



State fragility and Food security:

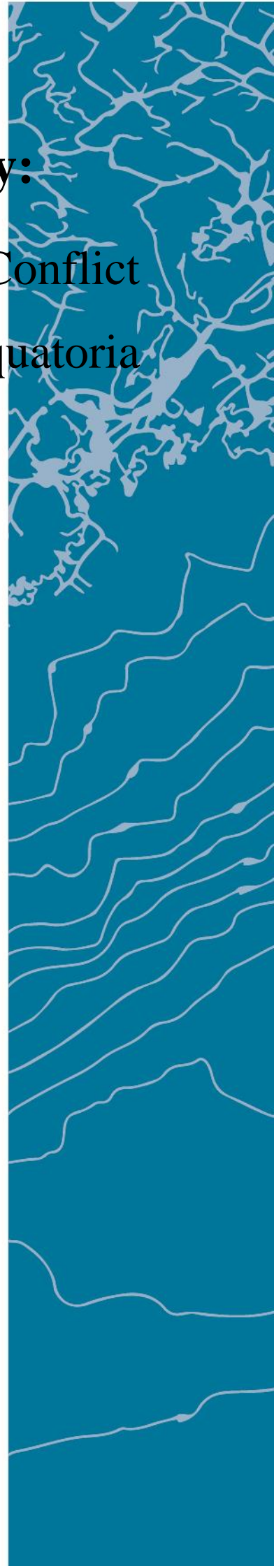
**Assessing the Impacts of Armed Conflict
on Rural Food Security in Central Equatoria
Region of South Sudan.**

By

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Supervisor

Christian Webersik





UNIVERSITETET I AGDER

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This Master's Thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

University of Agder, 2017

Faculty of Social Sciences

Department of Global Development and Planning

ABSTRACT.

The primary thesis of this paper is to look at the impacts of armed conflict on rural food security in the Central Equatoria region of South Sudan. In the past 5 years since the outbreak of the conflict, South Sudan has been on record for severe food insecurity. The Central Equatoria region in the southern part of the country is a green belt and has always recorded good food security records relative to other states of the north. The central argument of this paper is that conflict has serious negative implications on food availability and food access by rural communities. The paper argues that the armed conflict arising out of the antagonism between the two leaders President Salva Kiir and former vice President Riek Machar has lethal implications on rural food security albeit in a green belt region. The displacement of people, closure of food aid and skyrocketing of prices are all outcomes of the current conflict whose consequences are felt heavily by the rural poor. The fragility of the region due to rampant communal conflicts and widespread poverty are key factors that have a bearing on food security in the region. The contention of the study is that armed conflict has serious negative implications on the rural poor compared to the urban counterparts.

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Dedication.

I dedicate this work to my mother Sarah Muputisi and my late grandfather Mr Munare Muputisi.

Declaration

I, **Avoid Masiraha** hereby solemnly declare that this research is my original work and affirm that it has not been submitted to this or any other University in support of any other similar qualification.

Signed _____

Date _____

Supervisor _____

Date _____

ABBREVIATIONS

AFP: Agency France-Pressé
CMR: Crude Mortality Rate
COW: Correlates of War
CPA: Comprehensive Peace Agreement
FAD: Food Availability Decline
FAO: Food and Agricultural Organisation
GOS: Government of South Sudan
HRW: Human Rights Watch
ICG: International Crisis Group
IDPs: Internally Displaced Persons
IFPRI: International Food Policy Research Institute
IMF: International Monetary Fund
IOM: International Organisation for Migration
IPC: Integrated Food Security Classification Phase
IPCA: Initiative for Peace Communication Association
IRIN: Integrated Regional Information Networks
NAS: National Salvation Front
NGO: Non Governmental Organisation(s)
NRC: Norwegian Refugee Council
OLS: Operation Lifeline Sudan
SAF: Sudanese Armed Forces
SAHO: South African History Online
SPLM: Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SPLM-IO: Sudan People's Liberation Movement In Opposition
SSBNS: South Sudan Bureau of National Statistics
SSP: South Sudan Pound
UCDP: Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UN: United Nations
UNFCCC: United National Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNICEF: United Nations Children' Fund
UNOCHA: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNPoCs: United Nations Protection of Civilian sites
USA: United States of America
USAID: United States Agency for International Development
USDA: United States Department of Agriculture
WASH: Water Sanitation and Hygiene
WB: World Bank
WFP: World Food Programme

