



**SOCIAL NORMS AND BARRIERS ANALYSIS FOR
(AGRO)PASTORALIST WOMEN AND GIRLS IN JONGLEI
AND EASTERN EQUATORIA, SOUTH SUDAN:
TRENDS OF CHANGE IN A TURBULENT CONTEXT?**

Holly A Ritchie, CARE Consultant
Nairobi, Dec 2017, Final version

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The practical research for this report was a collaborative effort by committed and hard-working research teams at CARE Sudan in Jonglei (Twic East) and Eastern Equatoria (Torit). The findings are testament to their excellent meetings, write up and oral contributions. I would like to give special thanks to Mawa Seme and to Sylvia Kaawe for their smooth organization of the field research including logistics and local coordination. Finally, I would also like to thank Valentina Mirza for her overall support in the preparation and finalisation of the assignment.

Disclaimer: The presentation of material in this document does not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of CARE South Sudan.

CONTENTS

ACRONYMS AND NOTES.....	IV
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	V
I INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF REPORT	1
1.1 FOCUS AND OBJECTIVE OF REPORT	2
1.2 RESEARCH METHODS AND GEOGRAPHICAL FOCUS.....	3
1.3 STRUCTURE OF REPORT	5
II PASTORALISM AND GENDER IN EAST AFRICA AND SOUTH SUDAN	7
2.1 PASTORALISM IN EAST AFRICA, AND SOUTH SUDAN	7
2.2 PASTORALIST SOCIETY AND GENDER	8
2.3 RESEARCH CONTEXTS: JONGLEI AND EASTERN EQUATORIA IN SOUTH SUDAN	8
III KEY FINDINGS: SOCIAL NORMS AND BARRIERS FOR PASTORALIST WOMEN AND GIRLS IN JONGLEI (TWIC EAST) AND EASTERN EQUATORIA (TORIT)	10
3.1 BRIEF OVERVIEW OF TARGET VILLAGES IN JONGLEI AND EASTERN EQUATORIA	10
3.2 SCOPE OF PASTORALIST WOMEN AND GIRLS' NORMS AND BARRIERS (DINKA AND OTUKO GROUPS)	12
3.2.1 'HARMFUL' TRADITIONAL PRACTICES	12
3.2.2 WOMEN'S DOMESTIC WORKLOADS.....	24
3.2.3 WOMEN'S ACCESS TO/CONTROL OVER ASSETS (AND PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES)	27
3.2.4 WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING / GENDER RELATIONS.....	31
3.2.5 ACCESS AND PARTICIPATION IN BASIC SERVICES (HEALTH AND EDUCATION)	35
IV TRENDS AND ACTORS INFLUENCING PASTORALIST WOMEN AND GIRLS' NORMS IN JONGLEI (TWIC EAST/DINKA) AND EASTERN EQUATORIA (TORIT/OTUKO).....	45
4.1 GENERAL PASTORALIST TRENDS AND DYNAMICS.....	45
4.2 ROLE OF LOCAL CHANGE AGENTS / CHANGE INHIBITORS	46
4.2.1 GOVERNMENT/BASIC SERVICES: HIGH POSITIVE INFLUENCE (FOR EDUCATION)	46
4.2.2 NGOS: MEDIUM POSITIVE INFLUENCE.....	47
4.2.3 (FORMAL) RELIGIOUS GROUPS/CHURCHES: MEDIUM / MIXED INFLUENCE	48
4.2.4 FAMILIES AND CLANS: MEDIUM / MIXED INFLUENCE.....	48
4.2.5 STRONG WOMEN: MEDIUM INFLUENCE (HIGH POTENTIAL).....	49
4.2.6 ELDERS AND LOCAL LEADERS: MIXED INFLUENCE (HIGH POTENTIAL)	49
4.2.7 MEDIA: LOW INFLUENCE	50
V SYNTHESISING SCOPE OF CHANGE AND TRENDS IN PASTORALIST WOMEN AND GIRLS' NORMS (DINKA AND OTUKO)	51
5.1 PROGRESS TOWARD CHANGE: DRIVERS AND PERSISTING BARRIERS.....	51
5.1.1 PASTORALIST WOMEN AND GIRLS' NORMS THAT ARE CHANGING.....	51
5.1.2 PASTORALIST WOMEN AND GIRLS' NORMS THAT SHOW MIXED TRENDS OF CHANGE.....	50
5.1.3 WOMEN AND GIRLS' NORMS THAT INDICATE SLOWER CHANGE AND MORE RESISTANCE	53
5.2 PASTORALIST WOMEN AND GIRLS' EMPOWERMENT: ASSESSING CHANGE.....	54
5.2.1 CHANGING SCOPE OF 'AGENCY'.....	55
VI RECOMMENDATIONS AND KEY ACTION POINTS	57
6.1 FOSTERING PROCESSES OF CHANGE	57
6.2 STRATEGIES FOR ACTION IN PASTORALIST WOMEN AND GIRLS' EMPOWERMENT.....	59
REFERENCES AND FURTHER READING.....	63
APPENDIX 1: TERMS OF REFERENCE.....	67
APPENDIX 2: RESEARCH METHODS	72
APPENDIX 3: RESEARCH RESPONDENTS / RELEVANT GROUPS MET.....	75
APPENDIX 4: BACKGROUND: PASTORALISM AND GENDER IN EAST AFRICA.....	80
APPENDIX 5: GENERAL REGIONAL TRENDS AND DYNAMICS AFFECTING PASTORALISM.....	82
APPENDIX 6: AUTHOR BACKGROUND	84

ACRONYMS AND NOTES

ACRONYMS

BDS	Business Development Services
CEC	Child Education Committee
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction (committees set up to mitigate local crisis)
FHH	Households headed by females, with men absent due to divorce or death (includes widows and divorcees)
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation (or Female Genital Cutting (FGC))
NRM	Natural Resource Management
S/GBV	Sexual or Gender-Based Violence
SHG	Self Help Groups (group involved with savings and credit)
SSP	South Sudanese Pounds
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VSLA	Village or Group Savings and Loan Associations

USEFUL NOTES

Currency equivalents (Oct 2017)

Currency Unit	–	South Sudanese Pound
\$1.00	=	127

"\$" refers to US dollars.

Glossary of local terms

Fedan = 4200 m²

Katala = 4m x 50m

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Gaining independence in 2011, South Sudan stands one of the world's poorest and most war-torn countries; with extremely low socio-economic indicators. Weakened by years of war and instability, South Sudan suffers from poor governance, and renewed internal conflict (in 2013) with high numbers of displaced people. Whilst there has been some progress in (re)building basic infrastructure and social services since 2011, with earlier protracted civil war, this has remained both 'challenging and slow with inadequate numbers of schools, health centres or road networks' (CARE South Sudan 2016).

2. In this turbulent and conflict-ridden context, traditional gender norms and relations have been both magnified and strained, with women and girls left especially vulnerable, particularly related to domestic obligations and responsibilities, violence and protection. A total of 80% of the population in South Sudan live in rural areas, with livelihoods centred on livestock (cattle, sheep and goats) and agriculture. Across many of the ethnic groups in the South Sudan, there is a persisting phenomenon of '**hyper-masculinity**' amongst men, often exacerbated by the context of risk and insecurity. This is reinforcing harmful power differentials between men and women (and children), often leading to gender-based violence, and other forms of violence.

3. Pastoralism remains 'the central institution' around which South Sudanese society is primarily organized (NRC 2016). Whilst most of the population now lives off farming, economically, cattle are still a key source of assets in the rural areas. Cattle also hold strong socio-cultural value, shaping local traditions, life ceremonies, and identity. Women in East African pastoralist societies have been identified as both marginalized and vulnerable (Flintan, 2007, 2008; CARE 2009; Ritchie 2015). In South Sudan, rural women remain particularly challenged, with insecurity and conflict, as well as poor coverage and access to services (health and education).

4. This report aimed to capture both qualitative as well as quantitative dynamics of current change in pastoralist girls' and women's social norms, customs and practices in Jonglei (Dinka communities) and East Eastern Equatoria (Otuko communities) regions in South Sudan, adding insights to research in Ethiopia (Ritchie 2015), Kenya (Ritchie 2016) and Somaliland (Ritchie 2017). In adopting an innovative 'institutional analysis' approach¹, the research highlights the scope of evolving norms, persisting social barriers, and emerging new opportunities for pastoralist women and girls. It also provides a deeper appreciation of the influence of local actors in processes of change (and local attitudes and perceptions) against the backdrop of broader social, political and environmental trends. The research sought to generate a 'rapid social snapshot' that remained imprecise numerically, but focused on illuminating trends of change at the village level and beyond, and perspectives across different groups.

5. The scope of the South Sudan study covers selected (agro)pastoral communities from CARE operational areas in Jonglei (Twic East) and Eastern Equatoria (Torit). Using qualitative research tools, the practical research gathered specific information at both district and village level, with selected quantitative indicators collected to gauge 'change and range' in norms (with change assessed over the past 7-10 years). In total, the research drew on over 300 respondents, including adolescent girls, women and men (local leaders and community members), government representatives and NGO staff. Limitations included the thematic scope of the study (only selected norms were researched); the geographical area covered (Jonglei (Twic East) and Eastern Equatoria (Torit county)), and a total of 9 *bomas* across 6 *payams*); and the locally specific and chaotic nature of local norms.

¹ This is drawn from the social sciences on institutional change (particularly related to informal institutions such as norms), and incorporates the interaction of structure and agency.

6. Chapter II briefly elaborates on trends in pastoralism in East Africa, the local context of South Sudan, and pastoralist society and culture. This chapter emphasizes the environmental and social fragility of pastoralism in East Africa, with women and girls facing notable vulnerability. The regions of Jonglei and Eastern Equatoria pose significant challenges for evolving ‘pastoralist’ communities, with local and regional conflict (inter ethnic fighting, and local militias), poor coverage and quality of basic services, and rising populations. Looking closer at cultural dynamics, pastoralist societies typically have elaborate patriarchal social institutions that shape women and girls’ social norms and barriers. These institutions/norms include women and girls’ limited participation in household and community decision-making (and conflict resolution); their limited control over productive assets and resources (e.g. land and livestock); their high domestic responsibilities in collecting firewood and water; and their limited access to basic services (health and education). Women and girls may also be subjected to harmful traditional practices, including arranged/early marriage and domestic violence. These norms influence women/girls’ agency, life choices and opportunities.

7. Chapter III and IV presents the practical research findings, and the influence of local trends/actors. Chapter III looks at the scope of Dinka and Otuko women and girls’ traditional norms and barriers, and local dynamics. In Twic East (Dinka), livelihoods related to agro-pastoralism (major) and fishing. In Torit (Otuko), livelihoods are more diverse and include agropastoralism (major), foraging (coconuts), fishing and the informal production of fishing equipment (nets and baskets). Approximately, 20-50% of all households were described to be ‘women-led’ (FHHs) across target research areas. Chapter IV elaborates on specific actors that are influencing change processes in Twic East and Torit. Schools have been a key actor in facilitating change in attitudes and behaviours related to girls (directly). Driving physical and social change, NGOs have supported women’s empowerment in facilitating access to water, peace committees and in the establishment of the VSLAs.

8. Chapter V synthesizes the findings and trends related to pastoralist women and girls’ (evolving) norms and persisting barriers in target locations in South Sudan. The process of change appears to be particularly influenced by the cultural roots of norms, family/community attitudes, legislation and access to services, and local insecurity. Environmental factors, and social phenomenon such as inter-communal *conflict* and *the culture of hyper-masculinity/aggression* are adding further pressures on potential change. The following summarizes the key findings and trends related to selected social norms and barriers for women and girls in these target areas, and indicative ‘change and range’ from the past 7-10 years:

A. MARITAL PRACTICES (*‘Mixed picture of change’*)

- There are now very few cases of ‘early’ marriage (below 14 years old). Yet ‘underage’ **teenage marriage** has become the new social trend (except for bright students), in contrast to a broader spectrum of marriage ages in the past. The average marriage age of pastoralist girls currently stands at 15-18 years in Twic East, and 14-15 year in Torit.
- ‘Arranged marriage’ has also decreased to less than half in Twic East, and less than a third in Torit, with couples preferring **modern ‘choice’ marriages**. Such marriage practices allow girls to choose their own marriage time and partner.
- Shifts away from early and arranged marriage have been driven by a combination of **exposure as IDPs, girls’ education** (rights and choice), and **religious influence**.

b. GENDER VIOLENCE (*‘Mixed picture of change’*)

- Wife battery **continues at a household level, often exacerbated by times of crises**, and with men’s alcohol consumption, although education and IDP exposure is reducing behaviour.
- Rape and sexual violence exists in both Twic East and Torit but are mostly indicated to be problematic during conflict and war (reduced again as villages are more peaceful again), or in isolated situations.

- At a community level in Torit (no longer in Twic East), there is increasing lack of social acceptability of ‘girl child compensation’, with reducing occurrences (and cattle used instead).

c. WOMEN AND GIRLS’ DOMESTIC CHORES (*‘Limited change to overall responsibilities’*)

- Women (and girls) **scope of workloads remains largely unchanged**, with continued heavy chores. Yet **water access has improved**, but **access to fuel/firewood has decreased dramatically** in recent years (with rising populations, insecurity and deforestation).
- NGOs have been instrumental in the improvement of water access through the rehabilitation and drilling of boreholes.

d. WOMEN’S CONTROL/ACCESS TO ASSETS AND PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES (*‘Limited change’*)

- There is **little shift in traditional control and access to resources** (land, livestock and cash), except in FHHs. Wife inheritance (widows that are obliged to remarry her husband’s brother/clansmen) has dropped in past several years. For widows over 45 years of age, less than a third may be expected to remarry, although it may still be high for those under 45 years (up to two thirds) in research locations.
- **Education, and exposure to new ideas** may be slowly driving shifts in attitudes regarding women’s entitlements, although practices still remain largely traditional.
- **Legislation and legal rights** (and access to justice) remain less known outside of the urban areas, with people preferring traditional resolution.

e. GENDER RELATIONS AND DECISION-MAKING (*‘Changing’*)

- Gender relations **appear to be slowly improving** with more respect, status and value bestowed upon girls and women (with education and community decision-making).
- At household-level, women’s ‘consultation’ in major household decision-making (including expenditure, marriage of children etc.) is high (unchanged) but the women’s influence is still low, although it is growing.
- Women’s involvement in community decision-making has increased (except security discussions): with **a third of attendees now women** in Twic East, and **up to half of attendees** women in local gatherings in Torit (although men’s voices still ‘dominate’). Community participation appears to be driven initially by **government/NGO pressure**.

f. PARTICIPATION IN BASIC SERVICES: EDUCATION AND HEALTH (*‘Changing’*)

- Women and girls’ **participation in education services has improved remarkably** in recent years, with over two thirds of girls in primary school; and **over a third** attending secondary school (and higher in some communities in Torit). There is **increasing demand for Non-Formal Education** by women.
- Participation in **primary education** has been driven by **government campaigns**, and **financial incentives, with NGO support to schools**. Primary school has now gained community acceptance, with the generation of more capable and confident girls.
- Women and girls’ participation in **maternal health services is still low, but changing** in recent years: over 20% of women give birth in clinics in Twic East, and over a third in Torit, and there is new engagement in pre-natal/post natal tests. Knowledge and use of **formal planning methods remain limited** but growing in Torit.

Drawing all of the key findings together, it is indicated that pastoralist women and girls’ norms and barriers in target regions in South Sudan are indicating mixed trends of change, with the new participation of girls in education, and women’s new participation in community gatherings and VSLAs proving most positive.

9. The final Chapter VI outlines key insights into fostering pastoralist women and girls’ norm change, and identifies practical recommendations and action points for NGOs and local governments. Positively, some of women and girls’ traditional norms have been shown to be slowly changing through exposure to new ideas as IDPs, and education.

However, changes to more deeply rooted norms are proving difficult, and may require more strategic local support (from charismatic men and women), and stronger methods of ‘cultural integration’. In supporting processes of norm change, women’s empowerment and resilience, this report maintains that it is crucial to recognize and build on women and girls’ agency (individual and collective), as well as to both identify and leverage other relevant actors and institutions in change processes. It is also imperative to appreciate broader social pressures and environmental trends that are constraining or blocking these processes.

10. Whilst South Sudan still grapples with a highly risky and unstable context, in the target research areas there has been a return to a semblance of peace, even if there are ongoing threats and raids from local tribal groups (for example from the Murle in Twic East²). Moving beyond the paradigm of emergency and relief, the following recommendations build on community recommendations (from this study), as well as broader CARE studies on pastoralist women and girls in East Africa, and aim to further strengthen approaches to combating discriminatory social norms and barriers of pastoralist women and girls in CARE’s operational areas of Jonglei and Eastern Equatoria. The various action points emphasize both drawing on both local and external change agents and stakeholders in supporting women and girls’ development and empowerment, including leveraging South Sudanese **diaspora**³:

I ***Access to basic services:*** The report recommends continued to participation in (quality) primary education, and exploring new ways to promote secondary school attendance for both girls (and boys) through local mobilization, sports and community/school campaigns for pastoralist girls as well as diaspora financial support (school books and sanitary pads) and donor family incentives (e.g. food items) for very poor families (e.g. UNICEF). Lobby for urban boarding facilities.

II ***Local dialogue and advocacy:*** The report recommends better harnessing charismatic women and role models for local social dialogue and action, as well as harnessing *progressive leaders and religious representatives* for community-level awareness raising. Complementing this, the report advises supporting *cross-community* exposure visits and creating stronger ties between rural and urban areas.

III ***Social organization, and collective action:*** The report suggests strengthening women’s networks/groups (e.g. VSLAs, health committees) with higher-level collective action at a *cross-village level*, as well as establishing adolescent networks/groups (Adolescent-VSLAs). In agro-pastoralist areas, agencies should consider the development of women’s cooperatives with agricultural skills development.

IV ***Local resources, environment and technology:*** In addition to water storage tanks and rainwater harvesting, the report suggests introducing new local ***appropriate technologies*** (with market mechanisms) to support women’s domestic burdens, including *improved stoves* (e.g. those by the NGO ENDEV in Kenya). At a local level, support inter-community strategy making in environmental management to support access to firewood and security.

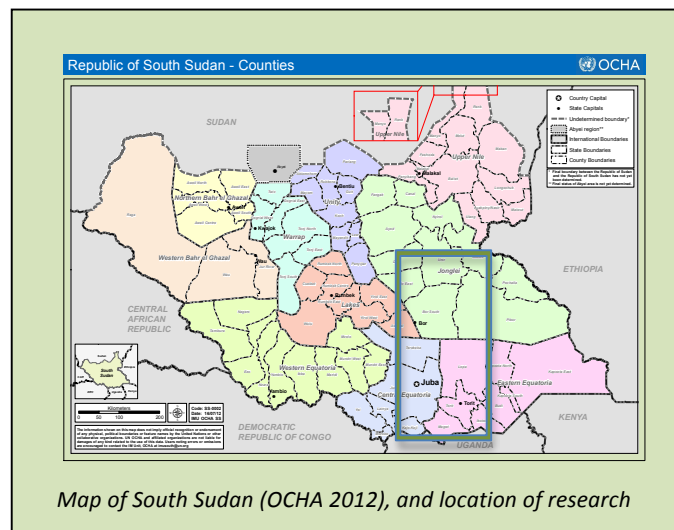
V ***Communications, and media:*** The report suggests facilitating **access to radio stations and radio programmes**, particularly for women, to boost non-formal education and social messaging.

² This has reached a **critical level**, and now requires more strategic thinking with the development community and authorities in Twic East, beyond just a facilitation of peace dialogues. Major development efforts are needed in the Murle communities to tackle health issues and underdevelopment.

³ In this regard, many lessons can be learnt from CARE Somalia on harnessing diaspora support for village development in Somaliland.

I INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF REPORT

Gaining independence in 2011, South Sudan stands as one of the world's poorest and most war-torn countries; with extremely low socio-economic indicators (CIA 2017)⁴. Weakened by years of war and instability, the country struggles with 'ongoing tensions with Sudan over oil revenues and land borders'. This is exacerbated by poor national governance and renewed civil conflict since 2013⁵ (with displacement of over 2 million people⁶); persistent 'inter-communal violence'; deteriorating economic conditions; and underdevelopment and poverty. Landlocked and bordering Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, and Sudan, South Sudan is officially made up of 32 states, although most agencies still use the ten state divisions established at Independence (see map inset). Whilst there has been some progress in (re)building basic infrastructure and social services since 2011, with two decades of earlier civil war, this has remained both 'challenging and slow with inadequate numbers of schools, health centres or road networks' (CARE South Sudan 2016). The country is still highly dependent on humanitarian aid for both service provision and social safety nets. Yet the country is potentially rich, with natural supplies of oil, gold, silver and iron ore, and key natural resources such as the Nile River supporting fertile land and agriculture, particularly in the south including cassava, groundnuts, sweet potato, sorghum, sesame, maize and rice.



Rapidly growing, South Sudan has an estimated population of 13 million people, with one of the highest fertility rates in the world (over 5 children per woman). Over 65% of South Sudan's population is younger than 25 years of age (ibid.). UNDP (2017) estimates that 73% of South Sudanese are illiterate, with up to 84% illiteracy amongst women. A total of 75% of the population has 'no access' to healthcare, and 1 in 7 women dies in childbirth. Approximately 80% of the population is 'income-poor', living off less than \$1 per day; and 43% of the population is severely food insecure, with a population in constant flux with 'regular 'mass displacement'. In mid 2016, almost **50% of the population was reported to be in need of humanitarian assistance**⁷. In 2017, the food crisis was deemed to be worsening. OCHA (2017) has blamed late/poor rains coupled with 'increasing insecurity' as reducing harvests in the country and compounding food insecurity, reaching 'unprecedented levels' by August 2017.

In this turbulent and conflict-ridden context, **traditional gender norms and relations have been both magnified and strained, with women and girls left especially vulnerable**, particularly related to food security, violence and protection. A total of 80%

⁴ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/so.html>

⁵ Civil war restarted in December 2013, with escalation in violence in many parts of the country in mid 2016. This includes fighting by government forces and rebel groups.

⁶ This includes over 900,000 people who have fled to neighbouring countries.

⁷ <https://data.humdata.org/dataset/2016-humanitarian-needs-overview-hno-for-south-sudan-number-of-people-in-need-by-sector> in CARE South Sudan (2016)

of the population in South Sudan lives in rural areas, with livelihoods centred on livestock (cattle, sheep and goats) and agriculture. Major ethnic groups in the country include the Dinka (36%), the Nuer (15%) and other smaller groups, including the Otuko, Shilluk, and Murle. **Pastoralism remains ‘the central institution’** around which South Sudanese society is primarily organized (NRC 2016). Whilst most of the population now lives off farming, economically and physically, cattle are still a key source of assets in the rural areas. Cattle also hold strong socio-cultural value, shaping local traditions, life ceremonies, and identity. In recent research commissioned by FAO (Gebreyes et al., 2016), the major purposes of livestock production were reported to be in fact primarily social, for dowry payment, reflecting the central role that livestock play in culture, social relations and informal power structures. This was closely followed by milk and meat production, cash income, draft power and manure, and finally less importantly, local social status. Interestingly, skins and hides were rated very low, with little current domestic life or for sell.

Fragility of pastoralist societies, and vulnerability of women/girls

Increasingly fragile, pastoralist groups in East Africa now often combine pastoralism with both farming and trading, with some dropping out altogether but retaining their pastoral identity. In the past 30 years, there has been a significant change in pastoralist economies with changes in rainfall patterns, loss of biodiversity, recurrent drought, land use patterns, influencing livestock fodder and livestock production and health (e.g. Hartmann 2009). Similar to pastoralist regions across East Africa, pastoralist groups in South Sudan suffer a confluence of both environmental and social pressures, including climate change, decreasing poverty, and rising populations. In the recent fall back into conflict, traditional assets have also been diminished, with an “unprecedented” number of cattle separated from their owners, often in “violent” raids (NRC 2016). **Women in pastoralist societies have been identified as both marginalized and vulnerable** (Flintan, 2007, 2008; CARE 2009; Ritchie 2015). In South Sudan, rural women remain particularly challenged, with insecurity and conflict, as well as poor coverage and access to services (health and education). More fundamentally, as customary institutions weaken in the face of social pressures, pastoralist societies themselves remain threatened, with women ever more vulnerable, and caught between the pull of the old and the push of the new. Yet with appropriate development interventions and legislation, women stand at the forefront of social change, as they adopt new livelihood opportunities and embrace new rights and entitlements – but with uncertain implications for pastoralist life.

Contributing to the growing literature, this report aimed to capture both qualitative as well as quantitative dynamics of current change in **pastoralist girls’ and women’s social norms, customs and practices in Jonglei (Twic East, Dinka communities) and Eastern Equatoria (Torit, Otuko communities)** regions in South Sudan, adding insights to research in Ethiopia (Ritchie 2015), Kenya (Ritchie 2016) and Somaliland (Ritchie 2017). In adopting an innovative ‘institutional analysis’ approach⁸, the research highlights the scope of evolving norms, persisting social barriers, and emerging new opportunities for pastoralist women and girls. It also provides a deeper appreciation of the influence of local actors in processes of change (and local attitudes and perceptions) against the backdrop of broader social, political and environmental trends.

1.1 FOCUS AND OBJECTIVE OF REPORT

The overall objective of the research was to contribute to CARE International’s pastoral programme in East Africa, and the development of a causal model of pastoral resilience.

⁸ This is drawn from the social sciences on institutional change (particularly related to informal institutions such as norms), and incorporates the interaction of structure and agency.

Building on recent research in East Africa (Ritchie 2015, 2016, 2017), the scope of the South Sudan study covers selected (agro)pastoral communities from CARE operational areas in Jonglei (Dinka) and Eastern Equatoria (Otuko). The study focuses in particular on **pastoralist women and girls' social norms and barriers**. Using the original framework developed in Ethiopia, the research aimed to look at the South Sudanese reality of local pastoralists to further contribute to understanding the changing nature of pastoralist societies (and gender) in East Africa, and to support the development of strategies that can best assist vulnerable groups such as pastoralist women and girls. In particular, the phenomenon of climate change is 'challenging norms and shifting the traditional barriers to change in gender relations' presenting new opportunities for 'linking adaptation with improved gender equality' (Joto Africa 2014). To strengthen CARE's understanding of the status of pastoralist women and girls, the study specifically integrated people's current experiences, taking into account changing realities including diverse factors such as climate change as well as regional restrictions to pastoral movement, sedentarisation/urbanization (leading to the 'transitioning out of pastoralism' groups), the emerging disparity between rich and poor, and government policies. In view of CARE's programming, the study took a special focus on adolescent girls; an impact group that CARE is keen to better understand, particularly in times of change for women and girls. Findings from the research are envisaged to have cross-sectoral recommendations for future CARE programming in the Horn of Africa, and thus the study aimed to be sensitive to the full context of evolving pastoralist realities, situating social norms and barriers to women and girls' empowerment in the wider development context.

Following an initial desk review of relevant programme/project documents from CARE South Sudan, and relevant secondary materials including policy documents, the main focus of the report was then centred on the practical research findings in the context of Jonglei (Twic East county) and Eastern Equatoria (Torit county)⁹ at both village (boma) and county level, exploring pastoralist women and girls' socio-cultural situation (selected norms and barriers¹⁰). This report thus draws together recent studies on pastoralism and women's empowerment in East Africa, with new additional field insights generated from this study to provide critical indications of key social barriers and emerging opportunities for women and girls in selected social groups/regions of South Sudan. The study further endeavoured to analyze existing trends and dynamics, and crucially elaborate on key actors facilitating/inhibiting change processes. The research aims to fit into a broader body of work already underway in the Horn of Africa to better understand women and change in pastoralist areas. The TOR is given in [Appendix 1](#).

1.2 RESEARCH METHODS AND GEORGRAPHICAL FOCUS

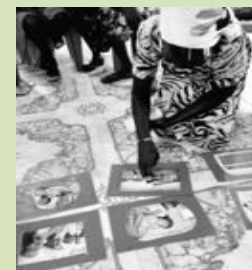
As a core background to this study, this research initially interrogated existing literature on women and pastoralism in the Horn of Africa, including country-level/regional research and reports (e.g. academic and country-level studies, and CARE Ethiopia/Kenya reports). In the short field research (August 2017), the study then investigated selected areas in Jonglei (Twic East) and Eastern Equatoria (Torit county), and pastoralist women and girls' barriers and opportunities. This aimed to particularly build on CARE's recent research on women/girl pastoralists in



⁹ This report follows the 2011 South Sudan administrative divisions (in vein with OCHA 2012).

¹⁰ These social norms and barriers were identified in earlier research in Ethiopia (CARE 2009, 2015).

Kenya and Ethiopia.¹¹ Nine research communities (bomas) were purposively identified within CARE's operational remit (5 in Twic East, and 4 in Torit) that were predominantly comprised of rural pastoralists, and indicated variations in access to resources and services. The research sought to examine the specific status of selected pastoralist women and girls' norms (and change in 7-10 years), and persisting barriers, drawing on different perspectives. The research sought to generate a 'rapid social snapshot' that remained imprecise in terms of numbers, but focused instead on illuminating trends of change. Towards unraveling change mechanisms, it also sought to explore major local actors influencing change (from within and outside of the community) and key approaches used, and to appreciate broader regional pressures/interventions (in and beyond communities). Finally, the study looked at the impact of change on pastoralist/agro-pastoralist women and girls' lives (and gender relations), and areas of potential opportunity for their continued empowerment.



