing things known to man. For centuries, societies have fought and died because of religious differences. With respect to social cubism, exploring religious dynamics helps people understand how religious beliefs affect intergroup relationships.
3. *Demographic Aspect of Social Cubism:* Demographic factors are important aspects of exploring ethnic conflict. At the center of demography is the issue of population

- compositions—especially about the issue of who is in the minority or majority? Which ethnic group is influential? Who controls wealth? Answering these questions allows people to understand how demographic issues affect the way ethnic groups view each other.
4. *Political Aspect of Social Cubism:* The political landscape in any given society affects the way people and societies see each other. This is also true when it comes to understanding ethnic dynamics. In countries where a particular ethnic group dominates politics, there is always an ethnic suspicion by those communities who see themselves outside the political spectrum. In other words, countries where political institutions are dominated by ethnic politics run the risk of ethnic division that, if not dealt with properly, could eventually lead to ethnic conflict.
  5. *Economic Aspect of Social Cubism:* Economic differences among ethnic groups have immense effects on political stability and security of any given society. It is known that economic disparity exacerbates tension among people, communities, and societies and even nations, particularly among political institutions that practice favoritism and/or ethnic patronage. In such countries, ethnic competition between different ethnic groups over who manages national resources usually affects peoples' perception of the government. In a nutshell, a country in which economic institutions are controlled by people from a particular ethnic group is likely to experience ethnic discontent or a sense of ethnic marginalization—whereas, a country in which economic institutions advocate for ethnic inclusion in all areas of its economy discourages ethnic discontentment.

6. *Psychological Aspect of Social Cubism*: Ethnic tension and emotions are known to escalate during conflict or crisis. With respect to ethnic conflicts, psychologists often try to analyze how changes in people and or societal behaviors and/or actions affect intergroup perceptions of others during tense moments. It isn't surprising that political psychologists often find that groups or societies do portray negative attitudes about each other (e.g. promoting hate speech or bigotry, stereotypes, and prejudices by highlighting important ethnic traditions, symbols like ethnic identity, religious differences, heritages, and belief systems to inflame an ethnic or a sectarian tension, hence resulting in an outburst of a physical or violent confrontation).

To be clear, Byrnes and Carter (1996) did not suggest that every conflict could be analyzed using these six metrics of social cubism. Instead, they recognized the fact that different situations contain factors that relate differently. However, the use of this theory in the study conducted on the cattle rustling in Jonglei state ensured that conflict exploration was approached from different frames of analysis. In addition, the use of social cubism is relevant to this particular study because cattle rustling in Jonglei state seems to be driven by a variety of factors. Hence, the use of social cubism theory in this research allows the researcher to identify specific factors that contribute to cattle rustling, which is particularly crucial to those interested in finding solution (s) to the cattle rustling problem in the state of Jonglei.

### **Explaining cattle rustling using relative deprivation theory**

The other relevant theory to cattle rustling in Jonglei state is what is known as relative deprivation theory (Morrison, 1971). This theory owes its origin to the fields of psychology and sociology. Initial pioneers are psychologists like Sigmund Freud, William James, William McDougall, and other sociologists or theorists like Samuel A. Stouffer, Thomas, F. Pettigrew,

Francine Tougas, Ann, M. Beaton, & Naomi Ellemers (Dougherty & Pfaltzgraff, 2001, pp.236-237; Walker & Smith, 2002; Flynn, n.d.).

The principal assumption of relative deprivation theory is based on a theoretical belief that peoples and societies faced with an imminent threat tend to develop a collective instinct to challenge their aggressor—to which, in some cases, people or society collectively responded by finding ways to cope or confront the perceived threat.

Saleh (2013) defined relative deprivation as, “*experience or feeling of being denied something to which one and/or society believes it is entitled*” (Saleh, 2013, pp.165-167). Per Saleh (2013), the intensity of relative deprivation depends on one’s or society’s perception of value expectations, resource distribution, and/or value capabilities. Put differently, the escalation of relative deprivation with respect to political involvement, economic inequality and intergroup negative perception leads to a social tension, which eventually leads to people’s frustration and consequentially into violence. Looking closely at the Jonglei state cattle rustling problem, one would argue that there are relative deprivation elements in play. Bor Dinka, Lou Nuer and Murle communities seem to harbor strong resentment against each other, which they manifest through forms of cattle rustling, child abduction, revenge attacks, and threats of ethnic cleansing. By using a relative deprivation frame of analysis, one can better understand how ethnic relationships or perceptions among Dinka, Nuer and Murle have evolved over time, as well as how these communities respond to tribal aggression. In addition, relative deprivation is relevant when it comes to exploring the assumption by Nuer and Murle people that the Dinka have marginalized them at both the state and national levels. For instance, both Murle and Nuer perceive Bor Dinka as controlling state power and wealth. Such a perception among Murle and Nuer has been a source of political friction, ethnic tension and conflict that Jonglei state is currently witnessing.

According to Nuers and Murles, there is a general consensus that Bor Dinka led government is corrupt and must be opposed. Because of this, Nuers and Murles, as well as other tribes, have been demanding inclusion in every aspect of the government. The point is that use of this theory has direct relevancy to the problem of cattle rustling, especially in the context of revenge attacks.

### **Explaining cattle rustling using ethnic identity theory**

The study of ethnic violence owes its origin to the wave of violence that followed the Cold War, during which Weberian states were plagued by violence, including ethnic conflict (Xu, 2012). This makes it a relatively young frame of analysis within social science. As a theory, there is no single definition as to what constitutes an ethnic violence theory. This research clarifies the concept of ethnicity as related to the study of ethnic conflict and its application to cattle rustling in Jonglei state. According to Xu (2012), ethnicity does not have a universal definition. Thus, the definition given by this study is not meant to be universal, but, rather to give readers general understanding. Ethnicity in this research is defined as, “*group affiliation or membership based on skin color, culture, language, religion, nationality and or caste*” (Xu, 2012, pp.66-67).

Theoretically, there are four concepts that explain the core of ethnic conflict theory. First, *the primitive approach* argues that ethnic groups and nationalities exist because of strong traditional beliefs and biological kinship that each community identifies with. This strong belief in kinship among the same members of a kinship or tribe attracts them to coalesce to preserve their common identity. Over time, when an individual group’s common ways of life are threatened, it causes frictions and feeling of animosity which sometimes results in ethnic intolerance, hatred and eventually conflict (Blagojevic, 2009 & Midlarsky, 2000).

According to Blagojevic, ethnic intolerance, grievances and injustices become engrained over time in victims' memories, which tribe members can easily use to justify actions against the perceived perpetrator (s) of violence. Second, *the institutional approach* postulates that the state's governing institutions have a role to play when it comes to regulating interethnic relations, especially among countries in which the populations are made of tribes (Blagojevic, 2009). Because state institutions are created to constrain or provide compliance to the rules of law, individual communities usually view governing institutions in two ways— either as restricting or favoring them. Thus, the question of whether identity politics turn into intergroup conflict or not is contingent upon the way the state's governing institutions function. If a state's institutions promote pluralistic and fair policies to all its ethnic populations on non-tribal basis, that state creates and promotes a common unifying national identity. However, state institutions that operate along ethnic lines or encourage ethnic politics do run the risk of ethnic political polarization, which eventually leads to ethnic conflict. Third, there is an issue of competition over resources (Blagojevic, 2009). From the onset, people understand that engaging in ethnic politics breeds ethnic intolerance and ethnic suspicion which, if not addressed, could lead to ethnic conflict. Adding competition over resources magnifies ethnic intolerance, especially if one ethnic group is seen as having a monopoly over national resources. In countries where resources are scarce and with high unemployment, it is not uncommon to find politicians who stir up ethnic division just to promote their own political ambitions. In fact, this argument is not isolated to economic resources; it includes other rights and liberties (e.g. educational opportunities, rights to language, property rights and government jobs or contract procedures). Without equal access to these rights and liberties, a society/country is likely to exacerbate ethnic grievances, which, if not promptly addressed, could lead to ethnic conflict.

One may ask how ethnic identity causes ethnic conflict. The answer could be found in addressing two concepts; namely ethnic conflict and ethnic security dilemma. In the field of conflict analysis and resolution, one definition of *ethnic conflict* is an inter-communal strife or dispute between people or communities who are identified by different kinships and or ethnic identities (Xu, 2012, p. 67; Deutsch, Coleman & Marcus, 2006). Furthermore, the concept of *security dilemma* is widely known in the field of international relations. As discussed by Xu (2012) and Mitchell (1981), a security dilemma emerges due to the anarchic nature of the international system which inherently causes uncertainties and security fears among global actors or states. Scholars of international relations argue that states' uncertainty and fear in the international system lead states to make decisions aimed toward guaranteeing each state's survival in what each state assumes is an anarchic global system. In response to global anarchism, each state constantly perceives other entities' actions or decisions as threatening to their own security. Thus, each state monitors every other state's security moves or intentions and, when possible, reacts in a manner that state believes to neutralize incoming threats. When it comes to the security dilemma concept, there is a parallel narrative. As state regimes collapse, it creates a sense of anarchy among ethnic groups as well. As each ethnic group senses an emergence of anarchism or a sense of state failure, individual ethnic communities gravitate toward assuming their own security responsibilities in the absence of the state's apparatuses. As each ethnic community takes charge of their respective security responsibility, other ethnic groups are forced to establish their own security measures as well. Consequently, each ethnic community starts to become suspicious of every move made by other communities. This builds ethnic tension that over time develops into an ethnic confrontation as each community is preoccupied with safeguarding its own survival.

With respect to its application to this research, people of Jonglei state have individual heritages, cultures, customs, traditions, and other attributes that individually identify them as Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle respectively. In other words, tribal identity is instrumental when it comes to how Bor Dinka, Nuer and Murle interact. Furthermore, there is a general belief that ethnic relationships among Bor Dinka, Murle and Nuer have been damaged leading to the growth of ethnic hatred among these tribes, which currently manifests itself in the forms of cattle rustling and child abduction across Jonglei state. Not only that, there is a general view among non-Dinka in Jonglei state, especially among Nuer and Murle, that Bor Dinka led government is too dinkacratic (despotic), monopolistic and marginalistic toward non-Dinka. To better understand the role of ethnic identity relative to cattle rustling in Jonglei state, it is important to approach Jonglei state cattle rustling from an ethnic identity theoretical perspective: This would help people to explore and answer questions like the following. Is there a growth of a historical hatred among Bor Dinka, Nuer and Murle? Are Jonglei state government and its policies exacerbating ethnic tension among Bor Dinka, Murle and Nuer?

### **Historical evolution of cattle rustling and theoretical assumptions**

**Research question one: Are strategies/tactics of cattle rustling in Jonglei state evolving?** Hutchinson, McCallum and Okech, Rands and LeRiche suggested that the context of cattle rustling in Jonglei state has changed significantly (McCallum & Okech, 2013; Rands & LeRiche 2012). If indeed this is true, then the question becomes: what changes have occurred or are occurring? Seeking to answer this question, this study explores historical changes pertaining to cattle rustling among Dinka, Nuer and Murle communities.

Studies conducted by Hutchinson (2000) and Goldsmith, Abura, and Switzer (2002) cited 18th-19th centuries as a pivotal period in Dinka-Nuer relationship. That was a period during

which Nuer's population exploded beyond its borders (Goldsmith et al., 2002 & Hutchinson, 2000). The study conducted by Goldsmith et al., found that the increase in the Nuer population triggered a mass migration and encroachment into Dinka-land. The result became what he called *Dinka-Nuer First Cycle of Violence* in which many Dinka and Nuer experienced constant conflict over land and cattle (Goldsmith et al., 2002).

Although Dinka and Nuer were adversaries, according to Hutchinson's studies, conflicts between Dinka and Nuer during 19th century were not conducted on a large scale for three reasons. First, Hutchinson stated that during this time, the weapons used by both sides during cattle raids or other disputes only included spears, sticks, maces, clubs, bows and arrows which did not cause mass killings of one's adversaries. Second, despite being a common practice recognized among the communities involved, cattle rustling was conducted peacefully and only by youth in grazing areas. This is an aspect that has been ignored today; a view echoed by J. McCallum, A. Okech, R. B. Rands, and M. LeRiche (McCallum & Okech, 2013; Rands & LeRiche 2012). Furthermore, McCallum and Okech emphasized that even though Dinka and Nuer were bitter enemies during the 19th century; their social norms or rules of warfare prohibited the killing of women, children and the elderly during raids. Third, Hutchinson argued that though Dinka and Nuer were sworn foes, there was no ethnic hatred that existed between them. Their fights over land and cattle were never personal but rather a mechanism of survival encouraged by radical changes in the environment in which the two tribes lived (Hutchinson, 2000).

Although the cattle rustling problem in Jonglei state has existed for centuries the purpose and tactics for cattle rustling have changed over the past decades and centuries. The practices of cattle rustling have taken a different direction with the traditional methods of cattle rustling such

as redistributive rustling (rustling by those without cattle or a few cattle) becoming irrelevant today. Studies by McCallum and Okech (2013), Human Rights Watch (2013), Wassara (2007), Gray et al. (2003), and Weiss (2004) gave detailed accounts of the current shift in the cattle rustling industry among Dinka, Nuer and Murle communities.

According to Human Rights Watch (HRW) (2013), the reasons behind the shift in the cattle rustling are now more complex and the communities involved now seem inclined to do everything to acquire new herds of cattle including massive murder of the resisting tribes (HRW, 2013). This suggests that there is a desire to enrich one's community at the expense of innocent children and women among others. Furthermore, the shift of power from traditional leaders to the government of the day has rendered the traditional elders irrelevant. Decisions are made by various arms of the government focusing on the constitution, as opposed to the elders whose authority rested on the traditions and customs of their respective communities. Although, modern forms of dispute resolutions are commonly used, such efforts have not achieved much among local communities.

**Research question two: Is there an ethnic component to cattle rustling?** In order to explore the above question, it is necessary to revisit the historical past to gain understanding of where the Dinka and Nuer relationship stands now. Contrary to the Dinka-Nuer cozy relationship of the 19th century, there has been a radical change in ethnic identity and intergroup perceptions between Dinka and Nuer across the country. Prior to 18th and 19th century, Dinka and Nuer shared a common bond. Going back to the 19th century, Dinka and Nuer spoke some common form of Nilotic language, shared common social history, customs, and traditions sealed by a common bond of intermarriage (Hutchinson, n.d.). Therefore, for decades if not centuries, Dinka and Nuer never considered themselves as "different peoples," but rather the same people who

shared patrilineal kinships, resources, political and social bonds, which had helped the two communities to cohabit for several decades.

However, this did not last. The British came and established different sets of rules. The British administrators established ethnic homelands for each tribe (Hutchinson, n.d.). Per Hutchinson's research, British's goals were threefold. First, the British administrators wanted to control Dinka-Nuer's movement. Second, British administrators understood the scope of Dinka-Nuer loyalty to each other. The British administrators saw it as a threat to their desire to suppress these communities, prompting the British rulers to institute divide- and- rule policies (Hutchinson, n.d.). Finally, British administrators' strategy to create tribal homelands was aimed at minimizing migratory violence or competition over limited resources, especially during dry seasons.

Hutchinson's research suggested that two decades of civil war in Sudan changed every aspect of Dinka-Nuer lives. She argues that two successive civil wars disrupted pre-civil war bonds that existed among Jonglei's tribes by destroying or accelerating an erosion of common identity and social bonds that used to link the two communities (Hutchinson, n.d.); a view echoed by McCallum and Okech (2013), Rolandsen (2005), and Legassicke (2013). Making the matter worse was a political rift within SPLM/A ruling elites (Hutchinson, n.d.; Legassicke, 2013; McCallum & Okech, 2013; Rolandsen, 2005).

On August 28, 1991, Dr. Riek Machar (Nuer), Dr. Lam Akol (Shilluk) and commander Gordon Koang (Nuer), all high-ranking members of SPLM/A, split from SPLM/A and formed Nasir Faction or SPLA-Nasir which demanded the removal of SPLM/A founding commander, Dr. John Garang (Dinka). The trio accused Garang of a '*dictatorial rule*' of the SPLM/A. According to Rolandsen (2005) and Legassicke (2013), this split officially culminated in the rise

of two tribal factions; Nuer Faction (Nasir Faction) led by Dr. Riek Machar, and the Torit Faction (Dinka Faction) led by Dr. John Garang (Legassicke, 2013; Rolandsen, 2005). In a surprise move, Lam Akol and Riek Machar turned to ethnic politics by declaring that Garang and his Dinka tribesmen had marginalized other tribes within the SPLM/A. Riek Machar being from the second largest tribe, the Nuer, took advantage of ethnic affiliation and turned to his tribesmen. He recruited Nuer youth to help him remove Garang as well, in order to correct what he termed as '*Dinkanization*' of the SPLM/A. The result of course was disastrous; thousands of Nuer youth under Riek Machar's command descended on Bor Dinka killing thousands of civilians, displacing hundreds of thousands of people, burning homes to the ground, and rustled every tamed animal they could find (e.g. cattle, sheep, goats and so forth) (HRW, 2013). Based on Rolandsen's research, the resurrection of ethnic politics, especially among Nuer, Dinka and even among some Murle, created ethnic hatred which currently manifests itself in different forms of hostilities (e.g. cattle rustling, revenge attacks and child abduction among the communities in Jonglei state) (Rolandsen, 2005).

**Research question three: What are people's perceptions about the availability of small arms and light weapons (SALWs)?** To better understand the deadly nature of the cattle rustling in Jonglei state, this study underscores the importance of exploring the role played by the presence of SALWs. Willems and Rouw's research examined Jonglei state cattle rustling in the context of the small arms and light weapons (SALWs). As found by Willems and Rouw's research, South Sudan, particularly Jonglei state, is saturated with small arms and light weapons, increasing greatly in the last three decades (Willems & Rouw, 2011). Such increase in the availability of SALWs in the hands of civilians has completely changed the cattle rustling landscape. Willems and Rouw argued that such saturation of firearms is attributed to ethnic

desire for self-defense, perceived cross-border threats from other communities, as well as an increased desire for revenge attacks among communities. Willems and Rouw's argument is supported by the Saferworld (2012) study. According to Saferworld's study, as of 2009, there were close to 2.7 million weapons floating in the hands of people. Among these weapons, 20 percent were held by Khartoum's government while 10 percent was controlled by South Sudan's government and whopping 70 percent remained at-large in the hands of various armed groups and civilians (Saferworld, 2012). This means that armed groups and civilians hold more small firearms than both the Sudanese and South Sudan governments combined. Such reports are disheartening and worrisome given the ongoing cycle of bloody cattle rustling among civilians in Jonglei state. For this reason, the study seeks to explore whether the availability of SALWs in the hands of civilians has contributed to the intensity and frequency of cattle rustling among Dinka, Nuer and Murle. If indeed it does, the focus should be on what should be done to remove SALWs from the hands of local communities. If it is determined that presence of SALWs is not the problem, then attention should be focused on how local communities can solve the problem of cattle rustling.

**Research question four: What are people's perceptions about local or traditional institutions' capacity to address cattle rustling?** Among indigenous people like Dinka, Nuer and Murle, cultures and customs influence traditional methods of conflict resolution. However, the argument has been made that two civil wars in Sudan have changed or damaged local governing institutions among Dinka, Nuer and Murle communities (Wassara, 2007). In the past, local chiefs, elders, and spiritual leaders were an integral part of local governance. However, two successive civil wars have affected traditional institutions. For example, during the civil war, especially in Jonglei state, some traditional leaders have been killed and important local courts

and other institutions have been completely destroyed. As a result, traditional leaders and institutions' roles have become non-existent or diminished among most communities.

Furthermore, Jonglei state youth have increasingly gravitated toward modern life. This situation makes any remaining traditional leaders or institutions appear outdated and irrelevant to modern ways of life. Thus, when it comes to the problem of cattle rustling, it is important to explore and understand whether local traditional governing institutions underwent some changes. If indeed two civil wars eroded these local institutions, then the next question becomes: how does absence of local or traditional governing institutions affect the cattle rustling landscape? Answering this question would help people to understand the degree to which the decline of local institutions is contributing to the cattle rustling problem.

**Research question five: What are people's perceptions about national institutions capacity to address cattle rustling?** There are varying perceptions of how South Sudanese people view their government. To understand this, there is a need to explore national and state governments' capacities to deal with cattle rustling problem. In other words, are national and state governments prepared to address cattle rustling problems in Jonglei state? Among local people, there is a strong sentiment that South Sudan's government is corrupt, paralyzed and unable to regulate the flow of arms across the country. Even when the South Sudan government tries to intervene, its intervention is seen as ineffective. This resentment has been well documented in the findings of LeRiche and Rands (2012). This study clearly shows that several government attempts to disarm Nuer, Dinka and Murle communities have been seen as counterproductive from the view of many youths (LeRiche & Rands, 2012). For instance, when SPLA forces tried to force Lou Nuers to disarm in 2006; Lou youths refused to surrender their weapons. The result was a confrontation between SPLA and Lou Nuer youths in which many

lives were lost. The same thing could be said of Dinka and Murle youth. When SPLA forces attempted to disarm Murle in Pibor County in 2009, Murle youths fled with their guns into jungle areas around South Sudan-Ethiopia borders to evade disarmament. The point is that every government attempt to intervene and resolve the problem of cattle rustling encounters fierce resistance among local communities. Some citizens openly termed South Sudan government disarmament initiatives as a failure. Thus, the question becomes what should the government do to satisfy local communities that it can be effective in resolving the problem of cattle rustling? Or what should government do to convince local communities that it will provide security to all its citizens? By posing these questions, this study explores local peoples' views or opinions about South Sudan and Jonglei state and their capacities to resolve the problem of cattle rustling.

**Research question six: How did life change since cattle rustling became an issue?**

Studies done by MSF, HRW and Gathigah discussed how cattle rustling in Jonglei state have changed people's lives (MSF, 2012; HWR, 2013; & Gathigah, 2011). Among the top consequences cited by these studies are unnecessary loss of many human lives, displacement of people from their homes, exposure to conflict related diseases, growth of ethnic revenge and more importantly, the loss of cattle to cattle raiders. To gain insight into the magnitude and impact of cattle rustling, it is necessary to explore and learn about those whose communities have been directly affected by this problem.

**Research question seven: What do people say about the climate change?** Much has been said about South Sudan being a country surrounded by water bodies, the Nile, White Nile, Sudd and other major rivers like Sobat. But the abundance of water could be both a blessing and a curse to farming communities across the country. Per the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), there is a stronger belief that global warming negatively affects the Sub Saharan

African countries, including South Sudan (Bronkhorst, 2011). The daily livelihood of millions of people has been affected or altered by sea-level rise, irregularities in the rainfall patterns, drought, flood and desertification. For pastoralist communities like Dinka, Nuer and Murle, there is uncertainty about what the future would look like. According to Global Environment Facility (GEF), the region is predicted to experience an annual temperature increase of about 0.8 degree Celsius by the end of the next decade (Bronkhorst, 2011). This will affect agriculturalist and pastoralist communities' ways of life.

Understanding people's perception about climate is essential to addressing the environmental aspects of cattle rustling. It has been found (BBC World Service Trust, 2010) that many local communities in South Sudan are not familiar with the concepts of "*climate change*", and "*global warming*" (BBC World Service Trust, 2010). This means many people lack crucial knowledge that is needed to comprehend the magnitude of the problem. It also emerged that such lack of public awareness about climate change hinders people's ability to advocate for environmental remedies or policies aimed at tackling problem presented by climate change. Part of it results from media silence or muted coverage of the climate change and its effects in the region. Most reporters or journalists in South Sudan lack adequate training or knowledge on the climate change, which makes it harder for them to deliver accurate information to the masses who are already uninformed (BBC World Service Trust, 2010). Another interesting point obtained from BBC World Service Trust study is that most Sudanese view weather changes through a religious lens (BBC World Service Trust, 2010). They were found to believe that any environmental changes are caused by God. The disease outbreak, flood and drought are all seen as punishments from God for non-obedience. Among the Dinka and Nuer, for example, when drought strikes, people congregate to pray and offer sacrifices to God hoping to make the rain fall or stop the rain

from raining. The tragic thing about this mentality is that viewing climate change as an act of God makes people powerless and removes creativity in facing rapid environmental changes. Despite people's lack of understanding about climate change, scientists and climate change advocates need to explore the scope of the environmental changes in order to devise ways to address the threats posed by climate change in relation to cattle rustling.

### **Summary**

This literature review chapter presented a brief synopsis of the cattle rustling situation in Jonglei state, South Sudan. It also discussed main, relevant theories used in analyzing cattle violence among the Dinka, Nuer and Murle tribes, all of which are persistently engaged in cattle rustling in Jonglei state. Finally, it summarized the historical evolution of cattle raiding and research assumptions, current shifts in cattle violence, ethnic polarization, particularly that which took place during the last 20 years of the Sudan civil war. The chapter also discussed the research gap which this study intended to explore. Based on this literature review, much has been said about the causes of the conflict with little attention focused on the changing context of the conflict and its impact on the affected communities. Thus, the goal of this research was to explore the changing context of cattle rustling and understand the effects of conflicts related to cattle raiding in Jonglei, specifically among the Dinka, Nuer and Murle.

## Chapter Three: Methodology

### **Introduction**

This chapter provides detailed discussion of the research study design, purpose of the study, and research protocols e.g. informed consent procedures, participants recruitment requirements, data examination, and ethical and reflexivity concerns. It also describes data analysis and triangulation mechanisms including member check-in, trustworthiness, and validity. Furthermore, the chapter demarcates the boundaries of the scope and limitations of research design, as well as situating the study among the current field of studies on the effects of cattle rustling among communities in Jonglei state.

### **Constructivist view of the study**

How do people know what they know? How do we know that what people saying is valid? These two questions are central concepts when it comes to the constructivist frame of analysis. Researchers like Prawat, R. S., & Floden, R. E.; Kukla, A., and McMahon, M. defined constructivism as “*a school of thought that emphasizes the importance of cultural context in understanding what occurs in society and how knowledge is created based on such understanding*”. Following this view, it is important to understand two concepts, namely reality and knowledge, which are both central to discussing and analyzing the findings for this research. It is the belief of these scholars that reality is constructed through human activity. In other words, members of any given community or society are collectively responsible to characterize what their world looks like. Furthermore, constructivists have argued that knowledge is socially and culturally constructed through communal interactions among people and the immediate environment they live in (Prat & Floden, 1994). In line with this world view, this researcher approached data collection, discussion, and analysis with the belief that members of Dinka Bor,

Nuer and Murle possess experience and knowledge to accurately tell the truth about cattle rustling. As such, the emerging story or stories presented in this research should be viewed as a product of knowledge produced by those who have direct or indirect experiences with the problem of cattle rustling in Jonglei state, South Sudan.