Contents Page

Declaration	vi
CHAPTER ONE	xi
1.0. Introduction	1
1.1. Main Objective	4
1.2. Specific Objectives	4
1.4. Research Questions.....	4
1.5. Problem Statement.....	4
1.6. Study Area	7
1.7. Summary of the methodology	11
CHAPTER TWO	12
2.0. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework	12
2.1. Background of the conflict in South Sudan.....	12
2.2. The second Civil War and impacts on food security.....	15
2.3. Conflict and famine in Sudan	16
2.5. Signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement	19
2.6. The post independent Conflict in South Sudan.	20
2.7. Defining Conflict.....	21
2.8. The complexity of the conflict.....	22
2.9. Defining Food Security	26
2.10. Dimensions of Food security	28
2.11. Availability	28
2.12. Accessibility.....	30
2.13. Utilisation.....	31
2.14. Stability.....	32
2.15. World Food Security status.....	33

2.16.	Food security conflict nexus	35
2.17.	Theoretical Framework	38
2.19.	Human Needs Theory	40
2.20.	The New War Theory	42
CHAPTER 3		45
3.0.	Methodology	45
3.1.	The philosophical foundation	45
3.2.	Qualitative approach.....	46
3.3.	Research design	48
3.4.	Data collection techniques.....	49
3.5.	Semi-structured interviews	49
3.6.	Observations	50
3.7.	Secondary data.....	50
3.8.	Research context and field work	50
3.9.	Sampling.....	51
3.10.	Data analysis	52
3.11.	Ethical considerations	53
3.12.	Challenges faced	55
CHAPTER 4		57
4.0.	Findings of the Research.	57
4.1.	The nature of interviews	57
4.4.	Extension Workers	61
4.5.	Non-Governmental Organisations.....	61
4.6.	Government Ministries	62
4.7.	Conflict and Displacement of rural farmers	63
4.8.	Displacement and access to food.....	66
4.9.	Decline in agricultural production.....	67

4.10.	Armed Conflict and extension services.	68
4.11.	Food War as a device to control political intransigency.....	70
4.12.	Rise in food prices	72
4.13.	Impact of conflict on pastoralism	76
4.14.	Widespread poverty and food security	78
4.15.	Collapse of the social fabric.....	79
CHAPTER 5.....		82
5.0.	Recommendations and Conclusion	82
5.1.	Major findings of the research.....	82
5.2.	Humanitarian aid and its access.....	83
5.3.	Returnees and Food insecurity.	83
5.4.	Food prices and impacts on rural populations.	84
5.5.	Implications of the Study.....	85
5.6.	Theoretical Implications.	85
5.7.	Areas for Further Research.....	86

List of Figures.

Figure 1: Picture showing the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification for South Sudan in January 2017 _____ 6

Figure 2: Map showing the 32 newly created states of South Sudan. _____ 8

Figure 3: Graph showing the population distribution for the Central Equatoria. _____ 9

Figure 4: Map of Sudan before secession _____ 13

Figure 5: Graph showing Famine Crude Mortality rates in Africa from 1973-1998 _____ 18