Assessing role of actors in change with women

The research adopted a three-pronged approach to the fieldwork including targeting the 'cluster' village level¹², and NGO and institutional levels. Using qualitative research tools, the practical research gathered specific information at both village and district level, with selected quantitative indicators collected to gauge 'change and range'. Estimates of change are based on research discussions within and beyond the community. Tools included key informant interviews, focus group discussions (with innovative ethnographic exercises and cards), semi-structure interviews and observation (specific research tools appear in [Appendix 2](#)).



Men's focus group

In total, the research drew on approximately 300 respondents, including adolescent girls, women and men (local leaders and community members), government representatives and NGO staff. A total of 27 community-level focus groups/PRA discussions were held with 8-12 participants per group. This included 9 focus groups with adolescent girls (aged 15-20 years), 9 focus groups with women (local community members and representatives) and 9 focus group discussions with men (local leaders and community members), in addition to several case study interviews (with adolescents). Beyond the community, in addition to technical staff interviews at CARE, key informant interviews were conducted with NGOs (8), and key informant interviews with government representatives (10) (see [Appendix 3](#) for details on groups met).

Limitations included the thematic scope of the study. Using a framework developed in Ethiopia, selected social norms were pre-identified and examined with view to understanding socio-cultural barriers and change for (agro)pastoralist women and girls, in vein with earlier CARE studies (Ritchie 2015b, 2016, 2017). In the context of South Sudan (Dinka and Otuko ethnic groups), the framework was adapted to exclude FGM and facial marking¹³ (uncommon in both groups) and to take a closer look at gender violence, as well as to include a few indicators related to maternal/infant nutrition. The study aimed to complement recent livelihoods-oriented pastoralist research in the Horn of Africa that

¹¹ This includes CARE Ethiopia 2009, 2015; CARE Kenya 2014; Ritchie 2015a,b.

¹² As in Ethiopia and Kenya, the 'cluster village' level was targeted to draw on a broad village catchment area, known in South Sudan as the 'boma' level.

¹³ This was in fact a previous custom in the Dinka tribe that was dropped in Twic East over 20 years ago. Initial probing discussions with communities reinforced this perspective.

has taken a more economics focus.¹⁴ The research did not look in detail at cases of access to both informal and formal justice, although these areas warrant further investigation. Secondly, limitations also include the geographical scope of the fieldwork. The research drew on two regions: Jonglei (Twic East) and Eastern Equatoria (Torit county), and a total of 9 bomas across 6 *payams* (Nyuak, Kongor and Lith in Twic East, and Bur, Hiyala and Himodonge in Torit). Yet with the deliberate inclusion of pastoralist areas with different degrees of remoteness, the research has provided an evolving picture of the norms and trends within the target zone, with insights into more challenging realities in the deeper interior. The research did not include urban areas. In terms of the research process at the community level, the focus group (FG) meetings varied across the groups, and across rural and urban realities. In the *women's FGs*, the quality and level of the meeting was moderated by the women's level of education, NGO exposure and composition of group, with the participation of local women leaders enhancing the scope of the discussion.¹⁵ For the *adolescent FGs*, meetings proved to be challenging in some areas (Twic East), with girls extremely shy, particularly in more remote areas, with little education. This meant that sometimes gathering girls' attitudes and perceptions (and stories) on practices and change was difficult. The *men's FGs* emerged to be a good complement to both of the female FGs, with an elaboration of the micro-context and general prevalence of practices.

Finally, in terms of the investigation of the character of the norms themselves, it is critical to highlight the locally specific, and chaotic nature of local norms, and the challenge in firmly defining their scope and boundaries. This meant that there was sometimes a lack of consistency in the findings, and contradictory statements. Norms were also shown to be evolving at different paces, due to a variety of driving factors with some changing faster than others. The research aimed to capture and emphasize '*change and range*' to draw attention to both change and the spectrum of specific rules/practices at the local level, and importantly, *trends in their dynamics*. The research also paid special attention to different *perspectives* on norms, and *local attitudes* across different community groups. As with the research in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somaliland, a key landmark date was chosen approximately 5-10 years prior to the research – in South Sudan, the **Independence** milestone was the most suitable choice (2011) - to discuss the change in practices over a specific time period (although the report assumes a **broader 10 year timeframe**), particularly with key interventions and campaigns during this period. However, for some of the indicators, change described may relate to a longer timeframe of 15 plus years (clarified in the report). As in other pastoralist communities, it is indicated in South Sudan pastoralist society that there may be particular norm diversity due to various geographical (rural versus urban), institutional and economic realities.

1.3 STRUCTURE OF REPORT

The report is structured as follows: **Chapter II** briefly describes the country/regional context: South Sudan and trends in pastoralism, the physical and social situation of Jonglei and Eastern Equatoria, and pastoralist society and gender dynamics. **Chapter III** turns to the practical research findings: the local situation in research villages in Jonglei (Twic East) and Eastern Equatoria (Torit), and the scope of (Dinka/Otuko) pastoralist women and girls' social norms and barriers. Taking this further, **Chapter IV** assesses trends and actors influencing processes of change, at both an overarching level, and in terms of specific local actors that are active in the research context (change agents and change

¹⁴ This includes recent research on pastoralist women's evolving livelihoods and value chain development in Ethiopia (Ritchie 2015a), and women's engagement in pastoral value chains in Northern Kenya (CARE Kenya 2014).

¹⁵ Interestingly, contrasting to earlier research in neighbouring countries, women were more cautious to make any negative comments / judgments about men or community elders, particularly in the analysis exercise of 'actors' influencing change processes. In rating the men's involvement in women and girls' empowerment, women often were afraid to give them low scores 'in case they are watching'.

inhibitors). **Chapter V** synthesizes the scope of pastoralist women and girls' (evolving) norms and persisting barriers in reviewing progress towards change, and in measuring the scope of pastoralist women and girls' (evolving) empowerment. Building off Chapter V, the final **Chapter VI** outlines key insights into fostering pastoralist women and girls' norm change (actors in change, prevailing counter forces), and identifies practical recommendations and action points for both policy/institutional level, as well as grassroots NGO strategies and interventions, particularly CARE's Theory of Change.

II PASTORALISM AND GENDER IN EAST AFRICA AND SOUTH SUDAN

This second chapter briefly elaborates further on trends in pastoralism in East Africa and pastoralist society and culture. The discussion draws particular attention to *gender dynamics*, and highlights critical social norms and barriers for pastoralist women and girls, including the prevalence of harmful practices (e.g. early marriage), the weight of domestic chores, women's control over assets and productive resources, gender relations and decision-making, and women and girls' access to basic services. Turning to the research context of Jonglei (Twic East) and Eastern Equatoria (Torit) in South Sudan, the discussion outlines key characteristics of these target regions in terms of research ethnic groups, geography, livelihoods and aid support. It also highlights climatic, institutional and social dynamics influencing pastoralist women and girls' vulnerability.

2.1 PASTORALISM IN EAST AFRICA¹⁶, AND SOUTH SUDAN

In the past 40 years, the fragile balance of pastoralism has been disrupted by a combination of the pressures of drought and rangeland reduction, in addition to the weakening of customary structures/institutions of natural resource management (NRM). In some countries such as Ethiopia, the latter has been affected by the intervention of outsiders including government, the arrival of newcomers, and the (related) loss of respect for tradition (Flintan 2007: 4, 56). The increase in migration of men for work has further affected the societal rhythm. Land rights are being secured by support for land certification processes although these have tended to focus on the highland areas (Ibid: 7). Problematically, these can often be organized through the household head (men) with little participation of women (or acknowledgment of marginalized groups such as widows). As some pastoralist communities move into *agro-pastoralism*, the process of sedentarisation may bring positive as well as negative impacts (Ibid: 10). On the one hand, women may be expected to manage the crops in the men's absence (whilst herding), boosting women's empowerment. Yet studies also indicate a linkage between sedentarisation and rangeland degradation (e.g. IFAD 1994 in Flintan 2007), leading to reduced numbers of livestock, and related livestock products, and increased poverty (with particular pressures on women). In South Sudan, pastoralist groups already practice a **range of livelihoods** (including farming, fishing and non-farm livelihoods) although cattle remains their major livelihood asset and socio-cultural pillar.

*Pastoralism in East Africa:
centrality of livestock as social
and economic assets*

Managing sustainable and evolving livelihoods is critical for 'pastoralist' communities both in economic terms, as well as from a socio-cultural standpoint. Towards appreciating the value of culture and traditions for pastoralists, the concept of 'poverty' is described to equate to a lack of livestock (and livestock resources) and a deprivation of basic needs (food, shelter, clothing), as well as importantly, a lack of ability to maintain 'ancestral cultural heritage/norms' (PFE 2006). Such cultural perspectives are critical to understanding pastoralist communities in a time of change, and finding ways to build meaningfully on their socio-cultural heritage and traditions in progressive and equitable ways. Helland (2006) argues that the phenomenon of 'resource poverty' is becoming a major aspect of poverty in pastoralist societies in the context of Ethiopia. Yet arguably, with the loss of lifestyles and heritage, 'cultural poverty' may be a more destructive force, with uncertain implications for evolving pastoralist communities and vulnerable groups such as women and girls.

¹⁶ This section is derived from Ritchie (2015).

2.2 PASTORALIST SOCIETY AND GENDER¹⁷

With various regional pressures and trends, pastoralist groups in East Africa often struggle at the margins of national and regional social, economic and political life with little protection of their assets, and living in often-underserved regions in terms of health, education and infrastructure. In this context, **pastoral women have been arguably ‘doubly marginalized’**, since they experience both regional marginalization, whilst also negotiating an evolving lifestyle that is often culturally gender-biased, and still misunderstood by many decision makers. In pastoralist societies, women and girls’ norms, customs and entitlements have been shaped by paternalistic socio-cultural ideas, values and attitudes about gender-related roles and responsibilities. These typically include women and girls’ high domestic responsibilities, their limited participation in household and community decision-making (and conflict resolution), and their limited control over productive assets and resources (e.g. land and livestock). With women and girls’ secondary status, this has further translated into their limited access to basic services (health and education). Embedded in more complex cultural issues, girls are often further subjected to harmful traditional practices (HTP) including FGM, early and arranged marriage, and domestic violence. These norms influence women/girls’ agency, life choices and opportunities.

Pastoralist women face extreme marginalization and gender-bias

Appendix 4 provides an expanded discussion on pastoralist society, and gender.

2.3 RESEARCH CONTEXTS: JONGLEI AND EASTERN EQUATORIA IN SOUTH SUDAN

Turning to the research contexts of Jonglei (Twic East county) and Eastern Equatoria (Torit county) in eastern parts of South Sudan, these are both rural locales that are conflict-affected and marginalized, but have variations in ethnic groups and culture, geography, and livelihoods.

Conflict-affected and marginalised regions with variations in livelihoods, geography, and risk

Jonglei state is located in the centre east of South Sudan bordering Ethiopia, with Bor as the state capital, and 11 county divisions (under the 2012 administrative divisions). The state is home to approximately 1.4 million people. Poverty is widespread with lower than national average indicators on many key socio-economic measures (CARE NL 2016). Characterized by flat floodplains, the southwestern county of **Twic East** is an ethnically **Dinka area**, with livelihoods related to **agro-pastoralism**¹⁸ and fishing. Key crops include sorghum (main) as well as maize, okra and ‘kudra’ (local plant leaves). Major international NGOs in the region include CARE, CRS, Tearfund, NRC, and Oxfam with a mixture of emergency and basic services¹⁹ support (predominant) and longer-term development programming. Local NGOs include HDC (community development), CINA (child protection), CASI (school support) and Healthlink. Three sub-county areas were visited (*payams*): **Nyuak**, **Kongor** and **Lith**, located 3-14 km from the main county town, **Panyagor**. Whilst the state of Jonglei has faced turbulence since the new onset of civil war in December 2013 (particularly in the northern areas), Twic East has been less affected by militias and fighting but has instead had to cope with high numbers of IDPs. A major social issue across Twic East is the ongoing (historical) tensions with the Murle tribe, with persistent cattle raiding by the Murle, and the abduction of Dinka children (discussed further in section 3.2.1).



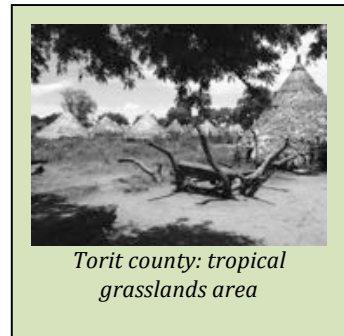
Twic East: cattle country with floodplains

¹⁷ This is derived from Ritchie (2015).

¹⁸ Just one cropping season per year.

¹⁹ Schools and health services (village health facilities, health centres and health units)

Eastern Equatoria is located in south east of the country, bordering Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda, and comprises 7 counties. The capital of the region is Torit situated in the western county of Torit, an **ethnically Otuko region**. People's main livelihoods include **agropastoralism**²⁰ (major), foraging (coconuts), fishing and the informal production of fishing equipment (nets and baskets). Key crops grown in the region include sorghum (main) as well as maize, groundnut, cassava, sweet potatoes, and vegetables and fruit (okra, pumpkin, guava, lemons). Major international NGOs in the region include CARE, Save the Children, CARITAS and Plan, and as with Jonglei with a mixture of emergency and basic services support (predominant) and longer-term development programming. Local NGOs include ARC for Humanity (community development), and Healthlink. Three rural *payams* were visited: Bur, Himodonge and Hiyala, located 7 to 25 km from Torit town. Unlike more homogenous Twic East, the *payams* in Torit were notably more contrasting in terms of physical situation and livelihoods. The furthest from Torit, Bur *payam* is a farming and fishing zone located near to the river. Hiyala *payam* is a more pastoralist area with some fishing, but also positioned on a transit route for trade and travel. Closest to Torit town, Himodonge *payam* is situated near to a more mountainous area with predominant livelihoods related to farming, and some trading. Previously a more stable area with good road access (to Juba and to neighbouring Kenya and Uganda), Eastern Equatoria has faced recent turbulence with fighting in Juba and close to Torit in July 2016, and ongoing militia groups now camped on the eastern front of Torit town. This unrest led to significant residents from Torit town fleeing to relatives in local villages (with increased pressure on rural households), and high numbers of IDPs from outside of the county traveling through the region towards Kenya and Uganda. It also led to economic inflation (eroding the populations' purchasing power (Carte South Sudan 2016a), increased food insecurity, and restrictions on localized movement (CARE South Sudan and Save the Children 2016). The target research areas have remained relatively peaceful, although Bur faces (historical) intra-ethnic conflicts between villages, often related to access to land.



In summary, this chapter has illustrated the environmental fragility of pastoralism in East Africa, with women/girls facing notable vulnerability. Culturally pastoralist societies typically have elaborate patriarchal social institutions shaping women and girls' social norms, including their domestic responsibilities, participation in decision-making, access to productive resources, access to basic services and 'harmful traditional practices'. The specific research locations in South Sudan include Jonglei (Twic East), an ethnically Dinka region, with agropastoralism the major source of livelihoods, alongside fishing as a secondary activity. Meanwhile Eastern Equatoria (Torit) is an ethnically Otuko region, with a broader mix of pastoralism, farming, trading and fishing.

²⁰ Two cropping seasons per year.

III KEY FINDINGS: SOCIAL NORMS AND BARRIERS FOR PASTORALIST WOMEN AND GIRLS IN JONGLEI (TWIC EAST) AND EASTERN EQUATORIA (TORIT)

Extensive studies have examined women in East African pastoralist societies to better understand women and girls' traditional norms/barriers and indicative processes of change, and both positive and negative impacts on communities. Building on this, recent CARE research has looked closer at pastoralist women's evolving pastoralist livelihoods and social norms, and current gender dynamics in the prevailing situation of recurrent (environmental) crises (Ritchie 2015, 2016, 2017). These reports have provided interesting glimpses into the state of evolving norms and barriers of pastoralist women and girls highlighted in Chapter 2, including harmful traditional practices (e.g. FGM/C and early marriage), weight of domestic chores, women's control over assets and productive resources, gender relations and decision-making, and women and girls' access to basic services.

Taking a closer look at these socio-cultural dynamics in South Sudan, this chapter presents **key findings** from the research in Jonglei (Twic East) and Eastern Equatoria (Torit). This generates deeper insights into the scope of these evolving social barriers for **pastoralist women and girls (Dinka in Twic East and Otuko in Torit)** in light of current trends, pressures and interventions, including the country crisis since 2013. The chapter specifically outlines the current **status of selected traditional norms**, and **local attitudes/perspectives**, and **indications of change** (for whom and geographical variations). The chapter draws attention to **norm dynamics**, and the emerging impact of change on pastoralist women and girls' lives and community development. In an appreciation of the research sub-context, the chapter initially discusses the particularities of the target communities in Twic East and Torit county.

3.1 BRIEF OVERVIEW OF TARGET VILLAGES IN JONGLEI AND EASTERN EQUATORIA

Target research villages were located in the rural areas of Twic East county (Jonglei), and Torit county (Eastern Equatoria). Bomas visited were situated at varying distances from the urban centres (3-25 km into the interior). Access to the villages was still via dirt roads, with access particularly constrained up to 5-6 months of year due to the rains. After the crisis in Juba in December 2013, and in July 2016, people remain '**nervous**' in both regions, although **IDPs are now reported to be returning**. Major effects of the crisis included market prices rising (now re-stabilized), school quality and participation falling (now improving again), and a loss in optimism after Independence (no change). In Twic East, the '**culture of dependency**'²¹ was reported to be high in the target villages, with livelihoods activities diminished, following regional and national unrest and economic crisis since 2013. This is inflamed by ongoing **inter-ethnic tensions** between the local Dinka and neighbouring Murle tribe. Arguably, it is also exacerbated by the continuation of **high levels of food/non-food aid distribution**. In Torit, the situation is described to be **improving and more peaceful after the July 2016 crisis**, with people returning to the main town and movement restrictions only persisting on the eastern side of Torit town. Yet markets



²¹ Interview with Tearfund staff, Panyagor, 16 August 2017. Prevalent across South Sudan, Sharp (2017) highlights the 'dependency on aid' as related to a cultural 'sense of entitlement': the rich in society (perceived as the aid community) should provide for the less well off.

remain depressed still, with local banks closed. An estimated 50% of shops remain boarded up and locked.

Elaborating briefly on the **target villages** in Twic East, the five (permanent) community settlement areas visited were situated across three payams: Nyuak, Kongor and Lith, located 3-14 km from the main county town, Panyagor. Community representatives reported a range of **2,500-8,000 households**²² in each boma (with recent growth due to IDPs). Over 75% of families were engaged in **agro-pastoralism**²³, with just 20% solely relying entirely on pastoralism. The main crops cultivated are sorghum and maize. As a supplementary activity, a few households were also involved in fishing activities. **Business and petty trading** was not common, with few women in two villages (less than 10%) involved with trading basic food items in the village, such as sugar, tea, cooking oil, soap; and firewood outside of village. Men are also involved with sale of charcoal. Local families live in permanent village settings using a traditional straw and mud walled housing **structures**. In terms of **household marital situations**, a total of 50-75% of households were reported to be polygamous, and an estimated 20-50% were female headed (widows and divorcees).²⁴ Notably, an estimated 10-30% of total households were cited to be 'divorced' women (most commonly, their own choice), due to "hunger and poverty" (discussed further in Section 3.2.1). **Education-wise, illiteracy levels** were high amongst older men (particularly over 45) and almost all women: 70-90% of women in the rural focus groups (over 20 years of age) were unable to read and write, except in one village (Kongor *payam*), where 90% women (ranging 23-36 years) had primary education. In terms of services, there were several (mixed) primary schools in all of the target *bomas* (in some cases, up to 10 primary schools per *boma*), most within 30 minutes walk from villages. In terms of secondary schools, available facilities were located 30 minutes to 4 hours' walk (on average 2 hours walk). The existence of health services ranged, with four out of five *bomas* reporting access to a local health facility within 1 hour's walk. With respect to social organisation and development support, each *boma* fell under the administration of the local government payam. Each boma then reported (CARE established) their own peace committee, and in 4 out of 5 bomas, a local church committee. More recently, **Village Savings and Loans Associations (VSLAs)** had also been established by CARE (mostly for women). Other committees included youth and women's associations (in Garlei Boma). **Major development actors** included predominantly CARE, CRS, Oxfam, LWF, Tearfund, NRC, NPA and WFP. Beside basic services support, projects were predominantly emergency-related (distribution of food, cash/food/assets for work), except for the establishment of peace committees and VSLAs (CRS, and more recently CARE).

Turning to the **target villages** in Torit, the four community settlement areas visited were situated across three payams: Bur, Himodonge and Hiyala, located 7-25 km from Torit town. Community representatives reported a broad range of **households (1000-2000)**²⁵ in each boma. Over 70% of families were engaged in **farming as their major livelihoods**, with 10-30% households involved in pastoralism, fishing, foraging, wage labour (nearer town areas) and hunting activities. Unlike Twic East, a few **village-based enterprises** were reported, with some women (less than 10%) involved with selling home-brewed alcohol, although basic commodity trading was not cited. Local families live in



*Women in Torit:
predominantly farmers*

²² Numbers unverified.

²³ Currently, the Department of Agriculture in Twic East indicates that household livelihoods rely approximately on 70% pastoralism with 30% agriculture.

²⁴ Citing much higher numbers than the men's groups, the women's groups described up to 75% of households as 'female-led', although this may include cases where men visit only periodically due to multiple wives.

²⁵ Numbers unverified.

permanent village settings using a traditional straw and mud walled housing **structures**. In terms of **household marital situations**, a total of 25-50% of households were reported to be polygamous, and an estimated 30-50% were female headed (widows and divorcees). Notably, on average, an estimated 10-20% of total households were cited to be 'divorced' women (own choice). **Education-wise, illiteracy levels** were lower amongst men than in Jonglei (with just 20% of group) but higher amongst women: over 50-60% of women in the rural focus groups were unable to read and write (with higher levels in the older generation, and 100% illiteracy of women in Bur). In terms of services, there were several (mixed) primary schools in all of the target *bomas*, most within 30 minutes walk from villages. In terms of secondary schools, all *bomas* visited could access facilities within 1 hour's walk except Bur payam. All four *bomas* also reported access to a local health facility within 1 hour's walk. As in Twic East, with respect to social organisation and development support, each *boma* fell under the administration of the local government payam. Village representatives reported the existence of local *boma* councils, VSLAs, and farmers' groups. **Major development actors** included predominantly CARE (livelihoods), NIRA (apiculture), Global AIM (seed distribution), SARRA (livelihoods), Plan International (agriculture), Save the Children (health services). Beside basic services support, projects were more varied than in Twic East and included agricultural/livelihoods support (seed distribution, beekeeping, and farmer training), health and hygiene training, and VSLAs.

3.2 SCOPE OF PASTORALIST WOMEN AND GIRLS' NORMS AND BARRIERS (DINKA AND OTUKO GROUPS)²⁶

This section turns to the core findings of the research from two eastern regions in South Sudan exploring the **scope of pastoralist women and girls' traditional norms and persisting barriers**, including harmful traditional practices (e.g. early and arranged marriage, and gender violence), the weight of domestic chores, women's control over assets and productive resources, gender relations and decision-making, and women and girls' access to basic services. As indicated in Chapter 1, the scope and boundaries of norms, and related attitudes, are described to range at a local level, with much variation and unpredictability between individuals and communities. In this discussion, the trends of change, and range of specific norms are highlighted, with an appreciation of local diversity (and interpretation).

3.2.1 'Harmful' traditional practices

In terms of 'harmful traditional practices', the research took a special focus on crucial socio-cultural traditions (and local attitudes/practices) related to **early and arranged marriage, and gender-based violence**.

3.2.1(1) Early and arranged marriage²⁷

In pastoralist communities in East Africa, marriage was traditionally viewed as the 'ultimate goal for a girl and absolutely essential for her future livelihood security' (CARE Ethiopia 2009). 'Early marriage'²⁸ (below 13 years old) may be practiced, with girls typically being married by the age of 12 or 13. Adolescent marriage is closely linked to

²⁶ The background sections to the various norms draws heavily from Ritchie (2015b), and CARE Ethiopia's extensive research/experience of Afar and Boran pastoralist women and girl's norms and barriers (e.g. CARE Ethiopia 2009).

²⁷ This is also commonly referred to as Child Early and Forced Marriage (CEFM).

²⁸ Early marriage puts girls at risk of domestic violence, forced sexual relations, reduced levels of sexual and reproductive health, and lower levels of education (Save the Children 2004). Children born to teenage mothers are more likely to be premature, have a low birth weight and are 50% more likely to die in the first year as compared to children born to women in their twenties

early pregnancy and childbirth, which can be fatal.²⁹ In some pastoralist communities, girls' marriage has traditionally followed the start of a girl's menstruation, 'arranged' by the girl's family (*'arranged marriage'*). This could be entered into voluntarily, or with family coercion (known as 'forced marriage'³⁰). Arranged marriage predominantly relates to a man approaching a girls' family, and if approved, the parents of the girl proceeding with the marital process with the corresponding family. The family of the girl may receive several marriage proposals, and an eventual 'bride price' is negotiated in terms of cattle. Arrange marriage can also relate to situations where a father offers his daughter to another family. A 'forced' arranged marriage relates to marriages that are conducted without the girl's consent, and may include 'compensation' marriages, where girls are offered in marriage to resolve disputes. Pastoralist girls may also traditionally exert their own marriage choice, through '*consented abduction*' (where the girl flees to her husband-to-be's home). In Ethiopia and Kenya, research showed that the general marriage age was rising amongst local pastoralists, with some girls getting married later at around 16 or 17 years old (particularly in areas close to urban centres). Those remaining at high school were indicated to marry at 18 or even later (CARE Ethiopia 2009; Ritchie 2015, 2016).

In South Sudan, marriage-related conversations may begin either at menstruation (10-13 years of age), or even earlier, at 7 or 8 years at age, instilling in young girls the value of a good marriage: "if you behave well, your [future] husband will pay a lot of cows. You should please your father and you will receive more respect"³¹. In Dinka groups in Jonglei, the family celebration of menstruation (*youb chin mag*) may take place up to a year after the first period (to ensure certainty of her maturity), with local men thereafter able to express their interest. Traditionally, families will then start to review all proposals and offers of cattle, and the father of the bride will select the 'best' man with the 'best offer' of cattle (with the bride's family's wealth and status increasing with the payment of higher dowries)³². Before the final agreement, the bride's father will request a viewing of the proposed cows. White cows are considered most valuable, with brown and black cows less prized. The wedding celebration can then take place without even consulting with the girl.

Despite legislation, early (under 14) and underage (under 18) marriage is still highly prevalent in rural communities in East Africa. In Kenya and Zambia, two major drivers of 'child marriage' (under 18 years) include school dropout and pregnancy (ICRW 2016). Poverty and economic factors may also drive early marriage amongst pastoralist groups³³, particularly with continued payment of dowries, as well as the girls' own desire to leave home to "gain responsibility and community respect" (CARE Somalia 2016). Indicating some of the **highest rates in East Africa, in South Sudan**, child marriage and forced marriages are described to be the norm, particularly out of the cities: 52% of girls marry before the age of 18, with 45% of girls marrying between the ages of 16 and 18 years. An estimated 7.3% of girls get married before the age of 15³⁴. Polygamy is also reported to be common, with 41% of 'unions' involving more than one wife (HRW 2013). In South Sudan, dowry payment is seen as the "key driver" of child marriage, where families still see their daughters as sources of wealth (ibid.). Divorce is hence challenging for women to obtain, with complications over the return payment of the dowry by the bride's family (CARE South Sudan 2016b).

²⁹ Early pregnancy and childbirth are indicated to be the second leading cause of death among adolescent girls aged 15-19 years old globally <http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2013/3/child-marriages-39000-every-day-more-than-140-million-girls-will-marry-between-2011-and-2020>

³⁰ It is challenging to strictly identify a marriage as 'forced', with various degrees of consent in arranged marriages (including a girl's 'agreement' under pressure of family obligation or even physical threats)

³¹ NGO staff interview, CARE, Panyagor.

³² Husbands that pay a high dowry also receive a social status boost.

³³ UNFPA (2011), *Child Marriage Profiles Somalia*

³⁴ UNICEF (2016) *State of the World's Children*.

In recent years, South Sudan has made **some progress on ratifying international human rights' laws, and formulating laws related to early and arranged marriage**. Yet South Sudan stills falls behind most of its neighbours, with many more key instruments remaining to be signed relating to the rights of women and children (ACPF 2015). To both remedy this, and to strengthen national legislation and action, South Sudan has been recommended to urgently 'accede to international and regional instruments' that relate to protection of children's rights, particularly those of girls' (ibid). Whilst still not clearly defining 'early' marriage, South Sudanese law outlines some **provisions against early and forced marriages** (ACPF 2015). This includes Article 15 of the Transitional Constitution that prohibits 'subjecting children to negative and harmful cultural practices which affect health, welfare or dignity'. Article 23 of the Child Act provides for the right to protection from child marriage. The Penal Code Act provides for an offence punishable with imprisonment not exceeding 10 years or a fine for kidnapping or abducting a woman with intent to compel her to enter into marriage. Article 26 of the Child Act indicates that every female child has the right to be protected from forced and child marriage, with both government and society responsible to 'ensure that child marriages and other harmful cultural and social practices are abolished.' As indicated by CARE (2016), the Penal Act also includes a provision for both rape and statutory rape, with sex illegal with minors under the age of 18 (and up to 14 years imprisonment and/or a fine). The **Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Welfare is the main government institution** that is responsible for the regulation and supervision of activities related to children, including 'monitoring violations of their rights' (ACPF 2015).