### **Qualitative research methodology**

There are two broad classifications of methodologies. They are qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. Quantitative research methodologies are aboriginal with studies done in natural sciences (Creswell, 2007, p.143). Examples include the methods used in the survey, experimental and numerical studies. Qualitative methods are more common in social sciences where researchers learn about social, political, and cultural aspects of the community. Examples include action based studies, ethnographic studies, phenomenological studies, case studies and grounded theory (Creswell, 2007).

Qualitative methods are more oriented into interpretive paradigms than quantitative methods which are more into positivist paradigms of studies. This qualitative case study is an example of an interpretive research. Some academic researchers combine both methodologies in one research study (Creswell, 2007).

### **Case study methodology**

Meyer (2001) defined case study as a form of inquiry that “*investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context and addresses a situation in which the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident*” (Meyer, 2001, pp.330-331). There are two main types of case studies: single-case or multiple-case research. Multiple-case research examines two or more cases at the same time. Whether one conducts a single-case or multiple-case research, it’s likely that such research would fall under one of these categories:

holistic case study, exploratory case study, explanatory case study, descriptive case study, intrinsic case study, instrumental study, and collective case study (Tellis, 1997). This study is a single exploratory case study because it explores a single phenomenon.

As Meyer (2001) argues, the key difference between a case study methodology and most other qualitative designs, especially ethnography and grounded theory, is that case study research is open to the use of theories that guide the research and analysis of the data. On the other hand, grounded theory and ethnography stipulate that theoretical perspectives must be grounded in an emerging firsthand data analysis (Meyer, 2001). The other main difference is that case study is considered as a triangulated research strategy in which triangulation occurs by exploring and understanding information from various sources, e.g. books, journals, interviews, observations, archives, testimonies, artifacts and so forth (Creswell, 2007; Hussein, 2009; Meyer, 2001 & Tellis, 1997). The use of triangulation in a case study serves as a mechanism through which a researcher can validate and confirm or disaffirm the research finding (s). Furthermore, by triangulating or combining different sources of information, a researcher can deeply explore and understand the phenomenon under investigation—which results in mining rich data that helps the researcher to develop a meaningful narrative.

Case study is comprised of the following five parts: (1) identifying the case to be studied; (2) designing the case study; (3) data collection or collecting case evidence; (4) analyzing case evidence; and (5) reporting case study finding (s) (Meyer, 2001 & Yin, 2009). The researcher's decision in case selection is guided by interest in the topic or the enormity of the problem (Meyer, 2001). Furthermore, the data collection procedure is guided by the research questions.

## **Rationale for case study methodology and research questions**

There are many reasons that researchers choose a certain research methodology. These include things like research questions, researcher preference, phenomenon under investigation, etc. For this study, the researcher chose case study methodology for four reasons. The researcher wanted to utilize research methodology that is more descriptive and explorative, so it was essential to conduct a case study. Second, the phenomenon under investigation in this research required collecting data in the real world or a natural setting. Case study was the best method because it favors the gathering of data in its natural settings. Third, research questions developed for this study are descriptive and explorative; ensuring that they would yield credible data required the appropriate methodology for exploring them.

Fourth, since cattle rustling in Jonglei state revolves around several years of societal rivalry and communal strife, qualitative case study was most suitable to examine different components or descriptions of the conflict being studied (Yin, 2009).

## **Research questions**

**Main question.** The aim of this dissertation was to explore the changing context of cattle rustling and understand its effects on the inhabitants of three communities (Dinka, Murle, and Nuer) living in Jonglei state of South Sudan.

The following research questions were addressed by this study:

1. Are strategies or tactics of cattle rustling in Jonglei state evolving?
2. Is there an ethnic component to cattle rustling?
3. How do people perceive the availability of small arms and light weapon (SALWs)?
4. What is people's perception about local or traditional institutions' capacity to address cattle rustling?

5. What is people's perception about national institutions capacity to address cattle rustling?
6. How did life change since cattle rustling became an issue?
7. What do people say about the climate change?

### **Data management and preparation steps for analysis**

In any research, data collection can produce volumes of materials, which could be challenging during data collection and data analysis. Data collected for this qualitative case study came from online libraries, books and over the Internet (Steele & Taylor-Powell, 1996). In approaching data analysis, the researcher used different data management techniques in preparation for the actual analysis. Because this qualitative study was descriptive in nature, there was no clear line between data gathering and data analysis. Instead, the researcher engaged in a continuous process in which data collection and data analysis were treated as a single process (Saldãna, 2009). After the primary sources were collected and organized; the researcher examined every single document and put them in seven categories as discussed in chapter four. Under each section, a summary of the main concepts is discussed.

The next phase of the analysis was thematic coding defined as "*the process of identifying and categorizing the primary concepts or patterns from the data*"(Saldãna, 2009). Of course, the process of thematic coding involves revisiting and re-reading the documents and summaries of the data collected. So the researcher engaged in jotting down concepts, phrases and words and assigned codes. Furthermore, the researcher looked for commonalities and differences between the codes. This process allowed the researcher to develop good understanding of the materials.

During thematic coding, the researcher looked for repeated words, indigenous terms (terms that sound unfamiliar or local terms), patterns of the words used (Saldãna, 2009). Every

time the researcher came across repeated words, indigenous terms, and or recognized word patterns, a code was assigned. This method of coding was chosen to allow the researcher to examine, compare and look for similarities or differences in the data. Once the initial coding was done, the researcher then used theoretical proposition as a basis from which major emerged themes were discussed and analyzed. Finally, emerging narratives obtained from literature materials, interviews and observation were cross examined and discussed (triangulation) in chapter five to create greater understanding of the problem being investigated (Yin, 2009 & Hussein, 2009). Thus, the resulting concepts and themes discussed in chapter four were the result of thematic coding in which the researcher unequivocally remained open to any emerging codes during the analysis phase.

### **Validity, trustworthiness, and ethical considerations**

Of course, data collection and data transcription couldn't be completed without addressing validity, ethical concerns and trustworthiness requirements set forth for this study (Mauthner et al., 2002). With respect to participants' voices, the study ensured that participants' voices were listened to and presented appropriately. Therefore, the researcher was flexible and adaptable, yet objective in collecting data (Mauthner et al., 2002). In order to maintain the trustworthiness and validity of the emerging themes, the researcher captured participants' frequently used terms, as well as incorporating the researcher's own interpretation of observation notes. Moreover, the researcher checked in with every participant to confirm or disaffirm the accuracy of the emerging narrative. Furthermore, researchers cross-examined documents, interviews, and observations to identify common concepts that described the phenomenon being investigated.

Procedures were used to address ethical considerations and to protect participants' rights and safety. To guard human research subjects' privacy and address safety aspects during the study, pseudonyms were substituted for individuals' legal names. In addition, no photos or pictures of the participants were taken—only audio recordings to which the participants had agreed. Therefore, theme and discussion analysis presented in chapter four and five respectively met validity, trustworthiness, and ethical requirements set for this study.

### **Researcher reflexivity**

This study defines reflexivity as critical reflection in which an investigator or a researcher explores, learns, and understands their role in relation to the study (Mauthner et al., 2002). In this study, reflexivity encompasses issues of participants' voices as well as the researcher's voice. With respect to participants' voice, this researcher recognized the role each participant played in every step of this study. As such, the researcher ensured that participants' voices were listened to and presented appropriately. As for a researcher's voice, this researcher recognized the importance of incorporating his own voice. Therefore, the researcher was flexible, reflexive, and adaptive, but objective in collecting data. In other words, the researcher carefully listened to and accurately presented participants' views without injecting his own personal views. Furthermore, the researcher was aware of the safety and security concerns for research participants, as well as for the researcher. Therefore, this researcher made every effort to ensure interviews were done in a secure location. Similarly, the researcher understood that research subjects may suffer emotional damage (s) because of interview, since such interviews may lead to opening emotional wounds from past conflict. Thus, the researcher was open to assessing and reassessing individual risk level as data collection progressed. This was achieved by working diligently to maximize the safety and security of the research subjects. The same opportunity was given to those individuals

who were subjects for observation. The researcher made it known that participants who thought they are putting their lives at risk were free to voluntarily end their participation in the study without repercussions (Mauthner et al., 2002). With respect to documentary sources, each document was given equal attention in a manner that preserved the voice of its author or authors.

### **Summary**

This chapter summarized research study design, purpose of the study, research protocols e.g. informed consents, participants' recruitment requirements, data examination, ethnical and reflexivity concerns, steps for data analysis and verification mechanisms, such as member check-in, trustworthiness, and validation. Furthermore, the chapter demarcated the boundaries of the scope and limitations of research design, as well as situating the study among the current studies on the effects of cattle rustling among communities in Jonglei state.

## Chapter Four: Findings

### **Aim of the research and sample size**

The aim of this chapter is to examine and present findings from the literature, interviews, and observation. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first part is the presentation of the document findings. The second part is about interview processes and part three covers observation findings. The chapter ends with the summary of the findings obtained from document sources, interviews, and observation.

### **Sampling criteria for documentary sources gathering**

The sampling criteria for collecting document sources were driven by the following:

1. *Relevance:* In any research, data collection requires the researcher to ensure that strategy used in data collection results in producing documents that are relevant to the topic being studied. As such, this researcher chose to research books, journals, and articles, as well as briefing papers that specifically addressed the problem of cattle rustling in Jonglei state, South Sudan.
2. *Richness of information:* Because this research explores an ongoing conflict, it was necessary to gather information that provides rich information and context on the problem of cattle rustling in Jonglei state, South Sudan.
3. *Completeness:* A major criterion is how thoroughly the documents capture or explain the subject being investigated. To that end, researcher was interested in searching for books, journals and articles that primarily explore the problem of cattle rustling in Jonglei state.
4. *Confirmability:* This refers to full availability of the data upon which the research is based. Putting it differently, is any reader able to read or examine the data to confirm the interpretation of the findings? With this in mind, the focus was to collect documentary

sources that provide readers with adequate information that aids them in making their own interpretation of the findings.

### **Steps in reporting findings**

In his search for information that addresses the problem of cattle rustling in Jonglei state, the researcher used these five steps as a guide to data collection as well in preparation for analysis.

1. *Reading and exploring research topic background:* In preparation for this case study, the researcher began by reading topic related books. This helped in understanding of the topic. Preliminary background research helped the researcher to narrow down the topic to cattle rustling and its effects among three communities (Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle) in Jonglei state, South Sudan. This was important because it allowed the researcher to focus on researching literature that is specific to cattle rustling and its effects among the three communities (Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle).
2. *Identifying research terms:* Another component the researcher considered to be instrumental was topic related terms. In preparation for the research, researcher jotted down some common terms that were associated with cattle rustling. These common terms include: cattle raiding, effects of cattle raiding, youth, consequence of cattle rustling, firearms, civilians' death, crime, security, displacement, and so forth. The goal was to come up with terms that would be searchable on the Internet.
3. *Identifying research resources:* Because this research focused on a problem happening in the world's youngest nation, researcher anticipated possibility of fewer books on the topic. In addition, researcher was aware that no single resource would provide all the materials needed for this study. Therefore, the researcher focused on two main resources the online library of academic journals and the Internet search engine such as Google

Scholar. Online library did allow the researcher an access to unlimited books, articles and journals and so did the Internet Google Scholar search engine which put limitless information at the disposal of the researcher.

4. *Identifying search techniques:* After identifying common research terms and resources to use, the next step was to do the actual searching using online library and Google Scholar. Using the identified resources, researcher could key-in common terms into an appropriate online academic search engine or Google Scholar. In a case where a single term yielded nothing, researcher combined two terms with a conjunction, e.g. combining the word “cattle rustling” with the word “effects” using conjunction ‘*and*’ new search term became *cattle rustling and its effect*. Using this approach helped in generating precise information about the topic under investigation.
5. *Organizing collected documents:* After months of googling and browsing, the search produced more than 80 documents (books, journals, and articles). Without proper organization, analyzing such an immense number of materials could be challenging. As such, researcher grouped these documents into seven core categories as discussed below. The documents used for this study came from different sources, books and journals, articles, and briefings, as well as working papers that explored the ongoing issue of cattle rustling in Jonglei state. Using theoretical proposition technique, the researcher was able to group these documents into seven categories which are discussed below.

### **Documentary sources analysis**

**Research question one: Are strategies/tactics of cattle rustling in Jonglei state evolving?** This research question required researcher to locate documents that answer whether strategies and tactics of cattle rustling had evolved. Using Google Scholar and online library

searches, researcher explored documentary materials that have relevancy to cattle rustling evolution. The documentary resources identified include “*A guide to the Nuer of Jonglei state*” (Hutchison, n.d.), “Oil and water in Sudan” (Goldsmith et al., 2002), “*Cattle raiding, cultural survival, and adaptability of East Africa pastoralists*” (Gray et al., 2003), “*‘They are killing us’: Abuse against civilians in South Sudan’s Pibor County*”(HWR, 2013), “*Nuer ethnicity militarized*” (Hutchison, 2000), *Cyclical violence in Jonglei state: The deadly shift in the practice of cattle raiding* (Legassicke, 2013), “*Drivers of conflict in Jonglei state*” (McCallum & Okech, 2013), “*Security response in Jonglei state in the aftermath of inter-ethnic violence*” (Rands & LeRiche, 2012), and “*Mechanism of conflict resolution in Southern Sudan*” (Wassara, 2007).

Through examining these documents, two developments became apparent. First, it became clear that Nuer, Dinka Bor, and Murle used to be good neighbors who lived in peace with each other. However, evidence showed that with each decade passing, the relationship among these communities got worse. In the past for example, each tribe used to respect traditional rules of warfare, especially during cattle raids. This meant, women and children, for example, were never targeted. Homes were never burned down and those captured in the fights were never killed but rather treated well and allowed to be returned to their tribes provided their tribesmen paid a certain heads of cattle as ransom. Second, youth of today do not conform to their respective tribal rules of conflict engagement. Presently, they indiscriminately kill anyone including children and women, rape young girls, torch homes to the ground, and ruthlessly slay their captives. The brutality and maiming nature of the conflict among the youth of these communities is alarming (Gray et al., 2003; Rands & LeRiche, 2012). The study by Rands & LeRiche found that the nested level of hatred among these communities is at the core of the

violence that has plagued communities in Jonglei state. Considering the brutal nature of the warfare devised by these communities, coupled with an increased hatred that emerged among these communities, the persistent conflict that plagues these communities is beyond a mere quest for herds of cattle and social prestige. This trend bears serious consequences not only to these communities but to the entire state of Jonglei. Evidently, the cattle rustling has intensified into socio-political conflict that shouldn't be ignored. The ruthless scope of violence among the youth of these communities has polarized the fragile socio-political system across the state of Jonglei (Rolandsen, 2005).

**Research question two: Is there an ethnic component to cattle rustling?** The essence of this research question is the issue of ethnicity. In other words, what role does ethnicity play in cattle rustling? As such, researcher examined these relevant documentary sources, "*We are one, but we are different: Murle identity and local peace-building in Jonglei state*" (Felix da Costa, 2013), "*South Sudan ethnic hatred drives rebel leader's army*" (Bloomberg News, 2016), "*In the eye of the storm: Analysis of internal conflict in South Sudan's Jonglei state*" (Gordon, 2014), "*'They are killing us': Abuse against civilians in South Sudan's Pibor County*" (HWR, 2013), "Nuer ethnicity militarized" (Hutchison, 2000), and "*Guerrilla government: Political changes in Southern Sudan during the 1990s*" (Rolandsen, 2005). These documentary sources explored the ethnic dimension of the conflict although from different perspectives. As researcher read these documents, it became apparent that the studies referenced to how civil war has affected the social fabric of the society. The evidence that emerged showed that protracted civil wars in Sudan had radically changed or brought about the demise of the common identity that used to bind Nuer, Dinka Bor and Murle people together. As such, the Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle of today are further self-isolated. Not only are they self-isolated, it was evident that members of these

communities harbored strong hatred for each other. As Rolandsen (2005) indicated, the warm relationship that once existed between Dinka Bor and Nuer ceased as a result of 1991 incident in which Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) split along tribal lines, Nuer against the Dinka, costing about twenty-eight thousand people their lives. That incident, along with politics of ethnic manipulation by some disgruntled political and military opportunists, bred an ethnic hatred that has strained Dinka Bor-Nuer relationships. Such hatred did not end there. It resurfaced on December 15, 2013 when President Kiir's government instigated a coup by declaring that Riek Machar and his White Army (Nuer armed militia group) attempted to overthrow his regime. In retaliation, the Dinka led government in Juba launched a ruthless campaign against Riek Machar and his White Army group in which thousands of people were indiscriminately killed by both sides. Ever since then, the relationship between Dinka and Nuer has significantly deteriorated. With the transitional government of national unity disintegrating, political opportunists from these ethnic groups are propagating hate messages at the expense of innocent people. This surge of hatred and ethnic carnage disturbs peace among these tribes. One Nuer survivor of December 15, 2013 violence in Juba described the carnage to a news reporter: "I have seen people being forced to eat other humans. Soldiers kill one of you and ask the other to eat the dead one. Women are raped, people burnt" (Geoffrey, 2015).

Such vitriol and ruthlessness are common indicators of how deep hatred among these communities has become. Based on similar reports from individuals like the person mentioned above, and supported by other research, the resurrection of ethnic politics, especially between the Nuer and Dinka, and even among some Murle, created an atmosphere of hatred which currently manifests itself in different forms of hostilities (e.g. cattle rustling, revenge attacks, and child abduction) among the communities in Jonglei state (Rolandsen, 2005).

**Research question three: What are people’s perceptions about the availability of small arms and light weapons?** At the core of the firearms in Jonglei state has been self-defense. Many people do argue that both Juba and the state authorities have failed to provide civilians with the protection they need. Hence, many said they take up arms to protect themselves and their possessions, especially cattle. Seeking more understanding about this situation, researcher searched for relevant documents that address the role of small firearms in cattle rustling. After reading various peer reviewed journals and articles as well as books, researcher identified the following documentary sources as credible and relevant to cattle rustling. The documentary sources examined include: *“Taking away the gun: Forcible disarmament and rebellion (Zhukov, 2013), Guns in the borderlands, reducing the demand for small arms (Weiss, 2004), “South Sudan says 150 killed in battle with the rebels” (Ulf, 2013), My neighbor, my enemy: Inter-tribal violence in Jonglei (Small arm Survey, 2012), Security promotion seen from below: Experience from South Sudan ( Willems & Rouw, 2011), “Nuer ethnicity militarized” (Hutchison, 2000), “South Sudan: Jonglei village in deadly cattle attack” (Copnall, 2011), and media monitoring report, United Nations Missions in South Sudan (UNIMISS, 2012).*

After reading and examining these documents, it became clear that South Sudan, especially the state of Jonglei, is saturated with all kinds of firearms (Willems & Rouw, 2011; Saferworld, 2012). Saferworld, an international non-government organization working to prevent violent conflict and build safer lives, reports that there are approximately 2.7 million weapons floating around in the hands of civilians in South Sudan. In a country of 9 million people, this equates to one in every three persons having a gun. Obviously, the availability of such large numbers of firearms in the hands of hostile civilians poses a security threat across the state of

Jonglei. Furthermore, when factoring in ethnic suspicion and deep seated desire for vengeance, this situation elevates the frequency and intensity of the conflict, as has been the case with most recent cattle raiding across Jonglei state. In retrospect, cattle rustling was relatively nonlethal and uncommon until the beginning of the second civil war in 1983 (Hutchison, n.d.). However, after the war started, firearms found their way into the hands of civilians—today, almost everyone is armed with a semi-automatic gun making it likely that a single person can cause havoc to large numbers of people. As a case in point, more than 600 people were slain in a single day in 2011 when Lou Nuer and Murle youths clashed in Jonglei state, making it the most deadly single attack in the history of cattle rustling in Jonglei state (Aljazeera, 2011). By any measure, killing 600 people in a single raid is intolerable especially when it is between civilian populations. Thus, it is important to mention that these numbers of civilian fatalities would be unlikely or impossible without the use of such firearms. By examining these documents, it's worth noticing that these tribes (Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle) are rearming themselves with more guns. If this trajectory continues, cattle raids are likely to become more deadly unless some form of intervention is put in place to curb the flow of weapons in the hands of civilians.

**Research question four: What are people's perceptions about traditional institutions?** In a state inhabited by many tribes, peoples' perceptions about other groups and local institutions were considered an essential aspect for this study. Thus, researcher examined various documents that addressed this question, especially when it comes to local institutions' ability to tackle the problem of cattle rustling. The documentary sources that the researcher examined include: *“Mechanisms of conflict resolution in Southern Sudan,* (Wassara, 2007), *Security responses in Jonglei state in the aftermath of inter-ethnic violence* (Rands & LeRiche, 2012), *Livelihoods, access to services and perceptions of governance: Analysis of Pibor County,*

*South Sudan from the perspectives of displaced people* (Maxwell et al., 2014). After examining these documents, it appeared that in the past these communities had faith in the local institutions of the governance and their ability to address local socio-economic and political problems. However, recent studies showed that people have lost faith in them. As to why local institutions are becoming unpopular—according to Wassara (2007), the last civil war destroyed local governing apparatuses rendering the remaining few irrelevant. Furthermore, the same research showed that many elders who in the past provided credibility to the local system died during the war and the few that are left have lost relevance as modern institutions of governance took over. Not only that, research emphasized that the youth of these communities have rebelled against old ways of living (Wassara, 2007). In other words, they refuse orders or directives from their elders and, as a result, they operate in the leadership void created by modernity. With the outbreak of the recent conflict in Juba, the relationship gap between Dinka and Nuer would widen and more importantly, there are signs that these communities have already started to re-arm themselves. With more guns being acquired and starving populations, increased violence would be unavoidable given the current situation across the country.

**Research question five: What are people’s perceptions about national institutions’ capacity to address cattle rustling?** Oscar Wilde, an Irish poet once said, “*Between the optimist and the pessimist, the difference is droll. The optimist sees the doughnut; the pessimist sees the hole.*” Surely, perceptions of the government held by residents of Jonglei would have been captured somewhere in literature sources. In order to investigate this, researcher examined the following documentary sources that included residents’ viewpoints about the government. “*Security, basic services, and economic opportunity in South Sudan: Perspectives of women post-independence and pre-civil war*” (Alam et al., 2014), *Opinions of South Sudanese on a*

*government that can meet citizen expectations* (Cook & Moro, 2012), *Mechanism of conflict resolution in Southern Sudan* (Wassara, 2007, Rands & LeRiche, 2012). After examining these studies, it became apparent that there were mixed perceptions about the government. South Sudanese of all stripes gave credit to the government for attaining independence. That was not surprising because independence had been one thing that people had fought to achieve for the last two decades.

Immediately after independence, citizens' perception of the government got worse, especially between 2006 and 2010 when SPLA forces launched a civilian disarmament exercise whose results were disastrous. That incident is reported to have galvanized citizens in their dislike of the way the SPLA forces approached civilian disarmament campaign. Although the government had a good intention, the manner in which civilian disarmament was conducted was not welcomed by most civilians who already viewed the government as incapable of providing basic security functions to all corners of the country. One thing that stood out from these studies was the emphasis on fear. According to Alam et al. (2014), one respondent put it this way, "there was only one enemy before the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), but now there is insecurity everywhere. Even neighbors are becoming enemies." So not only do citizens have negative perception of their government; the citizens are now fearful of each other (Alam et al., 2014).

These studies also found that many viewed the government as weak, poorly organized, undisciplined, and ineffective. In other words, communities especially in Jonglei prefer to be in charge of their own security. Thus, each time the government has tried to exert its power, civilians resisted. This created a security dilemma, especially between armed civilians and the government; a situation which cattle raiders exploit. In the context of the rule of law, civilians'

refusal to disarm complicates the relationship between the government and the people, partly because government has not met basic security concerns of its citizens. Many are skeptical because the government has yet to prove that it can provide security to every county around the country.

**Research question six: How has life changed since cattle rustling became an issue?** A visitor to Jonglei state might be amazed by its ethnic diversity, even thinking that such a diverse state is an oasis of peace and prosperity. Unfortunately, they would be wrong because Jonglei's ethnic diversity has become its main source of trouble. A newcomer to any county or payam (second lowest administrative division below counties) might be shocked by how cattle rustling related conflicts have torn these communities apart. Signs of destruction are visible everywhere giving rise to the one of the main questions explored by this study: How did cattle rustling affect communities across the state? To find out what had been written, researcher read and examined these relevant documentary sources: *"They are killing us:" Abuses against civilians in South Sudan Pibor County* (HWR, 2013); *Effects of cattle rustling on economic development, case of Masol location, west Pakot County* (Kaprom, 2013), *Effects of cattle rustling and household characteristics on migration decisions and herd size amongst pastoralists in Baringo District, Kenya* (Kiamba et al., 2011); *"Natural resource management and conflict mitigation in South Sudan: Implications for national reconstruction and development"* (Mbungua, 2012); *Jonglei state, South Sudan's epicenter of violence: MSF report reveals medical consequences of violence and the impact on healthcare* (Médecins Sans Frontières, 2012), *"African Union report details horrific evidence of war crimes in South Sudan"* (Geoffrey, 2015); *"Peace assessment report on the 'Conflict Triangle' of the Jonglei state"* (Jonglei State Peace Commission (2011); and *South Sudan: Children snatched out of their homes"* (Gathigah, 2011).

In examining documents, three inter-related concepts emerged. The first concept is ethnocentrism which this study defined as, "*an assumption by one ethnic group of superiority over any other tribes.*" In societies where traditions and politics are based on numbers and tribal patriotism or loyalties, strong parochial affiliation makes bigger tribes think they are better than the small tribes. The Dinka Bor people think they are better than Nuer and Murle. The Nuer, in turn, a larger tribe than the Murle also consider themselves to be warriors. Such feelings of superiority create intergroup friction, intolerance, and hatred, which over time have resulted in violence (Jonglei State Peace Commission, 2011). Secondly, these communities are not just prone toward violence; violence is viewed as a common way of life. Any time Dinka Bor have shown any kind of aggression toward Nuer, Nuer would respond with violence. And whenever Nuer acted aggressively toward Murle, the Murle would reciprocate with violence. This phenomenon has created a cycle of violence that has resulted in countless loss of lives, displacement of people, and destruction of homes and farms. This is related to the third concept to emerge from documented evidence, which is underdevelopment.