Figure 6: Map showing the complex nature of conflicts in South Sudan _____ 26

Figure 7: Diagram on Food security dimensions. _____ 31

Figure 8: Graph showing the Food Waste in different regions. _____ 34

Figure 9: Graph showing Food prices and rioting in 2007-2008 _____ 36

CHAPTER ONE

1.0. Introduction

Food insecurity in South Sudan over the past few years since the outbreak of the conflict, is a reminder that there is a nexus between food security and armed conflict. While historical droughts in Africa have negatively impacted food security, there is a general agreement that food insecurity is more pronounced in areas of conflict (Hendrix & Brinkman, 2013). Various reports on the destruction of infrastructure, killing of civilians and the death of people due to starvation in South Sudan further gives a hint on the negative impacts of conflict on food security particularly for the rural people who are in most cases disadvantaged compared to their urban counterparts. It is the thrust of this research to investigate how conflict in fragile regions can negatively impact food security and in the process bringing out the nexus of the two concepts.

There is close causal relationship between conflict and food insecurity and the view that conflict has negative impacts on food security is an agreed one (Hendrix & Brinkman, 2013. Pg 2). In January 2018, the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) and the World Food Programme (WFP) reported to the UN Security Council, that conflict had resulted in a resurgence of acute hunger after years of steady decline (FAO, 2018). The report noted that of all the 16 countries that the report focussed on, conflict was a common factor and casted hindrances to efforts to eradicate hunger by 2030 in line with the Millennium Development Goal number 2 (UN, 2018). Among the countries mentioned were Syria with 33% of the population affected by acute hunger, Yemen with 60%, and South Sudan with 6,5 million people or 33% of the population facing acute hunger. A greater percentage of these figures were the rural poor who rely on subsistence farming with low purchasing power and resilience. In South Sudan conflict displacement, confiscation of food and food war by both the government and the rebel groups are key factors that negatively affect food security.

The conflict that began in 2013 has generated one of the biggest humanitarian crisis in Africa with close to half the population requiring food aid (WFP, 2014). The conflict has roots in the war history of the country, the tribal divisions and various other factors connected. It dates back to the discriminatory years by the colonial Anglo-Egyptian condominium and the Sudan

People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) bickering during the war as well as a patrimonial culture within the state (Rolandsen, 2016). The post-colonial administrations that took over from the condominium, pursued exclusive policies that continued to divide the Arab north and the south. The exclusion of the south led to calls for an independent state and self-government and marked the start of civil conflict in 1955. The conflict was more internal than a rebellion against colonialism and chief to the conflict was the demand for self-government and freedom of religion (O'Balance, 2000). The Southerners resisted Islamisation and Arabisation by the north which manifested in the legal dictates set by the Khartoum regime (Deng, 2001). Given the initial stages of the conflict in 1955 started a year before independence, the demands were restricted to freedom of religion and autonomy of the south to govern its own affairs. As regimes changed, the laws and systems of governments compelled the southerners to be bound by the Sharia law and inadvertently increased tensions of the north and south.

The rise of Gaafar Muhammad an-Nimeiry in particular in 1969, who pursued strict socialist and Pan-Arabic policies brewed serious antagonism between the north and the south (O Balance, 2000). It also led to the shift by the revolutionary movements in the south particularly the Anya Anya rebels from the demand for regional autonomy to the demand for complete self-independence. His changes towards Islamism and the imposition of sharia law across the whole country triggered the 1972 second civil war led by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) in the south. The newly formed SPLM led by John Garang continued to demand an autonomous and democratic state though its constituency in the south was divided between fighting to break away or to pursue a devolved state. The war, had various implications on the livelihoods particularly on food security both for the South and the North. Deng noted that the famines that were experienced in Sudan from the 1980s until the late 1990s were triggered and aggravated by the war situation (Deng, 1999). He argues that the famine of 1998 which affected mostly the southern region of Bahr El Ghazal, emerged from a long history of state oppression and exploitation of the south. More so the fighting between the SPLM and the Government of Sudan (GOS) disrupted agriculture, caused displacement and in the process increased the level of vulnerability (Deng, 1999). The famine of 1998 was a combination of factors both natural and failure of the state to predict and mitigate the disaster. It is however agreeable that the conflict was a major factor for the death of many people and that it heightened the level of vulnerability.