Yet as highlighted by CARE South Sudan (2016), there is **little knowledge of such legislation** related to children, marriage and sex either within local communities, or within local institutions such as the police and traditional courts. Customary law also contradicts national law: for example, unmarried girls and women that are raped are often forced to marry the perpetrator (with the rapist just charged with paying the bride price). Notably, customary law has also been 'greatly shaped by people's experiences during decades of war', altering familial structures and giving **rise to new customs, such as an 'increasing reliance on bride wealth as a source of family income'** (Sommers (2011) in ACPF (2015)). Formal policy in South Sudan includes the *National Gender Policy* (2013), yet family law is still absent and progress on marriage issues is slow, with little change in attitudes and practices at the local level.³⁵ In early 2017, a taskforce to end child marriage was finally launched by the Ministry of Gender, in collaboration with UNFPA East and Southern Africa. The taskforce is said to be developing a "roadmap to end child marriage" spearheaded by the Ministry of Gender³⁶ by 2030.

Research Findings in South Sudan

Research in Jonglei and Eastern Equatoria demonstrated that both early (14 years and under) and underage marriage (under 18 years), and arranged marriages still persist in Dinka and Otuko pastoralist communities in South Sudan. There are both similar general trends of change, as well as some divergent indicators between the two ethnic groups/regions, particularly related to marriage practices and attitudes.

Teenage 'choice' marriage trend in Jonglei and Eastern Equatoria

Marriage age and price

In Twic East, the common marriage age amongst the rural Dinka was now indicated to be around **15-18 years old** (perhaps approximately 70% of marriages), with more remote

³⁵ Interview with Director of Gender, Child and Social Welfare, Juba 14 August 2017

³⁶ UNFPA South Sudan, [tweet](https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/child-marriage/south-sudan/), 22 February 2017 in <http://www.girlsnotbrides.org/child-marriage/south-sudan/>

villages indicating a broader range of 15-20 years. **Early marriage** (under 14 years) amongst the Dinka in Twic East is now emphasized as rare (**less than 5% of cases**) by all village focus groups, with people feeling that this “interrupts” primary school education (adolescent group, Garlei, Twic East). In Torit county, the common marriage age amongst the rural Otuko was now indicated to be around **14-15 years old (perhaps approximately 70% of marriages)**. **Early marriage** is still reported in Torit, although it is indicated to be increasingly rare, and **less than 5-10% of cases**. CARE research in 2016 had shown a spike in child marriages, as an ‘economic strategy’ for families facing crisis, both reducing the number of mouths to feed in the bride’s family, as well as a source of assets, in ‘cashing in’ of the girls’ dowries. As in some other pastoralist regions such as Somaliland, across both research locations, whilst early marriage may be decreasing, there is instead an **increasing trend for underage marriage (under 18 years)**, with both girls and boys shown to marry in their mid to late teenage years (Dinka), or closer to mid teenage years (Otuko).

Generally, the current trend of teenage marriage not viewed negatively by local village men and women: “it is their choice”. Whilst laws against underage marriage exist, there has been a noticeable lack of government or even NGO campaigns, and an absence to date of any prosecution. A minority of adolescent girls is indicated to marry after 18 years of age (perhaps 10-20% of marriages) often due to showing academic ‘promise’, and a continued determination to study (some even receiving diaspora family support). In such cases, girls may eventually marry outside of the tribe. Adding nuances to the literature, **the range of marriage age was shown to be more varied in the past** (perhaps 10-20 years ago) **across both tribal groups**, with marriages covering a wider spectrum, from **12 to 25 years**. And in contrast to the situation today, the most common marriage in both groups was reported to have been older (18-20 years of age).

In Twic East, **current bride prices** for the Dinka have been climbing and range from **30-100 cattle (from 30 cattle a decade before), plus cash if the family is wealthy (up to 4 million SSP)**. With the increasing competition between families and the high levels of current impoverishment, a new by-law is now being considered to limit dowries to 35 cows. In some cases in towns, cash is beginning to take on a new value, with money now also expected together with traditional cattle (elders, Garlei, Twic East). In Torit, **current bride prices remain more stable**, with average dowries reported as including **13-18 cows plus 30-100 goats**. Yet for studious girls, an extra 5,000 SSP may be expected for her to continue her education (adolescent group, Hiyala, Torit). Bride price is generally affected by the attractiveness of the girl (for Dinka often measured in height), family status, wealth of the man³⁷ and available livestock assets, and prevailing poverty levels. At the village level, there was some indication of the bride price now being further affected by the level of education of girls, particularly the completion of primary education. Less positively however, IDPs may be stigmatized: Sharp (2017) highlights that ‘returnee’ girls in South Sudan may be considered less valuable than village girls³⁸.

Marriage practices: towards choice

There are some slight shifts in the **system of marriage** in the past 10-20 years, with new ‘modern’ trends, including more **‘freedom of choice’**, often through both ‘consented abduction’ (or ‘secret marriage’) and deliberate pregnancy³⁹. Such marital arrangements

³⁷ Wealthier and more educated men (particularly diaspora, that by virtue of their residence in foreign countries are considered ‘wealthy’) may be socially obligated to pay higher dowry prices.

³⁸ Many returnee families can be FHHs, with husbands left behind to maintain a possible alternative base. Women were reported to use their daughters sometimes to help bring in money (possibly through short-term marriages) (Sharp 2017).

³⁹ If couples are physically caught having sex in Torit, they may also be obliged to marry (men’s group, Tirrangore, Hiyala, Torit).

now constitute **over 50% of marriages**. In both locations, ‘consented abduction’ marriage during teenage years refers to situations where the girl knows the boy, often of the same age, and is ‘willing’. She voluntarily flees to a boy’s house, and then waits for (her) family approval. This may reduce the eventual bride price (particularly if there is also pregnancy). One women’s group in Twic East viewed such practices with mixed feelings, highlighting the stress and tension that this situation could bring (with potential violence between family men). Polygamy is still common in both the Dinka culture in Twic East, and in the Otuko culture in Torit, with most men having, on average two wives, with richer men able to afford up to five wives or more. Older women in both locations still view this positively ‘if the wives are responsible’.

Amongst the Dinka in Twic East, arranged marriage is still ‘common’⁴⁰, with **20-50% of adolescent girls having marriages arranged by their fathers, often motivated by the dowry (from 50-75% of cases over 10 years ago)**. This is more common in remote villages. In these traditional arranged marriages, the boy himself or the boy’s parents may approach the girl’s parents, with fathers often ‘unable’ to refuse, particularly if offers are high. Or the girl’s father initiates the marital process with interested families (notably not from the wife’s family). If there are ‘many suitors’, there can even be a ‘campaign’, with fathers taking the highest ‘bidder’⁴¹. There may be an assessment of the prospective family background: *who was the grandfather? Was he a chief? Were the families in conflict before?* In some cases, young rural girls of 13 years can also be ‘booked’, particularly if they are considered beautiful, with a deposit requested from the prospective husband’s family. Such arranged marriages involve little consultation with the girls, with marriage proceedings taking places ‘between family men’. In these situations, marriages may often be forced with older ‘rich’ men, ‘particularly where poverty levels are high’. More recently, particularly amongst more educated girls in suburban and urban areas, modern ‘arranged’ marriages are becoming fashionable, with girls requesting their boyfriends to approach their father to start formal proceedings. Whilst the overall trend was towards more choice in Twic East, some of adolescent girls reported a slight increase in ‘forced’ marriages, to “old men [that] have a lot of cows to pay the bride” (Wanglei village, Twic East).

Amongst the Otuko in Torit, levels of arranged/forced marriage were lower. On average **10-30% of adolescent girls may still have their marriages ‘arranged’ by their fathers, or be married by force through abduction** (from previously up to 75% of cases), **particularly in more remote villages** (up to 50% of marriages). The latter relates to the Otuko tradition of ‘kidnapping’ of girls. In such cases, the boy (and young male family members) takes the girl by force to the boy’s house, and then declares ‘the marriage’. In some villages, incidences of ‘kidnapping’ had also started to increase again, much to the frustration of adolescent girls (adolescent group, Tirrangore, Hiyala, Torit). And in some cases of extreme family poverty and ‘lack of family resources’, arranged marriages are still organized with rich, older husbands) although this increasingly viewed as shameful in Torit. For girls that refuse to marry at all, she may also be forced to marry, particularly in more remote villages such as Bur. In Otuko culture, prospective husbands were commonly beaten by the bride’s family, perhaps to ensure the prompt payment of the dowry (and/or to obtain proof of his physical ability). Such traditions are now reported to happen only if the prospective husband fails to pay the dowry. With a sense of nostalgia for previous arrangements, men’s groups admitted to mixed feelings of ‘choice’ marriages, as this left many young men and women ‘unmarried’ (men’s group, Muiarram, Bur, Torit). Women’s groups equally admitted to mixed feelings of new marital practices,

⁴⁰ Group interview with women’s association, Department of Gender, Panyagor; and Acting Director, Department of Education, Panyagor.

⁴¹ Such bride bidders can put in a proposal to the father-of-the-bride ‘up to the last minute’, even if the family agrees with an earlier choice. In one case in Twic East, the father had agreed to the dowry of the bride’s boyfriend (non-Dinka). But at the last moment, another contender put in a higher bid forcing her to marry someone else.

with some maintaining that arranged (and even by marriage by force) was better than current arrangements because this led to a guaranteed payment of dowries. Yet across the various village-level focus groups there was a general trend away from arranged/forced marriage towards 'girls' choice', with decreasing levels of public acceptability, and negative associations of girls' threats of suicide, and interestingly, the emerging perception of such practices as 'bad' or 'weak' cultural behaviour⁴². In some cases in Torit, there was also a new understanding of the law (adolescents only), particularly with girls now going to school. Whilst this may be viewed as a positive development, in villages near to the city, discussions with the adolescent girls pointed to an unsettling phenomenon: 'forced' choice. For example, girls were being tricked into marriage through incidents such as 'helping' a boy's family with chores (such as washing clothes), or 'standing with a boy' (adolescent group, Hilieu, Torit). Adolescent girls blamed the (continued) high dowry payments for such behavior: 'girls are [still] wealth'. As in Twic East, modern 'arranged' marriage systems were emerging and viewed more positively by adolescent girls than present choice arrangements, with boyfriends sending a letter to the girl's parents requesting marriage.

Implications of new trends: stability of current marriages, divorce and IDP experience

Both arranged and forced marriage are beginning to fall out of favour in suburban communities, with the new education of girls⁴³, and the growing self-awareness of girls to choose their own husbands. From the perspective of female NGO staff, **'a lack of maturity'** is a major problem with new teenage choice marriages, with the young couple not financially ready, or able to run a household, and to manage the responsibilities of children. Whilst adolescent girls highlighted that they were now perceived as more than just 'family assets' (adolescent group, Nyibira, Hiyala, Torit), local NGO staff in Jonglei felt that the continued practice of **dowry payments perpetuates the belief that girls are both a source of wealth for their families, and property of their prospective husbands**, with subsequent challenges later in terms of divorce and inheritance (discussed in section 3.2.3).

The trend towards 'choice' teenage marriage has led to **increasing numbers of divorce** in Twic East and Torit, particularly after the crisis in 2013/2016. In Twic East, up to 15% of new marriages are estimated to end in 'divorce' as opposed to just 5% previously (2011): "traditional leaders can now cancel marriages where the girl refuses the husband or where there is infidelity, and then she is free to marry someone else".⁴⁴ Notably 'culturally' Dinka women cannot in fact be granted a 'divorce' per se, but under customary law, the marriage can be terminated if the husband is not providing. Traditional Court Justice representatives in Panyagor, Twic East described increased incidences of 'divorce' (sought by women themselves) as the 'major change' in women's local justice matters since Independence, and the increasingly popular way to escape 'bad situations' – particularly girls leaving older husbands. Yet the Traditional Justice chief emphasized that it was not straightforward, and required a 'long process' of negotiation, with men often objecting to the divorce. Women may also be forced to leave children older than 8 years behind with the husband, and up to 10 cows may be returned to the husband's family ('5 cows per child'). Church representatives emphasized that teenage marriage in particular was precipitating cases of divorce, particularly with now more educated and assertive girls (with girls returning home with young babies).

⁴² Forced marriage was also said to sometimes lead to the girls committing suicide in Torit.

⁴³ In many locations, schools have been formalized with school construction and there has been a campaign for the participation of girls.

⁴⁴ CINA staff (NGO), Panyagor.

Interestingly, the Department of Education in Twic East highlighted new emerging attitudes of those that had been IDPs (up to 30% of current communities). In particular, experience as **IDPs has shifted attitudes around marital arrangements**, and girls' education. In Torit, NGO staff also link incidences of divorce with 'exposure' as IDPs, in addition to girls' education, with girls' increased knowledge of their rights, particularly in the case of younger girls being obliged or forced to marry older men.

Drivers of teenage marriage

Teenage marriage is often blamed on 'hunger and poverty' by NGOs and government institutions. Yet it is clearly embedded in more complex dynamics. Looking closer at rural teenage marriage, several social factors seem to influence this, including the **increased 'agency' of the girls** through education and experience as IDPs. **Girl-boy relations** are also difficult outside the institution of marriage. In Twic East, reasons for teenage marriage were reported to be due to a mix of factors, including the increased social interaction of girls and boys at school, but also the **context of insecurity** (adolescent group, Garlei, Twic East). According to village men in Twic East, teenage marriage was blamed on the **increased mobility of girls**: 'they are outside more and have more freedom' (Warnyol, Twic East). Whilst changing 'choice' marriage practice may be viewed positively - with girls choosing both their time of marriage and partner - as teenagers, it can equally be seen as an **escape route from household poverty** in desperate times. Similarly, women groups in Torit attributed teenage marriage in part to **high poverty levels**. Adolescent girls in Torit highlighted **peer pressure** to 'find your own home and to be independent' (adolescent group, Bur, Torit). Indeed, indicating more of a **social trend**, adolescent girls in both research locations elaborated that it was now common for girls (as well as boys) to finish primary school, drop out of education and then start to consider marriage i.e. school dropout precipitates early marriage (although the reverse also applies: early marriage and pregnancy can equally lead to school dropout).



Wedding party In Panyahgor: average bride age for Dinka is now 15-18 years old

With a sense of **social acceptability (and even endorsement)**, many village women in Twic East and Torit emphasizes that no one has the 'right' to talk to the couple as it is ultimately "**their choice**". This resonates with other recent reports on South Sudan that suggest 'complacent attitudes' or even 'aggressive defence of child marriage' by parents (ACPF 2015). Even the Traditional Courts in Twic East indicated likewise that it was the 'girl's choice', and highlighted that no cases had been presented on this issue.⁴⁵ On further probing of perceptions, in Twic East, village men felt that teenage marriage left the couple less prepared for family life and less finally stable (men's group, Aliet, Twic East). Likewise, some **local women in Twic East felt that delayed marriages were better**, with girls more 'mentally' mature and ready to raise a family. Local government department of gender in Torit underscored efforts to 'sensitize' village chiefs and community representatives in Torit town workshops about 'underage' marriage and law (yet government visits to villages were not common due to 'insecurity' and transport). Notably, at the village level in both research locations, there was **little appreciation of the legality of teenage marriages**, or even the health risks of teenage marriage in terms of early pregnancy for young girls.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Interview with Duot Agang, Acting Payam Chief of Traditional Justice Court for Twic East.

⁴⁶ This includes girls' immature pelvises with birth complications for mother and child. The infants of adolescent mothers are reported to also be 50% more likely to die in their first year compared to children born to mothers in their twenties. (Save the Children and UNFPA, Adolescent sexual and reproductive health toolkit for humanitarian settings, 2009, p33, www.unfpa.org/sites/default/les/pub-pdf/UNFPA_ASRHtoolkit_

Pre-marital and extra-marital sex (more common)

Formerly seen as taboo, pre-marital and extramarital sex was reported to now be common in both research locations. In *Twic East*, it is in fact considered almost **'normal' for girls to engage in pre-marital sexual activity** with their husbands-to-be before marriage (perhaps over a third of girls) with no social penalties. Notably, if a Dinka girl becomes pregnant, and is rejected by her boyfriend, it is still acceptable for her to marry another man (and he will raise her child as his own). The boyfriend may be expected to pay 5 cows as compensation to the girl's family.⁴⁷ In terms of extra-marital sex, it is also now not that unusual for women to bring their boyfriends into the house when the husband is away for long periods. In villages outside of *Torit*, there were indications of increasingly liberal sexual practices, with "sex now common outside of marriage" for women and girls. If caught, the women may still be beaten by their husbands. The boyfriend may also be beaten and be expected to pay 'some dowry' to her husband. In villages in *Bur*, this was attributed to loose behavior during traditional dances and ceremonies (where alcohol is also available). In other villages, the lack of men's ability to pay a dowry was blamed. In *Himodonge* nearer to *Torit* town, departing from village culture, some girls were reported to now engage in prostitution and not even know who the father's was once pregnant. With increasingly open sexual practices, some village girls were even considering marriage as now 'optional', particularly those that had found salaried employment.

Box 3.1: Marriage systems in Twic East and Torit: choice and dowry

"[Marriage through] 'fleeing' is very bad as this can affect the dowry. My daughter was 18 years old, and fled to the boy's house. Her husband came to visit us and said, 'Sorry I can't pay any dowry. We had no choice since she was also already pregnant.'" (Women's group, Lith payam, Twic East)

"Today no-one can tell [Dinka] girls to get married, it is her choice" (Women's Association, Department of Gender, Panyagor, Twic East)

"Too much dowry payment is leading to bad behaviour [of boys] and marriage through trickery" (Adolescent group, Himodonge, Torit).

"Older men can choose to marry young girls if he is rich" (Women's group, Bur, Torit).

"It would be better if parents could help arrange marriages, so that many young men and women would not be left unmarried." (Men's group, Bur, Torit).

Summary: Change (2007-2017)⁴⁸ and Range in MARRIAGE PRACTICES

- Amongst the Dinka in *Twic East*, early marriage (under 14) is indicated to be non-existent (<5%). Underage marriage (under 18) has increased, with average marriage age estimated to be around **15-18 years old** (an estimated 70-80% marriages), from a broader spectrum of 12-25 years old previously. Arranged marriage (voluntary and forced) has also decreased to **20-50%** from over 50%.
- Amongst the Otuko in *Torit*, early marriage (under 14) is indicated to be low (5-10%). Underage marriage (under 18) has increased, with average marriage age estimated to be around **14-15 years old** (an estimated 70-80% marriages), from a broader

english.pdf in CARE South Sudan 2016b).

⁴⁷ If the 'boyfriend' impregnates her for a second time, she can become his wife, but he will need to offer one of the girl children back to her family if no dowry was paid.

⁴⁸ In the case of marriage practices, this may be broader i.e. 10-20 years ago.

spectrum of 12-25 years old previously. Arranged marriage (voluntary and forced) has also decreased to **10-30%** from over 50%.

- Divorce is becoming more common in Dinka and Otuko communities, precipitated by teenage marriage, education and experience as IDPs.

3.2.1(2) Gender-based violence

In pastoralist society, strong patriarchal norms prevail, with men expected to be the decision-makers and protectors, and women expected to be the homemakers, often in hostile and unpredictable living conditions. In such fragile contexts, life is harsh for men and women alike, with frequent violence in the home, community and beyond. The phenomenon of wife battery (a traditional practice used to discipline and control women) remains normal in such households, with pastoralist women even defining their husband's 'care' through such practices (Ritchie 2016). Pastoralist women may also suffer sexual violence, psychological abuse, and denial of opportunity as part of every day life (Ritchie 2015,16, 17; CARE South Sudan 2016b). Such experiences are similarly described as 'commonplace' in South Sudan, but not often reported (ibid). In 2009, a UNIFEM survey indicated that 41% of respondents (men and women) had experienced gender-based violence.⁴⁹

In South Sudan, gender relations amongst pastoralist groups are labeled as 'complex', with differences across age groups, social class and rural-urban locales, even within the same ethnic group (CARE South Sudan 2016b). Yet across many of the ethnic groups, the concept of masculinity is embedded in '**stoicism in the face of pain**' and to 'being a warrior', in the past often associated with scarring and initiation rituals (ibid.). There is a strong importance attached to men's ability to 'protect' women and their community. Reinforcing such ideas, women would equally reject men as potential husbands that had not been through these painful traditional practices. Such norms may be associated with '**hyper-masculinity**', generating harmful power differentials between men and women (and children), often leading to gender-based violence, and other forms of violence (ibid.).

With a dominant male culture and low levels of education, gender-based violence has often condoned in rural life in South Sudan, with over 80% of men and women agreeing that women should tolerate domestic violence to 'keep the family together' (Scott et al., 2013).⁵⁰ Recent CARE research (2016) indicated that both men and women agreed that wives should be beaten 'to teach them a lesson'; and that the wife is the property of their husbands (and thus can demand sex from them at any time). Meanwhile, at a community level, violence is also highly prevalent. Cattle-raiding in particular is a key trigger of inter-communal violence. In Jonglei this is typical during the dry season (November to April) with clashes between local tribal groups (Dinka, Murle and Lou Nuer). Such conflicts and raids can lead to major community displacement, the loss of lives, and the abduction of girls (particularly by the Murle⁵¹) to be used as 'sex/reproductive slaves' (ibid). In Otuko culture, girl children may even be used as compensation to settle disputes, and conflicts ('girl child compensation').

During times of instability and civil war in South Sudan, gender norms can be exacerbated, or even break down with stress, frustration and disorder. Sexual violence may be

⁴⁹ UNIFEM Gender-based Violence and Violence Against Women: Report on Incidence and Prevalence in South Sudan. 2009

⁵⁰ Scott, Jennifer, Averbach, Sarah, Merport Modest, Anna, Hacker, Michelle R., Cornish, Sarah, Spencer, Danielle, Murphy, Maureen, and Parmar, Parveen. "An assessment of gender inequitable norms and gender-based violence in South Sudan: a community-based participatory research approach" in Conflict and Health 7:4, 2013.

⁵¹ Murle are known to suffer major fertility issues around sexually transmitted diseases.

perpetrated against women and children, as well as men by local gangs and militia. During conflict or as IDPs, younger men may feel frustrated in being unable to feed and support the family with an increase in anti-social behaviour (including domestic violence, substance abuse and even criminal activities). Women may also be traded for food or used as sexual slaves (and forced into prostitution). Between the onset of civil war in 2013 and 2016, an increase in sexual violence by ‘multiple armed actors’⁵² was reported across the country. This has led to constraints on community movement, overcrowded homes (with relatives), internal displacement and migration, all leading to increased incidents of sexual harassment and violence.

To date, there are no specific laws against domestic or gender-based violence in South Sudan, yet the **Penal Act** stipulates the illegality of rape ‘*sexual intercourse...against his or her will, or without his or her consent*’, and the offence of sexual harassment. The Penal Act also stipulates the offence of physical assault: ‘*any beating which cause body pain, disease or infirmity = up to 1 year imprisonment and/or a fine. Causing permanent injury. Disfigurement or pain lasting more than 20 days is considered grievous hurt = up to 7-years imprisonment and/or fine. If a weapon is used in the attack, the sentence increases to up to 10 years*’ (CARE South Sudan 2016b).

Research Findings in South Sudan

Domestic violence persists although attitudes changing yet inflamed by risk

Research in Twic East and Torit indicated that household and community violence persists, particular in a context of tension and instability. In particular, wife battery continues at a household level, often indeed exacerbated during times of crises, and with men’s alcohol consumption. For the Otuko groups in Torit, the phenomenon of ‘girl child compensation’ is gradually fading away with changing attitudes, being replaced by cattle compensation. At a community level, rape and sexual violence exists, but is mostly indicated to be problematic during conflict and war. Community level violence may also be triggered by cattle raids and abduction (Twic East).

Wife beating (attitudes slowly shifting)

In all villages in Twic East, adolescent girls and women indicated that the beating of both women and girls was still ‘common’, **with little reported change** since Independence. In some villages, this was linked to the **limited scope of ‘human rights’** of females in the community, particularly women’s opportunity to speak up and to be leaders in their clans and communities (Pawel, Twic East). Meanwhile, teenage girls blamed **women being overworked** in their home, and men’s ‘lack of understanding’. **The problem of alcohol consumption/abuse** (by men) was also emphasized - ‘which messes with their mind’ - with peer pressure to drink by male relatives. Yet, women’s groups also highlighted the **positive influence of the church** in recent years, ‘bringing changes to these habits’ (Wanglei, Twic East). Meanwhile men’s groups indicated that domestic violence was both highly prevalent, and for many, an **acceptable way of ‘correcting’ women**. In some villages, men indicated that there had been some change, with girls’ education (Warnyol, Twic East). Yet in Garlei, men indicated that whilst there may be shifts in behaviour, **domestic violence rose again during crises**: ‘because of the hardship of life’.

In Torit, wife beating was still also common and ‘normal’, often precipitated by a (continuous) ‘**misunderstanding**’ at home. Girls may also be beaten for **not completing chores** or if she is found ‘standing with a boy on the road’. **Alcohol** was once again

⁵² <http://www.nwo.nl/en/news-and-events/news/2016/wotro/2016.04.20-policy-brief-on-sgbv-in-south-sudan.html> in CARE (2016)

reported to be both an inflamer to violence, and leading to family impoverishment and stress: ‘drinking only stops when the money runs dry’ (women’s group, Tirrangore, Hiyala, Torit). Alcohol is often brewed in the village (from sorghum), and both men and (some) women consume local liquor (women are often pressurized to join such ‘parties’). Yet interestingly, compared to Twic East, there was a greater **sense of change in practices**, with ‘experience of other cultures’, and a new ‘imitation’ of more progressive practices: ‘where men can listen to their partner, and stay more peaceful’. The **increase in girls’ education** (Hiyala), and a ‘realization that women could **divorce** and leave you’ (Himodonge) has also led to a **decrease in the social acceptability** and prevalence of wife beating. Men’s groups reported that this meant that other female family members were not so ready to step in and help with another household’s chores after the wife had been beaten, and unable to work.



Traditional court in process in Twic East – men still dominate

In terms of access to **formal justice for domestic abuse/GBV**, this is reported to still be difficult, not common and not easily sought. As indicated by CARE staff in Twic East, the usual practice is to initially try to solve family disputes or complaints at a family or clan level (majority). If unsuccessful, this would then be taken up at community level. If this then fails, it would be taken to the local traditional court, which may look at immediate settlements in terms of cattle. Alternatively, victims can seek help from the Gender Desk at the police station in urban areas. Yet the police will typically get in touch with the perpetrators i.e. call husbands, “and this can then cause further domestic violence” (ibid).

Girl child compensation⁵³ (increasingly rare)

Whilst becoming less common in Otuko culture in Torit, the phenomenon of ‘girl child compensation’ still persists in more remote communities, and often is simply described as less ‘overt’ (Department of Gender, Torit). Girl children have been used to settle disputes and local clan-community conflicts. Yet a new preference appears to be setting in to now use cattle instead of children. In Hiyala, the increasing **lack of acceptability** of girl children used in compensation was related to her future marriage prospects, with (lifelong) shame attached to her position as a ‘payment for a family debt’.

Rape and sexual violence (normalized, but taboo)

In research communities, incidents of rape were mostly linked to conflict and ‘during times of crisis’ by military personnel. Both locations were now described to have returned to peace, even if there is localized insecurity (and risk). In general, **incidents of rape were reported as ‘uncommon’** in rural villages, particularly those far from the city (or less reported), and cited as a predominantly

Box 3.2: The boiling crisis from within: the aggression of the Murle tribe in Twic East

The Murle tribe has historically been involved with clashes against the Dinka in Jonglei, with conflict starting in the 1960s (despite their common heritage). In Twic East, this has appeared to reach new levels in recent years, possibly exacerbated by the country crisis and context of instability. The aggressors are primarily the Murle (from Pibor), carrying out increasing cattle raids on Dinka villages, and abducting local children. Child abduction is linked to **economic factors**, with Dinka children then sold on in their community, with the **high infertility** of local women due to the prevalence of sexual diseases (Dinka look down on the Murle for their liberal sexual practices.). Raids take place at night, and there is now a preference for Dinka boys (young boys are sold for 200 cows in Murle lands). Dinka try to prepare their children from a young age to remember their father’s name, clan, village and location to enable them to return home if they are kidnapped.

⁵³ In Dinka culture, this is indicated to no longer exist.

‘town’ phenomenon. At the village level, isolated occurrences were described to only take place in **‘remote places’** (e.g. when fetching firewood or water), **late at night, or at cattle camp** (adolescent group, Garlei, Twic East). In Torit, rape is also reported to occur to older women during nighttime drinking binges (adolescent group, Tirrangore, Hiyala, Torit). In some villages in Torit, focus groups highlighted the high penalties now imposed on youth for such acts. Yet it is clear that it is a still highly taboo issue, and difficult for girls and women to report and to seek justice.

Community violence and abduction (critical in Dinka areas)

In Twic East, in addition to local instability and unrest from the political and economic crisis, the historical raids and assaults by the **Murle tribe** – cattle raiding and abduction (see box inset) – continue inhibiting ‘peace and people movement’. Murle raids have appeared to reach new levels, with Dinka adolescents reporting that security was getting worse. Women were equally **stressed and traumatized from increasing incidents, loss of children and murder of women**. Children are often kidnapped and the mother is killed. In Wanglei, women reported 20 children kidnapped in the past 12 months. The Women’s Association under the Department of Gender in Panyagor reported 46 cases of abduction in 2016. Anecdotally, numbers were reported to be even higher in 2017, despite peace talks in November 2016 in Bor, with twice the number of incidents recorded by the middle of year (and an increasing intensity to such raids).⁵⁴ A counter attack by the Dinka - for both cattle, and to ‘claim back their children’ - is being planned for later this year.