As discussed above, violence across the state of Jonglei has bred insecurity that threatened any economic and socio-political developments. There are no good roads and hospitals, no intergroup commerce, schools are nonexistent. Instead, the only interaction that happens among these communities takes the form of cattle rustling and child abduction, by their nature illegal and destructive to peoples' ways of life. Based on these three evident factors, the impacts of cattle rustling are cumulative, and carry both short and long term implications. Short term implications include displacement of people and destruction of homes, of which communities can recover from in a relatively short time period. However, more worrisome are the long term consequences of the violent cattle rustling. These include children lost to cattle

raiders, and psychological trauma such as memories of rape and bodily mutilation. Faced with tremendous difficulty in locating abducted children, many parents spend sleepless nights thinking about when their children will be returned. Currently, it takes an average of six months of active searching by the police to locate abducted children and with the insecurity across the state, locating these abducted children is not an easy task for authorities involved, especially when traditional leaders are not cooperating with the state authorities.

**Research question seven: What do people say about climate change?** In agro-pastoral communities, life depends on water and green pastures. However, recent changes in the climate of the region negatively affect people's ways of living especially among poor indigenous communities whose life depends on rain water. As such, climate change threatens human security among communities in Jonglei state. Water availability and demand for water and fertile land in Jonglei have gradually become a major economic and environmental issue among agro-pastoral communities. For example, the competition over Nile waters and rain-fed agricultural resources has elevated tension levels primarily among various communities in Jonglei state. As reported by Tiitmamer (2015), the amounts of rainfalls have been on the decline rapidly and temperature has increased by 1 degree Celsius (Tiitmamer, 2015). In most areas of Jonglei state, rain used to fall between March and November months. However, today, the rain patterns are increasingly becoming erratic. In the six years since South Sudan became independent, the country experienced four major floods (Tiitmamer, 2015). Due to irregularities of rainfalls, drought has also become frequent in most areas which often forces pastoralists to leave their areas with their livestock in search for pastures and water. Every time a pastoral community ventures into other territories, it increases the probability of conflict over herding

land (Leff, 2009). The 2013 flood, for example affected 313,000 people stretching across 44 counties, with Jonglei state the worse affected (Atem, 2014).

The unanswered question is what are the real consequences of climate change on the residents of Jonglei state? Droughts, floods, and desertification resulting from climate change are frequently on the rise. When crops are damaged and animals are dying off due to lack of water or flooding, food insecurity increases, especially among communities whose livelihood depends directly on rain water. As the number of people living in poverty increases, it forces people to look for other ways to earn their living, such as engaging in illegal activities like cattle rustling. Looking at the cycle of cattle rustling in Jonglei state, there is a direct correlation between cattle rustling and water, pastures, and land. Cattle rustling occurs around areas with lot of water and pastures where cattle keepers assemble with their animals. In some cases, communities inhabiting flooded or drought prone areas are compelled to migrate into their neighbors' territories. This triggers competition over limited resources, which often increases the risk of conflict escalations. In the case of desertification, what used to be fertile farming lands are shrinking, which has basically reduced the crop production capacities of the farming communities. In Kongor payam for example, the soil in Pakuor used to support sorghum growing. However, the flood of 1991 depleted and washed away soil nutrients; to this day, the soil remains barren with nothing able to grow from it the way it used to in the past. Although local communities in Jonglei don't fully acknowledge climate change as a problem, its effects shouldn't be ignored. And the question becomes "what can be done to counter threats posed by the climate changes on the environment?" This question is addressed in the discussion and analysis section.

## Themes

In analyzing and presenting the data collected, researcher used deductive qualitative analysis (DQA) which has been defined as, "*qualitative analysis approach in which initial research question (s) or assumptions are used as a basis of coding the collected data*" (Gilgun, 2009). Researcher in this case study used seven research questions as the basis of developing codes. As such, changes in strategies and tactics; roles of firearms; people's perception of the traditional institutions; people's perception of national government; effects of cattle rustling, and effects of climate change became the main concepts. After further reading and careful examination of the collected data, researcher carefully read each research assumption and made note of the main concepts. For the first research proposition: (Are strategies/tactics of cattle rustling in Jonglei state evolving?) "loss of traditional mores" and "ethnic hatred" were coded as themes. For the second research proposition (Is there an ethnic component to cattle rustling?) "loss of common ethnic identity" and "ethnic politics" were identified and coded as themes. For research assumption three (What are people's perceptions about the availability of small arms and light weapons?) "lethal weapons" was identified and coded as a theme. For research assumption four (What are people's perceptions about traditional institutions?) "loss of local and traditional institutions" was identified and coded as a theme. For research assumption five (What are people's perceptions about national institutions' capacity to address cattle rustling?) "ineffective government" was identified and coded as a theme. For research assumption six (How had life changed since cattle rustling became an issue?) Three broader concepts emerged – "ethnocentrism", "insecurity" and "underdevelopment". After careful re-reading of the documents related to proposition six, researcher determined that ethnocentrism, insecurity and underdevelopment breed human suffering. So "human suffering" was added as a theme. For

research assumption seven: (What do people say about climate change?) “environmental refugees” was identified and coded as a theme. For the sake of preserving contexts and meanings, researcher ensured that codes assigned did reflect authors’ points of view. Thus, the final themes that emerged include loss of traditional mores; loss of common identity; ethnic politics; lethal weapons; ineffective government; human suffering and environmental refugees.

### **Loss of traditional mores**

In any given society, norms, mores, customary laws and traditions are the cornerstone that helps keep peace and harmony. As Wassara (2007) detailed, communities in Jonglei state lost some of these important socio-cultural safeguards during the last civil war. So, when conflict and dispute erupt among these communities, they quickly escalate into major conflicts due to lack of a social system to address such potential disagreements before they evolve into full-blown conflict. In 2010, for example, Dinka Hol blocked Nuer Gawaar youth and their cattle from entering to Hol’s territory. In the past, migration incidents like this didn’t cause war. They were customarily resolved by elders through negotiation and promises like “when your pasture lands dry out, we will in the future allow you and your cattle into our territory.”

Unfortunately, such negotiation didn’t happen in this particular case. Hol youth chased Nuer Gawaar and their cattle away. This didn’t go well with the Nuer Gawaar youth, who then tried to force their way into Hol’s territory. In response, Hol youth fired gunshots over Nuer Gawaar youth. As expected, Nuer Gawaar shot back and the situation escalated into a gunfight in which innocent people died. However, if elders were given an opportunity to intervene, chances are, the situation could have been resolved or if Nuer Gawaar youth had issued Hol youth with a promissory note granting Hol youth a future access to Nuer Gawaar territory; conflict and death might have been averted.

### **Loss of common identity**

As discussed by Hutchison and Rolandsen, Human Rights Watch and Legassicke, Rands and LeRiche, the ethnic bond that these communities used to identify with is no longer there (Hutchison, n.d.; Rolandsen, 2005; Human Rights Watch, 2013; & Legassicke, 2013). Today, both Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle see each other as archenemies. The recent killing of Nuer civilians on December 16, 2013 in Juba by President Kiir security elements showed how severely damaged the relationship between Dinka and Nuer has become. Furthermore, the ferocity which cattle rustling violence has undergone is awful. The stories of women being raped, child abduction, and recent rumors of cannibalism allegedly carried out during recent fights in Bortown, Malakal and Bentiu between Dinka and Nuer White Army forces is frightening. Drinking an enemy's blood are things that cannot be done by a person or a people that values communal relationship. Not only that, there have been instances where Nuer members have been prevented from living or building their homes near Dinka's residences, especially after the outbreak of violence on December 15, 2013.

### **Ethnic politics**

For a young nation like South Sudan which is inhabited by fragmented tribes, it is challenging to separate national politics from ethnic identity. In fact, there are politicians and military operatives who encourage ethnic politics as a means of maintaining their power. In 1991, for example, Riek Machar, a Nuer alongside his Nuer generals, defected from Dinka led movement (SPLM/A) and formed a violent Nuer led movement to fight what he termed as '*Dinkanization*' of the liberation movement (Rolandsen, 2005). He might have had real differences with SPLM/A leaders, as he claimed to have been sidelined by members of the Dinka within the SPLM/A rank and file. Seeking to remain relevant, he appealed to all Nuer sections to

join him to counter Dinka domination of the movement (Dinkanization). Another example is David Yau Yau who for the past ten years managed to mobilize Murle youth to fight Dinka dominance of the Jonglei state assembly. The practice of ethnic politics has found its way into South Sudan national politics and certainly seems to be getting worse. On December 9, 2013, President Kiir purposely went on national television and invoked memories of the 1991 Bor massacre just to remind his Dinka supporters of the role Dr. Riek Machar had played in orchestrating that tragedy. Not to be outdone, the former Vice President, Riek Machar, left Juba, allied himself with the White Army, and declared war on Kiir government. In the midst of the tribal politicking, another Dinka Lieutenant general, Paul Malong Awan decided to mobilize Dinka youths (Mathiang Anyor/Gel-Beny) to fight against Nuer White Army on the behalf of the president. While this was happening at the national level, some generals in the SPLM/A rank and file took advantage of the situation by supplying their tribesmen with firearms, some of which have already fallen in the hands of cattle rustlers.

### **Lethal weapons**

Based on Saferworld report, there are millions of firearms still floating around in the hands of civilians (Saferworld, 2012). In the case of Jonglei state, the presence of such weapons creates a security dilemma. Making the matter worse, for communities who consider themselves as enemies, having such large numbers of firearms in the hands of unruly youth makes them invincible particularly among organized cattle rustlers. To many individuals, the quest for acquiring powerful weapons has commercial value especially among those who engage in cattle rustling. Sadly, in a region that is saturated with firearms and where the demand for such weapons is great, guns sales have become a lucrative venture and many people are now joining

the business of buying and selling guns especially among the Murle and Nuer cattle rustlers who live along the porous border to Ethiopia.

### **Ineffective government**

When South Sudan celebrated her independence in 2011, hopes and expectations were running high in the minds of many. The international community as well as South Sudan's young government made lots of promises during celebration. However, after diplomats and international media left, the promises that were made never materialized and people's expectations were shattered. As such, many citizens began to question the government programs. As Rands and LeRiche study indicated, many citizens have lost confidence in Juba government (Rands & LeRiche, 2012). They see government as corrupted, ineffective, poorly organized, and incapable of executing its duties, especially in matters related to security. With this deteriorating security situation, every citizen has a reason to mistrust the government when it comes to disarmament. Thus, when SPLA forces commenced disarmament exercise in Jonglei, it was not surprising to see citizens protesting to civilians' disarmament. As one respondent put it, "we are not refusing to hand our guns over to the government. We will but show us that your government stops the Murle from stealing our cows." The point is people have genuine fear. Perhaps, such genuine security concern was what led to confrontation between SPLA forces and Nuer youths. The Nuer youth did not want to compromise their own security by surrendering their guns to a government that they don't trust to keep them safe. Their argument was, "provide us with protection and we will surrender our guns." Unfortunately, the government didn't see it that way. It forced disarmament on civilians without providing any security guarantee to communities that were already wrestling with the problem of cattle rustling.

## **Human suffering**

Since 2005, cattle rustling has plagued Jonglei state. According to the following studies (MSF, 2012; HRW, 2013; & Gathigah, 2011), cattle rustling has greatly disrupted many lives, especially among the Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle communities. Many lives have been lost, homes destroyed, families separated, animals taken away, and heinous crimes committed, not to mention exposure to conflict related diseases. Everywhere one goes in Jonglei state, there are baneful signs of destruction. Fresh burial sites, charred and dry human bones scattered in the fields, children missing arms or other limbs and, of course, the invisible wounds that hover on the shoulders of every man and woman who lost or witnessed loved ones being slain in front of them. One woman described her experience this way:

“When the attackers came to our village, my husband ran for his life, leaving me and our children behind.... I am disabled and have a two-year-old child, so I could not run, and there was no one to help me carry [that child] and the newborn baby. I found myself hiding in a tukul [hut] some distance from my house. I was joined there by 12 other women who... could not run. After Nuer found us, the raping began” (Center for Civilians in Conflict, 2014).

Such gut-wrenching stories beg the question, why are these communities killing one another? No easy answers. However, Human Rights Watch (2013) argued that Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle didn't just wake up one morning and decide to kill each other. Instead, the problem of cattle rustling among the Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle is a multi-layered conflict that requires complex explanation (Human Rights Watch, 2013). Among these communities, cattle hold a special place in social and economic sense. They are symbols of power and prestige. Whoever has more cattle is highly respected. Moreover, culturally, stealing cattle has become a rite of

passage among the youths in these communities. Young men who are in the process of becoming adults undergo certain rituals, including organizing cattle raids as a way to secure place among their peers. In addition, poverty sometimes forces men to organize raids so they can provide for their families. Because youths of these communities are armed, nothing has prevented them from stealing cattle from their neighbors. In addition, the firearms have become an integral part of the economy. There are corrupted military generals who illegally sell firearms to local gun merchants who then sell them to individuals needing guns at a discounted price. Therefore, disarming civilians alone is not the solution to cattle rustling. The solution to cattle rustling would include diversifying the economy, educating young local population on the importance of coexistence, regulating cross border trade in firearms, and discouraging military generals from selling firearms to civilians.

### **Environmental refugees**

Since the end of World War Two, the world has been dealing with the problem of people displaced by regional or civil wars. Lately, there is a new form of global refugee - crisis or environmental refugees (Osterhus, 2015). These individuals happen to be internally displaced inside their country or displaced beyond national borders. In either case, these individuals are displaced by drought and flood, soil erosion and desertification, deforestation and or other related environmental disasters. Because of these environmental calamities, they are no longer able to provide basic life necessities on their own and must depend on humanitarian relief organizations (Osterhus, 2015).

In addition, with increased competition for limited resources, conflict develops especially between those displaced and the host communities. In South Sudan, research indicated that the country lost 40% of its forests to deforestation since South Sudan became an independent

country and worse is feared to come. Due to sedimentation, Sennar dam on the Blue Nile lost 60% of its holding capacity (UNEP, 2007). With the dam no longer able to hold its maximum tons of water, floods around the Blue Nile frequently force thousands of civilians to flee their homes. With close to four million already displaced by civil war in South Sudan, the increase in environmental refugees has placed more burdens on humanitarian agencies and infrastructures. As such, research recommended that steps be taken to improve ways to absorb the shocks presented by the climate change.

### **Sampling criteria for interviews**

The traditional practice of a qualitative research requires that participants who are recruited to take part in a study are qualified because of their experience or some forms of exposure to the situation being investigated. Sampling criteria for selecting participants for this case study followed the qualitative research tradition commonly known as purposive sampling (Creswell, 2007). In following purposive sampling, researcher used snowballing defined as "*form of purposive sampling in which participants with established contacts are encouraged to use their networks to refer to the researcher other individuals who could participate in the study*". The other sampling criteria for selecting interviews participants were:

1. Members of Dinka, Nuer and Murle due to the specificity of this research
2. Residents of Jonglei state
3. Fluent in English
4. Those that have lost animals, properties, or family members due to cattle rustling
5. However, six members from other communities who live in Jonglei and have been affected by the cattle rustling were allowed to participate in this research.

This rationale for sampling criteria was necessary in different ways. First, collecting information and or data from every member of Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle would have been practically impossible. Second, because the amount of time allocated to this research was dictated by degree granting institution, time was saved by selecting 30 individuals to represent their respective ethnic groups. As such, 30 youths who lived and have experience with the problem of cattle rustling in Jonglei state were contacted.

### **Participant profile and demography**

During my visit to South Sudan in 2011, I came across a village in Maar area in Jonglei state which was set at blaze by alleged Murle cattle rustlers. That event made me curious about the problem of cattle rustling. After returning to Bortown from my village in Kongor payam, I started to talk with people about cattle rustling. During these dialogues, I made it known to those I talked to that I was pursuing a degree in conflict analysis and resolution and might be interested in researching cattle rustling once I got an approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the university.

Upon receiving IRB approval in August 2015, I formally extended an invitation to thirty individuals who met the interview criteria set above. Of the thirty individuals contacted, twenty individuals responded and accepted to participate in the study. The other ten did not respond. As a result; I contacted one of those individuals who had already agreed to participate and asked that he refer any individual who was willing to participate in the study. Through that contact, I enlisted four more individuals, bringing the total number of interview participants to twenty four. All were consistent with purposive sampling in which a researcher selects individuals and research location for the study (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007 & Creswell, 2007).

In December 2015, I traveled to Bortown, South Sudan to conduct face-to-face interviews with those twenty-four individuals who agreed to participate in the study. Once in Bortown, South Sudan, and before the interviews commenced, participants were re-informed and given an opportunity to review the consent form indicating that at any point during research, they had the right to voluntarily end their participation without repercussion (Appendix C).

As Mauthner (et al., 2003) identified, accessing, and informing participants required cognizance and due diligence in defining the nature of the relationship between the researcher and research subjects (Mauthner et al., 2003). In adhering to research responsibility, researcher further reiterated to the participants that their rights and privacies are of interest and are at all time a top priority of the researcher. In addition, researcher assigned pseudonyms to replace the actual names of the participants as a mechanism to safeguard individuals' privacy and to shield them from any risks that might emerge from their participation in the interviews.

As Kvale (1996) argued, the process of interview tends to evoke debate. To enhance dialogue during the interviews, researcher used open-ended questions to prompt meaningful discussions (Kvale, 1996). The use of open-ended questions was important in the sense that it allowed the researcher to engage the participants in fully exploring the problem of cattle rustling (Turner, 2010).

The interviews occurred in two phases. In phase I, the researcher held a thirty- minute interview with each participant. The goal of the thirty-minute meeting was to lay foundation for phase II, which was actually the main interview. During the second interviews, the researcher held one hour discussion with the same participants. Both interviews were audio-taped. Notes taken during the interviews were also saved in a personal protected password computer available only to the researcher.

In this study, 24 participants were interviewed with 6 participants coming from each of the three tribes and 6 participants from other communities. The goals of interviewing 24 people were twofold. First, to gain better understandings of cattle raiding and how it affects people's lives across Jonglei state. Second, in terms of numbers, choosing 24 participants was a reasonable sample size for a case study.

During the interviews, the researcher used the unstructured open-ended interview approach. Throughout the interviews each piece of information was treated equally. This holistic approach was unbiased and helpful in exploring and understanding complex aspects of Jonglei state's cattle rustling.

### **Interviews summary**

"Bol," a soft-spoken man, was the first person I talked to during the interviews. When I asked him about how violence had affected people among the three communities, he summarized his answers with these words: displacement, isolation, powerlessness, dependence and humiliation. Just by hearing these words, one could sense the depth of their meanings for him. When asked to clarify the meanings of these words, he eloquently stated:

Being displaced basically means; you lost your home and possessions. You don't have a home of your own.... No different than living in the street. Not to mention you don't have power to talk freely... and of course, you don't have pride of your community because you no longer lived in your birth place and that is humiliating. You don't have a say in anything. Very much you are a foreigner in your own country. It is a pathetic life. You see, even animals are better off, they don't have to talk and very much are used to that life. As a refugee or internally displaced as they call it here, you depended on the goodwill of the host communities or someone else and that is humiliation as well.

“Bol’s” descriptions of the violence and how it has disrupted lives among local communities were very revealing, the images of people dying of cholera, diarrhea, and malaria. The absence of clean drinking water, lack of sanitation, chaos and confusion due to lack of guidance and not knowing when to return home were mind boggling. In fact, Bol later described his first few months in the camp as chaotic and confusing. He explained how people did not know what was going on; there was constant fear of being attacked.

Despite Bol’s horrifying accounts about the effects of cattle rustling, there were positive and hopeful stories that came up several times. For example, during the interviews, more than half of the participants described being hopeful that something good will come out of the cattle rustling conflict. Instead of blaming their situations on the cattle rustling, participants like Bol took positive perspective of the war by admitting that loss of cattle to raiders gave him an opportunity to go to school. Bol said,

“If our cows were not raided by Murle, my father would have not allowed me to go to school. Though loss of cattle was painful to my dad, I am today better off because of that.”

Through the interviews, there were several accounts or stories that indicated positive attitudes about life. Participants described how cattle rustling experiences have strengthened their resolve about overcoming life challenges.

“Tut”, a resident of Akobo, didn’t hesitate to voice his view about aggravating circumstances of the cattle raiding problem. He said,

Phillip, cattle raiding is more than about acquiring cattle... people are fearful in every part of Jonglei state. Even among those who have no interest in raiding cattle, there is a sense of fear... if they don’t do something to fend off potential raiders. It is possible they

will lose the next coming attack from their rivals. So, the best anybody or community can do in my view is to be on the offensive. Arm yourself and, if possible, be on the offensive. Strike first, that way you enhance your security position... moreover, there is another dimension to cattle raiding, innocent people are killed during cattle rustling. As a man, if a Dinka or a Murle killed my relative, I would not hesitate to avenge his or her death. So, part of the problem is members of the wronged community go after their attackers to conduct a revenge attack to avenge their killed relatives or community members. Nuer does it, Dinka and Murle do it as well... and this becomes a vicious cycle of a bloodbath. I remembered two incidents between 2012 and 2013 where Nuer youth reacted to a senseless killing of children and women as well as helpless elders. This particular incident was provoked by Murle youth on Lou-Nuer community. I am not sure how many Murle were killed in Pibor, but many innocent Murle children and women lost their lives.

When asked about who instigates cattle rustling, “Deng”, a secondary school graduate and self-proclaimed businessman who has lived in Bortown since July 2011, said,

There is always the attacker and the attacked. We Bor Dinka we don't like aggressing other people. I am not denying that we don't attack Murle or Nuer... However, when that happens, it is the Murle and or Nuer that provoke us to attack in retaliation to their aggression. But to be honest, Murle most of the times initiate cattle raiding ... if you ask any Nuer, he or she will confirm this. Youth from Lou Nuer most of the times go to Pibor in response to Murle provocation.

Take for example, when Murle attacked Jalle and Maar in December, 2011. Bor Dinka became bitter. The youth from Twic East County, Duk County and here in Bor South

County mobilized to invade Pibor. Luckily, the communities and politicians of our counties convinced the angry youth to dislodge their plan to attack Murle in Pibor County.

Following up on Deng's comments, "Lach" added,

You see Phil, we Murle are Bor Dinka and Nuer scapegoats. They blame us for everything. If thunder strikes their cows this afternoon, I am sure Dinka or Nuer will say it was the Murle that did it. We are a tiny and a marginalized tribe. We have to survive and to do that—we have to defend ourselves despite our small population compared to Bor Dinka and the Mighty Nuer nations. Yes, if we are attacked by Bor Dinka or Nuer, we don't hesitate to go after them in revenge. What I know is we are both equally victims and instigators when it comes to initiating cattle raiding.

In addition to "Tut's" characterization of who instigates cattle rustling, "Mathon", a young man in his early thirties who owned a business in Marol Market in Bortown, said that civil war has impregnated all South Sudanese with hate, suspicion, and all forms of bitterness—especially among Dinka, Nuer and Murle. Mathon expressed his view of what is happening in Jonglei state:

In addition, the present situation in the country is toxic. The politicians have their hands in Jonglei cattle raiding problem. They are secretly fueling cattle raiding in two ways. One, politicians are good in propagating doubts, hate and suspicion among people. I think they have succeeded in doing that in their respective constituencies. Two, the arms and ammunitions that are used in raiding cattle sometimes come directly from Juba or through Bor Town from politicians or military operatives who allied themselves with their respective tribes. In my view, cattle rustling conflict in Jonglei state is an extension

or manifestation of the greater ethnic conflict that has plagued ethnic groups in Jonglei state since the start of the civil war.

When asked to discuss people's perceptions about local or traditional institutions capacity to address cattle rustling, "Lilly", summarized his view of the cattle raiding this way:

There is lawlessness being exploited here. In the past among the Dinka, Nuer and Murle, there were strong beliefs in the local leaders, especially among the Dinka and Nuer. The youths of the past generation highly regarded them. But something happened during the last 25 years in South Sudan especially here in Jonglei state. During the last civil war, local and traditional governing institutions have gradually disappeared. I don't exactly know what happened but I think of two reasons. One, most respected elders have died during the war. Two, youth of today don't believe in the traditional leaders the way it was in the past. So, with prevalence of lawlessness and youths rebellion against traditions, cattle raiders have no laws and cultural safeguards to sanction them against illegal activities like cattle raiding.

Water and pasture scarcity came up several times during the interviews. Lilly, for example, pointed to how pastoralists constantly fight over water and pasture. Even within Dinka Bor, people fight over water and pasture ownership Lilly reiterated. The same view was voiced by "Deng" who summarized it:

Keeping animals here in Jonglei revolves around water and pastures. There are seasons where cattle keepers gather their animals around water and pasture points. Usually it happens in summer and spring seasons. During these times, water and pastures dried up except along rivers and other swampy areas. When more cattle are assembled in one location, they attracted thieves and career cattle raiders to such areas. This has been true

in the case of Murle. Most deadly cattle raids that Murle conducted in which they took large number of cattle happen in crowded cattle camps during early spring and summer. And I think it is going to get worse with change in the environment. Many small rivers that used to support rearing animals are drying or have dried up. So, if nothing is done, people are going to continue clashing over water and pasture land.

When asked about the prospect of cattle raiding resolution, Lach said, “Something good is going to come out of this conflict.” Mr. Bol was both pessimistic and optimistic of the conflict outcome. Pessimistically, he stated, “that violence over cattle has been a great tragedy. Many lives lost and properties destroyed”. Optimistically, he had more to say:

I see war and peace as one. You can’t understand peace without understanding war. This is what I learned from war in South Sudan. Things that I went through during the past war and the present violent situation in Jonglei state gave me clear understanding and appreciation of war and peace. Whether good or bad experiences that I have been exposed to, I am certain Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle would benefit from the war when it’s finally over. I came to know that when you have bad experiences with the war, you strive to work for peace because you know what can happen when people don’t work for peace. So, I think the current violent situation in Jonglei state is not necessarily a bad thing because it could be another way that leads to better understanding and peaceful coexistence among tribes in the state.

When asked about factors that prompt cattle rustling among the communities in Jonglei State, “Bol”, a resident of Bortown, put it this way:

Yes, poverty exacerbates the current violence in Jonglei state. There are other cultural aspects which poverty has made an integral part of the present violence in Jonglei state.