The outbreak of the conflict in 2013 and the increased food insecurity in the Central Equatoria region brings back the conversation on the impacts of conflict on food security. The region covers the new states of Yei River, Jubek, Terekeka, originally counties and converted into states by the Kiir regime in 2016. This region receive rainfall sufficient for agriculture and is largely arable compared to other states in the north. The government refers to it as a bread basket of the whole country because of its ability to produce surplus and enough to feed its own people (SSNBS, 2012). In the past few years however, the Central Equatoria region has been listed as a food insecure region both by the government and the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC). The situation has been attributed to various factors that range from the conflict, global climate change and poor farming systems. This paper argues that the current food crisis in the rural Central Equatoria is purely an outcome of the conflict exacerbated by natural causes like drought. It postulates that the conflict has destroyed sources of livelihoods, displaced farmers and thus reducing production. The conflict has deeply affected the economy resulting in skyrocketing of food prices and lessened capacity of the government to respond to economic and social needs.

The paper presents the findings from research carried out in three states of Yei River, Jubek and Terekeka which constitutes the original Central Equatoria State on how the conflict has impacted on food security in the rural areas. It specifically looks at this region as a case study due to its traditional record as a food basket region and the coincidental abrupt shift after the outbreak of the conflict. The food insecurity in the past mostly after the 2016 outbreak of conflict, presents a lot of questions on how conflict in a fragile environment can permeate rural livelihoods and result in severe food insecurity albeit the capacity of the people to produce. It demands one to investigate how conflict can impact food availability and food access by the rural population which are ordinarily disadvantaged in most cases.

Various scholars have looked at issues of food security in South Sudan and its widely agreed that it is an outcome of the ongoing conflict. Most of the researches have focussed on the cause of the conflict and attempted to proffer solutions on how to end the conflict. Some have focussed on the economy and food prices and how that affects the population in accessing food in drought years. This thesis however takes a dimension that looks closely at the state of affairs

in rural areas where the greater burden of shocks in the economy, agriculture and general political uncertainty is borne.

The paper will first present the background to the conflict and trace its origins from the colonial period to the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). It will look at the food security in the research area and in general during this period with the view to uncover some of the structural causes of the current food crisis in Jubek and Yei river state. The chapter will be followed by a presentation on the theoretical underpinnings of this research which help to analyse the findings and address the problem statement highlighted in the first chapter. Chapter 4 of the paper presents the findings of the research and analysis emerging out of the field research carried out in the Central Equatoria region of South Sudan.

1.1. Main Objective

The main objective of the study is to examine the impacts of the conflict on food security in the rural parts of the Central Equatoria region of South Sudan.

1.2. Specific Objectives

1. To investigate how the conflict has affected access to food by the rural population.
2. To understand the impact of the conflict on food availability by rural citizens.
3. To understand food security trends in the region since the beginning of the conflict in 2013.

1.4. Research Questions.

2. How has conflict affected access to food compared to the past?
3. What are your sources of food since the beginning of the conflict in 2013?
4. What has been the trend in food availability here in the central Equatoria from 2013?