Box 3.3: Persistence of ‘normal’ gender-based violence

“Your husband can demand sex and you must give it or be beaten.” (Women’s group, Hiyala payam, Torit)

“There has been no change to the beating of women and girls because men and boys do not allow women’s rights” (Adolescent group, Wanglei, Twic East)

“Before women were voiceless and men can quarrel with them and beat them. There are great changes now with fewer cases of violence in the home” (Adolescent group, Bur, Torit)

“There are changes to people’s habits but most people still practice [beating] as a cultural activity and belief [in correcting and disciplining women]...this is what they say when you ask them” (men’s group, Pawel, Twic East)

“The abduction of Dinka children is high by Murle, with women often murdered in the process” (Adolescent group, Garalei, Twic East)

“Girl child compensation should be abolished and be replaced with cattle compensation” (Men’s group, Bur, Torit)

Summary: Change (2007-2017) and Range in Domestic and Community Violence

- Wife battery continues at a household level often exacerbated by times of crises, and alcohol consumption, although education and exposure is reducing behaviour
- Increasing lack of acceptability of ‘girl child compensation’ in Torit
- Rape and sexual violence exists in both Twic East and Torit but is mostly indicated to be problematic during conflict and war, and a symptom of urban areas.

⁵⁴ Interview with CARE and TEARFUND staff in Panyagor, 16-19 August 2017..

3.2.2 Women's domestic workloads

Traditionally in pastoralist societies, in addition to livelihood activities (looking after small ruminants, and in agro-pastoralist households, farm work), women and children (especially girls) are responsible for **all domestic-related chores**. This includes fetching water each day and collecting firewood. They are also in charge of washing clothes, household shopping, grinding grains for food and food preparation, and collecting fodder (see Figure 3.1 for a typical breakdown of pastoralist women and men's work responsibilities).

Highly patriarchal, South Sudan pastoralist society has strongly delineated roles and responsibilities of men, women, boys and girls. As in other parts of the Horn of Africa, pastoralist men are the 'protectors of family security, primary breadwinners and central decision-makers' whilst women are responsible for 'bearing and raising children, food production and the full range of domestic tasks' (CARE South Sudan 2016b). Flintan (2007) highlighted the unequal distribution of household labour in pastoralist communities, with women responsible for the bulk of both domestic and productive work. Men may spend time searching for pasture and water, with women then taking the weight of domestic chores, including collecting water and firewood.

Yet with climate change, war and displacement, there have been increased pressures in pastoralist households, often diversifying further women's responsibilities (with additional economic roles), and shifting the management of domestic duties onto the oldest girl of the family, in the maintenance of the home, daily chores and child care. Despite this, there has been often little indication of boys'/men's increasing participation in domestic tasks. In particular, a lack of water increases women's vulnerability as women reduce their own water intake to reserve water for the family. It also affects women's personal hygiene, and exacerbating negative impact on health.

In pastoralist communities in South Sudan, the roles and responsibilities of family members may indeed alter under times of stress, conflict and displacement (CARE South Sudan 2016b), but gender norms remain stubborn. Typically, women and girls are engaged with food preparation and cooking, cleaning and childcare, collection of water and firewood, and farming. Men and boys tend to be involved in cattle herding, hunting, fishing and charcoal production. Even in more challenging times of drought, insecurity (with farming activities inhibited) and as IDPs, strict gender roles often constrain 'sharing responsibilities in the household', with both men and women viewing men's roles to be primarily related to providing for the family monetarily (CARE South Sudan 2016b). Women may thus continue to fulfill her domestic duties whilst men may engage in social interaction, and leisure activities (playing cards, drinking tea).

Figure 3.1: Typical pastoralist gender roles/responsibilities in East Africa

Activity	Male			Female		
	Child	Adult	Elder	Child	Adult	Elder
PRODUCTIVE						
Herding	X	X		X		
Animal Health		X			X	
Animal Mobility	X	X				
Grass Collection				X	X	X
Preparing Milk					X	X
Churning Butter				X	X	X
Lifting up Animals	X	X	X	X	X	X
Slaughtering		X	X			
Managing Small Animals				X	X	
Livestock Marketing		X	X			
Land Preparation		X			X	
Land Clearing	X	X				
Harvesting		X			X	
Threshing	X	X	X	X	X	
Store Construction		X			X	
Charcoal Making	X	X			X	
Sowing		X				
Weeding	X	X	X	X	X	X
Guarding Crops	X	X	X	X	X	
Migration						
REPRODUCTIVE						
Food Preparation				X	X	
Fetching Water	X			X	X	
Fuelwood Collection	X			X	X	
Protecting Children				X	X	X
Washing Clothes				X	X	
House Construction					X	
House Cleaning				X	X	
Fencing Field		X			X	
Fencing Kraal		X	X			
Cleaning Kraal				X	X	X
COMMUNITY						
Veterinary Services		X	X		X	X
Collecting Mineral Salt		X	X			
Meetings		X	X			
Weddings	X	X	X	X	X	X
Funerals		X	X		X	X

Source: Aregu et al (2007: 39)

Research Findings in South Sudan

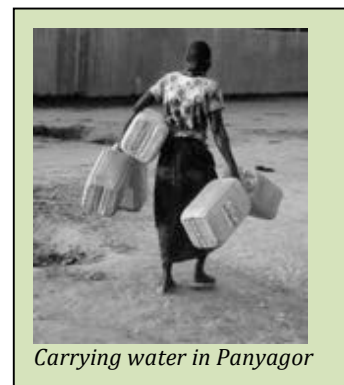
Chores still heavy for predominately women (with support of girls) but access to water improved

In target and settled communities in Twic East and Torit, Dinka and Otuko women and girls were shown to **still be fully responsible for all domestic related chores**, including collecting **water each day** and **firewood**, in addition to washing clothes, household shopping, food preparation, farming and grinding grains. These activities thus still very much dominate women (and girls') lives despite increasing context-related challenges, with **widows/FHHs** often facing the greatest burdens: to both support the household domestically and economically.

Access to water (improved)

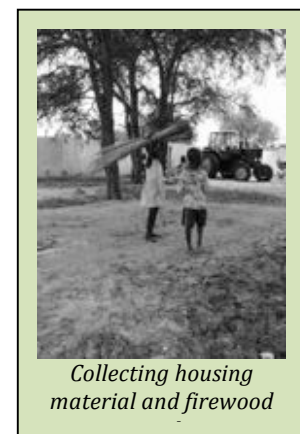
Contrasting to Ethiopia and Kenya, the research suggested that the **availability and access to water has generally improved** in most of the target research villages in both Twic East and Torit as a result of the rehabilitation and drilling of boreholes by CARE and other NGOs in the past 5-7 years (in Torit, the use of solar-driven drills was highlighted).

On average, in Twic East, women and girls reported spending **1-2 hours collecting water each day**, and in Torit, **30 minutes to 1 hour** (including walking to water sources and back), improving in some villages (from 3 plus hours per day in 2011). This is considered foremost a woman's responsibility, with daughters now helping their mothers before/after school.



Access to firewood (worsened)

In terms of access to firewood however, in all research villages, the situation was less positive, with increasing challenges sourcing wood, in vein with pastoralist research in neighbouring countries. Wood collection remains an exclusively female activity in both Dinka and Otuko communities, with the adult women of the house predominantly involved in this activity. If women are sick or pregnant, her daughters are then expected to take over this activity or even female neighbours. In Twic East, women spent on average, **3-6 hours fetching firewood at least 2 to 3 times a week** (from 1-3 hours, or unchanged, in 2011). In Torit, women again spent on average, **3-6 hours fetching firewood at least 2 to 3 times a week** (from 1-2 hours, or unchanged, in 2011). In both research locations, access to firewood had worsened both due to the decreasing availability of wood, and **increasing levels of risk. Local deforestation** (to make charcoal) was blamed for decreasing availability of wood, in addition to the **swelling community populations as a result of IDPs**. Insecurity was highlighted either from the (armed) Murle tribe (in Twic East), or from local militia groups (in Torit) with threats of rape and death. This meant that access routes were limited, with roads sometimes avoided due to visibility. With insecurity, women also avoided straying too far from the villages. In some cases, villages had also moved to less forested areas. In Torit, the use of charcoal for domestic cooking was increasing,



Pressures and effects of workloads

In general, women's 'domestic work norms' appear to remain the same in both research locations, with some relief in the intensity of work with improved access to water. Yet

whilst not fully investigated, **FHHs** – an increasing phenomenon with conflict, displacement and divorce - may face greater challenges in both completing chores and looking after children, with children often left to fend for themselves with **increased food insecurity in such households**, particularly during the dry season (Sharp 2017). The weight of domestic chores also influences girls' ability to do homework with 'expectations to carry out domestic chores' once home. In a few cases in Twic East, there appears to be some shifts towards **sharing a few responsibilities with family boys and men**, particularly with increasing challenges and risks of collecting firewood (as in Somaliland). In both Warnyol, Lith payam and Aliet, Nyuak payam, there appeared to be some new involvement of young Dinka boys and 'good-hearted' men with traditionally women's chores such as fetching water, cited by the adolescents, possibly due to the increased difficulties in other duties. Meanwhile, in Torit, Otuko boys and men were now helping out with 'gardening' and cultivation work (adolescent group, Bur payam). Yet unlike the Dinka, there were little shifts in more traditional chores, with Otuko men facing possible abuse from other men and a loss in recognition or status, and considered **'unmanly' for supporting domestic chores**. For young men, this could even lead to decreasing marriage prospects (with a loss of interest by village girls). Both men and boys believed that this is the 'natural' work for women and girls as followed by their 'ancestors', and that they can only step in during emergencies (for example, if their sister is sick).

Box 3.4: Trends in weight and responsibilities of domestic chores

"The collection of water has greatly improved with a tap now in our village reducing the time spent on this to under an hour from over several hours previously" (Women's group, Aliet, Twic East)

"Girls go to school but they still help their mothers during holiday time with fetching water, collecting firewood and preparing food" (Adolescent group, Warnyol, Twic East)

"The collection of firewood has become more difficult because of insecurity from the Murle, increasing the risks for young girls and women of rape or death" (Men's group, Pawel, Twic East)

"Some goodhearted boys and men help women in fetching water when the women are too busy" (Adolescent group, Aliet, Twic East)

"There are great changes in domestic chores, with increased access to water with new water points, and the use of charcoal for cooking has improved energy consumption" (Men's group, Bur, Torit)

"We are overworked with domestic chores including cooking food for all of the family, fetching water, collecting firewood. Our parents and brother beat us when we fail to perform these duties" (Adolescent group, Himodonge, Torit)

"The men and boys cannot help out with domestic chores since they will face abuse by their peer groups, be considered 'voiceless' and 'not manly'" (Adolescent group, Bur, Torit)

Summary: Change (2007-2017) and Range in FEMALE DOMESTIC CHORES

- The general scope of women's domestic chores remains unchanged, but there is a mixed picture in terms of the weight of work (with improved access to water), and participation of men. Access to firewood was deteriorating, with deforestation, increasing populations and the context of risk. Schoolgirls face particular challenges in carrying out chores, influencing the quality of their school life and success.
- In **Twic East**, time spent **collecting water** has improved to **1-2 hours daily**, from 3+ hours/day previously. Time spent **collecting firewood** included **3-6 hours (over) two-three times a week**, worsening from 1-3 hours previously.

- In Torit, time spent collecting water has improved to **30 minutes - 1 hour daily**, from 3+ hours/day previously. Time spent collecting firewood included **3-6 hours (over) two-three times a week**, worsening from 1-2 hours previously.

3.2.3 Women's access to/control over assets (and productive resources)

Traditionally, in most East African pastoralist societies, women and girls do not have the rights to own or inherit household resources and assets (CARE Ethiopia 2009). This relates primarily to livestock as the main family assets, but also increasingly land in agro-pastoralist communities. Typically, pastoralist men have family resources that are allocated to them, and accessible on marriage, and other assets that may be negotiable. For example in terms of wedding gifts, for pastoralist boys in Ethiopia, these may include 'four cows, four lambs and four goats' (from his family). Wedding gifts to the girls however may include only 'a stick, a comb, one goat and cattle' from her family (Ritchie 2015).

In South Sudan, pastoralist women do not also own individual 'capital' assets. The cattle and other livestock belong to the men (as large assets) in addition to land. Women may be responsible for small ruminants such as sheep, goats and chickens, but she may need to consult him on their sale. As in other pastoralist societies in East Africa, women may also manage and control the production, distribution and disposal of livestock products such as milk in the household (Gebreyes et al 2016). Rural women in South Sudan are described to only have access to and control over items that may be used for their 'reproductive and non-paid domestic work' including household utensils and food stuff (CARE South Sudan 2016b).

Traditionally, pastoralist women do not also control/keep the household money. Women are typically seen as managers of the household and in charge of subsistence spending only. Men control 'larger sums of money on matters outside of the household' (CARE South Sudan 2016b). Traditionally any limited income made by women from the sale of low value resources is also channeled directly into the household, with women thus constrained from strategic capital accumulation (ibid.). This has made women economically dependent on their husbands (with the major family assets under his control). In the event of the death of her husband, all livestock and assets are expected to remain in the husband's family, with the wife expected to remarry the brother or male relative of her husband as a 'protector' and to essentially ensure that the assets remain in the family (sometimes called 'wife inheritance').

Legally however, women are in fact granted rights to own and inherit assets. Whilst precise procedures for intestate succession are still lacking (ACPF 2015), the **Constitution of South Sudan specifically outlines that women have 'the right to own property** and to share in the estate of their deceased husbands together with any surviving legal heirs of the deceased' (CARE South Sudan 2016b). At present, there is little knowledge or implementation of such laws at the community or formal institutional level. Yet despite this, with the 'strongly patrilineal nature of South Sudanese society', widows and orphans often are unable to realize their rights to inheritance due to customary claim by the husband's family (ACPF 2015), with little objection from authorities at the local level.

Box 3.5: Dominance of customary law in East Africa

"Customary laws or traditions have an unflinching and unrivalled influence over written law in many African nations, to the extent that they contradict written law and sometimes override it with the complicity of society members who stick to them out of fear".

In some pastoralist communities in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia (ACPF 2015, 2016, 2017), women's access to resources is now slowly changing. In particular, women are

more involved in cash management and control in the household, with engagement in VSLAs and increasing petty trading. Women described a newfound financial freedom through their own savings, income and disposable cash bringing new support to the household, and new independence and empowerment for women. Yet it is worth highlighting that in times of stress and conflict in South Sudan such new livelihoods and opportunities for women's independent resources can be threatened. CARE (2016) research in Eastern Equatoria indicated increased harassment of women in small business activities by men, and sometimes a refusal to pay for goods/services.

Research Findings in South Sudan

In the target regions, the research drew attention to **very limited shifts in women's resource ownership and control**, and inheritance. In Twic East, typical Dinka household farming land ranged from **2-6 fedans per household** ('reduced from previous times'⁵⁵), and **50-100 smaller ruminants** (goats and chickens), indicating continued pastoralism. In Torit, typical Otuko household farming land ranged from **20-50 katala per household**, and on average, **5-20 cattle** ('for dowry') with **5-20 smaller ruminants** (goats and chickens), indicating a more farming lifestyle.

In terms of farming in Twic East, Oxfam staff highlighted the **impact of the crisis** on livelihoods, with the practice of (sorghum mainly) cultivation 'collapsing' after the crisis in Juba 2013, with people fleeing. Whilst villagers are now returning, production remains at 20% of the farming levels in 2013. One of the key inhibiting factors was reported to be **food distribution creating an ongoing 'dependency'** and not encouraging people to 'earn a living'.⁵⁶ A further constraint was reported to be the lack of ownership of land.

Control and management of large assets (no change)

In Twic East and Torit, **large assets such as livestock and land are similarly still primarily owned and controlled by the men**. This means that money for the livestock once sold belongs to the man. Men tend to manage larger livestock, with women managing minor assets (e.g. small ruminants such as goats and chickens).⁵⁷ In particular, cattle still 'provide[s] social recognition' for Dinka men (Sharp 2017), and are associated with wealth (see box inset). Yet with war and the polarization of wealth in some northern Dinka regions, the accumulation of wealth has led to the increased protection with armed groups and a disintegration of community social safety nets (ibid.⁵⁸). In Twic East, the armed nature of herders was highly visible but was attributed to threats from the Murle (although accumulation dynamics warrant further research).

Limited change in women's access/control of traditional assets

Box 3.6: Livestock and wealth in South Sudan

'Livestock wealth redistribution through dowry, social obligatory payments and raiding (even in peaceful times) are deeply embedded traditions in the social fabric of herding communities that make the notion of wealth group classifications transitory (excepting those wealthy groups affiliated with the military and the Government). The sudden shift in the livestock wealth status of households is a critical factor that makes targeting of the poor difficult at times in South Sudan.'

Source: Gabreyes et al. (2016)

In terms of land, most of the family plots are community owned land but individual

⁵⁵ Today there is a 'low level' of farming in Twic East, compared to levels before 2013 (and in strong contrast to the intensive farming of the 1980s). Due to the prevailing context of insecurity and risk, households are often only actually cultivating **1 fedan** at present (Department of Agriculture, Twic East).

⁵⁶ Interview with Oxfam Food Security and Livelihoods staff, Panyagor 16 August 2027.

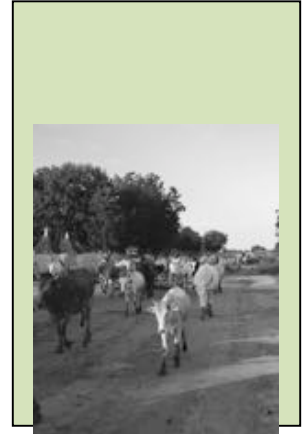
⁵⁷ Unlike other pastoralist groups in neighbouring countries, the use and sell of various livestock products (e.g. hides, butter) is not common amongst the Dinka in Twic East.

⁵⁸ Sharp (2027) refers to further research on the topics of cattle, wealth and safety nets by Harragin (2007)

households have an allocation, as agreed with village authorities. Land tends to be co-managed by men and women, although men still perceive it to belong to them.

Cash management, and petty trading (attitudes shifting)

In terms of cash management, there has been **little practical change in habits in recent times**. The husband may oversee the main household budget, with women ‘managing smaller household expenses’, including the ‘day-to-day’ budget for food shopping, particularly ‘working’ women that can be ‘trusted’ (i.e. active women in the household). In some villages, the women will look after all of the household money, as typical in Torit (notably more so than in Twic East), but she will still only have control over smaller expenses. For larger expenses such as clothes and shoes, and school fees, the women will need to seek permission from her husband (over 90% of women). In desperate situations, women in Torit described selling their crops (women’s group, Himodinge, Torit). FHHs have more control of daily income, but may still be overseen by the husband’s male relatives (in terms of sell of major assets).⁵⁹ Up to **20-50% of all households were described to be ‘women-led’** in Twic East, and **30-50% of all households described to be ‘women-led’** in Torit, with women responsible for daily life in the household and cash management (and this number was indicated to be on the rise).



Larger assets still controlled by men

With recent war and displacement, many women seem to be slowly gaining more control and management of the household income. In some cases, women receive an allowance of 1,000 SSP per month to support household spending (women’s group, Aliet). In research communities, new VSLA groups have also been established in Twic East but activities remain in their early stages with little reported impact on savings and petty trading (less than 10% of women engage in such activities in Twic East). A major driver of change in households is women’s increasing responsibility for their families leading to a redistribution of gender roles and power, with liberalizing effects for women. In moving towards increased female self-sufficiency, the engagement of women in trading has been a growing trend in pastoralist communities *See Appendix 5 for a background on VSLAs*.

Inheritance rights and ‘wife’ inheritance (slow change)

Both men’s and women’s groups indicated that over the past 5-10 years **not much had changed in terms of women’s inheritance rights**. Communities still follow traditional customary law – with major assets (livestock and land) inherited by male relatives. Women have no rights to inherit assets directly as daughters or wives, and widows are still (mostly) obliged to remarry one of her husband’s male relatives particularly if they are young (wife inheritance). Such practices reinforce the notion that women are the property of men. In November 2016, CARE’s research in Jonglei indicated that women are still perceived as the ‘property’ of men and their family, with children conceived in the marriage also considered the ‘property’ of the husband’s family (CARE South Sudan 2016a). Yet with men away and engaged in conflict, **inheritance matters were becoming an increasing issue**, as in many other parts of South Sudan.

Indicating some nuances in the research, for women who are over 40-45 years of age, and particularly those that are beyond childbearing age, they may now have more choice to remain alone with their children if they wish. Yet if they are younger and have no sons (older than 12 years old), they may face pressure to marry the husband’s brother or

⁵⁹ The nature of household control by FHHs needs further exploration, particularly the women’s ability to sell assets.

relative, or adopt a boy from the husband's family as a son. This boy will inherit some of the cattle, and will take the name of his dead 'father'. In both cases (young and old widows), there is a perception that women can take over the management of family livestock and land once the husband dies, but they **cannot sell without the husband's family agreement** (it ultimately still 'belongs' to his family). In some cases, women may even remarry out of the community (men's group, Pawel, Twic East), but children over the age of 8 and all assets may be expected to remain with the husband's family. In Twic East, current estimates suggest that 'wife inheritance' may be still more than **70% for those under 40-45 years in research locations**, but may have fallen to **10-30% for over 40-45 year olds** (from over 50-80% previously). In Torit, 'wife inheritance' may be **40-70% for those under 40-45 years in research locations**, but may have fallen to **10-30% for over 40-45 year olds** (from over 50-80% previously). Yet with the recent crisis in Torit, the inheritance of widows was said to have recently increased again with high numbers of young widows (men's group, Hiyala, Torit). Indicating changing perceptions, some villages felt that women's direct inheritance was in fact better as it enabled them to be more 'independent and self sufficient' (men's group, Himodonge, Torit). Yet the Department of Gender in Torit admitted that there was "a long way to go", before women's inheritance rights would change on the ground.

Once again, the **pursuit of formal justice by women for property-related disputes is still uncommon although increasing**, with cases of widows and women seeking divorce.⁶⁰ Yet as indicated in recent reports (ACPF 2015), women still tend to have 'lower bargaining power' than men in customary court proceedings, with courts controlled and attended by men, and outcomes geared towards 'social cohesion and compromise over protecting the property rights of widows and their children. In addition, the formal courts in Sudan still favour customary law over written laws. In the case of divorced women, the division of household assets remains unclear and is still at the discretion of the local traditional court. For example in Twic East, traditional courts described a maximum of 10 cows returned to divorcees.⁶¹ In the case of inheritance, whilst women over 40 are considered 'mature' and may stay with their husband's assets, for women younger than 40, the court advises her remarriage to one of husband's male relatives (ibid).

Box 3.7: Changing resource dynamics and perceptions on inheritance

"There has ben no change to our traditions because women are seen as the main resource of the family and she must stay with her husband's brother if she is still of childbearing age" (Men's group, Warnyol, Twic East).

"Now for women over 40 or 45 years of age, she is not obliged to marry again, particularly if she has sons that can take responsibility for the livestock" (Women's group, Pawel, Twic East).

"We are experiencing so much hunger, it is better not to remarry" (Women's group, Aliet Twic East).

"Wife inheritance should continue because it is a good way of multiplying the population but what should change is the way it is done: consent should be gained" (Men's group, Bur, Torit).

"Women may keep the household cash but men control its use" (Men's group, Himodonge, Torit)

⁶⁰ Interview with Duot Agang, Acting Payam Chief of Traditional Justice Court for Twic East.

⁶¹ Interview with Duot Agang, Acting Payam Chief of Traditional Justice Court for Twic East.

Summary: Change (2007-2017) and Range in ACCESS/CONTROL OF RESOURCES

- Women's practical control/access to traditional resources such as livestock, land and cash has seen limited change, except in FHHs or those in VSLAs. Yet attitudes around women's roles and entitlements (e.g. inheritance) are starting to slowly change particularly with education and exposure as IDPs, and cases of divorce,
- In Twic East, up to **20-50% of all households may be FHHs**, with women responsible for daily life in the household and cash management
- In Torit, up to **30-50% of all households may be FHHs** with women responsible for daily life in the household and cash management
- In Twic East, 'wife inheritance' may be still more than **70% for those under 40-45 years in research locations**, but may have fallen to **10-30% for over 40-45 year olds** (from over 50-80% previously).
- In Torit, 'wife inheritance' may be **40-70% for those under 40-45 years in research locations**, but may have fallen to **10-30% for over 40-45 year olds** (from over 50-80% previously).

3.2.4 Women's participation in decision-making / gender relations

Looking closer at gender dynamics, in pastoralist societies, women and girls are traditionally viewed as 'secondary' to men and boys, with implications for household/ community roles, responsibilities and entitlements, and gender relations. Starting from birth, pastoralist boys are more valued than girls. Crudely speaking, the girl child may only be valued for her eventual bride price. Girls may thus not be recognized much in their early years in their families, but then she is suddenly temporarily 'valued' at the time of her marriage for the income and prestige that this brings to her parents and family (i.e. not valued for herself but what she can bring). In some pastoralist societies, boy children may be celebrated with gunfire and ululating at birth, and subsequent celebrations are held at his ritual circumcision (at around 10-14 years old). In contrast, celebrations for girl children are subdued, if they take place at all. Later in life however, women may again be re-valued as 'wise' women, particularly older widows. These perspectives and life stages are translated into family roles, responsibilities and social positions, shaping gender relations within and outside of the home. With her (mostly) secondary status, girls and women are thus de-prioritized in terms of food distribution and in general household entitlements. Girls remain closest to their mothers, and obliged to give respect to her brothers and father. Girls may be particularly controlled by her **brothers**, who can act as 'moral gatekeepers' ensuring that she does not offend the family's honour (through relations with boys and in general social conduct).

With their **secondary status**, pastoralist women and girls are not traditionally included in household decision-making, and community meetings and gatherings. Yet research in Ethiopia indicates that women may draw instead on "informal" sources of power' (CARE Ethiopia 2011). This can be through their husbands, or through fostering a community reputation as a 'strong or wise women' (ibid). However such a voice may have a limited sphere of influence, within the family or clan. Indicating women's own collective strength, pastoralist women may also collaborate to support each other as needed, for example women that are sick, or pregnant, in providing labour for firewood and water, and organizing the distribution of milk. Such activities often happen when men are absent. Indications of changing gender relations are growing across the region however, particularly as more pastoralist girls attend school, and women's livelihoods evolve (Ritchie 2015, 2016). In Ethiopia, Kenya and Somaliland, pastoralist girls emphasized the 'critical' importance of education in particular in terms of enabling more influence of girls in their family (household decision-making), and facilitating greater life choices, including marriage.

In South Sudan, rural pastoralist women have similarly played a limited role in household and community decision-making, and have been excluded from political activity (CARE South Sudan 2016b). Yet, the formulation of new laws and policies is encouraging women's participation in public and political life from the top down. In particular, the Transitional Constitution and Bill of Rights (2011) emphasizes the equality of men and women, and "sets out a 25% Affirmative Action quota for women in legislative and executive bodies" (CARE South Sudan 2016b). Since 2011, UNDP (2016) indicated that the number of women presiding on customary/ traditional courts in Torit rose from 2 to 15. Yet prior to Independence, two decades of civil war had also 'temporarily transformed gender roles' at the grassroots level setting in motion new norms, with women assuming multiple roles in their communities in the absence of men (ibid.).

Nonetheless, even as pastoralist women's lives change in a greater context of rights (and legal frameworks), and with the emergence of non-traditional livelihoods (e.g. petty trading) and opportunities (education, VSLAs), **customary systems of decision-making have often remained stubbornly non-inclusive** for women limiting women's capacity to participate in traditional community forums, and restricting women's access to services and resources (Ritchie 2015, 2016). Whilst it may be challenging to immediately change the gender composition of traditional meetings, Flintan (2007b: 30) cites Muir (2007) that instead advocates opening up 'other spaces' for women's participation and inclusion (e.g. new community structures and bodies).

Research Findings in South Sudan

In vein with recent research in the region (Ritchie 2015, 2016, 2017), the research in Jonglei and Eastern Equatoria indicates that perceptions of pastoralist women and girls by family men, and related gender relations, are slowly improving and evolving, with **'more respect' now given to women** as household and community contributors (beyond just domestic workers and farmers). Up to a third of households were reported as FHHs in the research locations, with women responsible for daily domestic affairs. Notably, the extent of micro-management from other family men remained unclear (and decision-making), and would require further analysis.

Women are increasingly involved in decision-making but excluded from traditional forums

Household decision-making (limited change)

There were in fact **little reported shifts in women's household decision-making** in recent times. Women tend to be responsible for domestic affairs such as daily chores, food preparation and distribution, and food/clothes purchases. For any major household decision-making including medium to large household expenses, children going to school, and the marriage of children, women will need to consult with men. In Twic East, it appears that **over 70-80% of women may be 'consulted' in major family decision-making**, with perhaps only 10-30% of women having any strong influence (although there are trends towards women's increasing influence). Where husbands are present, the decision itself still belongs to the men. In Torit, it appears that there may slightly higher levels of participation, with over 80-90% of **women 'consulted' in major family decision-making**, with perhaps 30% of women having any strong influence (although there are trends again towards women's increasing influence). **Once more, where present, the actual decisions are still taken by men.** For example, women may also be consulted on the sale of larger animals, and may advise their



In most households, 'big decisions' still belong to men but household dynamics are changing

husbands on the best animal to sell. Women also may report to their husbands that the family food level is low or that 'something is missing' in the household, i.e. they need money for clothes, and they can encourage him to sell cattle. Women can further advise on school education for the children. In general, men were reported to still have the final word on family matters dominating over decisions, with the persistent notion that 'big decisions belong to men'. **In FHHs, women may make such decisions, as men are essentially absent.** As in other countries in the region, educational expenses for the children were seen as a primarily female responsibility, meaning that the financial burden lay primarily with the women (often with women juggling other expenses).