Youth's desire to acquire more cows, rise in bride price, and ethnics' belief of marginalization by some tribes, just to mention a few, should not be ignored. You see, when I talk of cultural practice I am referring to ways of life. Among these communities, you cannot separate social life and cattle. They go together. From the time kids reaches six and or seven years of age, they are introduced to cattle and their importance. I mean, they look after cattle through which they slowly became attached and learned the value of cows. When younger men reached adolescence and adulthood, they fully become socially adept to life of cattle. This is true of the Murle, Dinka and Nuer. So, cattle rustling in Jonglei state are more complex.

In a sense, the points I have just mentioned are linked together. The desire to acquire cattle, rise in bride price and poverty are triplets. In societies where cattle are the center piece of the economy, poverty drives people to life of robbery. When young man begins to think of marriage, he is inclined to consider the venture of cattle rustling. So yes, there is no single reason per se. Now when it comes to political manipulation, you see South Sudan politics is dangerous. The politicians in Juba and Bortown very often fool illiterate youth in their respective villages to hate other tribes. I remember between 2009 through 2011, some politician from Lou Nuer was reported to have told his fellow tribesmen that Dinka Bor is rich because it embezzling state's oil money. What happened then let me believe politicians exacerbate ethnic violence among our communities. Lou Nuer youth Attacked villages in Duk Padiet, killed people, burned homes and besieged Dinka Hol villages. Every time a politician spreads ethnic hatred of other tribes, youth find an excuse to attack their alleged enemies to raid cattle.

During the interviews, it didn't matter which ethnic group members were asked about who instigates cattle rustling. The common response was that members of the Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle all have a role to play in instigating the cattle raiding. "Lach", a Murle youth who lost his brother to cattle raiding stated:

I know some Murle would not agree with what I am going to say but we Murle need not to blame Dinka Bor or Nuer youth for coming to Pibor. We need to take responsibility and accept our role in the conflict. I mean, this conflict is a shared problem, Murle has part in it. Dinka Bor has part in it and so is Nuer Lou too. I lost my brother to cattle raiding but I should speak to the truth. If we are honest with each other, we can get out of this problem stronger and as one people.

Lach's view was echoed by Bol. Although Bol labeled Dinka Bor as a victim community, he acknowledged that Dinka Bor youths sometimes initiate attacks against Murle and Nuer communities. In addition, Mathon indirectly confirmed the shared responsibility for the conflict. He alluded to how Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle have equally developed mistrust, mischaracterization, and bigotry against each other, all of which he blamed on politicians from both tribes.

## **Themes**

Based on examination and interpretation of the face-to-face interviews, the following concepts were identified: disruption of life, inability of national and local institutions to manage conflict, mistrust and strained ethnic polarization, limited resources, and positive developments. To reduce redundancy, concepts were further examined and integrated into broader categories that reflected the participants' own voices. Hence, the final themes were: disruption of life,

government failure, mistrust and ethnic polarization, limited resources, and positive developments.

In the next pages, the researcher discussed these themes to underscore the significance for this research of the face-to-face interviews. Discussion of these themes was enhanced by quotes, phrases and statements from the participants' and researcher's own observation. The purpose of using participants' words, phrases and quotes is to establish clarity and richness of themes and more importantly to present the participants' voices in any way possible.

### **Disruption of life**

There was consensus from participants' standpoint, that cattle rustling has disrupted people's livelihoods in different ways. Participants described many examples of these disruptions, which included burning of homes, loss of livestock, displacement of people to foreign lands, and separation of families.

The outlook for interview participants clearly indicated that the ongoing cattle rustling presented a long-term challenge. They felt this challenge applied not only to the affected communities but threatened to spill over to other communities across Jonglei state. The concern about violence voiced by the participants suggested that people in these communities do understand the magnitude of cattle rustling, as well as what ought to be done to reverse the trajectory of the violence.

### **Government failure**

When interview respondents were asked about their perception of the local and national government, the issue of government's failure to reign in cattle rustling came up several times. Lilly eloquently argued that local and traditional institutions of government had ceased to exist or disappeared. He provided two reasons. For one, he reported that most respected elders had

died during the civil war. Secondly, Lilly claimed that youth of today don't respect traditional leaders the way they used to in the past. According to Lilly, the erosion of local and traditional institutions for governing created a leadership vacuum that cattle rustlers exploit. In other words, there are no safeguards to sanctions against illegal activities like cattle rustling. As one respondent put it, "There are guns everywhere. Even women are armed with guns. It is easy for anyone who wants to kill more people to do that because of the guns." Based on responses to the interview questions, peoples' perception was very negative. For instance, Mathon blamed disgruntled politicians and some military officers for fueling cattle rustling by propagating ethnic hatred and through illegal sales of firearms to organized youths who engage in cattle rustling. Consequently, as long as South Sudan remains flooded with firearms, there is strong likelihood that cattle rustling will continue to escalate.

### **Mistrust and strained ethnic polarization**

Common sense tells us that how people view their relationship with others influences their view of the world. However, the idea of one's self is influenced by how much people know or trust each other. During the interviews, members of the affected communities decried the level of mistrust that plagued the communities of Jonglei. When I first started doing interviews, members of Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle self-segregated on opposite sides of the table. I didn't ask why but, one would think that respondents were uneasy about sitting next to each other. However, by the second part of the interviews after break, the seating had changed. This time, respondents decided to mingle with members of other tribes around the table. The point is these communities harbored ethnic mistrust which caused each tribesmen to look inward for dislikes of other tribes. As Lach, a Murle youth put it, "Dinka Bor hate us, 'even if a thunder strikes their cows this afternoon, Dinka Bor would say Murle did it'".

From a primitive perspective, the usual level of intolerance and feeling of injustice among the communities throughout Jonglei state drives each community to perceive outside members as hostile or potential threats to their survival. However, from what the interviewees said, it appeared that the level of mistrust among the Dinka Bor, Murle and Nuer had become intolerable. Most of the interviewees from these communities (Dinka Bor, Murle & Nuer) talked of vengeance and tribal suspicion. Interestingly, the participants lamented that the existing mistrust is not a tribal one but rather that it is orchestrated by opportunistic politicians who use tribal rhetoric to advance their selfish agenda

### **Limited resource**

Because animal herding in Jonglei state is driven by availability of water and pastures; there are seasons when cattle keepers gather their animals around areas with more water and pasture. Usually this happens in summer and spring seasons. During such times, most water and pastures dry up, except along rivers and other swampy areas. When more cattle are assembled in one location, they attract cattle raiders to such areas. This is exactly what some respondents said was happening in Jonglei state.

Based on the interpretation of Jonglei major cattle rustling attacks and from sites identified by the interviewees, four routes of attack emerged. These corridors are Jalle-Maar-Pibor route, Kongor-Wernyol-Pibor route, Duk Payuel/Duk Padiet-Pibor route, and Ayod/Akobo-Duk Padiet/Duk Payuel-Pibor route. In general, these sites or routes shared one characteristic: they are common areas with ample pastures and water where most herders keep their cattle during the height of the summer.

Because of changes in the environment, many small rivers and lakes that used to support rearing animals are drying or have dried up. Thus, if nothing is done to ameliorate the current

situation; it is likely that pastoral communities are going to continue clashing over water and pasture land.

### **Positive developments**

To those who are familiar with the field of conflict analysis and resolution, understanding the problem is an integral element of the solution. Based on interpretation of the interview transcripts, there were optimistic responses that were mentioned, especially when individuals were asked about the prospect of cattle raiding resolution. Several respondents gave inspiring answers.

Lach said, "Something good is going to come out of this conflict."

Bol optimistically stated: "I think the current violent situation in Jonglei state is not necessarily a bad thing because it could be another way that leads to better understanding and peaceful coexistence among tribes in the state."

Bol further said, "If our cows were not raided by Murle, my father would have not allowed me to go to school. Though loss of cattle was painful to my dad, I am today better off because of that."

Desperate as the conflict situation in Jonglei is, there were broader positive developments or indicators. Based on the responses given during interviews, members of these communities (Dinka Bor, Nuer & Murle) did accept their individual role in perpetuating the conflict. Their conflict role acceptance indicated that members of these communities perceived cattle rustling as a shared problem. As one respondent put it, "We Nuer, Dinka Bor and Murle have responsibility to do something about the problem of cattle rustling". The second positive development was an opportunity for change which stemmed from conflict role acceptance. Common sense indicates the conflict cannot change without parties' accepting responsibility for the situation. Because Nuer, Dinka Bor and Murle accepted their roles, they have an opportunity to work together to

resolve the problem of cattle rustling. In other words, the quest for peaceful coexistence voiced by the respondents signaled that the solution to cattle rustling in Jonglei state lies in the hands of the warring parties.

### **Observation**

Researchers often engage in developing questionnaires and surveys to obtain research information from their subjects, but they shouldn't ignore or overlook the fact that they can obtain valuable information through observation (Powel & Steele, 1996). In a research context, observation is a method of gathering data by watching behaviors, events, or noting physical characteristics in a natural setting. Observation can be direct (overt) or indirect (covert). However, in a covert observation, research subjects may not know that they are being observed. For that reason, it has its own drawback in a sense that it raises an ethical issue of concealing researcher identity (Evaluation Research Team, 2008).

Researcher observation differs from participatory' study in a number of ways: First, the person observing doesn't have to become a participant. He or she must try to be unobtrusive in order to avoid biasing or influencing the behaviors under observation. Second, researcher's goal in observation is to watch and listen. Third, researcher's goal in an observation is to observe certain sampled situations or people instead of trying to become absorbed as part of the group or situation under observation (Trochim, 2006).

During observation, researcher spent two sessions observing an intertribal group interaction during unstructured discussion on the topic of cattle rustling in Jonglei state. The focus of observing intertribal dialogue was to uncover insightful perspectives from members of the three tribes (Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle) on how they view the conflict. During the discussion, researcher observed and took notes of the discussion. In preparation for the

observation, researcher had two questions in mind. When should he engage in observation? And what is the research plan for the observation? In response to "when" question, researcher outlined the following aspects of the observation:

1. What is a researcher trying to understand?
2. What kind of data is the researcher trying to obtain? Some examples include individuals' behaviors and interactions between people.
3. What does the researcher need to know about the physical setting?
4. Does the researcher think data collection from individuals is a realistic option?

Of course, the "what" question has to be asked based on the following factors:

1. Focus area or interest

This involves deciding what the researcher wants to find out through observation?

Based on this, one needs to select a focus area of observation e.g. physical setting, behaviors, and level of interaction and so on.

2. Design system for the observation

When one has determined the focus area, the question becomes, what methods should one use during observation. In general, there are three tools that can be used: recording sheet and checklist, observation guide, and field notes.

3. Site selection

Is the site appropriate for the observation? Does the site provide security for the subjects?

4. Selecting the observers

If it is a multi- observation, one needs to decide who else to include as observer and what role they will play. However, for this case study, researcher was the sole investigator.

#### 5. Time selection

Choose time that is appropriate and acceptable to the participants, as well as to the researcher. Try to ensure that chosen time is suitable to avoid interruption of the observation.

### **Sampling criteria for the observation**

For this case study, research participants observed were residents of Bortown whose ages ranged from 18 to 35 years. There were eighteen individuals chosen for observation, with six members coming from Dinka Bor, Nuers, and Murle. The actual observation took place in December, 2015 in Bortown, South Sudan. Researcher found the participants very knowledgeable about cattle rustling. Thus, the process was very smooth because participants were quite interested and willing to participate in the discussion.

In preparation for the observation, individuals were contacted and asked if they would participate as research subjects. Consideration was made to ensure that each tribe was equally represented. Those who agreed to participate were provided with more information about the study and signed informed consent forms. The criteria for selecting these individuals were: (1) members of the Dinka Bor, Nuer, and Murle. (2) residents of Jonglei state (3) speak English and (4) knowledge of the discussion topic. However, researcher goals for the observation were twofold. First, to maximize researcher's ability to be in the moment and see conflict the way participants view it. Second, to give the researcher access to view real time reactions of individuals as they discussed the problem.

For this observation, the researcher was the primary observer who observed 18 members of Dinka Bor, Murle and Nuer. As the primary investigator, researcher was responsible to capture in the field notes the nature of communication related to discussion on the topic of cattle rustling. There were no specific questions asked - just observing and listening. During informal discussion, researcher took notes. The summary of the field notes was typed and securely saved in a password protected computer only available to the researcher. After returning from the field, the field notes were re-read and coding was done on a continuous basis in which the researcher revisited the field notes to reflect, as well as to gain further understanding of the field notes. Following this reflective approach, researcher identified themes that fit within the context of the observation. With respect to observational goals, researcher observed how members of Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle communicate and or interact with each other. The other goal was to observe emotional expression during discussion about the problem of cattle rustling. After observation, researcher re-read field notes, and jotted down the following main points:

1. Some participants shed tears when asked certain questions.
2. Others talked with their hands clinging to their chins.
3. Participants repeated certain words and phrases.
4. Participants were respectful and accommodating toward each other.
5. Participants were knowledgeable and took ownership of the conflict.
6. Participants were open and embraced diversity.

These six observations were further examined and analyzed together with general information that the researcher was able to obtain during the observation. Using thematic frame of analysis, researcher was able to cluster these concepts into four main themes which are discussed below.

## **Themes**

### **Power relationship**

Participants were knowledgeable. As representatives of their communities, they took responsibility for their behaviors during the discussion. Based on the researcher interpretation of the observation, participants understood the importance of owning the conflict which was evident in their word choices, e.g. “We are one people. It is our responsibility. We can get this conflict resolved, and we share common history.” In addition, the language they used did not express disrespect for members of other communities. However, their body language conveyed that participants had serious dislikes and mistrust of each other. Nonetheless, as an observer, it seemed like there were areas that people from Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle tribes could work on together if they truly wanted to resolve the problem of cattle rustling

### **Attitude toward conflict**

During the observation, researcher focused on how members of Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle interact. In other words, was there a competition among the participants or were individuals cooperative in presenting their stories in a manner that respects other members. Based on researcher interpretation of the observation, majority of the respondents were civil and accommodating. They respectfully presented their narratives about experiences with cattle rustling. Participants didn't raise their voices, no yelling and nobody got in one another's face. Undeniably, some members from each tribe did strongly express their opinions about the conflict, nor can one discount some visible signs of hostility that were observed. However, in the end, the common denominator was that cattle rustling is destructive, has equally affected communities involved, and ought to be stopped.

**Sense of Loss**

Among the people the researcher observed, there were genuine indicators of loss in recalling the impact of cattle raiding conflict on their communities. Five participants shed tears when they described things like child abduction, fresh graves, and unmarked burial sites, children with amputated arms and legs, and malnourished elders who had lost their cows to cattle rustlers. Others spoke with their hands clinging to their chins, which is a common sign of concern or worry. Based on researcher interpretation, the damages inflicted by cattle rustling goes far beyond what is visible to the human eye, evidently, responding to the tragedy has been focused on fixing visible damages, while ignoring emotional and psychological effects of the conflict.

**Diversity**

Participants understood that diversity is an aspect of paramount importance to national identity. They felt that Dinka Bor, Nuer, Murle and other tribes should embrace diversity if all South Sudanese are to forge a common understanding. Based on researcher interpretation of their remarks and behaviors, participants appreciated their differences and knew that in life people may disagree and fight over power. However, in the end the only way to live in peace and harmony is for people to challenge their differences without physical fights.

**Summary**

The chapter presented findings from the literature; interviews and researcher's own observation of the research subjects. It discussed and catalogued information obtained from documentary sources, interviews, and observation into the following themes: loss of traditional mores, loss of common identity, ethnic politics, lethal weapons, government failure, human suffering, disruption of life, mistrust and strained ethnic polarization, limited resources, and

positive developments, power relationships, attitudes toward conflict, sense of loss, and diversity.

## Chapter Five: Discussion and Analysis

### **Introduction**

The aim of this section is to analyze and discuss the findings obtained from the data collection process of the qualitative study. This analysis seeks to expand upon the frequently recurring ideas within the subject of the conflicts that exist between the three communities. As discussed earlier, the purpose of the qualitative study is to apply qualitative data collection techniques in understanding the cattle rustling among the three communities and its effects on the economy and security of Jonglei state. The researcher mainly focused on individuals who have lived in South Sudan, particularly in Jonglei state and have been there during the rustling or have been involved in the peace-bringing activities in the region. The implementation of a purposive sample selection procedure enabled the researcher to select respondents based on the specific purpose and the suitability of the respondents for the objectives of the study (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). Interviews were the main data collection method that was applied during the study.

### **Theoretical frameworks guiding findings analysis**

In chapter two, the researcher discussed three theories (social cubism, ethnic identity, and relative deprivation) that served as a guide and a foundation for this study. This theoretical combination provides the lens through which researcher could explore, analyze and interpret documentary data, interviews and observation. The complexities of cattle rustling are encapsulated by social cubism, relative deprivation, and ethnic identity perspectives. This researcher held a view that no single narrative or group of individuals' voices could explain the problem of cattle rustling in Jonglei state. Rather, the conflict must be explored from various angles. Hence, this theoretical approach helps explore cultural, ethnic, economic, socio-political,

and historical aspects of cattle rustling. Using social cubism, relative deprivation, and ethnic identity perspectives, researcher gained better understanding of cattle rustling, as well as the ability to unpack various aspects of the conflict pervading the affected communities. The researcher devoted close attention to cultural and social aspects, economic, historical, and political dimensions of the conflict.

Furthermore, keeping other readers in mind led to a careful and thoughtful approach to data presentation. In the rest of the chapter, researcher used step-by-step approach to explore and discuss each source separately and elucidate the emerging narratives. The rationale for this approach is to facilitate understanding and allow readers to form their own conclusions.

After a serious deliberation about the topic of study, the research questions as well as the interview questions were chosen to be easy to understand, correct and appropriate for the research. The questions yielded ample detailed information and rich data that contributed to better understanding of research. With the increased requirement for security of every citizen in every country, all the different causes of insecurity, including cattle rustling, have been under close scrutiny by the researchers, the international community and the non-governmental organizations. In this context, cattle rustling proved to be a very well-known fact and familiar term among the respondents.

### **Demographic distribution of the respondents**

The respondents in this research ranged between 18 years and 35 years of age. The participants between the age of 18 years and 20 years composed the 15% of the total sample. Those between 21 years and 24 years were 20%. Participants between 25 years and 29 years were 45% while the group between 30 years and 35 years made up the remaining 20% of the total number of research participants. The level of education of the participants ranged between

primary education (45%), secondary education (35%), and post-secondary education (20%). The results indicate that among the three communities in the Jonglei area, the rate of education still remains very low, with most of those considered to be “learned” people having attained only primary and secondary education. People did not often go past the secondary education until recently when the international community embarked on operations to educate the African people on the benefits and advantages of education and why it is necessary.

To avoid bias in the results and responses of the interviewees, the researcher also aimed for representative sampling based on the ethnic background of the participants and their relationship to the three main ethnic communities under investigation. Thus, 30% of the respondents were from the Dinka Bor ethnic community, 30% from the Nuer ethnic community, and 30% were from the Murle ethnic community. The remaining 10% of all the respondents were from other ethnic tribes in South Sudan but lived close enough to Jonglei state to have enough information about the intense cattle raiding activities in the region. Finally, the research aimed at understanding the role of participants’ occupational background in their perspectives. As was seen in Chapter 4 from the responses of the interviewees, the respondents were distributed among five categories of employment: no occupation, purely livestock farming (35%), purely crop farming (25%), agro-pastoral farming-grow crops and keep livestock (30%), formal employment (9%), and entrepreneurship (1%). The results clearly indicated that the highest proportion of people in the region is farmers, with only a very small percentage of them being in the formal employment or business sectors.

### **Analysis of the collected data**

During the data analysis process, the researcher used the guidelines as outlined by Saldana (2009) and Yin (2003). The process of analyzing started with researcher reading

documentary sources, transcripts of interviews and the observation field notes. Researcher took notes, jotting down summaries and main concepts. Examination of these notes, summaries, and main concepts were examined and included pattern matching to identify phrases and terms that described central ideas. Deductive Qualitative Analysis (DQA) technique was used to organize major assumptions/research questions into ten major subthemes. This helped in discussing, presenting, and analyzing the findings based on common themes from documentary sources, interviews, and observation. Issues of trustworthiness and validity were addressed by giving participants the opportunity to verify the themes of the emerging narratives.

The process of data analysis employed the use of two main methods of qualitative data analysis. The first method was the use of Deductive Qualitative Analysis (DQA). The second process entailed the application of pattern matching and constant comparison data analysis for the individual responses from the interviews. Thus, the results and findings of these subthemes combined provide the solutions or answers to the main theme of research. Listed below are the primary theme of the research and the subthemes that were developed from the interviews, documentary sources and observation.

**Primary theme.** Cattle rustling and its effects among Dinka, Murle and Nuer in Jonglei state, South Sudan

***Subtheme 1.*** Factors instigating cattle rustling among the three communities

***Subtheme 2.*** Factors that drive the participation of the three communities in cattle rustling

***Subtheme 3.*** Common sites of cattle rustling and what is unique about these sites

***Subtheme 4.*** Difference between traditional and today's cattle raiding operations

***Subtheme 5.*** The politics of the Jonglei state

*Subtheme 6.* Factors that contribute to the increased cases of cattle rustling

*Subtheme 7.* The cycle of violence

*Subtheme 8.* The impacts of cattle rustling on the affected communities

*Subtheme 9.* How the involved communities can develop a solution to the cattle rustling challenge

*Subtheme 10.* Possible solutions to cattle rustling challenges

Though the first section of the interview guide required the respondents to provide some of their personal information, the information was only used for formalities and demographics, but this information was not connected with them when reporting or analyzing their responses in this chapter. The following discussion is an analysis of the interview responses and the relevant literature. Each subtheme is discussed separately and followed by a conclusion section to relate the responses of the subthemes to the primary theme of the research.

### **Subtheme 1: Factors instigating cattle rustling among the three communities**

Cattle rustling in South Sudan has been a major source of intermittent conflicts for a long time. The term cattle rustling refers to the forceful acquisition of livestock (mainly cattle and sheep) and is quite common among the pastoralist communities in South Sudan (Kaimba, Njehia & Guliye, 2011). Traditionally, cattle rustling occurred on a small scale, involving theft of the best cattle with minimal violence. The loss of human lives was a rare incident. However, over the years, cattle rustling has grown into a large scale activity, involving dangerous weapons and massive loss of human lives among the three main pastoral communities living in Jonglei, South Sudan. This continued upsurge is due to the proliferation of small arms and the commercialization of cattle rustling among the people in South Sudan and externally. South Sudan is comprised of patches of ethnic communities. The major areas of the Jonglei state are

occupied by the Dinka, the Lou Nuer, and the Murle communities, which neighbor each other. They are similar in size of the areas that each of the communities occupies and productivity. The Lou Nuer community primarily occupies north, central and north east of Jonglei, an area that extends to Akobo, Nyirol and the Wuror countries. The Dinka occupy the southwestern region of Jonglei spanning the Duk, Twic East and the Bor South counties. The Murle, a minority community in the state, occupies the Pibor County of Jonglei state, including Boma Plateaus. Since the borders between these communities have not been clearly defined, the population of each community may shift with seasons, sometimes leading to violence and even war between the communities.

Among these three pastoral communities, cattle are an indicator of wealth and social standing, often used in restorative justice, spiritual activities, and in marriage practices as payment for dowry. Also, the act of a successful cattle raid demonstrates the transition of the male youths from adolescence to maturity. The significance and importance of cattle in the three communities have placed these three communities at the epicenter of confrontations and conflicts in pursuit of a higher social status and superiority in the community. In Jonglei state of South Sudan, the migration of the pastoral communities from one area to another is driven mainly by seasonal changes in the environmental conditions of the area.

One of questions that guided this study asked participants to identify the individuals or groups of people who instigate cattle rustling among the three communities. Interview responses agreed that, in any conflict, there exist the attackers and the attacked. Once an attack happens, the community that was attacked will often respond to the attack by planning and conducting a similar or even worse attack.

Based on interpretation of the literature analysis, it is difficult to clearly determine the actual source of conflicts. However, it is important to note that the Lou Nuer and Murle have been involved in most of these conflicts. Between 2007 and 2012, for example, Murle youth carried out nine major attacks on Lou Nuer in which more than two thousand people were killed and close to five hundred thousand cattle were raided (Table 1). In retaliation, Lou Nuer youth during the same time period conduct a revenge attack on Murle resulting in death of 2,050 people and loss of 627,600 cattle. Looking at these trends, it is evident that an attack carried out by any given tribe invites a retaliatory or counter attack from the victim tribe.

However, research showed that the male youth are the main group of people who conduct the raids. The youths from each of these communities are notorious for raiding other communities in search of cattle. In addition, responses from the participants showed that these three communities are all very active in planning, launching, and executing the raids. This means, all the three communities take part in the criminal activities that have plagued communities in Jonglei state. Therefore, as one of the interviewees explained, the conflict between the three communities is a problem that is shared among them. None of these communities however wants to claim responsibility for initiating cattle rustling in the area. Each of them claims to have responded to an earlier attack by the other community. The individuals in these communities tend to perceive cattle as being even more valuable than people from the other conflicting communities. One of the interviewees explained that even with the increased killing of women and children during these raids, none of these communities had taken steps towards ending the rustling activities. The Dinka would not admit to having initiated cattle raids—neither would the Murle and the Nuer communities.

Based on interpretation of the interviews and researcher's observation, and supported by analysis of the literature, four main issues may be viewed as contributing factors in instigation of cattle rustling among the communities in Jonglei state. These include vengeance, the lack of employment for the youths, poor or low level of education, and the social status the three communities connect with cattle ownership. Numerous articles from other researchers have also depicted the increasing rate of commercialization of cattle rustling and the increasing support of raiders from politicians and ill-willed individuals for their own self-serving gains. The republic of South Sudan is one of the youngest republics in the world, having acquired independence on July 9th, 2011. It is thus clear that relevant governing policies are still in the formative stage. With its long legacy of infighting and war among the different political parties, tribal and military factions within South Sudan, the country faces many significant challenges, especially in the development of the political, social, and economic infrastructure. According to Kuek et al. (2014), approximately 42% of the country's population is below 14 years of age. Moreover, the school attendance expectation for children in the country is perhaps the lowest in the region with only four years for the male children and even less for the females. Kuek et al. (2014) describes the education system in South Sudan as being disorganized, fragmented, and a "patchwork" of schools that are seasonal and temporary, with a disjointed mission and vision. The Jonglei state, one of the states in South Sudan heavily affected by cattle rustling, is especially characterized by the lack of school buildings, trained teachers and support staff, and the lack of an organized and proven education curriculum for its children.