1.5. Problem Statement

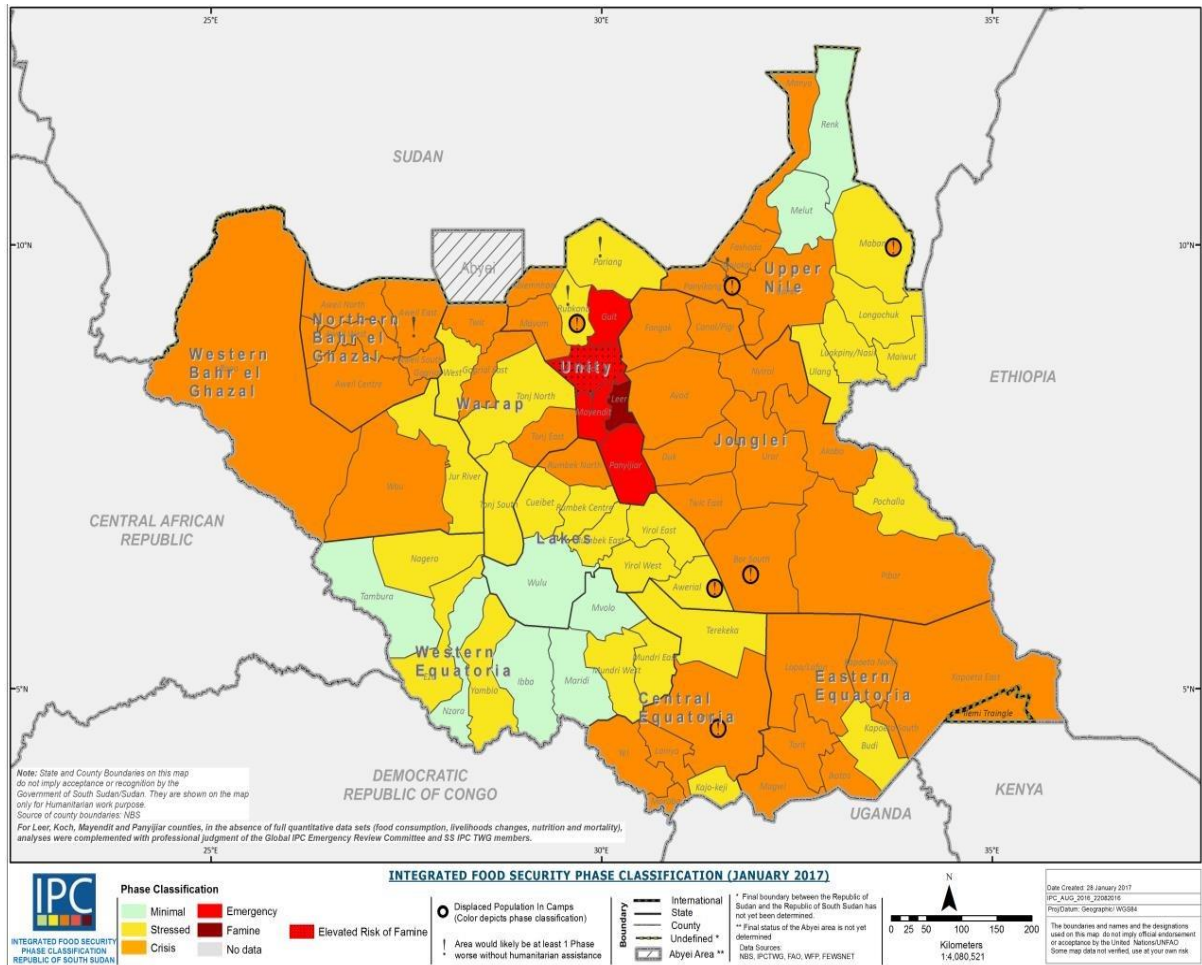
In 2013, South Sudan became engaged in a civil conflict after a fallout between President Salva Kiir and the former vice president Riek Machar. This was two years after the independence

through a referendum held in 2011. The conflict began in Juba due to SPLM infighting which went for days leaving tens of thousands dead and many displaced (HRW, 2013). The fighting quickly spread to other parts of the country as the SPLM led by Riek Machar retreated to other states particularly in the rural areas of the Nile states of the north. More so, the conflict quickly took a tribal turn partly as a way of mobilisation by the two leaders. This exacerbated communal conflicts over land, water, cattle and other livelihoods that were already in existence in the rural communities (Rolandsen, 2014).