Community participation (improving)

In terms of women's participation in community meetings, **two types of public meetings** were highlighted in Dinka and Otuko communities: **traditional meetings, and non-traditional, government and NGO forums.** In terms of traditional meetings, this includes community and dispute resolution meetings, where major community security issues, marital conflicts and challenges are discussed. These still **remain largely the domain of men** (initiating and coordinating such meetings), although women may attend these 'if they are called'. Notably, Otuko women in Torit highlighted their own (cultural) women's collectives, where women would come together to discuss household issues, particularly in the dry season.

In terms of non-traditional forums, in each payam, the government has now established *payam* special village committees that include women as well as men. The village *payam* committee is the initial bridge and entry-point to the community, and coordinates development projects and activities. Meanwhile, NGO bodies include **peace clubs/committees** and **VSLAs**. Special, often more temporary, village subgroups may also be established for youth, women and health. In some villages, women may also form church groups.

Indicating greater engagement in community meetings and decision-making (outside of gatherings related to 'war and security'⁶² issues), women's participation can now be estimated on average, at around **20-30% of community meetings** in Twic East, and **up to 50% in Torit, with some women now even in positions of authority** (e.g. Garlei, Twic East, and in church committees), **from limited participation before 2011** (less than 20% participation). In both locations, there was now increasing acceptability of such public engagement although women may be unable to attend due to the dominance of domestic chores.

Drivers of change

The research indicates tangible social change related to women's engagement in (non-traditional) community meetings and decision-making. At the village level, women's increased participation has largely been driven by a push for women's inclusion in community committees (in line with legislation). Over the past 5-7 years in particular, there has been **new stipulation by the government** for women's participation in *payam* committees, and there have been **concerted efforts by NGOs** such as CARE to foster women's **inclusion** in these various community bodies. There has also been an increasing **role/influence of the church** in recent years, with women's new participation in religious committees, particularly in Twic East.

The positive effects of women's increasing community-level inclusion, after earlier (empowering) experiences of war (with men absent), is indicated to be **changing**

⁶² In such meetings, men will discuss both regional insecurity from militias, but also tribal issues related to cattle raids and abduction.

attitudes about women's participation in decision-making at the household level. Men's groups highlighted the positive cultural 'change' in women's participation in bringing women 'out of the dark' (Pawel, Twic East), although women maintained that men still made the decisions. Nonetheless women emphasized the new importance of being present to hear such discussions, and to talk and raise their voice at this level. Women's participation in household and community decision-making may also be driven by the growing influence of **girls' education**, and new value and interest in girls' development and societal inclusion. Yet simultaneously, the persistence of **village level insecurity and conflict seem to be holding progress back**, as men are still viewed as 'protectors' and dominate in critical community matters. This feeds into the 'hyper-masculinity' of males, and traditional dominance.

VSLAs: a platform for women's development and empowerment

Taking a special look at **VSLAS**, CARE has now established a total of 31 VSLAs in Twic East⁶³, and recently, 18 in Torit⁶⁴ (2017). Initially established with women (20-25 per group), CARE has faced backlashes from village men in Twic East in particular, and has now integrated men into these groups. Whilst commendable and a good short-term solution, this ultimately may suppress the potential of group members to be social and economic activists in their households and communities. A preferable solution would be to establish parallel men's groups, with linkages between the groups for potential training and possible collaboration. As in Ethiopia and Kenya, women's social organization in VSLAs boosts women's skills and financial literacy, as well as enhances women's confidence and assertiveness. These platforms further foster trading activities and new business initiatives, and trigger women's greater involvement in community social matters and decision-making. For community women that have often missed education, this participation is often described to be the 'largest driver of change', influencing their lives, changing perceptions of women, and even fostering new self-beliefs that they could also be leaders (Ritchie 2017).

Box 3.8: Towards a new norm? Women's changing roles in household and community

"We can report to our husbands if household items are missing, or more food is needed. We can then encourage him to sell livestock if needed" (Women's group, Wanglei, Twic East)

"Women are now involved in all levels of decision-making [from household level to community level] except security issues" (Men's group, Wanglei, Twic East)

"Women now attend community level meetings and this is a big change for us. We can now discuss important issues in front of people and to tell then what is missing" (Women's group, Warnyol, Twic East)

"Women now have more power in attending community meeting and giving our opinions, particularly older women and widows" (women's group, Himodonge, Torit)

⁶³ Under the CARE PUC project (CARE NL 2016b), a total of 22 VSLAs were established in Twic East and Duc. More recently (2017), a further 9 VSLAs were established in Twic East (correspondence with Dorcas Acen, 4 October 2017).

⁶⁴ Outside of research communities.

Summary: Change (2007-2017) and Range in WOMEN'S DECISION-MAKING

- Women are increasingly involved in community decision-making (except traditional meetings) with NGO/government efforts, and education, shifting local attitudes related to women in decision-making at all levels.
- In Twic East, women's 'consultation' in major household decision-making (including expenditure, marriage of children etc.) may have risen to **70-80% of households**. Women's involvement in community decision-making has increased: with **20-30% of attendees now women** in local gatherings (except security), from **less than 20%**.
- In Torit, women's 'consultation' in major household decision-making (including expenditure, marriage of children etc.) may have risen to **80-90% of households**. Women's involvement in community decision-making has increased: **up to 50% of attendees are** now women in local gatherings (except security), from **less than 20%**.
- Notably, 20-50% of households are now cited as FHHs, with women as primary decision-makers.

3.2.5 Access and participation in basic services (health and education)

Traditionally, women in pastoralist societies in East Africa were viewed as 'home dwellers', with men's role to protect and look after women in this private domain. As such, women did not 'need' to participate in public services such as education and health (unless there was a health crisis). Educating the girl child was also considered to be of 'little value', with a preference instead to prepare girls for their ultimate marriage and motherhood (Leah and Abdullah (2009) in Dullo (2012)). In terms of participation in health services, previously pastoralist women were cared for within the home and village (and supported in labour with Traditional Birth Assistants). Sick girl children would also remain at home, and receive non-prescribed medicine. This was in stark contrast to the unlimited efforts that might be made to care for sick boy children, ensuring that they were seen by qualified health personnel in medical centres, and even selling family livestock to pay for medical costs (CARE Ethiopia 2009).

As schools were introduced in pastoralist areas such as northern Ethiopia, there remained fears that this may lead educated girls to abandon their culture, and in particular, possibly threaten the marriage system. Whilst higher numbers of girls were starting school⁶⁵, early dropout was common. The low retention rate was due to the weight of domestic chores (particularly due to drought), school expenses and pressure of early marriage. Local conflict was described to be another reason to keep girls at home. The migration calendar was further indicated to be at odds with the school year. Whilst demand was increasing, on the 'supply' side of education, schools were often located far from villages (secondary schools in particular), often had missing teachers and lacked facilities and equipment.⁶⁶ The majority of local pastoralists were also still 'not willing' to send their children to school (ibid). Yet recent research in East Africa (Ritchie 2015b, 2016, 2017) indicated that both attitudes and practices of pastoralist groups towards education were now changing rapidly, with up to 80% of girls attending primary school and 50% in secondary school. In Somaliland in particular, CARE has channeled significant efforts into promoting pastoralist girls' education and empowering girls at school through innovative structures, including Child Education Committees⁶⁷. Other structures include Girls' Empowerment Forums (for all girls after Grade 4), and Girls' Leadership training, both facilitated by CARE.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ In Borana, this was attributed to the establishment of a girls' education forum.

⁶⁶ Oxfam (2005) contended that schooling for nomadic and pastoralist societies has often been de-prioritised and not tailored to the context (ignoring linguistic/cultural variations and disconnected from the community) (CARE 2015).

⁶⁷ A key activity of CARE Somalia, CECs act as a bridge between the school and the community, facilitating consultation with different local stakeholders. The CECs usually comprise 7 members including a Secretary

Education

In South Sudan, the **educational sector** is still extremely poor due to a lack of schools, qualified teachers, and materials (CIA 2017)⁶⁹. After Independence, teachers and students have also struggled with the change in language of instruction from Arabic to English. In the current generation, the overall literacy rate for under 18s is estimated at 40% for girls and 60% for boys (World Bank 2012). In 2011, the average female net enrolment in primary school was just 36% in contrast to Sub-Saharan Africa at 75% (World Bank 2011). UNICEF estimated that up to 70% of children from 6-17 years had never 'set foot in school'.⁷⁰ Many young people have also missed out on schooling due to continued conflict and instability. CARE (2016) indicates that restrictions on movement have had a particular impact on girls. Both boys and girls are also held back to engage in household labour activities. In Eastern Equatoria, many households are also child-headed due to a loss of parents to HIV/AIDS and conflict (ibid), with many of these family heads also traumatized due to exploitation and sexual violence (girls).

After Independence, major efforts were made to accelerate girls' participation in education. In 2012, the **General Education Act** in South Sudan emphasizes and promotes gender-equal and discrimination-free education, in line with the Child Act (2008). The Girls' Education Strategy for South Sudan 2015-17 highlights major persisting household and community barriers including: gender norms with girls only considered prospective wives and mothers as well direct and indirect cost of schooling (including fees, uniforms, exercise books and other learning materials as well as loss child labour, peer influence (learning environment and quality of teaching)).⁷¹ Meanwhile school-based barriers include language of instruction and curriculum; lack of female teachers and role models; low Child Friendly School (CFS) standards, including lack of learning spaces (with only half schools having permanent classrooms) and access to school meals; WASH facilities (with over half of schools having no access to latrines), and lack of sanitary pads; and Gender-Based Violence (both on the way to school, and at school).⁷² Major national efforts have been rolled out since 2011 to accelerate girls' school education. This includes public information campaigns with UNICEF (*Back to Learning* initiative), public debates and rallies, radio and theatre posters and direct incentives to support schools and girl children. A key nation-wide programme, the DFID funded **Girls'**

Box 3.9: Girls' Education South Sudan (GESS)

Girls' Education South Sudan (GESS) is a six-year DFID programme (2013-2018) that aims to 'transform a generation of South Sudanese girls by increasing access to quality education'. Major outputs include:

- Enhanced household and community awareness and empowerment for supporting girls' education through radio programmes and community outreach.
- Effective partnerships between GRSS and local organizations to deliver a community-based school improvement programme which include: a) Cash Transfers to girls and their families; b) Capitation Grants to schools; c) provision of practical support to schools
- Increased knowledge and evidence available to policy makers of what works to promote girls' education in South Sudan.

<http://girlseducationsouthsudan.org/about-gess/>

(usually the Head Teacher), Chair (active member of community), and 5 members (interested local parents). At least two members are women. The CEC is responsible for making a School Improvement Plan (SIP) including construction needs. They also raise funds from within, and beyond the community (e.g. diaspora) to support school infrastructure and education.

⁶⁸ After Grade 4, each grade selects two class leaders to participate in various training including leadership skills development, child protection, and menstrual hygiene. They are then involved with peer-to-peer training, and act as a go-to focal point for the other girls in the class

⁶⁹ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/so.html>

⁷⁰ UNICEF South Sudan; <http://www.unicef.org/southsudan/Education.pdf> in CARE (2016).

⁷¹ South Sudan Ministry of Education (2015)

⁷² South Sudan Ministry of Education (2015)

Education South Sudan (GESS) programme includes a capitation grant for schools (removing registration fees for parents), and direct cash transfers and scholarships to increase girls' enrolment (2013-18) from Primary Year 5 to Secondary Year 4 (2,300 SSP) – see box inset. Under GESS, a radio programme was also developed with BBC Media Action '*Our School*' recording the lives of girls and their families as they struggled to go to school. The current school system consists of 12 grades, including primary level with eight grades, and secondary level with four grades.

Maternal health

In South Sudan, UNDP (2017) estimates that 75% of people still do not have access to health services.⁷³ Statistics indicate some of the **worst indicators of mother and child health in the world**: with high maternal mortality rate (789 deaths per 100,000 births), high infant mortality (64.6 deaths per lives births), and high fertility rates (5.07 births per woman) (CIA 2017). The high maternal mortality rate is attributed to a lack of health care workers, facilities, and supplies; poor infrastructure and transport; as well as 'cultural beliefs' that prevent women from seeking obstetric care, and social habits: with women marrying young and starting to have children early, and delivery outside of health care facilities, with traditional birth attendants that are unable to handle complications (ibid). Maternal morality is also linked to the 'over-intensification of pregnancies', common in South Sudan.⁷⁴

Yet, there are now **major efforts underway to support the development and provisions of health services in South Sudan**, including maternal health. Policy-wise, the Ministry of Health has developed the South Sudan Maternal, Neonatal and Reproductive Health Strategy (2008- 2011). Under the umbrella of the EU/USAID funded Health Pooled Fund (HPF)⁷⁵, NGOs may support health services in county catchment areas ('lots'). Now a major national programme in 8 out of the 10 former states⁷⁶, this includes Eastern Equatoria (with Save the Children as the local implementing partner). HPF partners support maternal health (including antenatal, delivery support, emergency obstetric and newborn care, post natal care, sexual and reproductive health and family planning), child health, and disease prevention and control through direct services in primary health care facilities, hospitals and in the community. A new policy under the programme is that each *boma* should have a primary care unit.

Research Findings in South Sudan

In Jonglei and Eastern Equatoria, there has been significant **improvement in both the quality of educational services and girls' participation**⁷⁷ over the past decade.

In the past 7 years in particular, the number of schools (Table 3.1) has not greatly changed, but a number of schools have been upgraded with NGO support.⁷⁸ Yet this

Improved girls' participation in primary education but drop out in secondary

⁷³ http://www.ss.undp.org/content/south_sudan/en/home/countryinfo.html Accessed 29 Sept 2017.

⁷⁴ Interview with Yvonne Uwemana, CARE Sexual Reproductive Health Advisor (East Africa), 29 August 2017

⁷⁵ A £120 million partnership with the MoH, the first phase of HPF was implemented over 2012 – 2016, building on previous health system strengthening programmes, such as the Sudan Health Transformation Project, the Multi Donor Trust Fund and the Basic Services Fund. Supported by a range of donors including DFID, USAID and the EU, HPF2 started in 2016 covering 8 of 10 of the former states (including Eastern Equatoria but excluding Jonglei), and will run through to 31 March 2018. <http://www.hpfsouthsudan.org/health-service-delivery/>

⁷⁶ To date however, Jonglei remains outside the remit of HPF support.

⁷⁷ From very low proportions in 2010, the National Education Statistics report indicates the overall enrolment ratio in Imatong state (2016) to include 55% boys and 45% girls. Drop out rates from school were also similar (primary and secondary) in Imatong state in 2015 (MoGEI 2017).

⁷⁸ Yet The National Education Statistics survey (MoGEI 2017) indicated that for Imatomg state, at primary level, only 68% of schools were permanent or semi-permanent structures, and 23% still had no latrines for

picture may not fully capture all institutions. A recent report on ‘National Education Statistics’ provided some interesting further indicators for Eastern Equatoria⁷⁹ (Imatong state (including Torit county)) with 30-50% of schools recorded as non-governmental (MoGEI 2017).⁸⁰ In both research regions, there is now **increasing interest by local communities** in girls’ education.

Table 3.1: Educational facilities in Twic East and Torit

Region	District	School facilities	2010	2017
Jonglei	Twic East	# Primary schools	38	37
		# Secondary schools	1	1
		# Private/primary	1	1
Eastern Equatoria	Torit	# Primary schools	26	31
		# Secondary schools	5	5
		# Private/secondary	1	1

Source: Department of Education in Panyagor and Torit.

Primary school participation (major change)

Across the target research locations, there has been a significant rise in girls attending primary school (aged 8-15 years), with an additional **marked change in community attitudes**. In Twic East, it is estimated that on average **70-90% of girls now attend primary school** (grade 1-8), from 0-25% in 2011. In 2017 primary school enrolment reports, the Department of Education even presented higher numbers of enrolment of girls (55% of total enrolment) than boys (45% of total enrolment).⁸¹ Notably, amongst the Dinka in Twic East, there may often be a delay in sending both girls and boys to school for ‘protection’ reasons (often to avoid possible abduction by the Murle). In Torit, it is estimated that on average **60-90% of girls now attend primary school** (grade 1-8), from 10-50% in 2011.

Across the target villages, there is a new and growing enthusiasm for primary school attendance by both pastoralist girls themselves, and (some of) their families, with **changing community interests and value placed in girls’ skills development**. This has been driven by special government campaigns (e.g. ‘Girls’ Education Day’ in early September), financial incentives for girls e.g. GESS bursary (‘simple things can attract girls to school’⁸²), and NGO support to school facilities. In particular, the GESS financial award at the start of the school year has been a major reported driver of girls’ participation. In a number of villages, primary schools had been formalized from ‘under the tree’ schools to newly constructed concrete classrooms. Adolescent girls also highlighted that some children have also been schooled out of South Sudan in neighbouring communities, often as IDPs. With **IDP exposure and experience**, some parents are reported to now appreciate the importance of education, in terms of the potential of gaining salaried jobs and ability to support ‘family responsibilities’, particularly those that had been IDPs and had spent time in refugee camps. Such parents encourage their children to continue and

students. Indicators are much stronger at secondary level however, with 97% of schools described as permanent or semi-permanent structures, and 100% of schools with latrines.

⁷⁹ No data was available for Jonglei state.

⁸⁰ It indicated that at primary level, a total of just 65% of schools were governmental, and 35% were non-governmental. At secondary level, only 45% of schools were governmental, and 55% were non-governmental.

⁸¹ Figures were not quite complete with a few school missing. Interview with Department of Education, Panyagor, 21 August 2017.

⁸² Interview with Department of Education, Torit, 29 August 2017

finish their studies e.g. in 'buying books and notebooks for them' (adolescent group, Aliet, Twic East). The Department of Education highlighted that some villages in Torit had created **songs in their local language** to encourage girls going to school. Young women are also attending adult education. Yet many older men and women in the community still remain 'ignorant' of the importance of education, particularly those without direct experience. For young boys in Dinka culture, there is even still a cultural preference to send the most intelligent boys to the cattle camp at 9 years old, rather than to send them to school, as they are seen as instrumental in safekeeping the cattle, the pillar of Dinka culture and society.

Secondary school participation (some change)

Whilst primary school participation is high, the Department of Education indicates that participation in secondary school is much lower for both boys and girls, with an estimated 10% of total children completing secondary school in Twic East⁸³, and perhaps 30% of children completing higher education in Torit.⁸⁴ As in other pastoralist areas in East Africa, **vulnerability to full drop out of education mainly occurs in last years of primary and in transition/early stages of secondary school (P6-P8)**, particularly for girls and where secondary schools are not close by. In *Twic East*, the focus groups indicate an estimated **20-40% of rural girls are starting high school** (grade 9-12), from 0-20% in 2010. In *Torit*, the focus groups indicate an estimated **30-75% of rural girls are starting high school** (grade 9-12), from 0-20% in 2010, with higher numbers (75%) found nearer to the city and urban areas (e.g. Himodonge). In each case, only half of those enrolling in high school are indicated to finish, similar to estimates given by the government.

Factors affecting drop out from secondary school 'social trend'

At a national level, the National Educational Statistics survey (MoGEI, 2017) indicates that for girls, some of top reasons for dropping out included not being able to pay costs (14%), long distance to school (14%), family/personal issues (11%), movement/IDP (13%), marriage (9%), and pregnancy (7%). From the adolescent girls in the research locations, the main reported factors influencing girls' dropout from secondary school included the high level of **household chores, family income and poverty (and family preference to send boys to secondary school), a lack of sanitary materials (including soaps and sanitary towels), early pregnancy, and marriage (with some boys/men disallowing girls to return to school)**. In some areas in Torit, adolescent girls also cited **local conflict** as triggering dropout for girls, and a **lack of available schools** with good teachers. **Some children were also orphans**, and thus supporting their households and siblings. Other factors raised outside of the village may include an absence of teachers⁸⁵ or lack of quality teaching staff (and female teachers⁸⁶) at secondary schools (and the change in language of instruction from Arabic to English), a lack of female educated role models in the village, grades at primary school level (and parents related interest in supporting further education), a 'lack of girl friendly spaces', and position in family (elder girl children may have higher domestic pressures). With dropout from the school system, if not already married, girls often succumb to teenage marriage.

Many of village men and women in Twic East attributed girls' school dropout to the '**girls' own choice**', and a **new social trend amongst their peer group to get married** and to be **independent**, unless the girl is obviously 'clever' with continued studying worth

⁸³ Interview with Department of Education, Panyagor, 21 August 2017.

⁸⁴ Interview with Department of Education, Torit, 29 August 2017

⁸⁵ Interview with Caritas International (Caritas Torit is a GESS implementing partner) in Torit, 28 August 2017.

⁸⁶ The National Education Statistics survey (MoGEI 2017) indicated that for Imatong state over 80% of teachers sat both primary and secondary level were still male.

pursuing: 'If you are not clever and do not do well at school, you drop out to get married. If you are intelligent, you remain in school' (women's groups, Lith, Twic East). For clever girls, they may also seek independence from their family, but negotiate continued support from her husband in her studies (in the dowry). The men emphasized the new community culture of acceptance of girls going to school, and a reduction in social and economic barriers, particularly with new financial incentives. Yet school is also reported to open girls' eyes to the outside world and to present exciting opportunities of a different life, with some girls keen to realise independence as soon as possible: 'the girls are exposed to the outside world and this gives them chances to interact with different people in society' (men's group, Pawel, Twic East). The Women's Association in Panyagor, Twic East highlighted the social trend of dropping out of school (to get married) to be reinforced by the **lack of parents' interest** in secondary education, **domestic chores**, and the **context of security and risk**. NGO staff felt that there was also still a greater **preference for boys** to complete school. In Torit, men and women highlighted the pressures of **domestic work**, and poverty as driving dropout and the desire for early marriage.

Box 3.10: Adolescent perspectives of girls' education

"There is a big gap between before Independence and today. Almost all young girls are now in primary education, and most young women are participating in adult education. Some parents are even forbidding marriage until girls finish their studies because they now appreciate the value of education" (Adolescent group, Pawel, Twic East)

"There is some change but some parents without school experience are still ignorant and don't send their girls to primary school" (Adolescent group, Warnyol, Twic East)

"Before there were no [local] schools for girls to study and parents denied us going to school [further away]" (Adolescent group, Bur, Torit)

"Before we were only viewed as sources of wealth i.e. parents looked at us like cattle not human beings" (Adolescent group, Hiyala, Torit)

"Parents now value education for girls: if a girl is educated, she can bring development and great changes in village. Girls can support the family more than boys." (Adolescent group, Himodinge, Torit)

Interestingly, **new trends in family preferences for both girls', as well as women's education** are emerging. Literate girls were emphasized as having 'much dignity' and being more 'independent...[And] they make their own decisions. They also can get a paid job and support their parents in food and paying tuition [for their siblings]' (men's group, Wanglei, Twic East). With a lack of education and high levels of illiteracy (over 70%), women are now also extremely keen to attend non-formal education (reading and writing) often to boost their possible business success and income generation. This in turn influences growing support for girls' skills development and education. Yet despite an increase in the 'worth' of women and girls, in all of the villages there was still a strong preference to educate boys at secondary level over girls.

Maternal health: services and practices (slight changes)

Indicating a more nuanced picture of access to health services than indicated by UNDP (2017), in 90% of target research villages, community representatives indicated the existence of a health facility within 1 hour's walk.⁸⁷ In Twic East, the health sector has been supported by IMA but is currently facing a funding gap (since mid 2016). Due to the crisis, a number of facilities have been temporarily closed. Reflecting some improvement

⁸⁷ Yet current (separate) CARE research is investigating the quality of such providers in Eastern Equatoria.

in the quality of community-level services though, and targeted women's health campaigns, pastoralist women described some shifts in terms of women's attitudes and practices related to maternal health. Yet there were mixed results in terms of giving birth in health facilities, with some bomas indicating over 50% of deliveries now carried out in health facilities e.g. Garlei, and others, indicating under 20% of deliveries carried out in clinics e.g. Wanglei and Aliet. In general, in Twic East an estimated **20-50% of pastoralist women and girls may give birth in clinics** (from less than 10% in 2010, 'emergency cases only'). Yet antenatal checks were now common particularly for new mothers, with over **70-90% of adolescents reporting pre-birth health checks**. In Torit, the health sector has been supported by Save the Children under the Health Pooled Fund. With evidently more funding and support to the health sector, and an 'extension of health facilities to each Boma',⁸⁸ pastoralist women described more dramatic improvement to both local attitudes and maternal health indicators than in Twic East. An estimated **50-70% of pastoralist women and girls may give birth in clinics** in Torit (from less than 10% in 2010, 'emergency cases only'). Notably, delivery figures were still low for more remote areas such as Bur, with just 10-20% of pastoralist women and girls giving birth in clinics. Once again, antenatal checks were now common particularly for new mothers, with over **70-90% of adolescents reporting pre-birth health checks**.

Table 3.2: Health facilities in Twic East and Torit⁸⁹

Region	District	Health facilities	2010/13	2017
Jonglei	Twic East	# Primary Health Care Units /	13	4
		# Primary Health Centres	3	3
		# Hospitals	0	1
Eastern Equatoria	Torit	# Primary Health Care Units	45*	31 (per boma)
		# Primary Health Centres		3
		# Hospitals	1	2

* HPF (2013)

Interestingly, in both research locations, there was a **growing preference for deliveries in clinics**, as opposed to at home, in contrast to other pastoralist regions. In Twic East, the health authorities described deliveries in clinics to be higher closer to Panyagor (70%), and lower in rural areas (30%). In terms of check ups, most women may come just once in the pregnancy, often in the third trimester. After the first pregnancy, women's visits would fall with the assumption that they had managed one pregnancy without problems, and thus did not need any special medical attention for other pregnancies. In Torit, the health authorities described higher numbers of women giving birth in clinics (unless the births are sudden), and highlighted that "they had come a long way since Independence".

In terms of **family planning**, in Twic East, only one village described the use of contraceptives (Garlei adolescent girls). Rural women appeared to be both afraid to consider this (and even talk about it), and feared their husband's reaction. Large family size was still the norm and much valued, with women (over 40 years) in both locations reporting an average of **6-9 children**. According to the health representative in Panyagor,

⁸⁸ Interview with Health Pooled Fund, Torit, 28 August 2017. Further initiatives include the establishment of 'Mother Support Groups' at the village level with local volunteer women to advocate for family planning, the delivery of babies in clinics and other maternal health issues.

⁸⁹ Except where indicated, the numbers given are estimates of current facilities from local interviews.

Dinka women felt that ‘family planning’ was a (harmful) government intervention designed to ‘reduce’ their population. To tackle this perception, the health clinic instead emphasizes ‘spacing’ as opposed to birth control. Yet with limited effective family-planning campaigns, there has been little progress in family size in target research communities. This contrasts to CARE operational areas in neighbouring countries such as Rwanda where theatre and songs are used to shift behavior.⁹⁰ Whilst family planning and the contraceptive prevalence rate (CPR) may be **under 5% in rural areas**, for those women living close to the urban areas, there is now a rise in women obtaining (free) injections to stop pregnancies (every 3 months). Notably, with exposure to new ideas, returnees are more open to family planning. In Torit, there were mixed indicators related to family planning. In all villages, women’s groups described the use of the contraceptive injection as now ‘common’ (up to perhaps **10-30% of women** were reported to contraceptives in the villages, in vein with estimates from the Department of Health)⁹¹, although many women (and men) still do not accept this. In one group, women highlighted changing attitudes around family size, citing the ‘risk of too many children and mouths to feed: what happens if your husband dies?’ Yet for adolescent girls, **the use of family planning was more limited** and only described in Himodonge, closer to Torit.

Taking a special look at emerging new practices related to **maternal-child nutrition**, the research incorporated a brief discussion on the nature of diets of pregnant mothers and exclusive breastfeeding with adolescent girls. In Twic East, it was reported that **pregnant women** may consume fresh cow’s milk but are advised to avoid ‘fatty meat’ due to the perception that this will lead to a difficult delivery. In terms of **exclusive breast-feeding**, in 3 out of the five villages, this practice was only partly followed with persisting beliefs that the mother’s milk was ‘low’ and ‘not enough’ and it must be supplemented with cow’s milk or soup. In 2 villages (Warnyol and Aliet), the six-month rule was better understood and young mothers with trouble breastfeeding have received formulas from local NGOs. In Torit, there were no descriptions of different or special diets followed by pregnant women: either foods to avoid or foods to consume. And in all areas but Bur, adolescents highlighted the new important practice of ‘**exclusive breastfeeding**’ until the baby is 6 months old, after which the baby can be fed ‘porridge, food and soup’. This follows a ‘big campaign’ conducted locally as indicated by the Department of Health.

In general, maternal-child related health and nutrition practices in Twic East and Torit are indicated to be influenced by proximity to urban areas, exposure as IDPs, the age and educational background of the women, and scope of local health facilities. Sharp (2017) also highlights the marital status of women, with FHHs suffering high burdens of work and being unable to feed and look after the children sufficiently.

⁹⁰ Interview with Yvonne Uwemana, CARE Sexual Reproductive Health Advisor (East Africa), 29 August 2017.

⁹¹ In more rural villages, this may be as low as 4%. Interview with Yvonne Uwemana, CARE Sexual Reproductive Health Advisor (East Africa), 29 August 2017

Box 3.11: Divergent perspectives on breastfeeding and family planning

"Some women and girls ignore exclusive breastfeeding as they think that their babies will die of thirst and miss protein in food so they supplement their milk with food such as soup" (Women's group, Garalei, Twic East)

"There are great positive changes for mothers as we are now aware of the importance of breastfeeding a child for more than just one month! We now follow the 'hospital rules' and we can avoid the malnutrition of our babies" (Adolescent group, Himodonge, Torit)

"None of us use family planning: men do not allow it and women do not want it" (Women's group, Garalei, Twic East)

"The use of family planning is becoming more common, with perhaps 2 out of 10 women using the injection or tablets" (Women's group, Hiyala, Torit)

Summary: Change (2007-2017) and Range in Access to EDUCATION and HEALTH

In terms of girls' education, with government campaigns, school grants and financial incentives, there is a significant increase in participation of girls in school, particularly primary level (grade 1-8). (Maternal) health campaigns have had mixed results with some improvement in deliveries in clinics, antenatal/post natal tests but uneven progress in family planning and maternal nutrition.