The result is very limited employment opportunities for the youths. Most of them work from homes or are idle. Their main responsibility is to take care of the family farm, as well as the herd of cattle owned by the family. This lack of means for acquiring wealth makes them

vulnerable, especially the male youths, to join cattle rustling groups with the objective of acquiring more wealth for themselves and their families. The relationship between limited education and cattle rustling is mutually perpetuating. While the low level of education instigates and enhances cattle rustling, cattle rustling also affects the provision of quality education and the attendance of children and youth in the schools.

Rolandsen's research, supported by interpretation of the interview transcripts, indicated that vengeance for cattle raiding activities is among the main reasons behind the increase in cattle rustling (Rolandsen, 2005). According to the responses of "Bol", when people from one of the neighboring communities attacks and steals cattle from another community—the attacked community feels compelled to defend itself from the attackers. One of the interviewees explained that cattle raiding is more than just acquiring cattle. Community members who conduct the raids do so out of fear that not responding to the attack would prove their lack of strength as a community. The interviewee explained that the best possible technique to show might is to strike first.

People are fearful in every part of Jonglei state. Even among those who have no interest in raiding cattle, there is a sense of fear... if they don't do something to fend off potential raiders. It is possible they will lose the next coming attack by their rivals. So, the best anybody or community can do in my view is to be on the offensive.

Furthermore, in cases where people's lives are lost during a cattle raid, the attacked community whose people were killed develops a craving for vengeance for the lives they lost during the attack. Thus, most of the attacks are revenge attacks due to the wrongdoings of another community. Some interviewees' responses offered insight into what motivated the

desire for vengeance. For instance, “Deng” explained that the Dinka Bor only attacked the Murle or the Nuer in cases when these communities provoked them (Dinka Bor) for an attack.

Moreover, “Lach” explained that they, the Murle, appear to be scapegoats for the Dinka and Nuer communities. The growing cycle of violence that exists between the three communities is not mainly seeking material gain, but motivated by a desire for vengeance (Triche, 2015). Richardson (2011) explained that without acceptable forms of non-violent conflict resolution mechanisms or security agents to prevent the criminal activities, cattle raiding has for years entrapped these communities in a loop of vengeance. Research has shown that the rate of youth unemployment is extremely high in South Sudan, possibly explaining why most of them are involved in the numerous conflict-related activities in the country.

The politicians and rich businessmen in the country who capitalize on these conditions have also become one of the main groups instigating cattle rustling in the region (Rolandsen, 2005). With their assistance, the raiders acquire guns, ammunition, and a ready market for the stolen cattle. They also provide information, food, and transportation for the raiders to targeted areas, as well as transport of the stolen cattle to the target market places. Poor leadership in the country has enabled the raiders, creating a gap used as an opportunity to gang up into large groups and successfully conduct the raids (Rands & LeRiche, 2012).

### **Subtheme 2: Factors that drive the participation of the three communities in cattle rustling**

The second subtheme focused on identifying the main factors that drive the participation of the three communities in cattle rustling activities. Analysis and interpretation of the documentary sources revealed numerous factors that enable and drive the participation of the communities in cattle rustling activities. Although cattle raiding is a common practice in South Sudan, its most worrying evolution is the new technologically advanced direction the practice is

taking (McCallum & Okech, 2013; Rands & LeRiche, 2012; Goldsmith et al., 2002). Inter-ethnic cattle raiding now occurs for commercial, as well as political reasons. As it was demonstrated in 2012 by the near violent clash in Pibor area between the Sudan People Liberation Army (SPLA) and the Lou Nuer youths, cattle raiders have become highly armed and better organized to conduct large and complex raiding operations (Small Arms Survey, 2012).

Based on analysis of the interviews and observation, the main causes of the exploding level of violent cattle raiding, this study identified six different causes. These included: the availability of guns and other types of dangerous weapons among members of the communities; commercialization of the cattle raids; incitement from political leaders and self-serving businessmen; high rates of poverty and the need to accumulate wealth; traditional values and a long history of cattle raiding encouraged by the community leaders; high rates of illiteracy; and increasing dowries. Ease of access to guns and other weapons was considered by 55% of the respondents to be the main cause of the intense frequency of cattle raids. The other 15% of participants felt that availability of guns was not the main cause of cattle rustling, but was a major boost to the cattle rustlers who had now been given power and ability that allows them to overcome any resistance; and able them to move away with massive numbers of cattle during raids. The remaining 30% did not comment about the availability of guns being a contributor to the increased frequency of cattle raid.

Historically, cattle raids were mainly a means for the poor families to acquire wealth and cattle (Hutchison, n.d.). Based on various accounts, the main types of weapons used during the raiding activities included spears, sticks, bows and arrows, and clubs. However, from comparison and interpretation of the documentary materials, it became clear that over time such cattle thefts have evolved into organized cattle rustling and with sophisticated methods. This

evidence is supported by the analysis and interpretation of the interview results. Careful analysis of the interviews and observation data yielded a list of the major factors that drive the communities into cattle-raids wars against each other and wreaking death and property loss. One factor that was prevalent in the responses and supported by the analysis of the documentary sources was the high value of cattle among individuals from the communities.

Through analysis of information from documentary sources, interviews and researcher own interpretation of the observation, the researcher was able to enumerate some of the main reasons why the civilians demand for weapons. Key factors discussed in the analysis that follows include the easy access of dangerous weapons and instigation from the political leaders or leaders with self-interests who rally communities to rise against each other. Another factor is that most of the people from the three communities are poor, so they would engage in cattle raids just to increase their herds and livelihood. The protection of its citizens ought to be the main objective of any government. Most people in Jonglei live in the rural areas where livestock is the main source of livelihood. In response to increased cases of cattle rustling, the civilians keep weapons and light arms to protect their livestock herds from cattle rustlers. The failure of the South Sudan national government to provide security to its people has forced the civilians to search for weapons to defend themselves, their households, and their communities. In this pastoral setting, over-grazed lands and watering points have become widespread in the region. The people therefore keep weapons as a form of deterrence against attacks on the territory they occupy. Moreover, since South Sudan has been torn by many forms of ethnic and political violence, the anticipation of renewed violence is a major reason for the people feeling the need to arm themselves. Food insecurity is a major cause of anxiety and violence among the three communities in Jonglei (Krause-Jackson & Richmond, 2011). Droughts, violence, and

displacement of inhabitants all disrupt the planting season for most of the people and cut off access to food markets all through the country. However, in Jonglei, the food insecurity crisis affects different groups of people in different ways. The pastoralists in parts of the country that have not been affected by violence and drought may retain a sufficient supply of grazing lands and water. On the other hand, the internally displaced people form the most vulnerable group in the country in consideration of food availability. Malnutrition becomes widespread among the people from displaced communities and worsens as time passes and war continues. This drives the displaced people to seek food for themselves and their livestock in those parts of the country that have not yet been affected by war and displacement. The result becomes a continuous confrontation between the earlier settlers and the internally displaced people.

Secondly, the researcher obtained varied responses. About whether customs or traditional values greatly influence people's involvement in cattle rustling—based on interviews, 40% explained that traditional values had very minimal impacts on the decisions of the people to participate in conducting the cattle raiding activities. The others did not respond to the question, claiming that they had no information regarding the effects and impacts of traditional values in stirring up cattle raids. The main tradition that did come up in the responses was “cattle requirements during marriage and or the payment of dowry.”

According to “Bol” and “Mathon,” the main traditional value which drives the three communities into participation in cattle rustling activities is the value of cattle among the three communities. Clearly, the way a group of people or an individual views the world around him influences the way the individual conducts his/her activities. Viewing the three communities as a lens for the research, cattle are at the center of these people's activities, as their lives revolve around their cattle. Among the three communities of people, cattle remain the most valued

animal because they are their main source of livelihood. As the main source of milk and meat, cattle are used by people from the communities to pay dowry during marriage. The number of cattle that one has determines his social position in the community. Moreover, as Wassara (2007) emphasized, people use cattle to pay fines for the mistakes and crimes they have committed against the community, e.g. Aruok (statutory rape fine) and Rol (blood restitution fine in the case of accidental killing). Cattle represent not only wealth for the people in these three communities, but also their social status and actual source of existence in the society. Thus, possessions of cattle give men prestige and wealth; and are used for purification during religious ceremonies by members of the three communities. The position that cattle holds in the three societies is a primary determinant of why and when people from each of the three communities will go for raids.

From analysis of the literature, as well as interpretation of the interviews, and researcher field notes, it is clear that the value of cattle in the three communities provides the young men with powerful incentives to engage in cattle raids. Because rustling cattle from other communities is a way to establish their reputation within their community and build their own herds, young men are the main participants in the raids. The culture of the three communities has a major influence upon their frequent use of cattle raids. As described by Betancourt et al. (2002), culture includes socially acquired knowledge, beliefs, arts, laws, morals, customs, and habits. It is a system of life that influences and determines the lives, activities, and behavior of people. Among the three communities, cattle rustling can be considered a cultural aspect of the communities founded upon the myth and belief that cattle are the source of life. This deep-seated belief in raiding is then encouraged and perpetuated by the political leaders who have either an economic or a political interest in promoting the same beliefs and cultural system that places

them in those powerful positions. In today's world, the outcome is that, largely through self-interested, powerful individuals, warrior herdsmen who for generations have conducted the raids with simple, traditional weapons have now acquired strong, dangerous weapons which make today's raids deadly. Bol observed that "There are gun everywhere. Even women are armed with guns. It is easy for anyone who wants to kill more people to do that because of the guns."

The same culture is shared among the three communities; the Dinka, Murle and Nuer. According to James, "cattle rustling has been a culturally practice by Dinka, Nuer and Murle for generations." This leads to a continuous cycle of violence against each other, both in search of cattle and in retaliation for other attacks that have been conducted in the past leading to loss of lives. Though it is endowed with plentiful natural resources, South Sudan remains highly underdeveloped. With most of the population remaining un-educated, the long-held cultural beliefs have continued to dictate these people's way of living from historical times to present. Furthermore, most of the people from these communities have refused to embrace the western community, unlike other communities in neighboring countries. The Dinka, Murle and Nuer carry on their tradition of cattle rustling, which has become an integral part of the pastoralism, their sole source of livelihood.

Incitement both from the political leaders and the cultural leaders was cited by interview participants as another main cause of cattle raids. Out of all responses of the interviewees, 65% explained that the community leaders and political leaders are at the forefront of instigating and inciting the strong youths to participate in cattle raids. Another 25% explained that, though they were aware that the elders in the community played a role in encouraging participation in cattle raids, they themselves had never heard of such incitement or taken part in functions where political or community elders incited such violence. The remaining 5% explained to the

researcher that they did not have any information about whether the elders in the society and the political leaders instigated the violent activities.

A disturbing truth that came out of the interviewee responses was that cattle rustling is a highly established and accepted venture in the three communities. In fact, 10% of the respondents highlighted that the elders in each of the three communities blessed the warriors before or when they participated in cattle rustling activities. By itself, this activity shows the acceptance of cattle rustling among the entire community and is by itself enough to drive the youths into raiding cattle from other communities. Though some of the cattle raiders engaged in cattle rustling only to get cattle, a proportion of the cattle rustlers carried out raids for the sake of obtaining blessings from the elders, especially from the spears masters. However, every time an attack happened, the community that was attacked launched a retaliatory attack to recover the cattle that were taken and may be to get more cattle in the process. The study by Krause-Jackson & Richmond (2011) & Santaschi et al. (2014) revealed that cattle raiding was accepted among the three communities and this was corroborated by 70% of the respondents. The acceptance of cattle rustling activities was mainly attributed to the celebration and blessings of the warriors as a community ritual that encouraged cattle rustling among the communities.

People's perceptions regarding the "advantages" of cattle rustling are also a major contributing factor towards enhancing cattle rustling. A significant number of interview respondents agreed with the statement that the superior community at any one time is superior due to successful cattle raiding and its warrior ability to conduct successful raids. When asked if they agreed that cattle rustling had been used by the communities as a show of might and in the search for superiority, 70% of the respondents strongly agreed. The other 30% of respondents denied the concept of community's superiority. The findings established that the communities

perceive livestock as a precious form of wealth and that any individual in possession of this many cattle is wealthy. An accepted notion is— cattle rustling is a way to gain superior and wealthy status. According to Chemisto (2010), the increased commercialization of cattle rustling has heightened the tension between pastoral communities and increased conflicts among them, as evidenced in South Sudan.

Cattle remain a significant investment for the three communities in Jonglei state. As one of the respondents in the interview explained, for the three tribes, cattle are their banks. They are their shops. Their future depends on cattle and without cattle; they have no life at all. These phrases provide insight about the vital importance of cattle to communities across Jonglei state. These are the circumstances that make the communities, families and parents of the young pastoralists support cattle theft as a viable means of acquiring wealth for themselves and their family. Not only is cattle rustling viewed as an acceptable activity, many of these people would do anything just to acquire cattle for their families and community.

Though the government of South Sudan has raised concerns about cattle rustling as the main cause of insecurity in the area, very little has been done to eradicate the crime. The government has so far called for support from the state government, as well as from the international community, to help end the rustling activities. Help has also been sought for improving education to change the mind-set of people from the three communities aimed at reducing the need for and frequency of rustling activities. Unfortunately, the legal system of the country is slow and criminal cases take a very long time, thus increasing tension among the affected community members who feel that judgment has been denied them. One of the interviewees explained that in such cases, every member of the community feels obliged to take law into his/her hands which increases or restarts violence among the people from the tribes.

Though small arms and light arms do not cause violence on their own, they raise the impact of a conflict and also cause a lot of shifts in the inter-group balance of power. Small arms and light weapons are available in the Jonglei state due to the rising level of insecurity between the communities and the neighboring states. According to Saferworld (2012), the small arms and light weapons are now traded among the youths and militia men as a means of livelihood. Furthermore, since the inter-communal fights begun, the government of South Sudan has not developed an effective disarmament policy to govern the individuals with arms and weapons. The government still have too few effective security mechanisms, thus security in most places of the country is inadequate or none existent. As a result, it is difficult to convince the people to put down the weapons.

There are numerous factors that make South Sudan, especially Jonglei state, vulnerable to the flow of illicit arms. Some of the factors include the dense and deep forest that covers many areas in Jonglei state; very few or no state intervention in the problem; and the large network of unmonitored trails. Also the numerous armed conflicts between South Sudan and other bordering countries, such as North Sudan, have given many people in South Sudan access to fire arms. Rebel groups acquire firearms and light weight weapons from neighboring countries, such as Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, North Sudan and others. There are also reports of the soldiers selling light weight weapons to the civilians. One of the respondents explained that “once the guns have been taken from the warriors and the civilians, the warriors and the civilians should be compensated. Incentives need to be introduced to make the civilians surrender the weapons without the use of force.”

There have been cases where the communities hide their weapons and light arms or migrate with them when the disarmament process is initiated by the government. Outside the

capital city of South Sudan, the fire arms and ammunition are stored in unsafe conditions such as in mud houses, abandoned institutions or hospitals, which have become easy targets for armed groups of people. Cattle are traded between South Sudan and the other neighboring countries, such as Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya and North Sudan, for cash, and or ammunition. Arguably, vengeance seems to be the main driving force behind ethnic clashes and the targeted killings in the Jonglei state, South Sudan. Since time immemorial, the three communities have engaged in conflicts and cattle rustling, scrambling and fighting each other for grazing areas and water resources, striving to secure and protect their essential livelihoods.

Furthermore, the politics of South Sudan are highly based on the ethnicity of its people and thus ethnicity is bound to play a major and integral role in the inter-communal cattle raiding and massive killing. In the past, the communities have always appropriately and effectively managed such conflicts through time tested methods. Tribal leaders have made use of traditional conflict resolution methods, reconciliation processes, and rituals and ceremonies to amend broken inter-communal relationships caused by these forms of conflicts. As interviewee Lach recalled, these methods did not mean ultimate peace among the communities, but they resulted in maintaining peaceful coexistence of the communities as well as intra-communal relationships.

However, it is highly evident that the current dimension of ethnic clashes and cattle raiding among the three communities in Jonglei state is not solely embedded in the ancient hatred of the communities involved. Nor is it based on feelings of vengeance alone. Escalation in violence stems largely from the lack or failure of community leaders, cultural leaders, as well as political leaders to manage the ethnic differences and diversity of the people.

### **Subtheme 3: Common sites of cattle rustling and what is unique about these sites**

Jonglei state has endured violence and cattle rustling activities even before the country obtained its independence. However, the violence and cattle rustling activities were mainly on a small scale. Today, cattle raiding grew more violent with the excessive and easier access to weapons such AK47 and other automated firearms. However, not all the states in South Sudan experience violence or cattle rustling. Through the research, the researcher sought to understand and identify some of the areas in Jonglei state which are epicenters of the cattle rustling activities. The researcher also asked the interviewees about the factors that make violence and cattle rustling activities common in these particular sites.

The findings identified four main sites or routes of violence namely; Jalle-Maar-Pibor route, Kongor-Wernyol-Pibor route, Duk Payuel/Duk Padiet-Pibor route and Ayod/Akobo-Duk Padiet/Duk Payuel-Pibor route. However, of all the four cattle raiding hubs, 80% of the respondents described Jalle-Maar-Pibor and Duk Payuel/Duk Padiet-Pibor routes as the sites where cattle raiding and inter-community conflicts have been most intense, with high levels of ethnic violence. In terms of cattle-related violence, 75% of the respondents ranked Ayod/Akobo-Duk Padiet/Duk Payuel-Pibor route as second compared to the others. From the responses of the participants, the researcher could deduce some of the reasons why the routes identified above are among the main locations of cattle related violence in Jonglei state.

The population in Jonglei state is clustered along the routes mentioned above. Furthermore, Jonglei state is the home to two tribes with a longstanding history of inter-tribal conflicts and cattle raiding; the Murle and the Nuer. In addition, lack of infrastructure in the area, the chronic underdevelopment of the state, and frequent civil wars in the area since the 1980s have continually deepened the historic rivalry that has existed between the two communities. The

two communities have many similarities in their ways of living. For instance, their dowry customs are an important reason for the involvement of these two communities in rivalry. The young men mainly conduct cattle rustling with the intention of stealing cattle from the other communities to make bridal payments for the wife they wish to marry. The influence of politics has also been a major cause of violence in the area. After one of the political leaders in Jonglei lost the election in 2010, he formed a rebel group which was mainly composed of the Murle (Chicago Tribune, 2013). In 2012, the rebel group killed around 85 Lou Nuer unarmed pastoralists, raising the tension that already existed in the state among the two communities.

The spillover of the internally displaced people from the affected counties to safer areas has led to overcrowding. Because much of the state is primarily semi-arid, access to pasture and water has also become a major issue in the area. In few areas where there is good climate conditions and abundance of water for the cattle— and for crops farming, each of the communities wants to control the location, especially along the route areas mentioned above. In all the areas under war in Jonglei state are intensified by the fights that exist between the communities over water and grazing lands. Jalle- Maar and Kongor-Wernyol are the two areas in Jonglei state where cattle raiding has become most frequent, requiring external management and intervention.

Increased cattle raiding activities have become a major concern among various communities in Jonglei state. Related to this is the growing likelihood that non-government groups will take advantage wherever the state fails to provide adequate security, seizing control of the area through even more violent measures. Across Jonglei state, the violence seen in most areas has been committed by the young men. One of the respondents disclosed to the researcher that the youth appear to have very minimal or no respect at all for the national or community

government. The respondents said that the youths are largely unschooled and grew up as orphans. They have no way of making a living and are, thus, idle most of their time. But they have been accustomed to fighting and violence; they know that nothing will happen to them even if they are caught in the act. So in these areas, the cattle rustling problem is compounded by the lack of an effective government, increased cases of poverty, uneven distribution of wealth, increased inflation of the bride-prices, historical tension between the groups, and the proliferation of firearms.

#### **Subtheme 4: Difference between traditional and today's cattle raiding operations**

Many terms have been used to describe cattle rustling and related violent activities related to it in Jonglei. The government calls them inter-tribal conflicts which emphasizes the tribal differences and divides as the main causes of violence. Non-governmental and the international organizations have referred to the violence as either inter-communal or agro-pastoral conflicts. The media have often referred to the conflicts as cattle raids or cattle rustling. However, though each party has its own way of naming the activities, all the terms refers to the same cycle of violence between the Dinka, the Lou Nuer and the Murle communities, the main communities inhabiting Jonglei. The conflicts originated generations ago when people from one ethnic community stole cattle and other livestock from another ethnic community in order to gain prestige or increase their own herd of cattle (International Crisis Group, 2009).

These traditional cattle raids were relatively non-violent; the tribes whose cattle had been stolen would then conduct a counter raid to replenish the cattle that were stolen during the initial raid. The impacts of the raids and the counter-raids were minor compared to the impacts that today's raids and counter-raids have on the community or the country as a whole. Compared to the large raiding gangs of today, the groups conducting raids in earlier times were relatively

small. Because they herded the stolen cattle on foot, they were limited in the number of cattle they could steal. Likewise, the human injuries and deaths were also limited because the raiders used traditional weapons such as spears, and bows and arrows. In cases where conflicts would occur, they were confined to the raiders and the herders of the cattle who were mostly around the same age. The only threat was to each other and the neighboring communities were hardly involved in the conflicts (Leff, 2012).

As contrast to traditional cattle raiding, the current cattle rustling activities have greatly intensified since the cattle rustling incident between the Lou Nuer and Murle in 2009. Currently referred to as cattle rustling, today's attacks are conducted by larger groups of youths and involve stealing massive herds of cattle and many human fatalities. The participants in today's raids have become more organized, using technology such as mobile phones to coordinate their tactics and movements. In addition, the proliferation of light arms and small weapons has greatly increased the frequency of inter-communal violence and the number of casualties. All these developments have enabled the raiders to steal more cattle, which has often resulted in escalated response attacks. It has been noted that both raiders and defending herders are inclined towards increasing the level of violence and casualties during the raids in an attempt to discourage counter attacks, gaining the advantage they can use next time to steal large herds of cattle.

#### **Subtheme 5: The politics of the Jonglei state**

While South Sudan aspires to become a developed, independent state that is both multi-party and multi-ethnic, ethnicity is seen to be the focal point of politics of the country. The political parties are formed based on ethnicity and leaders are selected for national office based on their ethnicity. As one of the states in South Sudan, Jonglei is no exception to the politics of ethnicity, especially considering that it is home to the two of the most powerful ethnic

communities (Dinka Bor and Lou Nuer) in South Sudan. After numerous cases of violent cattle raids between the communities in the region, the trust level diminished between the people and cattle rustling became highly politicized (Rolandsen, 2005).

One of the researcher's aims was to explore and understand ethnic dimensions of the conflict. Corroborating what has been explained above, 75% of the respondents explained that ethnicity is the main factor creating political divide among the people. The people believe that the government can only be fair to the people from a specific community if those people have representation and are included in the government. One of the respondents explained that "the numerous cases of violence that have erupted in the region have been propagated by the political leaders rejecting the outcomes of the elections and claiming that some individuals have been placed in power by means that were not democratic." The escalation of cattle raiding and violence among the people of Jonglei has further widened the divide between people from the three communities, and in, some cases, led to division of the political leaders in the region.

The respondents expressed the need for political transformation to ensure peaceful coexistence between the three communities in the Jonglei state. Actually, 90% of the respondents believe that the political unity should be the best and most appropriate way to nurture peaceful understanding and coexistence of the three communities. Yet, 60% explained that the leaders have been on the forefront instigating inter-communal and political violence among the people. The respondents explained that the political and ethnic leaders in the area have failed to curb the spate of violence that has affected the region for more than decades now. Consequently, during the elections or referendums the people from the region are seen to divide themselves according to their ethnicity, and not based on what is in the interest of the country.

**Subtheme 6: Factors that contribute to the increased cases of cattle rustling**

Inter-ethnic raiding of cattle in South Sudan takes place for political and commercial purposes. Violent clashes that occur during cattle raiding show that most of the cattle raiders are armed and well equipped to carry out their operations. The interview participants cited the following as the main factors that contribute to increased cases of cattle rustling: changes in leadership system, availability of SALWs, political influences, poverty levels, illiteracy, cattle rustling commercialization, form of ethnic conflicts, increase in bride prices, continuous cultural practice of cattle rustling, and migration patterns.

The changes in leadership system present in South Sudan are a factor contributing to cattle rustling. From the data collected, it was evident that Jonglei state faces leadership challenges which often create a leadership vacuum that cattle rustlers exploit. This is due partly to a shifting power balance from traditional leader systems to the South Sudan government that doesn't recognize traditional leaders and institutions (Wassara, 2007). Given that the decisions made by the government are guided by the constitution and not by traditional customs and norms, individuals tend to violate the directives given by the government. This corroborates the findings of Human Rights Watch (2013) that changes in governance, rendering traditional leaders irrelevant have resulted in increased violence, and individuals willing to kill to own large herds of cattle. Nyoat (2013) also found that weakening of major cultural institutions has led to increased conflicts in South Sudan, promoting increased incidents of cattle rustling.

Availability of small arms and light weapons increases the level of conflict through inter-ethnic cattle rustling. The level of insecurity in South Sudan and the neighboring countries was found to be high where SALWs easily available to local population. Half of the participants associated availability of SALWs with increased cases of cattle rustling. SALWs are sold to

militia groups and many youths who are unemployed. Due to insufficient security, many people feel they must keep arms to protect themselves and others use the same weapons to conduct cattle rustling or defend themselves and their herds from cattle rustling. This leads to the arms acquired for cattle rustling being used to promote more violence. It is easy for the arms to flow within the country because of absence of government protection; networked unmonitored trails; large areas covered by forests; and the long history of conflict with neighboring communities. This increased flow of arms has encouraged increased even more cases of cattle raiding due to numerous people in possession of weapons. A study by Willems and Rouw (2011) regarding cattle rustling in Jonglei state indicated that the state has numerous SALWs. Willems and Rouw's argument supports this study by indicating that increased availability of SALWs influences cattle rustling activities.

Richardson (2011) also asserts that availability of SALWs contributes to cattle rustling. There are neither enough ways to resolve conflicts nor security personnel to avert criminal activities across South Sudan, including Jonglei. Hence, most of the communities embark on cattle rustling without fear. Furthermore, there are no effective strategies to disarm majority of the people (Nyoat, 2013). Highly automated weapons that have replaced indigenous weapons like machetes, spears, bows and arrows have increased conflict levels. Laws and regulations cannot be enforced by the army and security officers when the cattle rustlers are better armed than they are. Clearly, the easy availability of weapons has drastically increased cattle rustling and the lethality and scope of violence (Richardson, 2011).