In August 2015 the government and the opposition SPLM-IO signed the Compromise peace agreement which allowed Riek Machar to come back to Juba in 2016 and be appointed as Vice President of the country. The fighting however broke out again after a short period because of the deteriorating relations within the SPLM party (Rolandsen, 2016). After days of fighting the conflict spread into the Central Equatoria region after the escape of Riek Machar through that route into DRC (UN, 2016). The conflict quickly engulfed the region and became more pronounced in the rural areas posing huge food security challenges through displacement of the rural population and disruption of agriculture.

After the outbreak of the conflict in 2013 and in 2016, reports of widespread food insecurity characterised the Equatoria region. The conflict caused huge displacements with most refugees crossing into Uganda. The Human rights watch in 2017 reported that about 700 000 people had crossed into Uganda, from the Central and Western Equatorial regions (HRW, 2017). The WFP in 2017 also reported that the food insecurity in the greater Equatoria region increased after the conflict and that many people in the rural areas were subsisting on humanitarian aid. The Integrated Food Security Classification Phase (IPC) in January 2017 showed that 480 000 people were in food crisis stage while 30000 people were in emergency stage (FAO, 2017). These figures represented 36,5 % emergency and humanitarian catastrophe which was way above most of the states in the north like the Upper Nile state, Warrap and the Northern Bahr el Ghazal. In April of the same year the figure had risen to 38, 6% while the number of people in the emergency phase had risen to 45 000. The phenomenon was attributed to conflict in the Central Equatoria region states of Yei River, Terekeka and Jubek.

Figure 1: Picture showing the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification for South Sudan in January 2017



POPULATION DISTRIBUTION FOR JANUARY 2017							
State	Mid-2017 Population (NBS)	Phase 1 Minimal	Phase 2 Stressed	Phase 3 Crisis	Phase 4 Emergency	Catastrophe	% of Crisis, Emergency & Humanitarian Catastrophe
Central Equatoria	1,398,316	545,000	345,000	480,000	30,000	-	36.5%
Eastern Equatoria	1,010,188	280,000	365,000	285,000	75,000	-	35.6%
Jonglei	1,822,086	290,000	805,000	600,000	130,000	-	40.1%
Lakes	1,113,716	435,000	490,000	210,000	55,000	-	23.8%
Northern Bahr el Ghazal	1,418,111	230,000	440,000	560,000	180,000	-	52.2%
Unity	1,124,916	175,000	465,000	395,000	140,000	80,000	54.7%
Upper Nile	1,258,323	580,000	525,000	195,000	10,000	-	16.3%
Warrap	1,448,812	405,000	655,000	195,000	65,000	-	17.9%
Western Bahr el Ghazal	545,565	105,000	210,000	70,000	15,000	-	15.6%
Western Equatoria	705,821	460,000	190,000	55,000	-	-	7.8%
Total	11,845,855	3,505,000	4,490,000	3,045,000	700,000	80,000	32.3%