- In Twic East, it is estimated that on average **70-90% of girls now attend primary school** (from 0-25% in 2011). Participation of girls in secondary education is still relatively low, with **20-40% of rural girls starting high school** (from 0-20%), and only 10-20% completing.
- In Torit, it is estimated that on average **60-90% of girls now attend primary school**, (from 10-50% in 2011). Participation of girls in secondary education may be **30-75% of rural girls starting high school** (from 0-20% in 2010), and only 10-30% completing.

In terms of maternal health, there are improvements in each location but these are more significant in Torit.

- In Twic East, **20-50% of pastoralist women and girls may give birth in clinics**, and **70-90% of adolescents reporting pre-birth health checks** from negligible numbers (emergency only). Family planning use was limited, perhaps **under 5%**.
- In Torit, **50-70% of pastoralist women and girls may give birth in clinics** in Torit and **70-90% of adolescents reporting pre-birth health checks**, from negligible numbers (emergency only). Family planning use was estimated at **10-30% of women**.

Drawing all of the key findings together, this chapter has indicated mixed results in terms of pastoralist women and girls' norms and barriers. An increasing participation in girls' education has been shown to be particularly notable (see summary Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Summary of 'change and range' in key social norms/barriers for Pastoralist women and girls in TWIC EAST (Dinka) and TORIT (Otuko) over 2007-2017

Indicator (estimated % women/girls)	TWIC EAST DINKA 2017 (2007)	TORIT OTUKO 2017 (2007)
I Harmful traditional practices⁹² – 'MIXED PICTURE OF CHANGE'		
Arranged marriage	20-50% (50%+)	10-30% (50%+)
Early marriage (under 14)	Less than 5%	5-10%
Underage marriage (under 18)	70-80%	70-80%
Average marriage age of females	15-18 yrs (12-25 yrs)	14-15 yrs (12-25 yrs)
II Women and girls' domestic workloads – 'LIMITED CHANGE TO OVERALL RESPONSIBILITIES'		
Time spent collecting <u>water</u> (daily)	1-2 hrs (3hrs+)	30 mins-1 hr (3hrs+)
Time spent collecting <u>firewood</u> (2-3x week) ***	3-6 hrs (1-3 hrs)	3-6 hrs (1-2 hrs)
III Women's access to/control over assets and productive resources – 'LIMITED CHANGE'		
HH control of income by women	20-50% Only FHHs	30-50% Only FHHs
Inheritance of widow by husband's clansmen		
Widows over 45	10-30%	10-30%
Widows under 45	Over 70%	40-70%
Direct inheritance of cattle/land/property by women***	10-30% Widows over 45 with sons	10-30% Widows over 45 with sons
IV Women's participation in decision-making – 'CHANGING'		
Women's 'consultation' in household major decision-making (% households)	70-80% Growing influence	80-90% Growing influence
Community decision-making (% composition) (Relates to <u>composition</u> of women)	20-30% female attendees (less than 20%)	Up to 50% female attendees (less than 20%)
V Women and girls' participation in basic services: EDUCATION and HEALTH 'CHANGING'		
Primary education / enrolment	70-90% (less than 25%)	60-90% (10- 50%)
Secondary education / enrolment (after 14 years)	20-40% (less than 20%)	30-75% (less than 20%)
Births in clinics	20-50%	50-70%
Use of formal family planning	Under 5%	20-30%

*** These norms are proving the most difficult to change.

Note: % estimates are based on qualitative research (focus group) discussions and aim to provide an approximate indicator of change only, and local trends.

⁹² Change related to a longer timeframe of 10-20 years ago.

IV TRENDS AND ACTORS INFLUENCING PASTORALIST WOMEN AND GIRLS' NORMS IN JONGLEI (TWIC EAST/DINKA) AND EASTERN EQUATORIA (TORIT/OTUKO)

There are a number of regional trends and dynamics that are influencing pastoralist lives, in particular those of women and girls. Less positively, these include external pressures on pastoralism such as climate change and drought, and the reduction in rangeland and access to resources with deteriorating conditions and expanding agriculture. More positively, these include engagement in non-traditional livelihoods (e.g. enterprise and farming). Flintan (2012) and Ritchie (2015, 2016) indicate that new livelihood practices and settled lifestyles are becoming visible in pastoralist communities, influencing women and girls' cultural practices, access to resources, and opportunities. These various factors have led to girls to attend school, and women to engage in trading, business and employment.

Building on Chapter 3, this section briefly examines **general trends** that are affecting pastoralist women and girls' norms in East Africa, and then elaborates on the **specific role of key actors/organizations** at the local level in Jonglei and Eastern Equatoria influencing communities and change processes. *An expanded version of general trends and dynamics affecting pastoralism appears in Appendix 5.*

4.1 GENERAL PASTORALIST TRENDS AND DYNAMICS

Pastoralist communities in the Horn of Africa struggle with increasing **environmental pressures**, including degraded or shrinking rangelands, climate change and increasing incidences of drought, as well as growing populations. Partly as a result of these pressures, a concerning cultural trend since the is the *loss of influence of pastoralist elders* and local respect, particularly in the resolution of local clashes over social and economic resources, leading to 'endemic' conflicts and disagreements. Traditional community institutions have been negatively affected with pastoralists dropping out of system and losing their connection to their clans (with the added vulnerability that this brings), and clan leaders no longer sharing common resources or benefits bestowed upon the community (Brocklesby et al in CARE 2009). There is also competition with formal governance systems, often with younger leaders, threatening the role of elders and their accumulated knowledge in pastoralist society (ICMC 2009). For women, this may exacerbate their vulnerability, as social protection mechanisms are undermined. Yet there are also examples of where traditional and formal governance systems can coordinate and be integrated (particularly notable in the Somali region).

Time of great change with mixed influences for pastoralist women and girls

With strains on traditional livelihoods, pastoralists in these regions are 'increasingly looking beyond livestock to other means of generating income in order to **diversify their livelihoods** and spread risk'. Farming has become popular including maize, corn and teff in countries such as Ethiopia (Ritchie 2015). Women are described to be at the 'centre' of these emerging 'non-traditional livelihood' endeavours, with mixed social and cultural consequences. For off-farm activities in particular, women may be limited by mobility, access to resources and credit, cultural/religious constraints and the nature of the task. Pastoral women's diversification efforts may be further constrained by a lack of skills, ideas or ability to innovate (Flintan 2007). In addition, evolving livelihoods and pastoralist society are being influenced by **local services including education, and participation in VSLAs and petty trading**, as well as less positive **social trends**, including the rising phenomenon of *khat* chewing amongst pastoralist men (and some women), increasing women's domestic burdens.

4.2 ROLE OF LOCAL CHANGE AGENTS / CHANGE INHIBITORS

Going beyond these general trends, the research endeavoured to appreciate more **grassroots community-level dynamics** in the context of Twic East in Jonglei, and Torit in Eastern Equatoria in South Sudan. In particular, the research examined **the role of local change agents (or inhibitors)** – from both inside and outside of the community - that are further influencing attitudes and practices related to pastoralist women and girls at the community and household level in the past 7-10 years.⁹³ This included the role of government (and schools), NGOs, (formal) religious institutions, families and clans, local elders and leaders, strong and charismatic women, and the media.⁹⁴ In the context of South Sudan, there is a notable culture of ‘hyper-masculinity’ (CARE NL 2016), often exacerbated by the ongoing **conflict and local instability**. Change is also held by the **context of ‘dependency’** (particularly on food aid), holding back the development of livelihoods. Yet with experience as IDPs, and exposure, there are new attitudes and perspectives. Overall, the strongest positive influence on local girls’ development was reported to be the new **role of education** in their lives (by adolescent girls, women and men). Elders and men were seen to be the community group that had the least positive influence, or were neutral in girls’ development.

4.2.1 Government/basic services: HIGH POSITIVE INFLUENCE (FOR EDUCATION)

Since South Sudan’s Independence, there have been significant efforts at thematic policy-making, including in health, education and gender. At the local level, whilst government-driven administration appears to have been stepped with *payam* officials in the research locations⁹⁵, actual government support to practical community development has been weak in the rural areas. This is both due to security as well as capacity, with training and workshops often taking place only in urban areas. Road infrastructure (roads) remains undeveloped, with accessibility poor in the rainy season (up to 5 months each year). With limited delivery capacity, government services are facilitated and supported through NGOs including educational services (primary and secondary schools), and health facilities and services (with local health community/payam facilities and county hospitals). There has also been some support to the justice sector (traditional courts).

At the village level, men in Twic East emphasized the ‘hangover’ from the pre-independence ‘Arabic’ government system that was specifically support women and girls’ rights. Arguably, for the development of women and girls in rural pastoralist communities, the most significant impact and effects of government services – through NGOs - has been the promotion of **girls’ school education** and **increasing girls’ participation** through national campaigns (*Back to School* UNICEF-funded campaign) and programmes (GESS). All village focus groups emphasised the dramatic change that this has brought to girls’ lives, empowering them with new knowledge, skills and ideas, and the evolving perceptions of girls and women. Adolescent girls highlighted the GESS programme in particular, and the financial incentive for girls. For rural girls, this money may well be passed onto their mothers both for household expenses, as well as girls’ books and school materials. Yet interestingly, the process of girls in receiving this handout directly has in fact raised the girls’ profiles within their respective communities, and highlighted the new value of girls’ skills development. Yet there were some mixed perspectives in terms of the impact on boys, and the lack of engagement with this group, both in terms of valuing their

⁹³ This was examined across the village groups, with additional ethnographic tools used with the women’s group to measure the weight of influence of different actors.

⁹⁴ Another group cited in one village included ‘**local businessmen**’ that enticed women and girls with money and items in return for sexual favours (Wanglei, Twic East). This was believed to make the women and girls more vulnerable with little future prospects.

⁹⁵ This includes male and female officials, typically aged 20-49 years (CARE NL 2016),

participation and involving them in equal participation campaigns. In some communities, girls' education is being boosted by adult education, particularly for women. Less positively in Twic East, a few teachers were said to be abusing their positions, and engaging in relationships with girls, forcing them to drop out of school once pregnant.

Girls' education is having knock-on effects on the perception of women and girls, and their potential capacities in the home, community and beyond. Alongside exposure as IDPs, school education has also encouraged the practical use of maternal health services by women and girls, and the seeking of justice. Yet adolescent girls highlighted the gap that now exists between schoolgirls, and women and girls that were not being educated, and receiving limited support to change their lives (Pawel, Twic East). Girls also emphasized that more needed to be done within schools to encourage girls to study, and to finish their studies (Warnyol, Twic East). Notably, in Torit (Himodonge), teachers were encouraging girls that had dropped out to return to school. To boost girls' participation in secondary level, men in Torit highlighted the need for single-sex 'boarding schools' for girls.

4.2.2 NGOs: *MEDIUM POSITIVE INFLUENCE*

In Twic East, major NGOs that have supported women and girls development have included predominantly CARE, CRS, CINA and Oxfam. In Torit, major NGOs that have targeted women and girls development, major development actors have included predominantly Plan International, CARE (livelihoods), Global AIM, SARRA (livelihoods), and Save the Children (health services). NGOs were valued highly as both a lifeline to communities 'without them [NGOs], life would be impossible' (women's group, Warnyol, Twic East), and **potential change agents for women and girls' development**. Yet in Twic East, outside of education support (GESS) and early support to VSLAs (see below), the main current interventions that were highlighted by village groups for women and girls' support included peace committees, and the distribution of food and hygiene kits (e.g. soap). In Torit, more varied livelihood interventions were cited including VSLAs (not by CARE), peace committees, health training and agricultural support to farmers' groups (Torit). In the past, NGOs have also supported the rehabilitation and drilling of boreholes, and WASH initiatives. As illustrated earlier, water projects have significantly reduced women and girls' time spent on domestic chores.

CARE has also been highly effective in pastoralist **women's economic empowerment in the Horn of Africa**. The **VSLAs** are an extremely popular intervention (viewed positively in research (Ritchie 2015, 2016, 2017)), and have boosted women's business activities and trends of petty trading. This has brought tangible change into women's socio-economic lives in the family (as household economic agents) as well as at the community level (with a stronger voice in decision-making). Over 50 VSLAs have been set up in Jonglei (by CARE), with an estimated 31 VSLAs in Twic East and Duk (although these still remain new in target research communities). CARE has also set up VSLAs in Torit in Eastern Equatoria (outside of target communities). As in regional research, where present, these groups have proven to permit new financial literacy, savings and new economic endeavours. With women's new purchasing power, VSLA groups in Twic East have supported both the household particularly in terms of food security, and the children's education (Spoelder et al 2016). Unleashing women's capacity to be active in their households and communities, women described a new confidence to purchase commodities in the market (without their husbands' permission) and to raise their voices to 'local authorities' (ibid). Adolescents also cited the importance of VSLAs for saving and 'access to materials' (Hiyala, Torit), and allowing mothers to pay school expenses (Himodonge, Torit).⁹⁶ Men in both research locations were positive about VSLAs, and

⁹⁶ At present, CARE does not have VSLAs in these research locations but these are reported to have been set up by Global AIM. The capacity and nature of these VSLAs remains unclear.

emphasized a need for further efforts such as vocational training to support women's business ventures.

Box 4.1: VSLAs in Jonglei: fostering cross-clan cooperation and social cohesion

"VSLA members from different clans work together and realise that everybody is struggling with the same challenges. The group members' connectivity reaches beyond cooperation to create economic benefits; it creates solidarity and security in the form of friendship and togetherness. VSLA thus are contributing to increased social cohesion"

Source: Spoelder et al 2016

4.2.3 (FORMAL) Religious groups/churches: MEDIUM / MIXED INFLUENCE

With varying access to physical structures, the church was deemed to have a **fairly significant and growing influence** on women and girls in both Twic East and Torit, with preaching specifically on education, and teenage and arranged marriage. As indicated by the women's groups in particular, the church was also reported to provide general moral guidance for the community 'on how to live', particularly advising on community peace, and good marriage practices (and fidelity), and respect for women (particularly related to wife beating). Notably, with education and skills development, women (and some men) were reported to be now 'paying more attention' to religious guidance and keen to read the bible (and thus pursue literacy). There was also increasing value placed on religious abidance, for example, closely following religious teachings in respecting one's family and neighbours, and being thoughtful of others. Notably, the church was also directly empowering women by giving them **positions of authority**, as leaders in church groups, and encouraging their engagement in community social activities (such as organizing collections for poor and sick people).



Women highlight growing influence of church on people's behaviour

4.2.4 Families and clans: MEDIUM / MIXED INFLUENCE

The **role of the family is described as crucial in negotiating norms and traditions**, and engaging in new activities. In some cases, 'ignorant' parents are reported to block girls' development through forced marriage (**fathers**) or 'not valuing education'. In particular, (less educated) **mothers may play a role in maintaining discriminatory norms** for girls out of desperation to keep the household afloat and to ensure security, as well as fostering 'male gender norms of masculinity and violence'.⁹⁷ Yet in selected cases in Twic East, families and village people were described to be changing, particularly after the latest crisis when (educated) girls were reported to be instrumental in supporting temporary migration of their parents and siblings to the refugee camps. This has led to a 'new concept' of girls, and new value attributed to their education. Yet there still remains a stark absence of sufficient female role models for girls to imagine a different life (i.e. as successful farmers, teachers and businesswomen).

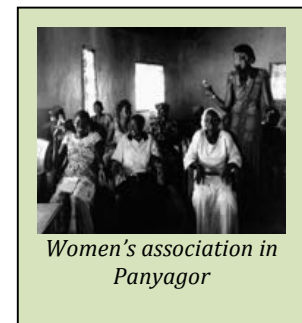
Whilst fragile new perspectives emerge on the worth and prospects of girls, often overlooked however is the **role of male youth in families and clans, in perpetuating the status quo** through a need to demonstrate aggression and violence to be considered a proper 'man' both at household and community level. His future is also tied up in potential family cattle, and thus has a strong interest to ensure that their sisters' are married 'on

⁹⁷ CARE Nederland 2016b, *Addressing Root Causes*

time' to boost the family assets and permit his own marriage. Whilst recognized by CARE⁹⁸, further attention is still needed on the role of male youth in the family and community, in championing rights, peace and gender equality from the household up. Currently youth are indeed being organized into peace and youth clubs (CARE ARC project 2017-22). However, to foster broader social change, schools need to be better engaged from primary to secondary with links to such clubs and committees. School-aged boys and girls can then engage them in peace building and gender rights initiatives within schools, and between schools.

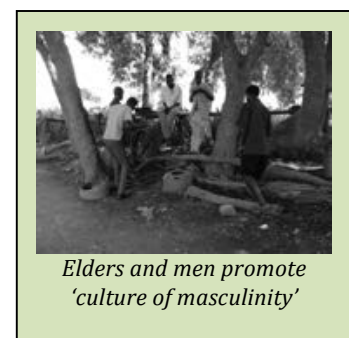
4.2.5 Strong women: MEDIUM INFLUENCE (HIGH POTENTIAL)

Women and adolescent girls' groups highlighted the **potential importance of strong and charismatic women** that can act as role models for community women as leaders, teachers, and business women; provide guidance to the other women; and engage in decision-making. In some villages in Twic East, women were indicated to play a predominantly domestic influence though, with women relatives advising younger girls on how to 'control their life once married' and how to organize their house. In other villages, women were beginning to openly discuss early marriage and the importance of school education. Village men emphasized the importance of allowing the appointment of women as leaders on special committees. Increasingly, educated women and VSLA women were described to be now respected by men in the community and society (men's group, Warnyol, Twic East). In Torit, women emphasised the increasing phenomenon of women 'speaking up' at community level. Yet women leaders still face challenges of men's 'mindsets'. Drawing attention to **VSLAs**, elders in Twic East mentioned the importance of savings groups in permitting women's financial/business empowerment and 'self-reliance', with new businesses such as hairdressing and tailoring that could support the family. Socially, women are then empowered to raise their voice and to engage in community decision-making.



4.2.6 Elders and local leaders: MIXED INFLUENCE (HIGH POTENTIAL)

As in regional studies, the traditional leaders and elders (including indigenous spiritual leaders⁹⁹) - related to **mostly male representatives** - were described to play a **strong role in community affairs**, including overseeing community security, conflict resolution and marital issues. Besides cultural processes, the elders are reported to **not be particularly interested or involved in women's rights and roles** (outside of marriage). Instead in a context of flux, instability and conflict, the men focus on women's protection and safety, and inter-community relations. In one community, the women emphasized both the lack of interest of elders in women's empowerment and the men physically blocking change, for example in women's participation in meetings (Aliet, Twic East). In rural areas, elders were indicated to particularly preach about traditional village life and be more resistant to new practices, holding



⁹⁸ CARE Nederland 2016b, *Addressing Root Causes*

⁹⁹ These 'spiritual' leaders are involved with local cultural ceremonies, 'bringing' rain, resolving disputes and 'fortifying' young warriors (CARE NL 2016). They are considered critical in peace negotiations (ibid).

onto 'older' ideas about women and girls. Traditional leaders typically promote the 'culture of masculinity', often manifested by aggression and cattle raiding.¹⁰⁰ The centrality of cattle in society perpetuates the dominance of power amongst men, and women's secondary position: 'the more cattle one has, the powerful he is' (ibid). Once again, pressures on young men are overlooked, with leaders pressuring youth (aspiring leaders) to engage in raiding or they will be considered weak, unmanly and even a 'derogatory, song' will be composed about them as a form of 'community curse' (ibid). In Twic East, the absence of male role models that depart from 'cattle herders and raiders' (i.e. as successful farmers, businessmen or professionals) remains a huge gap for male youth to aspire for a different life. In general, across the men's meetings however, men reported in fact being supportive of the concept of women and girls' development, and felt that women's development was positive for stronger community development.

4.2.7 Media: *LOW INFLUENCE*

In contrast to Kenya and Somaliland, pastoralist women emphasized both a **lack of access to radio facilities** (although over 30% of the women had mobile phones in Twic East, and 10-20% in Torit¹⁰¹), and the **lack of available radio network** (although some reported the network functioning previously with a Dinka channel). In some villages in Twic East, the women reported men listening instead to Arabic radio stations. In Torit, women similarly reported a lack of access to physical radios, with mobile phones not picking up remote signals (Miraya (UN funded) station, and the popular, Radio Emmanuel). Some women described the monopoly of radios by family men. Across the women's groups in both regions, less than 10% reported listening to the radio frequently, in contrast to rural villages in pastoralist regions in Somaliland and Kenya (Ritchie 2016, 17). As indicated in the villages, there was a lack of access but not a lack interest. Limited access and such low listening habits in the rural areas remain problematic when major education and advocacy efforts are being specifically channeled into radio programming. This includes BBC Media Action broadcast under the GESS project, 'Our School' aimed at education promotion. Other programmes have included USAID 'Learning village' (2011-12) aimed at broadcasting school lessons over the radio.

This chapter drew initial attention to regional trends in pastoralism. It then elaborated on key grassroots influences in target research communities in terms of specific actors that are influencing change processes at the local level. The increase in girls' school participation has had the largest impact in facilitating change in skills and opportunity for girls, and changing people perceptions (directly). Driving physical and social change, NGOs have been key direct supporters of women's empowerment in facilitating access to water, peace committees and in the establishment of the VSLAs. Church groups were also reported to have had a notable impact on local practices such early marriage and education. The role of the media has been extremely low, with limited access to radios/availability of local stations. Meanwhile elders remain only partially active in women and girls' empowerment with a stronger focus on community security and protection.

¹⁰⁰ CARE Nederland 2016b, *Addressing Root Causes*

¹⁰¹ According to an ex Journalist with Voice of Eastern Equatoria, and now CARE staff member in Torit, Clement Odiongo listening through the mobile phone is only available in urban areas due to the low level of reception (28 August 2027, CARE office).

V SYNTHESISING SCOPE OF CHANGE AND TRENDS IN WOMEN AND GIRLS' NORMS

The report has reviewed a number of social norms and barriers related to pastoralist women and girls, with research in Jonglei and Eastern Equatoria in South Sudan. This has included the status of harmful traditional practices (early/arranged marriage), domestic workloads, access to/control over assets and productive resources, gender relations and participation in decision-making, and access/participation in services (education and health). Synthesizing the current scope of women and girls' norms, and the role of local actors, and pushing the analysis further, this chapter summarizes the current progress in norm change (in each area), key drivers of change (actors and pressures), and persisting barriers/resistors. Drawing on key indicators, the chapter then assesses core dimensions of pastoralist women and girl's empowerment.

5.1 PROGRESS TOWARD CHANGE: DRIVERS AND PERSISTING BARRIERS

In assessing evolving pastoralist communities in the research areas, it is crucial to appreciate the fragility and marginalization of the regional context, both environmentally and politically. More positively, government-NGO services have been shown to be slowly increasing in strength, with improved coverage of basic services (education and health) in the past seven to ten years. Such dynamics and pressures are playing a profound role in generating changes to women and girls' norms, with the pace of change varying within population groups and across different norms.

Pastoralist norms that were notably changing included women and girls' participation in education services, participation in maternal health, and gender relations and participation in decision-making. Other norms with mixed indicators included early and arranged marriage, and domestic and community violence. Norms that are more resistant to change include women's workloads and access to/control over productive resources (land, livestock, property).

5.1.1 Pastoralist women and girls' norms that are changing

a) Women and girls' participation in education services

- Women and girls' participation in education services has improved remarkably in recent years, with **over two thirds of girls in primary school**; and **over a third attending secondary school** (and higher in some communities in Torit). There is **increasing demand for Non-Formal Education** by women, with growing impacts on gender attitudes and practices in communities.

Drivers of change, or barriers:

- ✓ Participation in **primary education** has been driven by **government campaigns**, and **financial incentives, with NGO support to schools**. Primary school has now gained community acceptance, with the generation of more capable and confident girls that can be responsible and support the family.
- ✓ **Families** may promote girls in school, particularly those who were IDPs (or who participate in VSLAs).
- ✓ Notably, **the Church** appears to have added further weight to local support for school, through religious messages and pro-education preaching.
- Yet less positively, secondary school attendance may be affected by *access, family preference to send boys, poverty, and early marriage/pregnancy*.
- In times of stress, **mothers** may also inadvertently act as obstacles to (older) girls' school participation in light of environmental and social pressures.

b) Women and girls' participation in maternal health services

- Women and girls' participation in maternal health services is still low, but changing in recent years: over 20% of women give birth in clinics in Twic East, and over a third in Torit, and there is new engagement in pre-natal/post natal tests. Knowledge and use of formal planning methods remain limited in Twic East (under 5%), but over 10% of rural women may use contraceptives in Torit, often without their husband's knowledge.

Drivers of change, or barriers:

- ✓ **Local health facilities have** provided key messages around maternal health, and it fast becoming the 'norm' for mothers to frequent a clinic for maternal health.
- Access to **health services** has improved, although quality of services is still limited in many areas.
- In Twic East, there is still a **lack of knowledge and awareness amongst the women** of the importance of **diet of pregnant mothers and exclusive breast feeding** (for 6 months).

c) Gender relations, and participation in decision-making

- Gender relations appear to be **slowly improving** with more respect, status and value bestowed upon girls and women.
- At household-level, women's 'consultation' in major household decision-making (including expenditure, marriage of children etc.) is high (unchanged) but the women's influence is still low, although it is growing.
- Women's involvement in community decision-making has increased (except security discussions): with **a third of attendees now women** in Twic East, and **up to half of attendees** women in local gatherings in Torit (although men's voices still dominate).

Drivers of change, or barriers:

- ✓ Community participation appears to be driven initially by **government/NGO** pressure. Notably this does apply to traditional meetings however. Community meeting participation is influencing household level decision-making
- Less positively, women's empowerment and participation in community structures and committees may also be undermined by **conservative elders, as 'resistors to change'**.
- With women's increased confidence and assertiveness, there are also now *higher rates of divorce*, with mixed impacts on community life.

5.1.2 ***Pastoralist women and girls' norms that show mixed trends of change***

a) Early, and arranged marriage reduced, but underage marriage persists

- There are now very few cases of 'early' marriage (below 14 years old). Yet **'underage' teenage marriage** has become the new norm and trend, in contrast to a broader spectrum of marriage ages in the past. The average marriage age of pastoralist girls currently stands at 15-18 years in Twic East, and 14-15 year in Torit.
- 'Arranged marriage' has also decreased to less than half in Twic East, and less than a third in Torit, with couples preferring modern 'choice' marriages. Such marriage practices allow girls to choose their own marriage time and partner.

Drivers of change, or barriers:

- ✓ Shifts away from early and arranged marriage have been driven by a combination of **exposure as IDPs, girls' education** (rights and choice), and **religious influence**.
- Less positively, **fathers** may still pursue arranged marriages however, particularly with family poverty.
- New trends in teenage marriage appear to be driven by **peer pressure as a new social norm exacerbated by the increased interreaction between the sexes, girls' desire for independence, lack of access to secondary schools and poverty**.
- **Advice or guidance to delay such marriages is also lacking** at both school and within the community.

b) Domestic and Community Violence

- Wife battery continues at a household level, often exacerbated by times of crises, and with men's alcohol consumption.
- Rape and sexual violence exists in both Twic East and Torit but are mostly indicated to be problematic in times of crisis (reduced again now villages are more peaceful again), or in isolated situations.
- At a community level in Torit (no longer in Twic East), there is increasing lack of social acceptability of 'girl child compensation', with reducing occurrences (and cattle used instead).

Drivers of change, or barriers:

- ✓ **The Church provides** 'moral guidance' on anti-social and harmful behaviour.
- ✓ **Education and experience of IDPs** is shifting acceptability of wife beating.
- **Conflict and war** create situations of continued stress at a domestic level, with women often suffering the brunt of men's frustration in being unable to fulfil their tradition roles in protecting their family, or providing for them.
- At community level, in **isolated situations**, women and girls can be vulnerable to sexual assault or rape.

5.1.3 Women and girls' norms that indicate slower change and more resistance

a) Women's workloads

- Women's scope of workloads remains largely unchanged, with continued heavy chores. Yet water access and availability has improved, but access to fuel/firewood has decreased dramatically in recent years (particularly outside of suburban areas).

Drivers of change, or barriers:

- **NGOs** have been instrumental in the improvement of water access through the rehabilitation and drilling of boreholes
- **Insecurity, population increase and** deforestation, are driving a lack of access to firewood.

b) Women's access to/control over productive resources (land, livestock, cash)

- There is **little shift in traditional control and access to resources** (land, livestock and cash), except in FHHs. Wife inheritance (widows that are obliged to remarry her husband's brother/clansmen) has dropped in past several years. For widows over 45 years of age, less than a third may be expected to remarry, although it may still be high for those under 45 years (up to two thirds) in research locations.

Drivers of change, or barriers:

- ✓ **Education, and exposure to new ideas and women's** may be slowly driving shifts in attitudes regarding women's entitlements, although practices still remain largely traditional.
- **Legislation and legal rights** remain less known outside of the urban areas, with people preferring traditional resolution.
- **Resisters to change in inheritance practices may include older conservative clan leaders** that are keen to retain 'clan assets', particularly in the face of (environmentally) fragile agro-pastoralism and insecurity.