Results also indicate that political leaders help ethnic groups residing in South Sudan to acquire guns, providing guaranteed markets for cattle stolen. Of the interview participants, 56% reported that most cattle rustlers have support from their ethnic political and or military leaders.

Some political leaders were also reported to supply modes of communication and food for cattle rustlers. During the interview, Bol stated that the politicians in Juba and Bortown very often fool illiterate youth in their respective villages into hating other tribes. Politicians exacerbate ethnic violence by inciting them to turn on each other. Bol also recalled an incident when Lou Nuer youth attacked villages in Duk Padiet, killed people, burned homes and besieged Dinka Hol villages due to political instigation.

Commercialization of cattle rustled also contributes to increased cases of cattle rustling and 40% of interviewees claimed that cattle rustling in Jonglei had been commercialized. Business operators influential to government officials and political leaders were found to participate in organization and supervision of cattle rustling for personal interests. Results indicated that some business owners bought stolen cattle at cheaper prices and sold them in main urban areas at a significant profit. The cattle stolen have readily available market for selling. Such dealings are the main source of livelihood among individuals who use political influence to amass wealth.

Poverty was found to be among the factors contributing to increased cases of cattle rustling in Jonglei state. Participants' comments included many examples of unequal distribution of resources among communities residing in South Sudan. Out of this reality, cattle rustling continues as a way of meeting basic needs and of boosting the level of wealth among communities. During the interview, Bol reported that cattle rustling can be blamed on poverty. During dry seasons, most of the communities were reported to face economic hardships, and therefore would conduct cattle rustling activities to provide food for their families. According to Richardson (2011), 1.7 million of South Sudanese face food insecurity, and approximately 40% of them come from Jonglei, Unity and Upper Nile states. Since these three regions experience

social and economic hardships, most of the people live in abject poverty. Thus, food insecurity leads to increased conflict over existing natural resources and cattle rustling (Richardson, 2011).

The findings suggested that traditional values of paying dowry contribute to increased cases of cattle rustling; 45% of interview participants indicated that youths participate in cattle rustling to pay for bride price. Bol reported a continuous increase in bride price among Dinka, Nuer and Murle communities. Because this is paid in cattle, youth seeking a young woman's hand in marriage raid other people's herds to raise the necessary bride wealth. Richardson (2011) underscores, that cattle rustling is carried out to increase the total number of cattle for meeting appropriate social transactions, especially bride price payments.

Migration due climate changes contributes to increased frequency of cattle rustling. Cattle raids are seasonal. Most of the three communities migrate with their cattle during dry season to areas with green pastures and water. These migration patterns bring competing groups closer together, battling for the same resources. The findings also noted that, because of the mud, it is difficult for cattle rustlers to get away during rainy seasons, which discourages cattle rustling. Thus, cattle rustling incidents are rampant during dry season, when the communities are in close proximity.

Passed down for generations, the cultural practice of cattle rustling is self-perpetuating. Its role as a factor in the proliferation of cattle rustling was confirmed by 55% of the participants, who reported that the three communities, Dinka, Nuer and Murle had culturally practiced cattle rustling for centuries. The social life of these communities cannot, therefore, be separated from cattle. Children as young as 6 or 7 years are introduced to cattle and the importance of the cattle to their lives. As they slowly learn the values of cattle and become attached to them, they grow up adapting to the centrality of cattle in their society. As the youths and youth men approach

marriage age, a key part of their eligibility is ownership of cattle, so they always think of cattle rustling. The cattle in most South Sudan states demonstrate wealth and social standing. In this context, they are used as “currency” for marriage purposes or restoration of social justice. Therefore, the act of cattle rustling demonstrates that the youths have transformed into adults (Richardson, 2011).

Ethnic tension has pitted Dinka, Nuer and Murle against each other and was identified by 45% of the interview participants as another factor in the growing frequency and intensity of cattle rustling assaults. Jonglei state, with its growing influx of SALWs among civilians, has experienced many violent clashes. Whole communities arm themselves with automated weapons to defend themselves and retaliate against cattle rustling. With each year passing, the situation is getting out of control due to the absence of security personnel to enforce the law and provide adequate security measures. Brown, Hammill and McLeman (2007) point out that cattle rustling at the national level are main concerns affecting many communities in Jonglei state. The escalation of violent attacks poses a long-term threat to the sustainability and stability of South Sudan. Richardson (2011) also found that cattle rustling is among the main causes of conflict and violent confrontations in Jonglei state. This was evident in cited attacks of 2011 where Murle and Nuer communities attacked each other leading to fatalities and displacement of thousands.

### **Subtheme 7: The cycle of violence**

The first step in the development of a long lasting solution to a problem is to understand the basics and roots of the problem. Given that the respondents for this research were from various communities in Jonglei state, the researcher was interested in understanding the actual interests of each of the three ethnic communities and their perceptions of the other communities. As it has already been revealed, the cycle of cattle raiding that has now developed into a series of

violence in the Jonglei area revolves around the Lou Nuer, the Dinka Bor and the Murle ethnic communities. During the analysis, 65% of the interviewees explained that the Lou Nuer have been involved in almost every violent incidence in the area. Access to water is essential for the communities in the region and it happens that the Lou Nuer community is geographically disadvantaged with regard to ease of access to water. During the dry season, the Lou Nuer community must travel from their habitat in search of water for themselves and their livestock. However, any direction they lead gets them into the territory of one of the other two communities, a reality which by itself triggers violence among neighboring communities. According to the responses of the interviewees, the main conflicts are between the Lou Nuer and the Dinka and between Lou Nuer and the Murle communities. The following discussion presents the inter-communal conflicts that are most prevalent.

### **Lou Nuer-Dinka cattle rustling and conflicts**

The tension between the Lou Nuer and the Dinka has existed since the historical times. However, the tension that emerged during the conflicts between the two communities in the year 2009 was considered by most respondents to produce the most volatile and politicized confrontations ever between Lou Nuer and Dinka. As the largest communities in Jonglei state, the two compete for superiority. The highest political positions in South Sudan are held by leaders from the two communities. The president is from the Dinka community, though not Dinka Bor, while the vice president is from the Lou Nuer community. The incident most well-known for fueling the vengeful energy among the two communities occurred back in the year 1991 (Rolandsen, 2005). The confrontation began when fighters known to have been from the Lou Nuer community attacked the Dinka community at Bor region leaving more than twenty-eight thousand people from the Dinka community dead and many others injured. One of the

interview respondents explained that, though the years have passed and the communities may have forgiven each other, they definitely have not forgotten the massacre. One of the respondents noted that some communities in the region coexist like brothers, with open communication and mutual respect even amid major and disturbing cases of cattle rustling. However, the relationship between the Lou Nuer community and the Dinka has not always been that smooth.

### **Lou Nuer-Murle cattle rustling and conflicts**

The conflict between Lou Nuer and the Murle communities became even more intense in the year 2009 (HRW, 2013). Clashes and cattle rustling activities between the two communities happened in Pibor and the Akobo counties leaving more than one thousand people dead. This included a one-week long war between the two communities that left more than seven hundred people dead. According to one of the interview respondents, the cattle raiders, mainly from the Murle community, not only steal cattle, but in some cases they abduct children. Of course, kidnapping of children often prompts the victim community to launch counter and revenge attacks to recover abducted children and cattle.

Issues have resulted during the government disarmament activities or government attempts to bring back a peaceful coexistence of the two communities. For instance, in 2007, the initiatives of the government to get people from the two communities to willingly surrender their weapons almost led to a conflict. Authorities in Ayod/Akobo and Pibor felt that they weren't sufficiently consulted before the beginning of the program and that Dinka led government was conspiring to take away their guns. Though the confrontations between the Murle and Lou Nuer have been fierce, the intensity of the raids has not been as bad as that between the Lou Nuer and the Dinka. In light of all this violence, steps need to be taken to bring these two communities into accepting each other as communities who belong to the same country.

### **Subtheme 8: The impacts of cattle rustling on the affected communities**

Careful analysis and interpretation uncovered some of the major impacts that cattle rustling has had on the people of the three communities. Among these are increased poverty among the people in the three communities, loss of lives during the raids, more cattle raids and killings in vengeance, destruction of the social order and relationships between the participating communities, and the spread of cattle diseases (Bloomberg News 2016; Center of Civilians in Conflict, 2014; Copnall, 2011; FAO, 2015; Gathigah, 2011; Geoffrey, 2015; HWR, 2013 & International Crisis Group, 2009).

Over 80% of the respondents explained that high rates of poverty as seen in the region can be attributed to the increased number of violent activities in the country. Bol explained that the increased cases of cattle raids have discouraged people from making investments in the country, due to fear that such investments would attract thieves and cattle raiders, leading to the destruction of what they have worked for. In the opinion of 90% of the interview respondents, cattle rustling has become the main cause of inter-community ethnic clashes between the three communities in the region. Furthermore, 30% also explained that many cattle diseases observed in the Jonglei state have been a result of moving diseased cattle from one place to another, infecting the healthy cattle in the place they are taken to and worsening poverty.

The impacts of cattle raiding are wide spread and affect not only the lives of people in those involved communities but also the entire country. Extensive poverty among the people involved and the general communities was considered by 80% of the interview respondents to be directly linked to destruction of property during cattle-rustling. The remaining 20% argued that although cattle rustling causes some people to be poor, it is a major source of wealth for others. Another consequence is that most of the youth die during their most productive ages since they

are the ones who are mainly involved in the raids. This greatly hinders development among the communities where people's lives depend on the youths. The practice of cattle theft and cattle rustling has led to despair and extreme poverty among the participant communities. Bol described to the researcher the massive losses of both property and livestock, as well as the tendency of affected communities to flee seeking refuge during the clashes. Today, pastoral communities have continued to face great financial hardships, due to their persistent marginalization and the escalation of rustling activities. The practice of cattle theft has continually impoverished the pastoralist communities and with the recent commercialization of cattle rustling activities, it is only the self-serving traders and political leaders that continue to benefit at the expense of the involved communities.

Cattle rustling and banditry have become one of the major causes of loss of lives and the massive displacement of people in Jonglei state in search for safer grounds to live. The introduction of guns and ammunition was identified by 90% of interview respondents as the cause of extreme violence and massive loss of lives in the area. One of the interviewees characterized cattle rustlers, as young male youths, who would do anything to get cattle includes killing of innocent. Women and young children seem to be the main group that is heavily affected by these clashes and the main victims of the ruthless search for wealth. Contradictory to the traditional and cultural norms, the women and children are seldom spared. In fact, there are widespread violations of the fundamental human rights of women and girls during clashes, including rape, murder, torture, mistreatment, and neglect. Furthermore, one respondent pointed out that wars and violence leave women in situations where they cannot make ends meet and succeed in their lives. These women and children barely have enough resources to withstand

such violent activities, whether they occur on their way to the refugee camps, in safe zones, or inside the refugee camps.

Another main impact of cattle rustling is its tendency to break down and destroys the social order. This, in turn leads to other cattle rustling activities in search for vengeance. It is believed that the three communities in the Jonglei area have negative perception of each other, which have intensely popularized due to the intense competition for dominance in the region. When each community believes itself to be superior over the other communities, it believes it has the right to take cattle and occupy the land held by people in the other communities. The complicated factors in these conflicts include confusions and the lack of clear governance policies. This produces uncertainty which each community, as well as the external parties, wants to exploit to their advantage.

Another major effect of cattle rustling is the increased number of animal diseases. Because there are no professional animals' doctors to treat the infected cattle that had been rustled from other communities, cattle diseases spread to the other cattle belonging to the raid-conducting community in a very short time. New cattle diseases have been on the rise among cattle and, in some cases, there have been instances of humans catching the disease. Other animal diseases such as Peste Des Petis (PPR) have highly been transferred from one community to another through cattle rustling activities (FAO, 2015). The ironic result is that the diseases today are killing each and every animal that the people in these communities have worked so hard towards acquiring. In 2011 for example, cattle rustling activities by Dinka Bor community against the Murle have been explained as the main source of the foot and mouth disease that led to deaths of hundreds of cattle throughout bomas (municipalities) that have been very active in cattle rustling.

If the Jonglei region in South Sudan is to develop, 60% of the respondents explained that cattle rustling is one of the habits that the people of the three communities must end. The respondents felt that the communities have suffered enough killings and poverty, not to mention the transfer of new diseases and illnesses from one region to another. Therefore, the time is right for the communities to embrace peace among themselves. James argued that, “consistent investment of the communities in such operations as peaceful coexistence and intergroup dialogue, population education, and legal trades will surely lead to massive development of each individual community and thus the development of the entire region.”

The worst impact of cattle rustling is the development of a cycle of violence between the three communities involved. Deng recalled that tension exacerbated highly in 2011, shortly after the succession of South Sudan, when the Murle attacked the Lou Nuer community in a confrontation that led more than 600 people dead, more than 700 people wounded and more than 25,000 cattle were stolen. The incidence worsened when the new government of South Sudan did little towards ensuring justice for the affected communities. In 2012, Deng reported, The Lou Nuer community conducted a raid on the Murle community seeking vengeance and cattle for their own community. More than six thousand youths from the Lou Nuer community attacked the Murle leaving hundreds of people dead and more than one thousand people displaced. In 2013, another group of Lou Nuer youths grouped again to carry out an attack against Pibor residents, killing more and leaving many displaced.

### **Subtheme 9: How the involved communities can be a solution to the cattle rustling challenge**

The researcher also aimed at understanding whether the people in those communities saw cattle rustling as a challenge that could no longer be ignored, and what the respondents thought could be the main approaches to solve the growing challenge. Upon examining documentary sources, several ways by which people can be part of the solution were identified. These include: empowering local and traditional leaders, promoting a culture of peace, inter-tribal dialogue; promoting tribal intermarriages, and establishing shared sports among the affected tribes. Such ideas derived from analysis of the documentary sources, were echoed by the interviewees. The majority of interviewees agreed that cattle rustling as a major problem among the communities in South Sudan and if not tamed in a timely manner, it could rapidly grow to become a major cause of death, poverty and low economic growth across Jonglei state. Education was mentioned by 95% of the respondents as the most effective and appropriate path for helping people of the three communities come to terms with each other. The opinion of 55% of the respondents was that the community elders and political leaders were the best parties to call for ending the cattle rustling and promoting peaceful coexistence among the three communities of South Sudan. It was believed by 90% of the respondents that a stable government with the ability to enforce rules and policies to be followed by the people was vital for the control and eradication of cattle rustling activities among the three communities. Finally, 75% of the respondents agreed that there was dire need to increase the available employment opportunities to cater for the needs of the unemployed youths in the area.

As has been established, the problem of cattle rustling is dramatically growing among the three communities in Jonglei state. A closer look also reveals that the problem will become even

more difficult to solve in the future, if solutions are not found as soon as possible. Clearly, a commitment by all those affected to finding solutions is essential. These three communities must reach an agreement and appreciate that there are many different ways of acquiring wealth and livestock other than cattle rustling. According to Bol, the only way to succeed and overcome the many challenges that affect the people is to have a positive attitude. As a matter of fact, unemployed young men, the highest percentage of youth in the country, find solace in cattle rustling. The findings showed that the meat vendors provide a growing market which motivates many young youths to conduct cattle raids with motives of selling them to meat vendors. The meat vendors support the raids so that they can acquire cheap cattle for their meat business and reap high profits.

Though it has become challenging, peace is quite possible among these three communities. Before the civil wars and pre-colonial periods, the three rival communities of South Sudan lived in peace with each other, except for skirmishes on rare occasions. However, entry of the colonial masters, who sought to exploit the massive resources in the area drove away the peace that had long existed between the communities began turning them against each other in search for more wealth. There is now a lack of effective governance to effectively and comprehensively disarm, demobilize and conduct campaign for peaceful coexistence among the people.

Education was seen by most respondents as the most effective and appropriate way to curb the major challenges of cattle rustling in Jonglei state and South Sudan. As the results of the research showed most South Sudan people are illiterate and the learned ones have only gone up to the level of secondary education. The low level of education means that most employed people are domestic workers, while others have no places of employment. The results are that the

idle youths are the easiest to be convinced to joining the cattle rustling activities and are easy to be used by politicians and self-serving business people. Education could enable the communities to understand each other and to know that there are many different ways of acquiring wealth. Education would also encourage people from the different communities to interact with each other and thus be more prepared to work together in the future.

Another tactic that emerged through respondents' comments was for the political leaders and elders of these communities to come together and call for peaceful integration and coexistence of these communities. As in any other community or country in the world, political leaders command and have significant influence on huge groups of people in South Sudan. If these political leaders use their influence to educate people on the negative impacts of cattle rustling and its associated dangers, there is a significant likelihood that most people will leave the dangerous practices. One respondent pointed out that, campaigns by these leaders and elders to educate and advise the people on other constructive alternatives, such as agriculture and businesses, could be an effective approach to cultivating peaceful coexistence between the members of the communities.

Over the past number of years, many of South Sudan's clashes have been due to instability of the government. Since the country obtained its independence, an increasing number of conflicts have been between people that support the government and those that supported the opposition. The military personnel have been frequently used by the leaders to cause chaos in the country. During this time, cattle rustlers took advantage of the opportunity to steal cattle from other communities and kill people who stood to defend their cattle. As Bol explained, peace initiatives that had been organized by non-governmental organizations and the government were ineffective because some groups, such as Murle, violated the initiatives, forcing other

communities to react. Failure of the central government to impose rules, enforce laws, and prosecute cattle thieves has worked to encourage more young people to actively participate in cattle raids.

Over the years, James explained, rising bride prices have influenced the level of cattle rustling activities among the communities. The increase in the bride prices among the three communities have been determined by the financial resources of grooms' families, the level of education of the young women, the size of the brides' families, and the political connections of the groom and his family. As the bride prices increase, so do the efforts of young men to acquire more and more wealth in order to afford the bride they want to marry. The upsurge of cattle rustling has been propelled by the combination of high unemployment rates in the region, youth with a lot of time on their hands, and the youths' urgent motivation to acquire more wealth. For the Nuer, Murle and the Dinka who traditionally herded cattle during the dry season and mostly grew millet and sorghum during the rainy season, cattle have been used as the main currency to buy their wives. The men in these communities place value on the women according to their beauty, level of education, and her family's social rank in the community. For example, a chief's daughter with a secondary school diploma or a university degree would cost more than other women in the society. This led to a frantic competition and scramble for the women from royal families or families of high social status in the community. As a result, all the men interested in these women will participate in every action possible to improve their eligibility to marry the women considered to be in high social classes.

#### **Subtheme 10: Possible solutions to cattle rustling challenges**

A principle and significant observation from the research is that the main factors and causes behind the ethnic fights are interconnected. While the search for a long-term solution to

the ongoing crisis created by the rivalry between the three communities continues, it is important to note that the current situation of South Sudan does not allow for the prioritization of anyone concern. The major disconnection that the citizens feel from their government, competition among the communities for resources, the absence of representation on behalf of the communities, the lack of credible strategies for social and communal reconciliation - all are part of a synergistic phenomenon that perpetuates cattle rustling in Jonglei. The simultaneous actions of forming a stable and effective government, the process of delivering services to the people of all three communities, promotion of civil education, and implementation of programs to ensure security may seem uncertain and lack the power to convince the people to stop violence.

During the search for possible solutions to the cyclic violence among the three communities in Jonglei, the researcher identified numerous shortcomings of current efforts to solve the problem. For instance, an overarching requirement for establishing a stable government in South Sudan is to clarify its vision and mission. However, an even more pressing need is to develop appropriate working solutions to the challenges of cattle rustling and violence among the three communities, a renewed emphasis on working with people from the three communities is vitally important. This would often require heavy funding for long term projects, and monitoring to ensure that leaders from the three communities work together towards uniting the communities.

Interview respondents offered various suggestions about strategies that would be effective for ensuring unity and a peaceful coexistence of the three communities. Among the main solutions proposed by the respondents were: strengthening the national government and police service, strengthening the local governments, identifying the cattle raiding leaders and giving them assignments and positions in the government, strengthened measures to disarm the

civilian population in all the communities in the state of Jonglei, enhanced education for all, initiatives to provide more opportunities for constructive livelihood, interventions from the international community, and stronger campaigns calling for peace and unity.

Furthermore, there is a need for strengthening the local and national government to ensure that a long-lasting solution to the cattle raiding challenge that faces the nation is achieved. Most of the respondents regarded strengthening the national government as the best way to reduce the raids. One respondent explained that the lack of a stable and well formulated government has been an invitation for cattle rustlers to continue with their operations with no fear of legal consequences from any organ of the government. Strengthening the local governments would also reinforce operations of the national government at the grassroots level. Strong local governments and inclusive local governance authorities have been viewed by many people as essential building blocks of the peace building process across the country. Although national government might be unable to manage all incidents at the grassroots level, local governments would work effectively and efficiently towards controlling and managing inter-communal matters and providing directions to the national government as to which areas need more resources and interventions.

Finding possible solutions to South Sudan's cattle rustling problem is essential, because it interferes with political stability and economic development. The findings of this research produced the following potential solutions to cattle rustling: peace initiatives by non-governmental organizations, central government responsibility of addressing cattle rustling, identifying and creating borders for the communities, diversification of Dinka Bor and Nuer economies, education programs for the communities to better acquainted with each other, improving the South Sudan economy, disarmament programs, and regulating marriage laws.

It was believed by 45% of interview participants that last peace cannot become a reality until the communities cease fighting each other. During the interview, some respondents suggested that if Dinka Bor and Nuer were reconciled, they could work together toward finding a common solution to the cattle raiding problem. Jonglei, being a large state, hosts approximately 1.3 million people. However, it has high food insecurity, experiences seasonal flooding, and has limited infrastructure (OCHA South Sudan, 2012). These circumstances cause the ethnic communities to fight over water and grazing land access. For the cases of cattle rustling to reduce, the communities must first stop violence (Ammeraal, n.d.).

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have a major role to play when it comes to nurturing peace among the affected communities in Jonglei state. They need to sponsor education programs, advocate for peace and reconciliation among fighting communities and develop warning systems to map the areas with conflict, and prioritize strategies to mitigate cattle theft and other forms of violence. The Nuer and Dinka fight mainly because they are competing for scarce resources such as grazing land for the cattle, water sources and cattle that encroaches farming lands (Mbugua, 2012).

The central government of South Sudan has a major stake in reducing cattle rustling. Efforts by religious leaders and community leaders to reconcile the communities in Jonglei state have been fruitless. The responsibility must fall to state authorities to use their power to solve cattle rustling issues. The government should be proactive and hold accountable anyone found raiding cattle. Such a step will scare thieves and career cattle rustlers. Making cattle raiding a crime will help the government reduce cases of cattle rustling and violence in general. The prospect of being apprehended and prosecuted will scare thieves and career cattle rustlers. The government also needs to conduct more conversations with major tribes to ensure free movement

of people in the country. Chiefs and individuals should work together at district, national and state levels to safeguard peaceful migration in South Sudan. They should also be responsible for ensuring that people from various ethnic communities live in peace and harmony. This will facilitate more effective regulation of migration patterns, preventing unfriendly communities from engaging in violent acts with each other.

The political structure of South Sudan is very fragile, and most of the underlying issues have not yet been addressed. Cattle rustling in South Sudan is more common in areas with little governance. The major conflicts among communities are fueled by the absence of border demarcations. Tribal allegiances also contribute to conflicts about water, land, and cattle accessibility (Bubenzer & Stern, 2011). Identifying and creating clear borders for each tribe to keep their cattle without venturing into the other tribes' territories until peaceful relationships have been established is a possible solution for mitigating cattle rustling.

Diversification of Dinka, Nuer and Murle economies is a positive strategy for addressing cattle rustling. The current economy of cattle does not support adequate livelihoods for the majority of people, thus creating more problems. The occurrence of natural disasters, including famine and drought, leads to increased cases of cattle rustling (Richmond & Krause-Jackson, 2011). Overdependence on livestock alone causes poverty. Only two communities, Dinka and Nuer, prioritize livestock and agricultural ventures at a larger scale. Therefore, the others, particularly Murle, need to diversify their economies by supplementing livestock with farm produces to avert extreme food shortages caused by natural calamities. The government should also attract foreign investors to promote more agricultural and business operations in the state of Jonglei. This will create employment opportunities for villagers to work and fend for themselves, reducing the cases of cattle theft. The government should also invest in infrastructure, establish

irrigation systems to support agriculture during dry seasons, and establish factories for employment opportunities.

Another possible solution is education programs to promote better understanding among the three communities, most cattle rustlers are poor, with little or no education, and were born in regions where conflicts and animosity go back for generations. From the results, 67% of the participants indicated that the three communities do not know each other well. As a way to build trust among local people from all the communities, state authorities and the national government need to initiate intergroup dialogues and workshops where members of these communities will learn more about their neighbors. Providing adequate education, training and employment opportunities can help address underemployment among the youth their motivation to steal cattle. Political crisis in Nuer and Dinka communities turn the ethnic communities against each other, and exacerbates conflict over cattle. Providing education programs to address leadership issues among these communities helps in building trust. This in turn may help reduce cattle rustling.

Improving the South Sudan economy can also help ease the problem of cattle rustling. From the results, 78% of the participants indicated that South Sudan suffers economically. The country has few road networks, a dysfunctional education system, shortage of skilled workers in health sector, and an underdeveloped infrastructure. Furthermore, Bubenzer and Stern (2011) have documented that South Sudan has poor infrastructure, poor education system, shortage of skilled workers, and a fledgling government unable to meet basic needs for all the citizens. The country has limited political, social, and economic infrastructure. It has challenges related to the political, socio-economic and security transition. High bride prices exacerbate poverty levels, making young men steal, hence promoting cattle rustling (Richmond & Krause-Jackson, 2011).

The government needs to address poverty by ensuring economic reforms and improving service delivery of basic needs for its citizens. Because 51% of citizens living in South Sudan are poor (Bubenzer& Stern, 2011); they are not able to achieve sufficient standards of living as set forth by the World Bank. Only 27% of the population in South Sudan is literate. In 2009, it was estimated that for every teacher, there were 52 students. The health statistics are also problematic. The infant mortality rate is 102 for every 100,000 live births (World Health Organization, 2014).