Overall, these important trends indicate that some norms related to women and girls' may be gradually changing. Yet some norms indicate mixed trends (marriage) and others are proving more resistant (resource management). The process of change appears to be particularly influenced by the cultural roots of norms, family/community attitudes, legislation and access to services, and local insecurity. Environmental factors (e.g. deforestation), and social phenomenon such as *conflict and the culture of hyper-masculinity* are adding further pressures on potential change dynamics.

5.2 PASTORALIST WOMEN AND GIRLS' EMPOWERMENT: ASSESSING CHANGE

In evaluating these trends of change and women's equitable development in pastoralist societies, 'gender-transformative approaches' (e.g. approaches which fundamentally change women's access to productive resources, markets and decision-making)¹⁰² are urged to appreciate both **evolving norms**, as well as **power relations** that underpin gender inequalities (Njuki and Sangina 2013). Williams et al. (1994) indicated that understanding different types of power was instrumental to unwrap women's empowerment (see Box 5.1). Oxall (1997) highlighted the particular importance of assessing access to decision-making as a key indicator of change, but also processes that lead people to perceive themselves as able and entitled to occupy that decision-making space (Rowlands, 1995).

Taking a comprehensive approach, Kabeer (1999, 2005) suggests that women's empowerment may be examined and measured through *agency* (processes by which choices come into effect, including power dimensions), access to resources (medium through which agency is exercised), and ultimately in achievements (outcomes of agency). It is important to note that women's empowerment may also be subtle/gradual, and one dimension of empowerment (e.g. participation in decision-making in household) may have knock-on effects to other dimensions (e.g. access to resources and markets) (Mahmud 2003), particularly if there is contextual receptivity and space for individual and collective agency (Ritchie 2014). Kabeer's empowerment framework is useful for practically assessing and understanding pastoralist women's evolving empowerment and development in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somaliland. Below, the report highlights key selected indicators for women and girls in particular in **changing degrees of agency**, and access to resources:

¹⁰² These may include interventions such as social organisation e.g. Self Help Groups/VSLA type interventions and micro-finance; and facilitating access to land (land rights), markets and technology through gender oriented value chain interventions.

Box 5.1: Unwrapping notion of power in pastoralist women's development¹⁰³

'Power-to' is the capacity to be able to do something. This is a power that is creative and enabling, the essence of individual aspects of empowerment.

'Power-within' relates to the spiritual strength and uniqueness that resides in each one of us and makes us truly human. It refers to self-confidence, self-awareness and assertiveness.

'Power-with' involves collective power. Women's groups and networks can provide strength to their members through solidarity and support.

5.2.1 Changing scope of 'agency'

Central to the concept of empowerment, 'agency' refers to the process by which choices are made and come into effect, and is linked to access to resources/services. It draws attention to individual ability (including 'power to' and 'power within'), and collective capacity ('power with'), permitting choice and opportunity. This report has drawn attention to a number of critical factors that have directly boosted this core area of 'agency' in empowerment in the past 7-10 years for pastoralist women and girls. In particular, this includes:

- **Pastoralist girls' school participation:** Educational campaigns and support have led to new skills, capacity and self-belief amongst schoolgirls, increasing their interaction in decision-making at home and beyond (socio-political outcome), and leading girls to explore alternative livelihoods (economic outcome).
- **Pastoralist women's engagement in VSLAs and community forums:** This has increased women's voice and confidence, leading to greater engagement in community and household decision-making (social, political and economic outcome).

Reflecting upon the scope of these changes, it is necessary to also appreciate ongoing constraints to women and girls' evolving agency and access to resources. As indicated in the report, this includes the influence of other actors, including mothers, fathers and elders that can block change (in norms and barriers) and access to emerging services/resources. It also includes the persistence of several entrenched cultural norms that can restrain women and girls' evolving agency. For example, domestic violence can reduce girls' confidence, capacity and self-esteem (and engagement in education), and the lack of control/access to resources can inhibit engagement in livelihoods. Meanwhile, the weight of domestic chores drains women and girls' daily energy and time. Deteriorating local environmental conditions (and access to firewood), and a context of risk are exacerbating this. Girls' menstruation (and local attitudes and support e.g. access to/provision of sanitary towels) can also influence girls' confidence, engagement in school and mobility.

In summary, this chapter has reflected on the progress of change in women and girls' social norms and traditional barriers synthesizing and analysing report findings. Norms that were indicated to be changing included participation in education and health. School participation has been a notable driver of change to other norms. Norms that were more difficult to change however included those that remained culturally entrenched, including women's workloads (exacerbated by

¹⁰³ Derived from Williams et al (1994), cited in Flintan (2008)

environmental conditions), and women's access to productive resources. Further analysis on women and girls' empowerment highlighted change in the evolving scope of women and girls' agency through education, and community participation. This has generated social, economic and political outcomes influencing women and girls' quality of life, choice, and opportunity.

VI RECOMMENDATIONS AND KEY ACTION POINTS

Towards better understanding the nature of women and girls' empowerment and development in Jonglei and Eastern Equatoria, and in working towards resilience, this report has examined selected evolving social norms and barriers. Positively, pastoralist women and girls' norms have been shown to be slowly changing through exposure to education and even life as IDPs. However, changes to more deeply rooted norms are proving difficult, and may require more strategic local support (from charismatic men and women), and stronger methods of 'cultural integration'. In addition, environmental pressures remain considerable, straining women's ongoing development, with high domestic burdens (particularly firewood and fuel) and continued vulnerability to insecurity, conflict and sexual violence. Drawing off Chapter V, this chapter highlights key aspects of processes of change in women and girls' norms (including local allies and tools in change, and counter forces), and identifies practical recommendations and action points for both institutional level, as well as grassroots NGO interventions.

6.1 FOSTERING PROCESSES OF CHANGE

In supporting processes of norm change, women's empowerment and resilience (Box 6.1), this report maintains that it is crucial to recognize and build on **women and girls' agency** (individual and collective), as well as to both identify and leverage other **actors and institutions** that are endeavouring to promote change and development. It is also imperative to **appreciate broader social pressures and environmental trends** that are constraining or blocking these processes.

Box 6.1: Resilience building

In fostering 'resilience', experts recommend an integrated and long-term approach that focuses on three critical capacities at a local level: **absorptive capacity** (e.g. coping strategies, savings groups), **adaptive capacity** (e.g. use of assets, attitudes/motivation, livelihood diversification, human capital) and **transformative capacity** (e.g. governance mechanisms, policies/regulations, community networks, formal safety nets)

Source: Frankenberger (2013)

To date, in target communities, **increased girls' going to school, and women's participation in community forums and VSLAs** are indicated to be notable drivers of social change for women and girls. Education has begun to enhance girls' capacity, confidence and life prospects, particularly over 2010-2017, with notable increasing value by local pastoralist communities themselves. Meanwhile, women's organisation through VSLAs is expected to enhance (selected) women's individual capacity and collective action, and women's engagement in business (and the commercial sector). Whilst not yet indicated in this research, this can have knock-on effects to other norms (household cash management, and community decision-making.). **Increased access to water** has also importantly led to a reduction in domestic chores. Meanwhile, alleviating the general weight of domestic chores (for girls/women) requires more attention (and access to fuel and firewood), particularly with deteriorating local conditions. There is also a need to better appreciate and address ongoing and emerging social trends (gender-based violence and teenage marriage).

Towards developing improved strategies to combat women and girls' discriminatory norms and social barriers - whilst ensuring local resilience - it is vital to appreciate

different types of norms and trends of change, counter forces in the community and local environment, allies in change processes, and tools to facilitate change.

As demonstrated in this research, it is also important to recognize current trends to appreciate and differentiate between norms that are changing (girls' education, women's voice in the community), and those that are resisting, or slow to change (e.g. women's workloads, access to resources and inheritance). Participation in education is notably having a strong effect on other norms that are changing (i.e. further propelling change). It is also critical to appreciate persistent environmental pressures including local conflict and insecurity.

In terms of allies in change, these currently include schools, NGOs, VSLAs, religious leaders, and (potentially) media/radio. Increasingly, diaspora also represent financial and social allies. Other allies that require more attention include charismatic local women leaders (role models). The research indicates that strong female role models – from within and outside of the community - are critical to positive change. Women involved with teaching, finance, trade and business are viewed particularly highly. Finally, there is a stark gap in more deliberately engaging progressive elders¹⁰⁴ in women and girls development, beyond just encouraging girls' participation in education.

In terms of tools of change, this report highlights the fundamental importance of combining several approaches to drive and harness change including:

- ✓ **Education and literacy** for pastoralist women and girls are crucial propellers of change (particularly if supported by local communities i.e. valued within pastoralist society).
- ✓ **Critical community-based approaches** include facilitating women's discussion and dialogue, women's networks (and collective action), and socio-economic empowerment (e.g. VSLAs, water committees). Local community awareness raising supports these processes in particular the use of stimulating tools such as community theatre, and community exposure visits.
- ✓ **Law and legislation** may represent complementary practical tools of change such as the *South Sudanese Constitution* (formal rights), and *Gender Policy*.
- ✓ **Cultural tools** include *religious texts* such as the Bible, local proverbs and laws (cultural/religious rights), in addition to community exchange (between villages)
- ✓ Finally, **technology and appropriate innovation** (e.g. water storage, improved local water filters and stoves). In particular, it is important to draw attention to *mobile phones as both a communication mechanism, as well as a fast-emerging means for women's broader socio-economic empowerment* in the developing world. This include potential access to the radio, mobile money/banking, and (in future) learning and health (e.g. MHEALTH in India).

¹⁰⁴ In terms of FGM, experiences from AMREF with other pastoralist groups such as the Masai have indicated 'remarkable gains' during FGM campaigns after they 'brought on board traditional structures' (Kenyan Woman 2015 'Legislations derail the fight against FGM', AWC).

Table 6.1: Understanding norm dynamics, local allies and counter pressures

Norms / barriers for Women and Girls	Allies in Change	Approaches and tools in change	Counter pressures
NORMS THAT ARE CHANGING <i>Participation in education</i> <i>Participation in health</i> <i>Gender relations and decision-making</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School and Parent-Teachers' Association • VSLAs • Charismatic women • Progressive elders • Local religious leaders • Local NGOs • Local health centres • Media / local radio stations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education services • Local facilitated dialogue • Women and girls' network development e.g. VSLAs • Constitution • Bible • Local proverbs and laws • Community exchange and exposure visits • Technology (e.g. mobile phone) / innovation (e.g. water filters) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservative elders • Local conditions in environment (<i>women's workloads</i>) • Insecurity / conflict
NORMS THAT ARE SHOWING MIXED TRENDS OF CHANGE <i>Early/arranged marriage</i> <i>Domestic and community violence</i>			
NORMS THAT ARE SLOW TO CHANGE / MORE RESISTANT <i>Women's workloads</i> <i>Women's control over productive assets (land, livestock, property, cash)</i>			

6.2 STRATEGIES FOR ACTION IN PASTORALIST WOMEN AND GIRLS' EMPOWERMENT

In further promoting women and girls' development and empowerment, research respondents at all levels emphasized the further promotion of girls' education and extending VSLAs for women (and further increasing their capacity). Interestingly, men's groups also indicated the importance of adolescent girls having a place to study, boarding schools, promoting girls in sports, and fostering girls' leadership. Meanwhile, adolescent girls (notably more articulate in Eastern Equatoria) strongly suggested the establishment of (non-formal) community centres for girls (drop out students) and women for vocational training, adult learning, and/or computer/business skills training (highly emphasized), alongside opportunities for leadership, human rights messaging and peace building.

Whilst South Sudan still grapples with a highly risky and unstable context, in the target research areas there has been a return to a semblance of peace, even if there are ongoing threats and raids from local tribal groups (for example from the Murle in Twic East¹⁰⁵). Moving beyond the paradigm of emergency and relief, the following recommendations build on some of the above community recommendations, as well as broader CARE studies on pastoralist women and girls in East Africa, and aim to further strengthen approaches to

¹⁰⁵ This has reached a **critical level**, and now requires more strategic thinking with the development community and authorities in Twic East, beyond just a facilitation of peace dialogues. Major development efforts are needed in the Murle communities to tackle health issues and underdevelopment.

combating discriminatory social norms and barriers of pastoralist women and girls in CARE's operational areas of Jonglei and Eastern Equatoria. The various action points emphasize both identifying and drawing on both local and external change agents and stakeholders in supporting women and girls' empowerment and development, including the increased **role of diaspora**¹⁰⁶:

Intervention area	PRIORITY	ACTORS
I ACCESS TO/USE OF BASIC SERVICES (EDUCATION, HEALTH, LEGAL)		
1.1 Facilitate access to (quality) primary and secondary education (and participation) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continue to support local access to and participation in (quality) primary education, and explore new ways to promote secondary school attendance for both girls (and boys) through local mobilization, sports and community/school campaigns for pastoralist girls. Consider exploring diaspora financial support (school books and sanitary pads) and donor family incentives (e.g. food items) for very poor families (e.g. UNICEF). Lobby for urban boarding facilities. Consider exploring homework space at the community level for girls and boys (separately). 	HIGH	GOVT NGOS
1.2 Facilitate access to informal and tertiary education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support local access to and participation in informal and tertiary education for women. For (early) dropout girls support access to basic literacy/numeracy courses, and vocational training. 	HIGH	GOVT NGOS
1.3 Facilitate access to health services / clinics and information (maternal health and family planning) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support local participation in health facilities for women for maternal health through maternal health/hygiene through community messaging with community health volunteers. 	HIGH	GOVT NGOS HEALTH WORKERS RADIO
1.4 Facilitate access to formal justice and legal services <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support the development of training in access to formal justice¹⁰⁷ related to sexual, marital and inheritance rights. Consider the establishment of community paralegals through training of strong women (on legal processes related to family, succession, rights). 	MEDIUM	GOVT NGOS
II LOCAL DIALOGUE, AND AWARENESS-RAISING		
2.1 Harness charismatic women / local role models for local social dialogue and household mobilization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identify local charismatic women that can champion and lead local social dialogue and action with women's groups, and support household/community mobilization efforts in areas such as harmful traditional practices (e.g. teenage marriage and domestic violence), school education and inheritance rights. 	HIGH	NGOS LOCAL WOMEN LEADERS
2.2 Harness progressive leaders and religious representatives for local community awareness raising and action <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identify local charismatic leaders (from inside and outside of the community), and religious leaders that can slowly champion and promote new community attitudes and beliefs regarding multiple norms including: harmful traditional practices (arranged and underage marriages, domestic violence), secondary education, inheritance rights and a safe community environment, and a more 	HIGH	NGOS LOCAL LEADERS

¹⁰⁶ In this regard, many lessons can be learnt from CARE Somalia on harnessing diaspora support for village development in Somaliland.

¹⁰⁷ For example, lessons could be learnt from ActionAid in Somaliland (Actionaid 2015).

Intervention area	PRIORITY	ACTORS
holistic perspective of family well being. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitate local training and campaigns through leaders (using methods such as community theatre) to promote new attitudes and beliefs. 		
2.3 Facilitate exposure visits between different locations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitate exposure visits between semi-urban communities and rural communities, particularly between progressive and less developed areas that can offer and share experiences and insights into how they tackled social barriers. Consider ‘twinning’¹⁰⁸ of villages (urban and rural) with same ethnic groups. 	MEDIUM	NGOS LOCAL LEADERS
III Social organization, and higher-level collective action		
3.1 Strengthen women’s networks/groups (e.g. health committees, VSLAs) and collective action <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support the further development of VSLAs as crucial women’s empowerment and community development bodies. In addition to savings/lending training for VSLAs, facilitate leadership training, foster ties between groups for higher-level collective action, and facilitate links to external services (legal and financial). 	HIGH	NGOS LOCAL WOMEN LEADERS
3.2 Facilitate adolescent networks/groups ‘AVSLA’ and collective action <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support the development of adolescent VSLA (AVSLA) groups (under 20 years) as young women’s empowerment bodies that can start saving, and engage in social dialogue and action. They can also initiate productive, voluntary and self-help tasks. Facilitate strategic support to build the group capacity, and foster ties between different community groups for collective action at the location level. 	HIGH	NGOS LOCAL WOMEN LEADERS
3.3 Facilitate women’s agricultural skills development and cooperatives in agro-pastoralist areas <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support the development of women’s farmers’ groups/cooperatives at the community/location level, with possible links to VSLAs (maximum 50-100 women per cooperative). Agencies should facilitate access to inputs, and encourage the joint marketing of premium produce. To strengthen the cooperative, agencies should facilitate training on organizational management, and the development of systems for joint input supply and marketing. 	MEDIUM	NGOS LOCAL WOMEN LEADERS
IV Local resources, environment, and technology		
4.1 Facilitate introduction to appropriate technologies to support access to clean water (during dry season) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Drawing on CARE Somalia, explore water storage tanks and rainwater harvesting, and facilitate access to new local appropriate technologies, including improved (locally made) water filters (e.g. those designed by TEARFUND). Formulate a strategy for their production and distribution using market mechanisms (i.e. working with local town craftsmen). 	HIGH	NGOS LOCAL CRAFTSMEN
4.2 Facilitate introduction to appropriate technologies to support fuel consumption <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consider introduction of improved stoves that reduce fuel needs (e.g. those designed by the ENDEV¹⁰⁹). Formulate a strategy for their 	HIGH	NGOS LOCAL CRAFTSMEN

¹⁰⁸ This is a concept that has been used in the UK and France to develop stronger grassroots ties between the two countries. But it could also be interesting to discuss and possibly trial to close-nit Somali communities.

¹⁰⁹ Started in 2003, ENDEV is a global initiative between the Netherlands, Germany and Norway that aims to facilitate sustainable access to modern energy services and resource for poor people in developing countries. In Kenya, ENDEV has developed new improving cooking technologies and now established a dynamic market

<i>Intervention area</i>	PRIORITY	ACTORS
production and distribution using market mechanisms (i.e. working with local town craftsmen).		
<i>4.3 Support local strategy-making to support deteriorating local environment</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> At a local level, support inter-community strategy making in environmental management to support access to firewood and security. 	HIGH	NGOS LOCAL LEADERS GOVT
<i>V Communications, and media</i>		
<i>5.1 Support access to national/regional radio messaging</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explore ways to improve access to local radio stations with educational broadcasts, and support further education, health and rights messaging. 	HIGH	NGOS LOCAL RADIO STATION GOVT

in the country, with over 1.3 million disseminated stoves (since 2005). Improved stoves for private households both save up to 60% of firewood, and reduce cooking time.

REFERENCES AND FURTHER READING

- ACPF (2015) *Gender and child rights in Eastern Africa: A review of laws and policies on child marriage, economic exploitation and inheritance*, Addis Ababa: The African Child Policy Forum.
- Actionaid (2015) *Empowering women and girls to claim their rights in Somaliland: Midterm Review Report*, Unpublished internal document.
- Adama/MoFA (2012) *Pastoral Development & Lessons Learned from West & East African Pastoralists*, National Workshop, Pastoral and Agro Pastoral Development Policy and Strategy Directorate General, Ensure Equitable & Accelerated Development –MoFA.
- Aregu, L. and Belete, Y. (2007) 'Coping with Drought in the Borana Rangelands' in Flintan, F., Ridgewell, A. and Getachew, M. (Eds) *Gender & Pastoralism Vol 1: Rangeland & Resource Management in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa: SOS Sahel Ethiopia.
- Aregu, L., Belete, Y. and Teffera, S. (2007) 'Savings & Credit Interventions in Afar & Borana' in Flintan, F. and Ridgewell, A.. (Eds) *Gender & Pastoralism Vol 2: Rangeland & Resource Management in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa: SOS Sahel Ethiopia
- CARE South Sudan (2016a) *Emergency Market Mapping and Analysis, Torit, South Sudan* (internal document).
- CARE South Sudan (2016b) *Inequality and Injustice: the deteriorating situation for women and girls in South Sudan's war – A progressive Gender Analysis: 2013-2016*, CARE.
- CARE South Sudan (2017) *CARE in South Sudan* (internal document).
- CARE Ethiopia (2009) *Underlying Causes Of Poverty Analysis For Pastoralist Girls Situational Analysis*, CARE Ethiopia.
- CARE Ethiopia (2010) *Productive Safety Net Programme Pastoral Areas Pilot (PSNP PAP): Livelihood/KAP Baseline Assessment Dewe Woreda, Afar Region* (Internal report)
- CARE Ethiopia (2014) *Review of CARE Ethiopia VSLA* (internal report).
- CARE Ethiopia (2015) *Gender in Recurrent Emergencies Context: The Cases of Afar Region, CARE Ethiopia* (internal report).
- CARE International (2011) *Communique Gender and Community-based Adaptation in Africa*, Proceedings of Gender and Community-Based Adaptation Learning Workshop (organized by the Adaptation Learning Programme for Africa).
- CARE Kenya (2014) *Women's Engagement In Pastoral Value Chains In Northern Kenya Understanding Gender In Livestock Value Chains*, CARE Kenya.
- CARE Kenya (2015) *Adaptation Learning Programme in Kenya* (Project brief).
- CARE NL (2010) *Partner for Resilience: Climate Proof-Disaster Risk Reduction Project in Afar Regional State, Technical Proposal 2011-2015* (internal document).
- CARE NL (2016) *Addressing Root Causes of Violent Conflict in four Counties of Jonglei State, South Sudan* (programme document)
- CARE NL/MDF Training and Consultancy (2016) *Final Evaluation of the PUC programme in South Sudan and Burundi* (CARE Netherlands), unpublished.
- CARE Somalia (2016) *Summary of Learnings, Brief: Haraad Reeb II Final Evaluation Report* (CARE Water Team), CARE Somalia.
- CARE Somalia (n.d.) *Haraadreeb III Quenching the Thirst - Lighting income generation: Haraadreeb II Project Innovative Story*, (internal document).
- CARE South Sudan and Save the Children (2016) *Multi-Sector Rapid Needs Assessment: Imatong State: Phase 1 Report: Torit County, South Sudan* (unpublished).
- CIA (2017) *The World Factbook: South Sudan*, CIA.

- Dullo, F. (2012) *Literature Review: Underlying Causes of Poverty and Vulnerability of women and Girls in Northern Kenya, Nyanza and Urban Informal Settlements in Nairobi, Kisumu and Garissa*, (Research for CARE International Kenya).
- ENDEV (2012) *Dynamic market for improved cooking devices in Kenya*, Germany: Energising Development.
- Flintan, F. (2008) *Women's Empowerment in Pastoral Societies*, Prepared for UNDP/WISP/GEF/IUCN.
- Flintan, F., and Ridgewell, A. (Eds) (2007b) *Gender & Pastoralism Vol 2: Livelihoods & Income Development in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa: SOS Sahel Ethiopia.
- Flintan, F. (2010) 'Sitting at the table: securing benefits for pastoral women from land tenure reform in Ethiopia', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1: 153-178.
- Flintan, F. (2011) *Changing Nature of Gender Roles in the Drylands of the Horn and East Africa: Implications for DRR Programming*. USAID/REGLAP.
- Flintan, F. and Ridgewell, A. (Eds) (2007) *Gender & Pastoralism Vol 2: Rangeland & Resource Management in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa: SOS Sahel Ethiopia.
- Flintan, F., Cullen, B. and Latosky, S. (2012) *Pastoral women's thoughts on 'change': voices from Ethiopia*, Feinstein International Center.
- Flintan, F., Ridgewell, A. and Getachew, M. (Eds) (2007a) *Gender & Pastoralism Vol 1: Rangeland & Resource Management in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa: SOS Sahel Ethiopia.
- Forward UK (2013) 'Child Marriage Situation Analysis: Making a Case for Ending Child Marriage in East Africa' *East African Conference on Child Marriage*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 12-13 June 2013.
- Frankenberger, T. and Nelson, S. (2013) *Summary of the Expert Consultation on Resilience Measurement for Food Security*, TANGO.
- Frankenberger, T., Mueller, M., Spangler, T. and Alexander, S. (2013) *Community Resilience: Conceptual Framework and Measurement: Feed the Future Learning Agenda*, Paper prepared for USAID.
- Gebreyes, Y.A., Lemma, G.B., Deng, L.B., and Abdullahi, S. (2016) *The Impact Conflict on the Livestock Sector in South Sudan*, Commissioned by FAO South Sudan.
- Harragin, S. (2007) *Waiting for payday: Anthropological research on local government structures in South Sudan*.
- Hartmann, I. and Sugulle, A.J. (2009) *The Impact of Climate Change on Pastoral Societies of Somaliland*, Candlelight for Health, Education and Environment.
- Helland, J. (2006) 'Pastoral Land Tenure in Ethiopia', *Colloque international "Les frontières de la question foncière – At the frontier of land issues"*, Montpellier.
- HPF (2013) *Request for Proposals: Services Providers for Eastern Equatoria, Western Bahr el Ghazal and Unity States*, Health Pooled Fund South Sudan.
- HRW (2013) *This old man can feed us, you will marry him: Children and Forced Marriage in South Sudan*, Juba: Human Rights Watch.
- ICMC/CARE Ethiopia (2009) *An assessment to understand the underlying causes of poverty of pastoralist girls*, Desk review, International Change Management Consultants (ICMC).
- ICRW (2016) *Understanding why child marriage persists in Kenya and Zambia*, ICRW.
- IFAD (2010) 'Gender and livestock: Tools for Design', *Livestock Thematic Papers*, IFAD.
- IFAD. 1999. The issue of poverty among female-headed households in Africa. <http://www.ifad.org/gender/learning/challenges/women/60.htm>
- Joto Africa (2014) *Community based Adaptation to Climate Change Strengthens Pastoralists' Resilience (Gender and adaptation: from concepts to practice in Northern Kenya Drylands)*, Nairobi: Arid Lands Information Network and Adaptation (ALIN) and Learning Programme for Africa (ALP).

- Kabeer, N. (1999) 'Resources, agency, achievements: reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment', *Development and Change* 30: 435-464.
- Kabeer, N. (2005) Gender equality and women's empowerment: a critical analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal, *Gender and Development* 13 (1): 13-24.
- Kagunyu, A., Mohammed, S., Okoti, M. and Wayua, F., Mesele, S., Haile, G., Belay, L., Tilahun, A. and Kero, U. (2007) 'Pastoral Conflict and Use of Key Resources along the Ethiopia-Kenya Border: Implications for Policy and Development', *Research Brief 07-04-PARIMA*, University of California/Global Livestock Collaborative Research Support Programme.
- KIT, Agri-ProFocus and IIRR (2012) *Challenging chains to change: Gender equity in agricultural value chain development*. KIT Publishers, Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam.
- Mahmud, S. (2003) 'Actually How Empowering is Micro-credit?', *Development and Change*, 34: (4): 577--605.
- MGCSW (2013) *National Gender Policy*, Juba: Ministry of Gender, Child, and Social Welfare (MGCSW).
- MoEST (2015) *Girls' Education Strategy for South Sudan 2015-17 'Let all Girls and Boys go to School'*, Juba: Ministry of Education, Science and Technology General Education (MoEST).
- MoGEI (2017) *National Education Statistics for the Republic of South Sudan*, Juba: Ministry of General Education & Instruction (MoGEI).
- Morrisson, C. and Jutting, J. (2004) 'The Impact of Social Institutions on the Economic Role of Women in Developing Countries', *Working Paper No. 234*, OECD Development Centre, Paris.
- Munawar, M., Safdar, U., Luqman, L., Butt, T. M., Hassan, M. Z. Y. and Khalid, M. F. (2013) 'Factors Inhibiting The Participation Of Rural Women In Livestock Production Activities', *Journal of Agricultural Research* 51(2).
- Njuki, J. and Sanginga, P. (2013) 'Gender and Livestock: Issues, Challenges and Opportunities', excerpt from the book *Bridging the Gender Gap: Women, Livestock Ownership and Markets in Eastern and Southern Africa*, produced by the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI).
- NRC (2016) *Pastoralism, Conflict and Recovery in South Sudan (Roundtable Discussion)*, NRC.
- OCHA (2017) *Humanitarian Bulletin South Sudan Issue 13, 17 August 2017*, Juba: UNOCHA.
- Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (PFE) (2006) 'Pastoralism' in *Ethiopia: Building on Progress: A Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP)*: Addis Ababa.
- PFE (Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia) (2008) *Promoting Gender Mainstreaming within Pastoral Programs and Organizations: a Generic Guideline*, PFE (with Oxfam GB).
- Ritchie, H. (2017) *Social Norms and Barriers Analysis for Women and Girls' Empowerment in Somaliland*, Commissioned by CARE Somalia (unpublished).
- Ritchie, H. (2016) *Social Norms and Barriers Analysis for Women and Girls' Empowerment in Kenya*, Commissioned by CARE Kenya (unpublished).
- Ritchie, H. (2015a) *Towards Resilience? Women's Engagement in Pastoralist livelihoods in Afar Regional State, Ethiopia*, Commissioned by CARE NL (unpublished).
- Ritchie, H. (2015b) *Social Norms and Barriers Analysis for Women and Girls' Empowerment in Afar and Borana, Ethiopia: Social Change in a Fragile Environment?* Commissioned by CARE Ethiopia (unpublished).
- Save the Children (2004) *State of the World's Mothers 2004. Children having Children*.
- Scott, J., et al. (2013) 'An assessment of gender inequitable norms and gender-based violence in South Sudan: a community-based participatory research approach', *Conflict and Health* 7:4, 2013.

- Sharp, B. (2017) (Draft field notes for FAO report) *Food security and livelihoods Qualitative Causal Analysis on High Malnutrition Rates in Warrap and Northern BEG South Sudan*, April 2017 (unpublished).
- Sommers, M. and S. Schwartz (2011) *Dowry and Division: Youth and State building in South Sudan*, United States Institute of Peace (USIP), Washington, DC. http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR_295.pdf.
- Tzemach Lemmon, G. and ElHarake, L.S. (2014) *Child Brides, Global Consequences: How to End Child Marriage*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations.
- UNICEF (2016) *State of the World's Children*, New York: UNICEF.
- UNDP (2016) *Yes We can South Sudan* (Women Day Infographic), South Sudan: UNDP.
- UNHCR (2014) *Human Development Report 2014, Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience*, New York: UNDP.
- UNIFEM (2009) *Gender-based Violence and Violence Against Women: Report on Incidence and Prevalence in South Sudan*, Juba: UNIFEM.
- USAID (2005) *Enhancing Women's Access to Markets: An Overview of Donor Programs and Best Practices*, USAID.
- World Bank (2011) *The World Bank Human Development Network Children and Youth Unit and Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network Gender Unit*, Washington DC: The World Bank.
- World Bank (2012) *Education in the Republic of South Sudan, Status and Challenges for a new system*, Washington DC: The World Bank.
- World Bank (2013) *Inclusion Matters. New Frontiers of Social Policy*. Washington DC: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank.

Appendix 1: Terms of Reference

Consultancy to facilitate Social Norms and Barriers Analysis of Women and Girls in Selected Pastoralist Communities in South Sudan

I ASSIGNMENT BACKGROUND

As common in the Horn of Africa region, **pastoralism in South Sudan** is the “central institution around which most of South Sudan’s societies are organized”¹¹⁰. CARE International’s rural women programmes have focused on empowering women and marginalized groups. It is a long-term commitment to communities, a design methodology that encompasses cross cutting issues such as gender, conflict, disaster risk reduction (DRR), governance, civil society, and advocacy, as well as the development of a system to measure outputs, outcome and impact. The approach also entails close alliances with a limited number of strategic government and non-government partners.

The rural women programmes aim to improve the economic status of women and their households to reduce vulnerabilities caused by poverty, conflict and drought. The program supports the communities to access sustainable basic services like education, water and sanitation. The rural women programme’s other approaches include use of women village and savings groups to improve access to savings; promotes inclusive governance to increase women participation and representation in decision process from community level upwards; prioritizes the girls’ education to help girls become tomorrow’s decision-makers and improve the ability of households and communities to pull themselves out of poverty. The programme also helps to foster peace and reduce the impact of natural resource degradation, which is critical for the survival of the pastoralist system in the Horn of Africa.

The rural women’s programme has taken a major focus on women and girls empowerment. Over the years since 2009, the program has had a number of initiatives that were in line with its overarching *Theory of Change*.

II ASSIGNMENT OBJECTIVE / DELIVERABLES

The overall objective of the research is to contribute to CARE International’s pastoral programme in East Africa, and the development of a causal model of pastoral resilience. Building on recent research in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somaliland (Ritchie 2015, 2016, 2017) and existing studies in South Sudan, the scope of the Sudanese study covers selected pastoral communities from CARE Somalia’s operational areas. The study focuses in particular on **pastoralist women and girls’ social norms and barriers**. Using the framework developed in Ethiopia, the research aimed to look at the South Sudan reality of pastoralists to further contribute to understanding the changing nature of pastoralist societies (and gender) in East Africa, and to support the development of strategies that can best assist vulnerable groups such as pastoralist women and girls. In particular, the phenomenon of climate change is ‘challenging norms and shifting the traditional barriers to change in gender relations’ presenting new opportunities for ‘linking adaptation with improved gender equality’ (Joto Africa 2014).

¹¹⁰ http://southsudanhumanitarianproject.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/21/formidable/Pastoralism-Conflict-Recovery-Roundtable_May2016-1.pdf

To strengthen CARE's understanding of the status of pastoralist women and girls, the study specifically integrates people's current experiences, taking into account changing realities including diverse factors such as climate change as well as regional restrictions to pastoral movement, sedentarisation/urbanization (leading to the 'transitioning out of pastoralism' groups), the emerging disparity between rich and poor, and government policies. In view of CARE's programming, the study took a special focus on adolescent girls as an impact group that CARE is keen to better understand in order to support more effectively. Findings from the research are envisaged to have cross-sectoral recommendations for future CARE programming in the Horn of Africa, and thus the study aimed to be sensitive to the full context of evolving pastoralist realities, situating social norms and barriers to women and girls' empowerment in the wider development context.

The study will be based on initial desk review of key documents, and then local field research with the CARE team (using a previously developed framework under CARE Ethiopia). The research aims to contribute to the development of a pastoralist causal model for enhanced resilience to support CARE's ongoing and future projects. This work will also contribute to similar work that has been done under CARE in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somaliland by the same Consultant.

Specific Objectives:

- Review and analyze the documents relating to CARE's rural women program and its various initiatives
- Review recent documents on rural women initiatives especially past evaluations that can inform this study on social norms and barriers
- Based on desk review of internal and external documents identify specific gaps in knowledge or areas that need updating, and adapt, as needed, the framework for the field work on social norms/barriers of pastoralist women and girls¹¹¹
- Undertake field work, visiting communities, primarily talking to women and girls, as well as government officers, CARE project staff and other NGO staff, based on gaps identified by the literature review
- Write up findings and feed these back into a report as per specific deliverables section below.

The assignment should ideally be carried out in August-September 2017.

Deliverables

Presentation of initial findings (PowerPoint): in order to incorporate initial comments by CARE Sudan, the consultant will present the preliminary findings to CARE International staff in South Sudan, following the completion of the fieldwork, as with the previous studies in Ethiopia and Kenya.

Draft report: Using a similar format to CARE studies in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somaliland, the draft report will provide an analysis of social norms and barriers to women and girls' empowerment in dry land areas, identifying who the major gatekeepers are of the norms and values and where opportunities for change are. The report will also look into whether any of the programming to date has tackled the identified issues and if so what

¹¹¹ Research methods were developed for earlier studies with CARE in Ethiopia and Kenya (Ritchie 2015, 2016).

the general impact has been to date (although a full evaluation of previous programmes/projects will not be conducted).

For valuable comments and to ensure that the study meets the required quality, the consultant should submit the draft report to CARE Sudan for comments.

III CONSULTANT PROPOSED ACTIVITIES / TIMELINE

The scope of the study covers approximately **10 community sites in 3-4 pre-selected districts¹¹²** in **two regions where CARE is operational**: Eastern Equatoria, Jonglei, Upper Nile and Unity States. In strengthening CARE's understandings of the social norms and barriers women and girls' face, it is critically important that the study is based on people's current experiences and takes into account changing realities including factors such as climate change, regional restrictions to pastoral movement, land grabbing/privatization of land, sedentarisation/urbanization leading to the 'transitioning out of pastoralist' groups, emerging disparity between rich and poor, government policies and those of other stakeholders. The study will keep in mind the focus of CARE's program on adolescent girls as the impact group that we most need to understand and be able to support effectively. Finally the implication of the social norms and barriers are likely to have cross-sectoral recommendations in terms of future CARE programming and therefore the study needs to be sensitive to the full context of local realities, situating social norms and barriers to women and girls' empowerment in the wider development context.

The following describes the proposed activities and their duration over July 2017-Sept 2017 (total = 24 days):

Phase 1: Background desk research/preparation¹¹³ (4 days – July-Aug 2017)

In the first phase of the assignment, to better understand CARE International's work and background of pastoralist women and girls in selected regions, the consultant will review all relevant internal and external documents provided by CARE in July 2017.

Phase 2: Field mission (11 days /early-mid Aug 2017)

In the second phase of the assignment, the consultant will travel to CARE's office in South Sudan and two selected provinces.

The consultant will conduct 2 days of preparation/training on the field mission with relevant staff (~early Aug). The consultant will discuss and agree with CARE International staff the (3-4) districts of focus and the key issues that may need particular attention in the South Sudanese context, the planned approach/methods, and field visit details.

Field visits to both areas will then aim to gather first hand quantitative and qualitative information. Using techniques developed for the earlier social norms and barriers studies in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somaliland (Ritchie 2015, 2016, 2017), methodologies

¹¹² Pre-selected in pre-fieldwork workshop.

¹¹³ Due to earlier studies in Ethiopia and Kenya that fleshed out the framework for the study and methods, an initial inception report will not be drafted for this study (as with the second Kenyan study). Please refer to Ritchie 2015b, 2016 for the overall research framework / approach.

will include key informant interviews, focus group discussions as well as innovative self-designed PRA sessions (consultant); and the gathering of key quantitative data, as discussed with CARE (with support of CARE field staff). The research will specifically take a three-pronged approach to the fieldwork including targeting the *sub-district* (cluster of villages) as a core focus of the research, in addition to the *NGO and institutional/government* levels. The research will include a total of 3-4 districts over the target areas in South Sudan.

The investigation will include three research teams **(total CARE staff required for research = 4/5 people)**:

- Team A (2 CARE women staff): adolescent girls
- Team B (consultant + female translator): women
- Team C (2 CARE male staff): village elders.

The Consultant will act as overall Research Team Leader.

Using qualitative research tools, the practical research will gather specific information at both sub-district and district level, with selected quantitative indicators collected to gauge 'change and range'. Tools will include key informant interviews, focus group discussions (with innovative ethnographic exercises), semi-structure interviews and observation. A total of 30 focus group/PRA discussions will be held with 8-12 participants per group. This will include 10 focus groups with adolescent girls, 10 focus groups with women (local community members and representatives) and 10 focus group discussions with men (local leaders and community members), in addition to several case study interviews (with adolescents). Beyond the community, single/group key informant interviews will be conducted with local NGO staff, and local government representatives. The research will aim to capture and emphasize '*change and range*' in key norms related to pastoralist women and girls to draw attention to both change and the spectrum of specific rules/practices at the local level.

Phase 3: Findings presentation and report drafting (2+5+2 days, Aug-Sept 2017)

The consultant will present the preliminary findings to CARE International staff in South Sudan, following the completion of the fieldwork, as with the previous studies in Ethiopia and Kenya. Comments will be discussed and integrated into the main report.

In the final phase of the assignment, the consultant will **draft and submit the following report: 'Social norms and barriers analysis for women and girl pastoralists women and girls' empowerment – South Sudan'** for initial review - CARE will send the consultant a collated set of comments (2 weeks), before revisions/agreed finalization by the consultant with CARE (2 weeks).

Description of the Deliverables	Days (July-Sept)
1. Preparation and study design	
Conduct thorough analysis of all relevant documents provided by CARE, and engage in planning discussions/preparation.	4
2. Field visit	
Conduct field visit in South Sudan, including travel time	11
3. Findings presentation and Report Writing	
Present preliminary findings to project / other relevant staff in Nairobi, and collect feedback following research.	2

Produce and submit the first draft report as per agreed format.	5
Incorporate collated feedback, and submit second draft for approval.	2
Total	24

Appendix 2: Research methods

As with earlier studies conducted by the consultant with CARE in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somaliland, qualitative research techniques included community-level **focus group discussions** (incorporating ethnographic techniques), **semi-structured interviews** and **case studies** in addition to observation. The primary focus of the research was at the *village level* with respondents comprising groups of women, adolescent girls and men (example *Women's Group Tool 1A* below, with variations on similar questions for men's group, and reduced questions for adolescent girls' group (for example, 2d and 2e excluded)). These qualitative tools (with quantitative indicators) were used by the three research teams as a basic guide to open discussions. At the county and national level, the research also investigated NGOs and government institutions in terms of policies and programmes, ongoing local projects, and perspectives on selected norms and change for women and girls in target locations.

Tool 1A: Focus Group/ WOMEN (NOTE –form layout shortened)

Location:.....

Date:.....

List of WOMEN attendees (10-12):

First name	Age	Marital status (S/M/D), AND # CHILD.	OCCUPATION	LITERATE	VSLA OR OTHER COMMUNITY POSITION	Religion
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						
11.						
12.						

1. **(Warming up group) Let us talk a bit about your COMMUNITY SITUATION...**

a. **What are the MAIN LIVELIHOODS of the people?**

(Pastoralist? Agro-pastoralist? Wage-earners? Business?)

Men:

Women:

b. **What is the approximate # of HOUSEHOLDS in this community?**

Total HH=

.....% Female headed (husband dead, missing or left)

.....% Divorced only

c. **Do you have basic SERVICES** in or near the community? (by government or NGO)

Primary or secondary school?

Clinic?

d. **Are there NGO PROJECTS ongoing?** For women?

.....
e. **Do you have any special committees in your community?** e.g. village councils, VSLAs

2. **Let us now talk about some TRADITIONAL PRACTICES in your community, and CHANGE since independence, particularly related to women and girls**

a. **DOMESTIC CHORES** (wood/water collection, and HOURS)

Q. Who is typically responsible for collecting water & fuel? Is access getting worse/better??

* WATER collection- time spent/day:

Now..... Before.....

* FUEL collection – time spent/week:

Now..... Before.....

Q. What do you think of this? Are there changes to these practices? Why?

b. MARITAL PRACTICES: age, choice

Q. What age do girls typically get married in this community?

Now..... Before.....

Q. What is the typical process for marriage (arranged/choice)?

Now

Before

Q. Bride price?

Q. What do you think of this? Are there changes to these above practices? Why?

c. EXTRAMARITAL SEX AND VIOLENCE

Q. Is sex common outside of marriage? Is rape common?

Q. Do women and girls experience other types of violence, such as wife beating, abduction?

Q. What do you think of this? Are there changes to these above practices? Why

d) RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

*Q Who manages/controls **major resources** - Men? Women? Both?*

(e.g. land, livestock and income)

- Household land:*
- Livestock:*

Q. What about cash management?

*Q. Out of 20 **widows**, how many inherit livestock? All/some of livestock? What is the 'policy'?*

Now.....Before.....

Q. Out of 20 widows, how many are themselves inherited?

Now.....Before.....

Q. What do you think of this? Are there changes to these practices? Why?

e) Finally in this section, let us discuss DECISION-MAKING at household and community level....

Q What types of household decision-making are men and women involved in?

Men:

Women:

Q. Out of 20, how many women is involved in major HH decision-making? E.g. livestock selling, moving house

Now.....Before.....

Q. What type of community-level meetings are men and women involved in?

Men

Women

Q. What about attendance of women at meetings?

- >Attendance at traditional meetings? (Out of 20):

Now.....Before.....

- >Attendance at NGO meetings? (Out of 20)

Now.....Before.....

Q. What do you think of this? Are there changes to these practices? Why?

3. Let us now talk about the INTRODUCTION OF NEW SERVICES, particularly on women and girls

a) EDUCATION: Attendance of primary and secondary school? University?

Q. Do girls in this community attend primary school? And secondary school?

Primary (Out of 20)

Now.....Before.....

Secondary (Out of 20)

Now.....Before.....

Q. What do you think of this? Are there changes? Why?

b) MATERNAL HEALTH and Nutrition

Q. Is there a clinic nearby and do women/girls use this for giving **birth**?

Q. Have you heard **family planning** methods? Do you use these?

Q. What do you think of this? Are there changes to these practices? Why?

4. WHO, OR WHAT, IS DRIVING OR PREVENTING CHANGE?

5. Who is best supporting POSITIVE CHANGE and EMPOWERMENT for women and girls (through for example, direct messages, guidance, skills building)?

e.g.

- LOCAL/TRADITIONAL LEADERS (MEN)
- SCHOOL TEACHERS
- STRONG WOMEN
- CHURCH CLERICS
- NGO
- MEDIA/RADIO

6. WHAT IS THE OUTCOME OF CHANGING PRACTICES - for example the education of girls - on women and girls' status, roles, respect, access to resources etc?

7. WHAT ARE YOUR IDEAS ON FURTHER PROMOTING CHANGE to support women's development?

**Appendix 3: Research Respondents/ Relevant Groups Met
(Aug 2017)**

	NAME /GROUP	DATE	LOCATION	ORGANISATION/POSITION
1	Jean Newbery	Aug 7	Nairobi	ALTAI Project staff / South Sudan Education
2	Regina Lulo Ossa Jane Tomaro Susan Omar	Aug 14	Juba	Director of Gender, Child and Social Welfare
3	Dorcas Acen	Aug 14	Juba	CARE Gender and Protection Officer
4	Dennis Wesonga Marci Laker	Aug 14	Juba	CARE Justice and Peace Officer Nutrition Officer
5	James Nanyok	Aug 16	Panyagor, Twic East	CRS Project Officer
6	Pach Philip Gabriel Majur	Aug 16	Panyagor, Twic East	Oxfam FSL Officers
7	Victor Nthiga	Aug 16	Panyagor, Twic East	Tearfund
8	Wanglei boma <i>Women's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Men's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Adolescent Group (8-12)</i>	Aug 17	Twic East	Community members and key representatives
9	Pawel boma <i>Women's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Men's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Adolescent Group (8-12)</i>	Aug 17	Twic East	Community members and key representatives
10	Women's Association (+12 members)	Aug 18	Panyagor, Twic East	Department of Gender
11	Mawa Seme	Aug 19-20	Panyagor, Twic East	CARE Lead Programme Officer
12	Warnyol boma <i>Women's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Men's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Adolescent Group (8-12)</i>	Aug 18	Twic East	Community members and key representatives
13	Deng Samwel	Aug 19	Panyagor, Twic East	CINA Case worker

	NAME /GROUP	DATE	LOCATION	ORGANISATION/POSITION
14	Garlei boma <i>Women's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Men's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Adolescent Group (8-12)</i>	Aug 19	Twic East	Community members and key representatives
15	Aliet boma <i>Women's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Men's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Adolescent Group (8-12)</i>	Aug 20	Twic East	Community members and key representatives
16	James Mayak	Aug 21	Panyagor, Twic East	Department of Education Acting Director
17	Duot Agang	Aug 21	Panyagor, Twic East	Traditional Justice Dept Acting Payam Chief for Twic East
18	John Chol Abraham Dit	Aug 21	Panyagor, Twic East	Department of Health M/E Officer Acting County Director
19	Chol Gabriel Simon Bowl	Aug 21	Panyagor, Twic East	Department of Agriculture Zonal Inspector for Agriculture Livestock and Pastoralism
20	David Wot Simon Alen David Bull	22 Aug	Panyagor, Twic East	Episcopal Church Twic East Canon Pastor
21	George Ali Steven Esther Akumu	24 Aug	Juba	Ministry of Education 'Development Partners' Officers
22	Paride Francis	25 Aug	Torit	CARE Procurement
23	Muiarram boma, Bur payam <i>Women's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Men's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Adolescent Group (8-12)</i>	Aug 26	Torit	Community members and key representatives
24	Nyibira boma, Hiyala payam <i>Women's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Men's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Adolescent Group (8-12)</i>	Aug 27	Torit	Community members and key representatives
25	Tirrangore boma, Hiyala payam <i>Women's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Men's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Adolescent Group (8-12)</i>	Aug 27	Torit	Community members and key representatives
26	Hilieu boma, Himodonge payam	Aug 28	Torit	Community members and key representatives

	NAME /GROUP	DATE	LOCATION	ORGANISATION/POSITION
	<i>Women's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Men's Group (8-12)</i> <i>Adolescent Group (8-12)</i>			
27	Clement Odiongo	Aug 28	Torit	CARE Project staff (Ex Radio Voice of Eastern Equatoria)
28	Dr. Augustine Okwati	28 Aug	Torit	Department of Health Maternal health
29	Ramadan James	28 Aug	Torit	Health Pooled Fund Project Coordinator
30	(Project Officer, Torit)	28 Aug	Torit	CARITAS International Project Officer
31	Reverend Johnson	29 Aug	Torit	Department of Gender
32	Hassan Urban	29 Aug	Torit	Ministry of Education Director
33	Yvonne Uwimana	29 Aug	Torit	CARE Sexual Reproductive Health Advisor East Africa Global Emergency Response

This appendix further elaborates on critical gender dynamics in pastoralist societies.

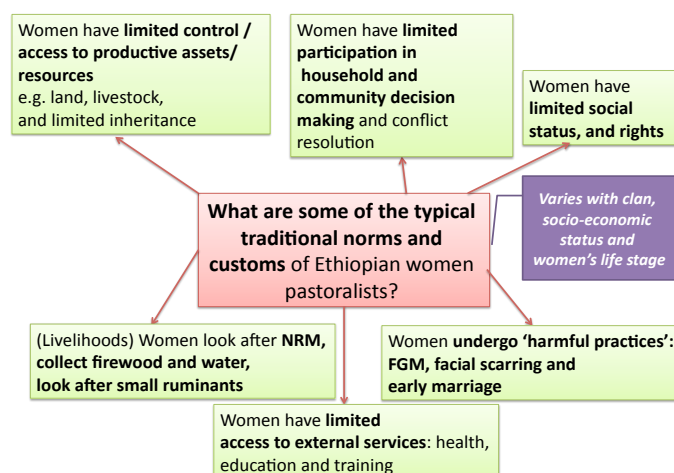
A4.1 Gender dynamics in pastoralist societies¹¹⁴

In exploring pastoral women's marginalized situation in society, it is evident that a complex confluence of socio-cultural dynamics, environmental pressures and institutional weaknesses shape women/girls' roles, choices and opportunities. In the context of Ethiopia, the *Ethiopian Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs* elaborates on the myriad social, economic and political challenges faced by pastoralist and semi pastoralist women (2011). Socially, women tend to suffer from a low educational background (with a low rates of enrollment of girls in school), the persistence of harmful traditional practices (such as FGC and early marriage), a lack of family planning (due to traditional beliefs/practices), a lack of access to adequate maternal health facilities, gender based violence, a lack of assets, in addition to access to appropriate tools/equipment (e.g. in productive work). Economically, women face challenges from increasing land degradation, influencing the availability of fodder for cattle and access to water (for human and livestock); limited irrigation for farming; a lack of land rights; poor access to animal health services (and thus limited knowledge of modern cattle breeding); and a lack of alternative income generating options (and access to micro-credit). Politically, pastoralist women also remain excluded, in part since local leadership still often has limited awareness of the human and democratic rights of women. Women are also constrained by their own limited awareness of their 'constitutional rights', limited participation in local forums and a lack of capacity to protect/uphold the 'multi-diversified rights of women'. Women are also affected by their lack of ability to properly participate in conflict resolution, and the (ongoing) lack of coherence between 'modern' structures e.g. ward, location and traditional structures.

From a sociological perspective, pastoralist women and girls' norms, customs and entitlements are essentially shaped by paternalistic socio-cultural ideas, values and attitudes about gender-related roles and responsibilities (*see Figure A4.1*). These include women's expected roles as homemakers, and child bearers/carers. For women, these include: their **limited participation in household and community decision-making (and conflict resolution)**; their **limited control over productive assets and resources** (e.g. land and livestock); their **high domestic responsibilities** including collecting firewood and water (as well as their role in looking after small ruminants and NRM); and their **limited access to external services** (health and education). Women may also be subjected to **harmful traditional practices** including facial scarring, FGM and early/arranged marriage.

¹¹⁴ This is derived from Ritchie (2015).

Figure A4.1: Traditional norms and customs of women pastoralists



Source: Ritchie (2015b)

Appendix 5: General regional trends and dynamics affecting pastoralism

There are a number of positive and negative trends and dynamics that are influencing pastoralist lives in the Horn of Africa, in particular those of women and girls. This appendix expands on some of these trends including: the environmental pressures on pastoralism, women's engagement in non-traditional livelihoods, and social organization/women's participation in VSLAs.

A5.1 Environmental pressures on pastoralism: climate and *resources*

As described in the report, traditional pastoral livelihoods in East Africa are being strained by climatic change and drought, in addition to more man-made pressures such as the development of commercial farms, leading to decreasing quality and quantity of rangeland. Going beyond just 'production', pastoralism is argued to be a 'way of life' and 'a culture' (Markasis 2004). Yet managing both cultural as well as economic change may be the major challenge of the future. In exploring pastoralist livelihoods, it is pertinent to examine the unpredictable context of dryland ecosystems, and appreciate pastoralism as an evolved and fluid, but precarious livelihood. Traditionally, pastoralists keep livestock – goats, sheep, cattle, donkeys and camels – for both food, and as livelihood assets (wealth, and income from animal products). Whilst livestock is viewed as the 'central pillar' in pastoralist communities (Flintan 2007), the 'non-livestock sources' i.e. the use and management of natural resources is critical to their survival. Pastoralists depend on rangeland resources, including water, firewood, wild plants/grasses and grazing land, with great variation in time and space (CARE Kenya 2014). Drought was once a periodic phenomenon that occurred once every ten years. Now occurring every 2-3 years, it is leading to asset losses and resource depletion.

A5.2 Pastoral women's engagement in non-traditional livelihoods

With strains on traditional livelihoods, pastoralists in East Africa are thus 'increasingly looking beyond livestock to other means of generating income in order to diversify their livelihoods and spread risk'. Women are described to be at the 'centre' of these emerging 'non-traditional livelihood' endeavours, with uncertain socio-economic and cultural consequences in terms of the positive/negative impact on household economies and relations, and local culture. Non-livestock livelihood options are considered to depend on gender, marital status, location and wealth (Flintan 2007). Women may be limited by mobility, access to resources, cultural/religious constraints and the nature of the task. Pastoral women's diversification efforts may be further constrained by a lack of skills, ideas or ability to innovate; and credit. Women's decision-making and control over even small income sources may further depend on the household and livelihood situation.

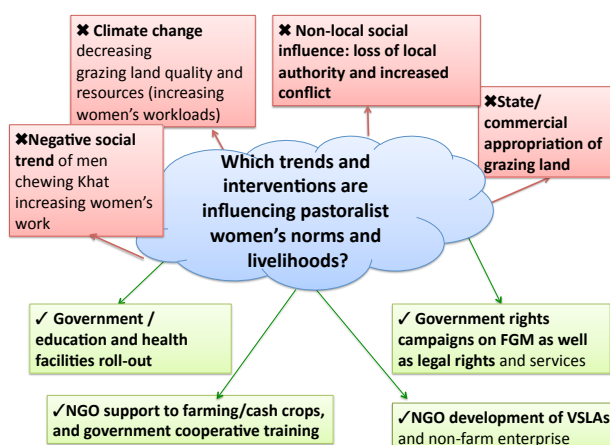
Non-traditional (commercial) pastoralist activities have included the farming of cash crops, such as maize and onions (new) often supported by NGOs; engagement in wage labour (Amibara in Afar); and for women, the increasingly popular, petty trading (often as a result of women's Village Savings and Lending Associations (VSLA) initiatives). In Borana in Ethiopia, non-traditional activities may include the sell of fuel wood and Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFP) including gums and resins, honey and beeswax, and wild foods including fruits, nuts and spices (Flintan 2007a:). Whilst these non-livestock livelihood activities have been liberating in generating new norms (farming is more gender equal), some women complain of increased workloads and a loss of cultural

support systems (Flintan 2007b: 21). Yet others describe their increased mobility in being able to leave the house (ibid), and increased control over income (Flintan 2007b: 30).

A5.3 Social organization and women's participation in VSLAs

As key instigators of change, VSLAs have been powerful tools towards facilitating women's (culturally acceptable) socio-economic development, in strengthening women's capacity (in managing money/savings), boosting women's confidence to be household/community contributors, and fostering new social bonds amongst women. VSLAs have been described as a crucial 'women's development intervention', influencing women's social and economic life. In particular, VSLAs have triggered female involvement in **petty trading endeavours**, and increased **participation in decision-making** at the household level and in community forums, changing local (traditional) attitudes and practices through activism.

Figure A6.1: External positive/negative trends influencing pastoralist women's lives



Appendix 6: Author background

Dr. Holly Ritchie is currently a research fellow at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), Erasmus University, The Hague, NL and part-time lecturer, with a strong interest in gender, norms and social change in economic development in fragile environments. Her PhD (awarded in 2013 at ISS, Erasmus University (Cum Laude); Best PhD Thesis 2013) focused on (grassroots) women's enterprise in Afghanistan and institutional change (*Institutional Innovation and Change in Value Chain Development: Negotiating Tradition, Power and Fragility in Afghanistan*, UK: Routledge (2016)). Recent academic research (2014, 2017) includes studies with Somali women entrepreneurs in fragile refugee situations in urban Kenya (*Rethinking Entrepreneurship in Fragile Environments: Lessons Learnt in Somali Women's Enterprise, Human Security and Inclusion*), and with Syrian women in Jordan (*Uncertain Livelihoods in Refugee Environments: Between Risk and Tradition for Syrian Refugee Women in Jordan*).

Based out of Kenya, Dr. Ritchie also works as a development consultant focusing on gender, enterprise/value chains and livelihood security in Afghanistan and East Africa. She has extensive practical development experience in community development, food security, enterprise and value chains in Afghanistan (10 years), as well as Brazil and East Africa. She conducted research for **CARE Ethiopia** (Ritchie 2015b) on social norms/barriers of pastoralist women and girls in Afar and Borana in Ethiopia, **CARE Kenya** (Ritchie 2016) on pastoralist women and girls in Marsabit in Kenya, and **CARE Somalia** (Ritchie 2017) on pastoralist women and girls in Sool and Sanaag in Somaliland. She also conducted an earlier study on pastoralist women and evolving livelihoods/value chain engagement and resilience in Afar, Ethiopia (Ritchie 2015a). She has consulted for several different development agencies and government ministries in Afghanistan (conducting research, evaluations and training). Drawing on her PhD research, she contributed a chapter on value chains and institutions in the book, *Snapshots of an Intervention: The Unlearned Lessons of Afghanistan's Decade of Assistance (2001–11)* (Afghanistan Analysts Network, 2012). She also drafted a three-part paper series entitled 'Poorer Women in Business in Afghanistan' (Harakat, DFID, 2011). Further to this, she has written broader research papers on food security in Afghanistan (Oxfam Novib, 2011), and has been involved with several research publications on value chains, including medicinal/wild plants (FAO, 2010); potatoes (Solidarites 2008); almonds, carpets and melons (Afghan Ministry for Rural Rehabilitation and Development, 2008). She has published key aid effectiveness policy papers (Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief, 2006).