Security transformation involves disarmament of former soldiers and reintegrating them into the society. Over 60% of interview participants associated cattle rustling with large supply and accessibility to SAWLs. Among the civilians, a possible solution to cattle rustling would be control of arms in South Sudan. In some remote areas, South Sudan police force and other security agencies provide no protection for cattle herders, who feel they must keep arms for self-defense purposes. Controlling these arms can help address the problem of cattle rustling.

Several disarmament programs have failed in South Sudan due to insufficient state security. Most of the cattle herders buy guns and other weapons due to fear of conflict spreading among the three communities. Other individuals exploit the lack of security enforcement in the state and across the nation to steal many cows and carry out revenge. When armed people attack villages to capture cattle, often women and children end up dying in the process. Therefore, the government must strategize on how to disarm all the communities equally to reduce conflicts. After successful disarmament, the government must provide adequate security for all the citizens. The role of protection should not be left for the youths.

Customary laws related to marriage compel youths to engage in cattle rustling. Most of them steal to meet the competitive demands of marriage responsibilities. Research has associated

cattle rustling to high cost of bride price (Yual, 2012). When men are unable to meet dowry demands, they seek help from militia groups and perform cattle rustling jointly to meet the required dowry needs. The number of cattle for paying dowry should be regulated to make the bride price more attainable.

Finally, environment issues like drought, flood, desertification, and deforestation that directly or indirectly affect peoples' life across the state have been ignored for too. This study sees the need to understand the effects of climate changes on the communities of Jonglei state. Although local communities in Jonglei don't fully understand climate change as a problem, its impact shouldn't be overlooked. And the question is what can be done to alleviate pressure exerted by climate change on the environment? Suggested initiatives would require the followings:

First, very often, environmental refugees have been ignored. However, with the increased threat from the climate change, there is an urgent need to treat environmental refugees in the same way we treat war victims. By recognizing the very concept of environmental refugees, this would help in solidifying legality surrounding its definition. This too would open up the same institutions or infrastructures that serve war victims to accommodating victims of climate change. Second, instead of communities depending mainly on rain water, there is a need to introduce an irrigation scheme to farmers. The use of irrigation methods would make it possible for farmers to plant and cultivate crops during dry seasons. This would be beneficial in two ways. Planting crops during dry season means farmers would not worry about their crops being destroyed by the flood. Planting crops during dry seasons would also make it possible for farmers to plant crops throughout the year, which is currently not the case.

Third, right now, farmers use vulnerable seeds that don't have a chance of withstanding the ferocity of drought or flood. Introducing seeds that are drought or flood resistant can boost the production capacity and make it possible that no matter what happens; farmers should be able to produce enough to feed themselves and their families. Not only that, raising cattle that are drought or flood resistant could reduce competition over water and pasture, which means less contact and, obviously, less chance for confrontation.

Fourth, desertification is reversible if done right. Tree planting in areas affected by desertification should be experimented with. Trees slow down wind that causes soil erosion and trees have been also known to attract rainfalls. Furthermore, tree planting would encourage growth of vegetation and grasses to feed cattle and other animals. Finally, the government and civil organizations need to invest in good environment stewardship and natural resource management. Educating the farmers, cattle keepers, and community leaders on how to take care of their immediate environment needs to be a priority. For NGOs and other civic organizations, the focus must shift from just feeding the hungry to developing more sustainable techniques, like building irrigation systems, introducing drought and flood resistant seeds, and building dykes to control floods.

### **Cross analysis of the main themes**

The triangulation process in research plays an important role in validating the claims or uncertainties about the research findings. In this case study, it serves two main purposes. The first relates to confirmability of the data. In other words, did the instruments for collecting data yield credible data? Second, by triangulating findings from the documents, interviews and observation, researcher could compare and contrast the common themes and or evidence that supported the main research.

### **Loss of traditional mores**

Dinka and Nuer come from Nilotic's group. They share common history, cultures, and traditions and even practice similar traditional religions (Hutchison, 2000). Even when Sudan felt under British rule, Dinka and Nuer stood shoulder to shoulder in resisting British imperialism. However, the relationship bond that once held these twin tribes underwent a radical transformation. Researches by Hutchison and Rolandsen, Human Rights Watch, Legassicke, and Rands & LeRiche had argued that last two civil wars put the two tribes at odd with each other (Hutchison, n.d.; Rolandsen, 2005; Human Rights Watch, 2013; Legassicke, 2013). So has anything change one may ask? In the past Nuer and Dinka intermarriages were common. Furthermore, there were no claimed borders between the two tribes. People used to move freely and there were no frequent clashes or disputes between the two communities. Even when such incidents occurred, they were promptly addressed by elders and or by communities' leaders. Based on the responses from the interviews, respondents stated how Dinka-Nuer cordial relationship got torn apart by the war. Tut, a Nuer youth said, "I don't think whether bitterness between us and the Dinka will ever go away... it's like we have been enemies forever." Such admission couples with 1991 Bor massacre and December 16, 2013 incident in which thousands of civilians were slayed in Juba, Bortown, Bentiu and Malakal showed the level of carnage that these two communities are capable to unleash on each other. If a Dinka man can kill a Nuer man and drink his blood, would you say that you are related to that person asked Tut...or if you are refused to build your home near Dinka homes then what does that mean? These stories told by real people living in Jonglei state showed the scope with which these two tribes felt apart. Apart from a shared border, there is little known history of social interaction between Dinka Bor and Murle. Even during the civil war, Dinka and Murle didn't have major contacts which might have

caused friction between the two communities. After reviewing documentary sources for this study, it's unclear what causes such hatred among the two communities. The two possible explanations could be ethnic politics and ethnic mistrust and/or hatred that have been promoted by Murle intellectuals and military generals like David Yau Yau and Ismael Konyi who for many years have collaborated with Khartoum regime in promoting hatred of Dinka. But again, the above two propositions need further study to deeply explore how they contribute to cattle rustling across Jonglei state.

With regard to ethnic politics, the present conflict between President Kiir and former Vice President Dr. Riek Machar which fitted Dinka against Nuer showed how blurry an ethnic and politics lines are in South Sudan. That being said, evidences from documentary sources, interviews and researcher own interpretation of the observation highlighted common aspects of the cattle rustling in Jonglei. Based on the examination of the three sources of data utilized in this research, the important of cows and the level of hatred among the three communities emerged as common narratives from the documentary sources, interviews and observation. In both communities, the prestige that comes with one having more herds of cattle underscored why members of these communities gravitated toward cattle rustling.

### **Evolution of cattle rustling**

After examining documentary materials, research showed that conflict over cattle has evolved over the years. According to this research findings, there has been loss of traditional values and traditions, customs and moral responsibility (Wassara, 2007; Hutchison, n.d.; & Hutchinson, 2000). Due to loss of these important societal values, cattle rustlers have taken advantage of security gap created by the absent of a functioning local governments. The brutal killing and raping of women that characterized cattle rustling are not just coincident. Instead,

they are consequences of a social decay. This argument is supported by argument put forth by research participants. More importantly, analysis of the interviews transcripts confirmed Wassara (2007) proposition. Based on the interviews transcript interpretation, the level of hatred and the desire to avenge among the Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle is alarming and unacceptable. Interestingly, researcher own observation and interpretation of the interview transcripts, confirmed Wassara's argument. Since the beginning of Sudan two civil wars there have been a gradual erosion of traditions, customs, morality, and the rule of law not only among the Dinka, Nuer and Murle but among other tribes as well. The Madari for example dislike the Dinka Bor and Madari's relationship with Aliab Dinka is severely affected. Using the loss of traditional mores theory, it is evident that strategies and tactics of warfare did evolved. In every part of Jonglei state, the role of traditional leaders has become irrelevant.

### **Government failure**

After signing of Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the attainment of independence, South Sudan's transitional government made many promises. This got people excited and hopes were raised so high. However, after South Sudan celebrated its first independence, what followed was the government lost its way and government officials embezzled millions of US dollars from oil proceeds. Failure to build transportation infrastructures, schools, and hospitals got citizens wondering whether South Sudan was committed to fulfilling the aspirations of the masses. As Rands and LeRiche (2012) stated it; there is ample evidence that government failure to respond to people's demands triggered citizens' apathy toward the government. Whether that is the case or not, one thing became clear, the current South Sudan government is weak, unorganized, ineffective, and incapable of providing security to all corners of the country. Take the case of the civilian disarmament

campaign which South Sudan government launched in 2009 with the goal of disarming every citizen. When SPLA forces went into communities to carry out the disarmament exercise, they were met by angry citizens who refused to hand over their guns. Their argument was that, “the government had failed them. They claimed their children and women were being killed, yet the government was doing nothing to protect them”. From citizens’ perspectives, it was a suicide to hand guns over to the government without assurance that they would be protected from other tribes who otherwise wouldn’t attack them if they held onto their guns. Unfortunately, government went ahead with a forced disarmament that ended up in fiasco. Right there, the attempt by SPLA forces to force citizens to disarm elicited anger from the citizens which to this very day has never gone away. As Lilly during the interview put it, "the government has failed and there is lawlessness being exploited." Government failure is no secret and even Makuei Lueth, the government minister of information, recently put it this way, “we don’t have the money. Even I, the minister of information, have not been paid for three months." Based on researcher interpretation of the literature, if any government can't pay soldiers, ministers, and teachers, that government can be only described as a failed government. If a government can't manage to disarm its civilian population, then, it can only be described as weak and incapable government. If a government can't stop its civilians from stealing their neighbors’ cattle that is a failed government.

### **Ethnic politics and ethnic mistrust/hatred**

Though South Sudan is made of 60 plus tribes, Dinka and Nuer happened to be the dominant tribes. Their relationship affects national politics. During the last 30 years, Dinka and Nuer have witnessed two major ethnic conflicts to which some people referred as ethnic cleansing. In 1991, Dr. Riek Machar had a political disagreement with Dr. John Garang over the leadership of the SPLM/A. As result, Riek Machar mobilized and rallied his tribesmen (Nuer) against Garang Dinka led movement. In the process, thousands of innocent women and children died as casualties of ethnic political manipulation. The same thing happened again in December 2013 and again recently on July 9, 2016, and again thousands of people died. Even when it comes to social issues like cattle rustling, ethnic politics couldn't be evaded because there are politicians who have vested interests in setting tribes against each other. As one interview participant succinctly put it, "politicians in Juba are not saints; they have their hands full with blood of Dinka, Nuer and Murle." Based on analysis of the interview results and researcher's own interpretation of the documentary transcripts, people can't separate South Sudan politics from ethnic affiliations. Those who practice politics in South Sudan put their tribal interest ahead of national interest. So, when people looked at the scope and ferocity of the cattle raiding, research indicated there are reasons to believe that cattle rustling is an extension of the national power struggle. Politicians and disgruntled military officers in Juba, Bortown and Pibor understand how important it is to support their tribesmen, including supplying weapons of which some have been used in orchestrating deadly cattle raids across Jonglei state of South Sudan.

## **Human suffering**

In any war, short or long, people die and suffer. This has been true with the problem of cattle rustling in Jonglei state, South Sudan. Looking at cattle rustling, documentary evidence painted a dark picture of the situation. Since 2005, many lives have been lost, homes destroyed, families separated, and livestock taken away or killed during raids. In addition, serious crimes of war and human rights violations took place, e.g. amputation of arms/hands and cases of rape (MSF, 2012; HRW, 2013; & Gathigah, 2011). This gloomy account didn't end there. Research participants depicted an even darker aftermath of the cattle rustling. Bol described human suffering this way,

“People lost homes and possessions.... you don't have pride of your community because you no longer lived in your birth place and that is humiliating. Very much you are a foreigner in your own country. It is a pathetic life. You see, even animals are better off, they don't have to talk and very much are used to that life. As a refugee or internally displaced, as they call it here, you depended on the goodwill of the host communities or someone else and that is humiliation as well. Not to mention children dying of cholera, diarrhea and malaria.”

In African culture it is rare to see grown up men crying. However, during the observation, the depths of the invisible sufferings were noted. Five young men who described their memories of the cattle rustling carnage broke into tears. In researcher view, seeing grown men crying presented just the tip of the iceberg of how the problem of cattle rustling has affected people. If grown up men cry or felt this way, how about mothers and children who have seen it all? In analyzing documentary sources, interview transcripts, and observation notes, it is evident that cattle rustling carry serious effects, some of which will have long term consequences.

After analyzing and interpreting documentary sources and interviews as well as observation transcripts, researcher observed difference in how these sources portray the cattle rustling. Evidence from documents addressed physical and material effects of the conflict and highlighted how government and other actors could find possible solutions or remedies to the problem of cattle rustling. In the view of this researcher, this is a missed opportunity and superficial way to approach an ethnic conflict. By leaning on this approach, documentary sources failed to address what this researcher labeled as invisible impacts of cattle rustling. It is fine to feed and care for those displaced by cattle rustling. However, it is of paramount importance to devise ways to address traumatic impacts (psychological effects) of the conflict, especially among women and children. In this regard, documentary accounts felt short of addressing the invisible wounds of cattle rustling.

Contrary to the approach taken by those who authored the documents, interviews and observation findings took a holistic approach. The analysis of interviews transcripts revealed two things. Based on the interpretation of the interviews, it became apparent that participants put a human face on the conflict. Their comments about personal responsibility for the conflict were crucial. Any time people take responsibility for the situation, it usually opens more doors for dialogue which eventually leads to finding solutions. For instance, the uses of phrases or words like ‘this conflict is a shared problem’, or ‘we will get through it’ were commonly used by some individuals. In researcher’s view, this was a constructive way in which members of the affected community dealt with the problem of cattle rustling. Second, although it was not easy to quantify the result of the interviews, it was poignant how participants were able to address both physical (visible) and invisible (psychological/emotional) effects of cattle rustling. In addition, analysis and interpretation of the observation affirmed assumptions made in the documentary sources.

According to documentary sources, the supposition is that no working relationship exists among the Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle (Hutchison, 2000; Wassara, 2007). Indeed, after observing members of the Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle discussing the problem of cattle rustling; what the researcher saw and heard from the subjects of the observation did confirm the assumptions of Hutchison and Wassara. One, among the subjects of observation who made their views known during the discussion, there were visible signs of bitterness and manifestation of ethnic hatred. Although, cattle rustling was viewed as a common problem that deserved equal attention from all the communities, participants were very suspicious of each other. That mindset is not fruitful and doesn't present a way forward, especially among the youth and community leaders on whose shoulders rests the burden of finding solutions. As difficult and hostile as the situation is, there is a need for caution and perhaps reframing of the core assumptions regarding whether these communities can ever forge a working relationship.

### **Power relationship**

The approach that scholars portrayed in the literature section painted a hostile and dark picture about relationship between the Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle. Hutchison (2000), for example, emphasized what she termed as "*Nuer ethnic militarization*". For a person familiar with Dinka-Nuer historical past, this new, strained relationship is troubling. As this researcher observed, members of Dinka and Nuer appeared suspicious of each other. During discussion, this high level of suspicion and mistrust was evident in the choices of words they used. For instance, "We Dinka Bor people are not aggressive. We respond to their aggression. We have class. We are better than that". Such use of words points to feelings of ethnic superiority, especially among Nuer and Dinka, who are the largest and most influential tribes in South Sudan. As researcher observed, it became evident that some aspects can only be understood when one lives or works

among these communities. As such, doing interviews and observation was instrumental, for it provides another frame of analysis through which people can understand the present relationship, especially between Nuer and the Dinka. Not only that, evidence from the documentary sources also portrayed Murle as hostile and or aggressive. Thus, during the interviews, for example, both Nuer and Dinka Bor youths spoke harsh words about Murle. Some participants blamed Murle and even called them trouble makers.

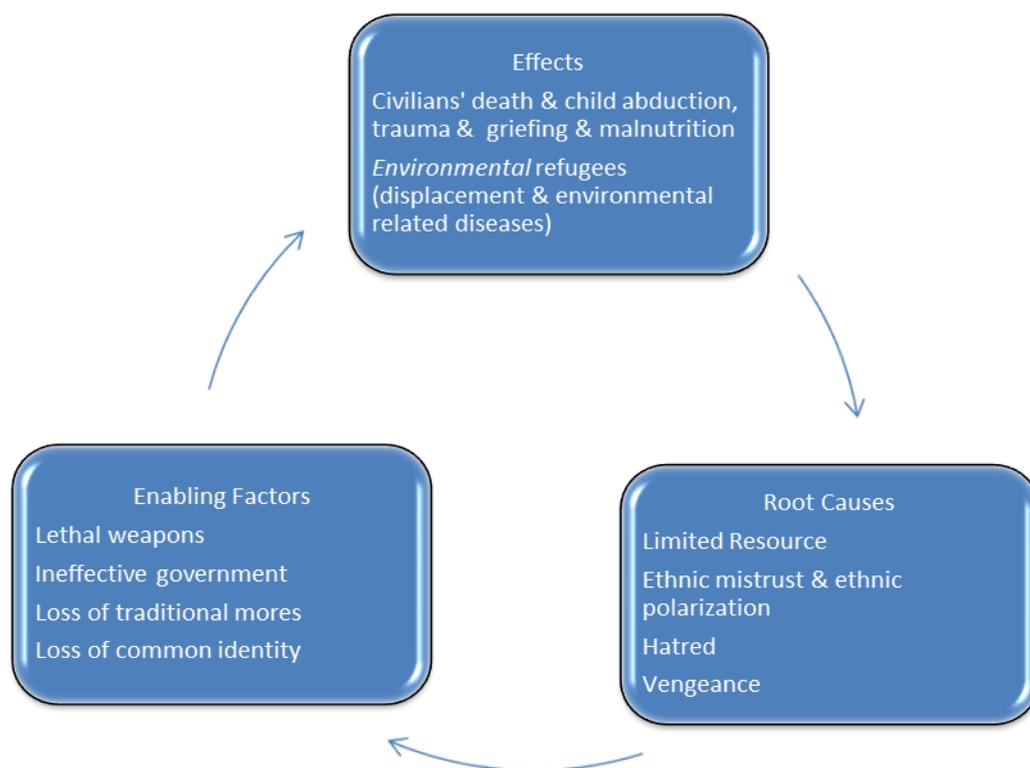
### **Positive development**

Of the 18 members observed, nobody publicly said they hate other tribes. Although, some people during the discussion had harsh words for each other, participants did everything possible to hide their hatred of each other. Researcher interpreted that behavior as both tragic and a potential opportunity to jumpstart conflict resolution. In the context of conflict resolution, it is tragic to conceal conflict positions or feelings, because that would mean avoiding the problem. And that is the last thing that needs to happen with respect to cattle rustling problems among these communities. On the positive side, for the most part, research participants did portray cattle rustling as a shared problem, which is a constructive view that needs to be emphasized if people are to work toward tackling the problem of cattle rustling.

Admittedly, it is naive to suggest that the relationship among these communities is perfect. However, it is encouraging to tap into this reservoir of good will should the goal be to nurture grassroots conflict resolution initiatives. It is not a mere suggestion to do so. There have been several peace attempts that once brought these hostile communities together. In 1999 for example, New Sudan Council of Churches (NSCC) in collaboration with Dinka and Nuer community leaders convened a peace and reconciliation conference that stopped hostility between the Nuer and the Dinka (Vick, 1999). Known as Wunlit Peace Conference was so

successful that it temporarily brought almost a decade conflict between Dinka and Nuer to a halt. If the views expressed by the interviewees were representative of the rest of the communities, then, finding a lasting solution to the problem of cattle rustling rests on nurturing a grass root campaign.

### Theoretical interpretation of common themes



*Figure 1.* Theoretical interpretation of common themes

The question might be asked, how are these themes related? At the center of most intergroup conflicts are the root causes of the conflict, which often vary and are true in the case of Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle. That being said, the competition over resources among these communities plays a major role in the conflict. As discussed throughout this study, these communities live next to each other and compete over water and land use. In the process,

competition turns into disagreement, and eventually into fighting. Because of the animosity created by the squabbling over land and water use, Dinka Bor, Nuer and Murle have all developed hatred of each other, which very often builds up, becoming an attitude held permanently by the whole tribe (ethnic hatred).

Furthermore, the poverty that plagues these tribes, often forces individuals to carry out cattle raids against their neighbors. In the process, this usually prompts the attacked tribe to launch a retaliatory attack against the aggressor. This back and forth attack and counterattack creates a cycle of violence. Making the matter worse, lack of effective government across the state and at the national level creates a security vacuum that these communities exploit. In addition, because these communities have over the years lost common identity that once held them together; members of these tribes no longer see themselves as one people. Furthermore, the erosion of traditional customs and mores has made traditional institutions and leadership irrelevant. In other words, institutions that were once instrumental in safeguarding peace and security among these tribes have lost their effectiveness.

Polarization of these communities combined with the loss of common identity, causes these communities, frankly, to see one another as enemies. As such, when conflict breaks out, none would hold back from inflicting maximum destruction. Unfortunately, with the availability of lethal firearms, cattle rustling has become more frequent and deadly. More civilians are getting killed and more cattle are being stolen, especially from communities who are not well armed. In a state and a country where central government is almost collapsing, anyone with a gun sees himself as invincible, a view that some research participants echoed during the interview. Until these communities are disarmed, lack of clear government policies on security is

going to force many communities to arm themselves, which could eventually lead to more civilians confrontations, death, property destruction, and displacement of the vulnerable people.

Finally, the recent climate changes in the region particularly frequent rain and long drought seasons, present another aspect of cattle rustling that people rarely talk about. In the last few years, drought and flood have forced many communities (environmental refugees) to leave their homelands for areas where climate is favorable. When these communities venture into other territories, they are usually prevented from resettling into other tribes' territories. Even worse, when confrontations do happen, they result in civilians deaths and destruction of property. It is suggested that national and state authorities invest in policies and programs like reforestation and environmental education, especially among local communities where people still view droughts and floods as an act of god's punishment.

### **Research applicability to practitioners, mediators, peace educators, policy makers and nongovernmental organizations**

The Dinka, Nuer, and Murle have a very complex relationship that must be understood to resolve cattle rustling in Jonglei state. Through this research, the study focus has been to explore and understand the effects of the problem. As such, this section addresses five ways this study can be applied by different scholars, academicians, and policy makers, among others. First, this study has delineated the root causes of cattle rustling, enabling factors, and where each community stands when it comes to who instigates cattle rustling among the communities affected. For practitioners specialized in conflict resolution (resolutionists), this study provides them with broader understanding of the communities, and the scope of the problem as to what these communities are fighting about. Armed with this knowledge, practitioners who read this study would have much insight and awareness of these communities, which could be helpful

especially among those interested in mediating the disputants. Not only that, the study provides practitioners interested in mediation and problem-solving with a readily available framework that they can use to initiate their intervention with a sense of confidence regardless of their prior encounter with these communities.

Second, the toxicity of the conflict among these communities has badly severed tribal relationships and would require peace education. In this study, peace education is defined in the context of promoting peaceful cohabitation and coexistence, social awareness, and social justice. In this respect, the study provides peace educators with primary materials that help them understand what the problem is and what needs to be done to promote peace among these communities. In the past, local peace educators and social advocates have made some attempts to propagate peace among these communities. For instance, holding peace rallies and peace workshops in the counties, intergroup dialogue, and through peace journalism (media highlighting what is good about Dinka, Nuer and Murle). Given the relative success of past peace attempts in Jonglei state, this study adds a layer of knowledge to those individuals interested in understanding cultural, socio-economic, and socio-political aspects of cattle rustling in Jonglei state and who might be interested in mounting or sponsoring a robust peace initiative to resolve the problem of cattle rustling. Because the cattle rustling problem has been overshadowed by the current civil war in South Sudan, this study hopes to intrigue peace educators' curiosity to read and write more about cattle rustling – in order to bring this hidden conflict to forefront of the news. Furthermore, everything that media knows and said about cattle rustling in Jonglei state has been negative. However, in a country that lacks independent media, the way information has been disseminated has exacerbated the conflict. As such information presented in this study highlighted what the researcher called '*positive developments*'.

Understanding these positive developments is an area where peace journalists come in. It is the researcher's belief that peace journalists would find information that would inform them to gravitate away from disseminating bad news but instead start disseminating positive news or things that nurture peace among the affected communities.

Third, it is no secret the government of South Sudan has done little to resolve the problem of cattle rustling. Immediately after independence, South Sudan got entangled in a civil war with various rebellions springing up. This means, the government has been focusing much attention and resources on quelling rebellions, which left other pressing issues, like cattle rustling, unattended. Consequentially, enacting laws or policy assessments regarding cattle rustling are matters that have been ignored or not properly addressed except for disarmament exercises which turned out disastrously. In this study, the researcher delineated the causes and effects of the conflict as well as providing recommendations aimed at policymakers regarding mitigating policies to address the problem of cattle rustling. For policymakers operating at the national and state levels who have focused so much on the policy of disarmament for the last 10 years, this study provides another way through which policy makers can explore alternative ways to approach and perhaps resolve the problem of cattle rustling among the affected communities.

Fourth, since cattle rustling became a problem in Jonglei state, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been quick to intervene. For nearly a decade now, NGOs like Catholic Relief Services (CRS), Doctors Without Borders, Christian Solidarity, United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), World Food Program (WFP), and many others have made tremendous efforts to provide shelter, medical care, food assistance, and educational programs to thousands of people displaced by cattle rustling. Although providing these services and programs has saved lives, such approaches

wouldn't contribute to finding final and lasting solutions to the problem. In reality, these organizations lacked basic understanding of cattle rustling. This study fills that knowledge gap. By delineating the root causes and effects of the cattle rustling, as well as where each community stands with respect to cattle rustling, a wealth of knowledge is put at the disposal of these non-governmental organizations which can help them in rethinking their approach to tackling the cattle rustling problem. Should these organizations act on the recommendations provided by this study, it is possible that these organizations would invest more in long term sustainable programs like agriculture, building schools, intertribal dialogues, peace education and working hand in hand with national government to build secure infrastructures, e.g. training civilian police, training local judges, and establishing vocational training programs for the idle youth. All these potential remedies are essential and would contribute to finding a lasting solution to the problem of cattle rustling in Jonglei state.

Finally, South Sudan is a young country with little available academic literature. Therefore, this study provides a general knowledge that is suitable to academic setting. Academics of all stripes can draw knowledge from this study which they can use for instruction and analysis especially, in the area of an ethnic conflict study.

## Chapter Six: Conclusion

### **Summary of research**

This study sought to elucidate the impacts of cattle rustling among the three communities in the Jonglei state, South Sudan. Through the analysis process, the researcher divided the responses to establish numerous subthemes which were of substantial importance and significance to the research. From the findings of the research and review of the existing literature, it was evident that cattle rustling is a rapidly growing challenge in South Sudan that needs timely strategies to curtail its proliferation. Cattle rustling has not only had impact on people in the communities involved; it has also led to massive negative impacts on the economy and stability of South Sudan as a nation. The research also depicted that, even though there have been numerous attempts by the international community to enhance a peaceful coexistence of the three communities involved in cattle raids, it has proven to be a daunting challenge to eliminate the crime from the country.

As discovered through the research, the main reasons or factors that trigger cattle rustling among the three communities in Jonglei state include: natural disasters such as drought and flood conditions; political figures motivated only by their own self-serving gains; the lack of stable governance; the lack of trust among the people of South Sudan that the existing government will provide them and their cattle with security; high rates of illiteracy; poverty; and most important of all, over reliance on cattle as the only source of livelihood for the people from the three communities. The high proliferation of cheap weapons such as fire arms was also cited among the main reasons behind the increased number of deaths during the cattle raids. The conflicts were identified to primarily involve three communities in the Jonglei state including the Dinka Bor, the Lou Nuer and Murle communities.

The results of the research study established that cattle rustling has substantial and significant impacts on the communities involved, as well as on the entire nation of South Sudan. Notable was that the impacts of historical cattle raid activities among the communities had not been as dangerous as the impacts of heavily armed cattle rustling activities today. Though cattle rustling dates back to the historical times, the historical cattle raids were much “friendlier” and could be easily resolved by the elders and leaders of the involved communities. The main impacts of the cattle rustling in the historical times included the loss of cattle, with minimal human fatalities during the cattle raids. However, as detailed by the respondents in the research, cattle rustling and raid activities have become more dangerous to the communities involved, to their neighbors, and to the nation in general. Some of these impacts include: increased poverty caused by theft and destruction of property; loss of lives during the raids from both the raiding group and the victims of the raids; increased prevalence of cattle raids and revenge killings; and destruction of the social order and relationships between communities in the country.

From the researcher’s understanding through this research, there are numerous causes and factors that instigate cattle rustling in the Jonglei state in South Sudan. Although, cattle rustling in South Sudan was mainly carried out among the Dinka, the Murle and the Nuer communities in Jonglei state, the commercialization of cattle rustling has made cattle rustling a lucrative venture even among other groups of people in South Sudan, as well as other countries such as Kenya which have pastoral communities. However, among the many causes of cattle rustling, the main ones included the lack of a stable national and local government; the high rate of illiteracy among the people in the three communities in South Sudan; the high reliance of the people from the three communities on cattle as the main source of livelihood; and the role of cattle as indicators of wealth and social position for the people from the three communities.

Another key factor behind the prevalence of cattle rustling among the communities in Jonglei state is the influence of the political leaders. The political leaders in South Sudan have been using the organized cattle raid groups to cause disruptions in the country as a way to demonstrate the ineffectiveness of the newly established government. With the high amounts of riches that they have accumulated over time, they supply the cattle raiders with dangerous weapons such as guns for the cattle raids. As it emerged during the analysis process, the cattle rustling and conflict activities in Jonglei require only a specified origin and after that, the cycle continuously repeats itself. Once the Dinka attack the Nuer, the Nuer then conduct a counter attack and the cycle continues. While there may need to be a particular reason to begin the conflicts, the cycle of violence continues as a form of vengeance for the deaths of people and to regain the herds of cattle that were stolen during the original raid.

As noted in the above analysis, there has been a major shift in the way cattle raids are conducted. The cycle that have been evident since 2009 has changed from being small scale cattle rustling to being professional and better organized, large scale cattle rustling. As has been noted, the lack of a stable government in South Sudan has been a key factor in encouraging the people from the three communities to form organized cattle raiding groups, acquire weapons from the neighboring countries and conduct massive, lethal raids. The commercialization of the cattle rustling business is one of the major reasons behind the increased frequency and intensity of the cattle raids. Limited or lacking education has made it difficult for the youth from the three communities to secure jobs in the employment sector. Thus their only source of livelihood is to conduct cattle raids. The increased bride-price has also been a major factor that has encouraged the youths to engage in cattle raids. The major and most impactful solutions, as seen from the analysis, are the formation and strengthening of both the national and the local government,

enhanced education of the public, increased efforts by the government to persuade the people to surrender their weapons, and campaigns by both the political and communal leaders for a peaceful coexistence.

### **Recommendations for action**

Cattle rustling in South Sudan has been a significant source of conflicts for decades, if not centuries. In the three main communities involved in the conflicts in the Jonglei state, cattle are a symbol of social standing and wealth and often used in cultural practices as well as in marriage ceremonies. In the Jonglei state and among the three rival communities, the successful acts of cattle raiding demonstrate a rite of passage for the male child from adolescence to adulthood. The importance and significance of cattle among the three communities has placed the people from these communities at the center of confrontations and conflicts. The discussion showed that the pastoralist migration from one region to another in Jonglei state is driven by the climatic conditions of the area which determine the availability of cattle feeds and water. During the dry seasons, the communities that live in the more drought-stricken areas herd their cattle towards the areas that have abundant pasture and water. As a result, communities with a history of tough relationships with each other are brought to a closer proximity leading to significant confrontations and conflicts over resources. To reduce ethnic confrontation around water and pastures areas, these communities need to be enlightened and educated about environmental impacts. Without better understanding of the role of environmental changes, these communities wouldn't understand why other communities are constantly migrating to their territories. Not only that, there is a need to introduce these communities to ways of life better suited to the changing climate of the region. As discussed earlier, dependence solely on cattle keeping is no longer life sustaining in most areas. Nonetheless, if cattle keeping is to remain a primary source

of livelihood among these communities, there is a need to introduce drought and flood resistant breeds of cattle so that drought or flood bring less disruption to people's lives.

With the proliferation of semi-automatic weapons and the organization of cattle raid gangs, cattle rustling has developed over time to what can be described today as the pastoral war. If not controlled, cattle rustling may spread not only throughout South Sudan but also to the neighboring countries. Although the East African countries have been very active and prominently present in the regional as well as the international initiatives on conflict resolution, it has become apparent that these countries have made little progress in controlling trade of illegal arms among the citizens of the countries. The lack of policies to regulate trade of fire arms have allowed the significant proliferation of firearms in the countries, and thus the massive cattle rustling. As was noted under the discussion section, fire arms have become very cheap and easy to obtain in the region. This can be seen from attack of the Turkana cattle rustlers on the Kenya police unit in Baragoi and against the Karamojong in Northern Uganda both which showed how cattle rustling is becoming a regional problem.

In light of these facts, disarmament of the people from the communities is the first step that needs to be implemented in order to reduce the impacts of the conflicts. However, coercive methods of disarmament may not be practical and may not produce long term solutions to the issue, as locals from the three communities feel they must keep their firearms to protect themselves, since the government isn't protecting them. In the immediate terms, coercive methods of disarmament may lead to some people willingly surrendering the fire arms. However, contrary to the expectation, this will be in trickles, due to the amount of capital that the South Sudan government wishes to invest in the operation. As one of the main solutions to cattle rustling among the three communities in the Jonglei state, the national government needs to

clearly demarcate the land in Jonglei and establish formally recognized boundaries between the areas allocated to each of the communities. This will end the land ownership ambiguity that has existed since historical times about the area allocated to each community and which has been a major cause of conflicts between the communities. It is important to note that the three communities mainly involved in the conflicts occupy neighboring areas making it easy to access each other's territories.

Moreover, as it has been seen from other East African countries, in response to commencement of military operations, people avoid the confrontations by simply crossing through the porous boundaries to their relatives and friends until it is safe enough to return. Another method would be for the government to purchase the fire arms from the people. However, this is dangerous and could lead to increased proliferation. For instance, people will view this as a source of business and thus there will be an expected increase in the supply of guns in the country. As such, without the identification, neutralization, and arrest of illegal gun runners in the country, the collective disarmament of any ethnic community in South Sudan and neighboring countries will be an impossible mission.

However, though some of the methods that can be effective may not be practical in the region; there are other methods, peaceful in nature, which could substantially be applied in ending the conflicts and confrontations in the state. One of the requirements is the strengthening of the local authorities. As was previously explained, the people of Jonglei region do not view the government as being capable of providing them with enough security. The lack of a stable government was cited as one of the main reasons for both the proliferation of illegal arms in the country, as well as the increased cases of cattle rustling and raiding. Historically, cattle raiding occurred but was not excessive and destructive as the direction it takes today—the elders in the

communities ensured that the people always stayed at peace even after the raids. There was minimal loss of lives and the cattle stolen during the raids were used mainly for cultural activities such as payment of dowry and as a show of wealth. However, rustling has taken a different form today in which cattle are stolen on a large scale and used for business purposes. Only a stable government could efficiently and effectively work towards reducing the cases of cattle rustling and controlling cattle business in the country.

The current economic standard for most of the people in Jonglei state is wanting and this is among the main factors triggering the issue of cattle rustling. The occurrence of famine, drought and other natural disasters leads to increased cases of cattle rustling with communities seeking to find food for themselves and their families. Education is also critical for the reduction of cattle rustling activities among the people in the three communities. Due to the lack of education, most of the young men and women from the communities do not have credentials and the required expertise needed to get employment in the formal sector. As such, most of the community members depend on the traditional methods of acquiring food and wealth. To them, a cattle raid is considered as the main form of acquiring wealth and so, people would do anything, even kill, to acquire cattle. The newly established government of South Sudan should work to ensure the establishment of organizations and companies that can provide employment opportunities for the trained and educated youths.

Cattle rustling has become a national crisis in South Sudan and has gradually become a major source of political instability and a major inhibitor to South Sudan's social and economic development. It is important to note that though cattle is a major asset as perceived by the people from the three main communities, the diversification of the economies of these communities is significantly essential to mitigate the existing conflicts among the communities. Another solution

could be to work hand in hand with the leaders of the cattle raid groups. Since they have already established trust among their followers, it will be easy for them to convince their followers to surrender their weapons in exchange for vocational training and job offers through government sponsored employment programs. As was discussed above, cattle rustling in Jonglei state cannot be efficiently and effectively solved by using force. The leaders of the three communities involved in the conflicts can also play significant roles in ensuring that peace is maintained in the country and that those in possession of weapons have surrendered their weapons peacefully.

Finally, the international community and non-governmental organizations should have a key role or responsibility in restoring peace in the Jonglei state. South Sudan has only recently established a new government, which may not yet be effective or efficient enough to restore a peaceful coexistence of the people in Jonglei within the time required. It was also established that the main triggers of conflicts and fights among the people of Jonglei include pastures and water sources for their cattle. This is primarily because cattle are the source of livelihood for most of the people in the region. The establishment of other sources of livelihood could substantially reduce these types of conflict. The international community and the non-governmental organizations need to work hand in hand with the national government to establish schools and institutions in the country. The government should also focus on the provision of an alternative education to the people in the region with the objective of improving the literacy level of the people in the region and thus shift their focus away from cattle as their main source of livelihood.

### **Recommendations for future research**

As was previously discussed, there exists very little information about the cattle rustling in South Sudan. Researchers and scholars have concentrated primarily on the other countries

around South Sudan, with only a few conducting research on South Sudan. As such, there is much more to be discovered and disclosed on the issue of cattle rustling in South Sudan. As this research, has clearly demonstrated, cattle rustling demands immediate attention not only from the government of South Sudan but also from the entire international community. With the formation of the national government, there was the hope that the national government would effectively and efficiently deal with the challenge. However, since the establishment of the government, cattle rustling seems to have increased both in prevalence and in their impacts. This study focused mainly on the causes and impacts of the cattle rustling on the people of the communities involved.

Further research on this subject of study could replicate this research in different groups of people in South Sudan. For instance, to achieve a better understanding on the reasons why particular groups of people start conflicts, research similar to this study would need to concentrate and focus on one group of people at a time. Such a research would contribute to understanding the cultural practices of the Nuer, the Murle and the Dinka communities and the aspects of these cultural practices that lead the communities into war. A good understanding of the communities would result in significant information that could be substantially important in devising techniques and the mechanisms for use in mitigating the issues of cattle rustling and inter-tribal conflicts among the people.

During the research, the research's participants mentioned numerous factors that have been significantly important in instigating cattle rustling. One of the factors that was mentioned by numerous respondents and echoed by other scholars was the politicization of the cattle raid activities. The respondents mentioned that top political leaders do encourage cattle rustling activities for their own political advantages. Research needs to be conducted towards

understanding the actual roles played by the political leaders in the cattle rustling activities and why they participate in encouraging such activities. Another issue that was raised during the research was that the lack of trust of the citizens on the ability of the national government also plays a significant role in driving the communities into conflicts with each other. Research needs to be conducted towards establishing the actual trust levels of the people of South Sudan in the ability of the national government to providing them and their property with security against raiders.

Finally, more research needs to be conducted to understand and establish the effectiveness of the many techniques and policies that have been enacted to ensure peace in the Jonglei state. As was discussed, both the newly established South Sudan national government and the international communities have implemented many mechanisms to mitigate cattle rustling among the communities. However, despite this, conflicts between the communities continue to be prevalent and more destructive.

### **Limitations of research**

Realistically, limitations are sometimes unavoidable in most research studies. One of the main limitations in this research study was the size of sample that was used in the data collection process. Ideally, a large number of interviewees provide more reliable data with regard to the particular topic of investigation. A large sample size for the research provides for a better generalization of the population under investigation than a small sample size. More so, obtaining a large population for research would have better represented the large population of individuals from South Sudan, and who may have participated or have been victims of the ethnic clashes that have affected the Jonglei state over a significant amount of time.

The sample of interviewees in this research was selected based on the recommendations of the research conducted by Marshall, Cardon, Poddar and Fontenot (2013) on the correct sample size for a research study. Based on their research, rigor in sample determination is critical for qualitative research to achieve a wide acceptance among readers and scholars. As such, they recommended a sample size of between 20 and 30 interviewees or participants. However, though this may be significantly sufficient for most research studies, the larger the population under investigation, the larger should be the sample size. The small sample used in this research is one of the main limitations of the research. However, the participants in the research provided the researcher with adequate and appropriate information as required by the research study.

Similarly, the sampling method applied by the research provided a level of bias with regard to the sources of information in this research study. The researcher, as indicated in the research study, employed the application of purposeful sampling strategy to select the sample participants in this research study. Purposeful sampling strategy provides the researcher the opportunity to subjectively judge the participants in the research study for the purpose of determining the right and most appropriate participants for the research. As such, the purposely sampling technique provides the researchers with all the powers to judge the suitability of a specific research participant for the study. According to Palinkas et al (2013), purposeful sampling is the most widely used sampling technique in qualitative researches and this is due to its advantages in the provision of participants that are rich in information or data. Although this is important in most research studies and could work to enhance the reliability of the research, it is also a limitation to the research as it might introduce bias in the data collection.

Also, due to the limitations of cost in the research study, the researcher focused on interviewing individuals from South Sudan and who were living or studying in Bortown, Jonglei

state. Although these people may have substantially significant information with regard to the issue of cattle rustling in Jonglei state, they may not particularly be aware of the real-time activities happening in their respective villages. It's possible that the interviewed individuals primarily could have only relied on the information and awareness that they had before they moved from their corresponding villages. A similar research study, conducted from Jonglei state, South Sudan, and bringing together research respondents from the three communities in the village could assist significantly to provide detailed and up to date information about the topic of investigation.

Finally, during the collection and review of existing literature on the subject of discussion, the researcher noted that very little research exists on the area of discussion. The availability of previous research work by different authors and scholars enables one to form a basis for the research and enables the laying down of a foundation for understanding the specific research topic under investigation. For this particular research, it was difficult to find previous research with similar scope and topic as the present study.

### **Contribution of the research**

The results obtained by this research have significant applications. First, the review of literature showed that there are substantially few researchers and scholars who have conducted any research on the topic under investigation. Despite South Sudan being the center of the cattle rustling activities in the East African region, researchers have not conducted substantial research towards establishing the main causes of the conflicts in South Sudan. Other than providing many answers on the questions about the disturbing issue of cattle rustling, this research adds to the database of knowledge and literature on the causes and impacts of cattle rustling in South Sudan.

Secondly, South Sudan is a newly established country after acquiring its independence from the North Sudan's government. As such, the entire world is eyeing the country through its development as the international community has invested significantly towards ensuring that the country stands not only as a fully-fledged country, but also as a peaceful country. However, despite the heavy investment of the international community in terms of man power and finances, very little has been achieved. Conflicts in the country are among the main factors that have played a significant role to inhibit the successful operations of the government. The results of this research are significant and equally important to both the newly established government of national unity, as well as to the international community. Understanding the actual causes of conflicts is essential in the development of strategies and means of ensuring a peaceful coexistence among the people of South Sudan of which this study contributed to that end.

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## Appendix A: Consent Letter

**Nova Southeastern University**

I am a student pursuing a PhD in College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences, Department of Conflict and Resolution at Nova Southeastern University. I am carrying out research on effects of cattle rustling among three communities (Dinka, Murle and Nuer) in Jonglei, South Sudan. You have been chosen to be among the participants for the study. I am requesting you to spare me some time to be included as a participant for the interview. Please note the information you will provide will be used for academic purposes and it will be regarded with total confidentiality.

**Instructions**

Kindly respond to this letter such that I can begin the process of including you as a participant for the interview.

Sincerely,

Phillip Manyok

September 10, 2015

## Appendix B: Interview Questions



## Nova Southeastern University

**Before we start, answer the first question:**

- a) Your age: \_\_\_\_\_
- b) Ethnicity: \_\_\_\_\_
- c) Education level: \_\_\_\_\_
  - i. Primary certificate
  - ii. Secondary certificate
  - iii. College degree
  - iv. Graduate degree
  - v. Vocational training
- d) Marriage status:
  - i. Single
  - ii. Married
  - iii. Divorce
  - iv. Widow
- e) What your primary source of livelihood?
  - i. Pastoralism
  - ii. Farming
  - iii. Other

1. Who in particular is instigating cattle rustling?

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2. What enables the participation of these actors?

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3. How can people and communities approach this problem of cattle rustling?

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4. What have been and what are the impacts of cattle raiding conflicts on the affected communities?

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5. Where do cattle rustling commonly occur?

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6. Discuss if you would, what factors contribute to cattle rustling:

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7. Discuss if you would, what Dinka, Nuer and Murle relationship was like before civil war before civil war:

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8. Why frequency and intensity of cattle raiding is on the rise?

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9. Discuss if you would, what Dinka, Nuer and Murle relationship was like before the coming of the British to Sudan:

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10. How can the problem of cattle rustling be resolved?

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## Appendix C: Consent Form

**Nova Southeastern University****Adult Consent Form for Research Study Entitled: Cattle Rustling and Its Effects among three communities, Dinka, Murle and Nuer in Jonglei State, South Sudan.**

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For questions/concerns about your  
research rights, Contact:

Human Research Oversight Board  
(Institutional Review Board or IRB)  
Nova Southeastern University  
(954) 262-5369/Toll Free: 866-499-0790  
[IRB@nsu.nova.edu](mailto:IRB@nsu.nova.edu)

## **Research Site: Jonglei state, South Sudan**

**Section A:** What is this study about? Why are you asking me? What will I be doing if I agree to be in the study?

This study is about the effects of cattle rustling among three communities, Dinka, Murle and Nuer, in Jonglei state. The goal is to explore the changing context of cattle rustling and understand how cattle raiding in Jonglei state have affected civilians' lives.

I recognize that you will be a great resource and a volunteer to my study. I will be dedicated to conduct interviews with an open mind and would like to have you as a participant in this study.

The interviews will be done in two phases. The first interview will last about 30 minute. The second interview will last for 60 minutes, and will be later followed by an open consultation in which you are to confirm or disaffirm certain emerged meanings. I will ask questions, but your responses are voluntary. You will choose to disclose answers that you are comfortable sharing with me. If you at any point feel uncomfortable, you have the right to let me know. If you feel like you cannot continue the interview under any circumstance, you have the right to end it without repercussion. If there is any information that you want off the record, I will honor your expressed wish to keep it off the record.

## **Section B: Audio or video recording**

As far as audio or video recording, I am planning to audio-tape the interview. I also plan to take notes of what is said during the interviews. If you are personally planning to record the interview for your own use, I consent to it.

As far as the notes that I will take and audio taped records, they will be accessible to me and the degree program granting institution upon request. I plan to keep the notes only for the duration of my study. Once I have finished my research and presented it to the degree granting institution, I will destroy the notes.

## **Section C: Statement of risks**

I am aware that all research studies involve risks. However, this research carries minimal risk to the participants. What might emerge as risks in this study may involve personal identity

disclosure or psychological/emotional flashbacks that could emerge as a result of the participant retelling the story which might cause one to re-live the experience. If you have further concerns about your rights as a participant, feel free to ask me for more explanations or you can contact Nova Southeastern University to get more information about your participation rights.

#### **Section D: Benefits**

This research or its final product does not have any direct financial benefits to the participants. However, participants have the benefit of sharing their experiences with others and learning from each other.

#### **Section E: Confidentiality**

All information obtained in this interview/research is strictly confidential unless law warrants their disclosure or unless a participant clearly stated to disclose certain information. You are also entitled to have a copy of this consent form and it will be furnished to you for your records. For your protection, pseudonym names will be used to represent your real names unless you personally agree to the use of your legal names in the research.

#### **Section F: What if I don't want to continue participation?**

These interviews are voluntary. You choose to participate or not to participate. You can withdraw your intent to participate in the interview without any reprisal. If you decide to end your participation in the middle of the interview, you have the right to let the researcher know whether you want part of your information/data already collected to be included in the research. If you decide that your information should not be incorporated in the research this researcher will honor your decision. If you decide that data obtained from you should be used in the research, only then, will such data be incorporated into this research.

#### **Section G: Consenting Signature**

By signing this consent form, you clearly indicate that:

- Information about this research has been explained to you.
- You have read this consent form and its contents and understood it.

- Questions about interview/research have been well explained to you.
- You have been told that if you have questions about the research, you have the right to contact Nova Southeastern University for further information about your rights as a participant.
- You received a copy of this consent form for your record and that it is written in a language you understand.
- You understand the research topic and have willingly agreed to participate in research titled, “Cattle Rustling and Its Effects among Three Communities, (Dinka, Murle and Nuer) in Jonglei State, South Sudan.”

Participant's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: --/--/----

Participant's Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: --/--/----

Signature of the person obtaining consent form:

\_\_\_\_\_

Date: --/--/-----

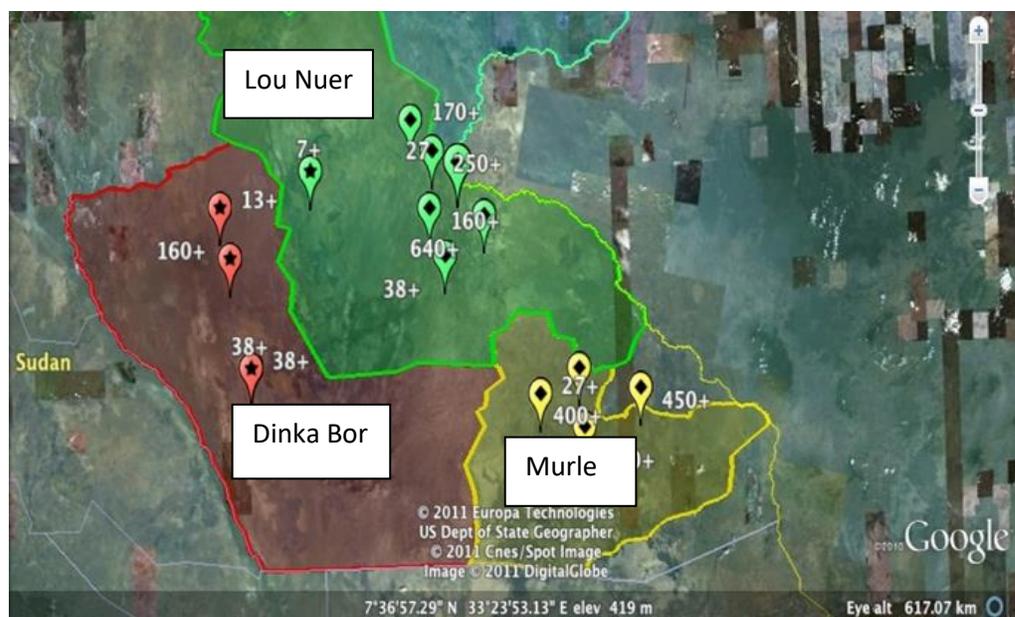
Appendix D: Maps



Nova Southeastern University



Figure 2. Republic of South Sudan Note. Source, United Nations



*Figure 3. Jonglei conflict map Note. Source, Europa Technologies/US Dept. of State Geographer (2011)*

Table 1

*Jonglei's major cattle raids between 2009 and 2012*

<b>Date of the Attack</b>	<b>Attacking Tribe</b>	<b>Victim Tribe</b>	<b>Attack Location</b>	<b>Estimated Death Number</b>	<b>Estimated Cattle raided</b>
<b>May, 2007</b>	Lou Nuer	Dinka	Duk	N/A	20,000
<b>Jan, 2009</b>	Murle	Lou Nuer	Akobo	300	N/A
<b>Feb, 2009</b>	Murle	Lou Nuer	Akobo	250	N/A
<b>March, 2009</b>	Lou Nuer	Murle	Pibor & Likuangole	450	600
<b>August, 2009</b>	Lou Nuer	Dinka Bor	Wernyol & Panyagoor	42	NA
<b>Sept, 2009</b>	Lou Nuer	Dinka Bor	Duk Padiet	167	N/A
<b>Feb, 2011</b>	Murle	Lou Nuer	Uror	8 including three Nuer chiefs	1,000
<b>April, 2011</b>	Lou Nuer	Murle	Likuangole & Pibor	200	138,000
<b>June, 2011</b>	Lou Nuer	Murle	Gumurruk, Likuangole & Pibor	400	398,000
<b>August, 2011</b>	Murle	Lou Nuer	Pieri and Uror	750	38,000
<b>December, 2011</b>	Murle	Dinka Bor	Jalle	42	N/A
<b>Dec- 2011- Jan 2012</b>	Lou Nuer	Murle	Likuangole & Pibor	1,000	100,000
<b>Jan, 2012</b>	Murle	Dinka Bor	Duk	47	200
<b>Feb, 2012</b>	Dinka Bor	Murle	Bor	9	N/A
<b>Mar 2, 2012</b>	Murle	Lou Nuer	Nyrol	15	15,000

*Note.* Source, South Sudan News Agency