Source: NRC

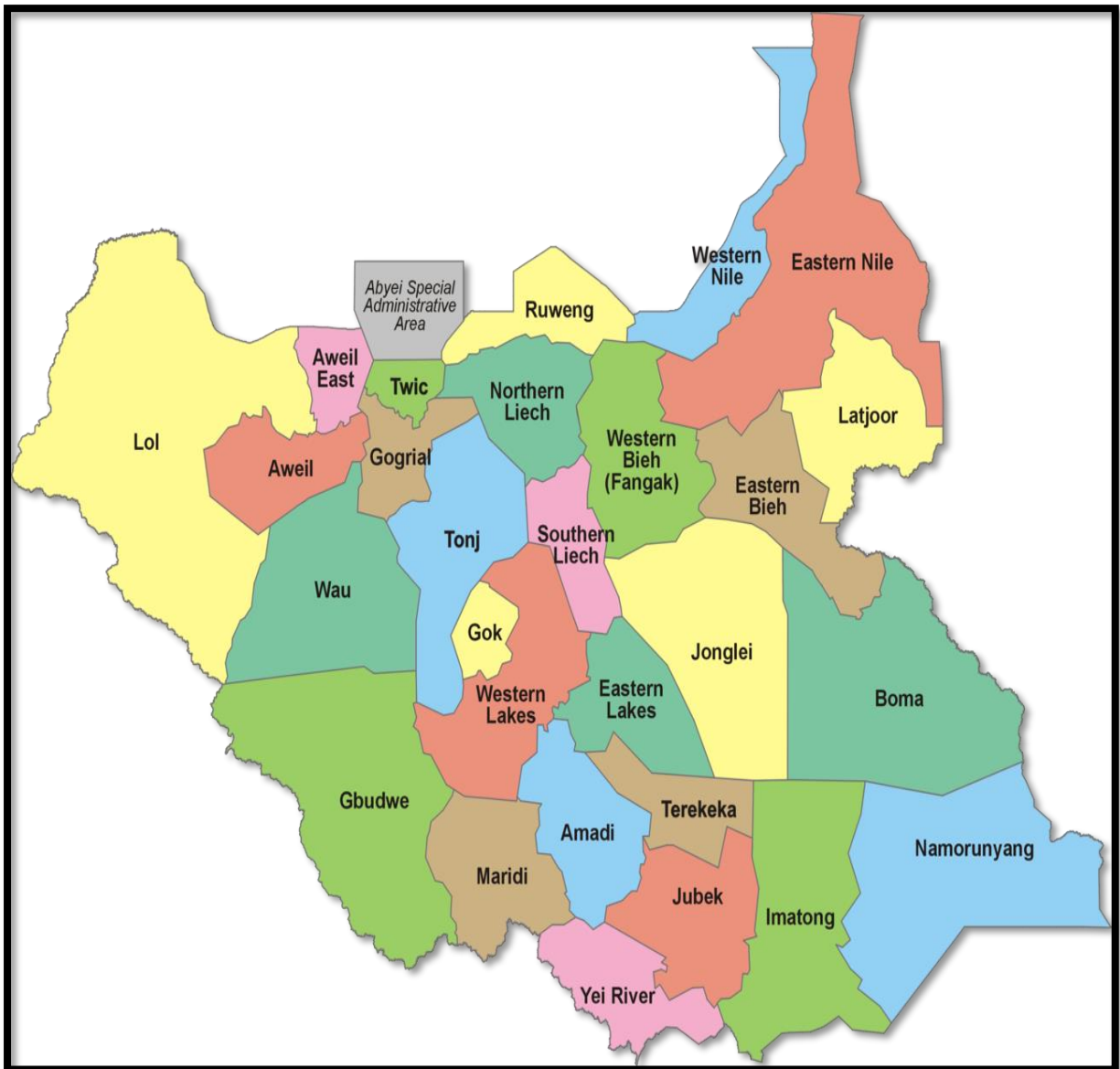
This research therefore seeks to find answers on the impact of the armed conflict that started in 2013. The characterisation of the Central Equatoria region with acute food shortages particularly after the outbreak of the conflict in 2013 aroused interest in the research to investigate how the conflict has affected food availability and food access which forms the basis for food security. The core existence of armed conflict rooted in political, ethnic and cultural differences and the resultant food insecurity challenges, informed this research specifically to understand from the perspective of the rural population, how the violence has affected food security. The paper investigated the perceptions on the impacts of the armed conflict on rural food security with special focus on food availability and access dimensions.

1.6. Study Area

The Central Equatoria region of South Sudan was once one of the smallest states among the original 10 states known as the Central Equatoria state (Gerber, 2005). The region spans over an area of 43033 km² which is largely arable and good for pastures (Malak et al, 2012). It was subdivided into 3 states following the Presidential decree and the subsequent constitutional amendment that created the current 32 states (Gerber, 2005). The states that were created in the Central Equatoria is the Yei River, Terekeka, and Jubek which houses Juba the national capital.

The region maintains its common name of the Central Equatoria though with recognition of the new states that were created in 2015. These states are led by governors appointed by the President to superintend over the commissioners of different counties.

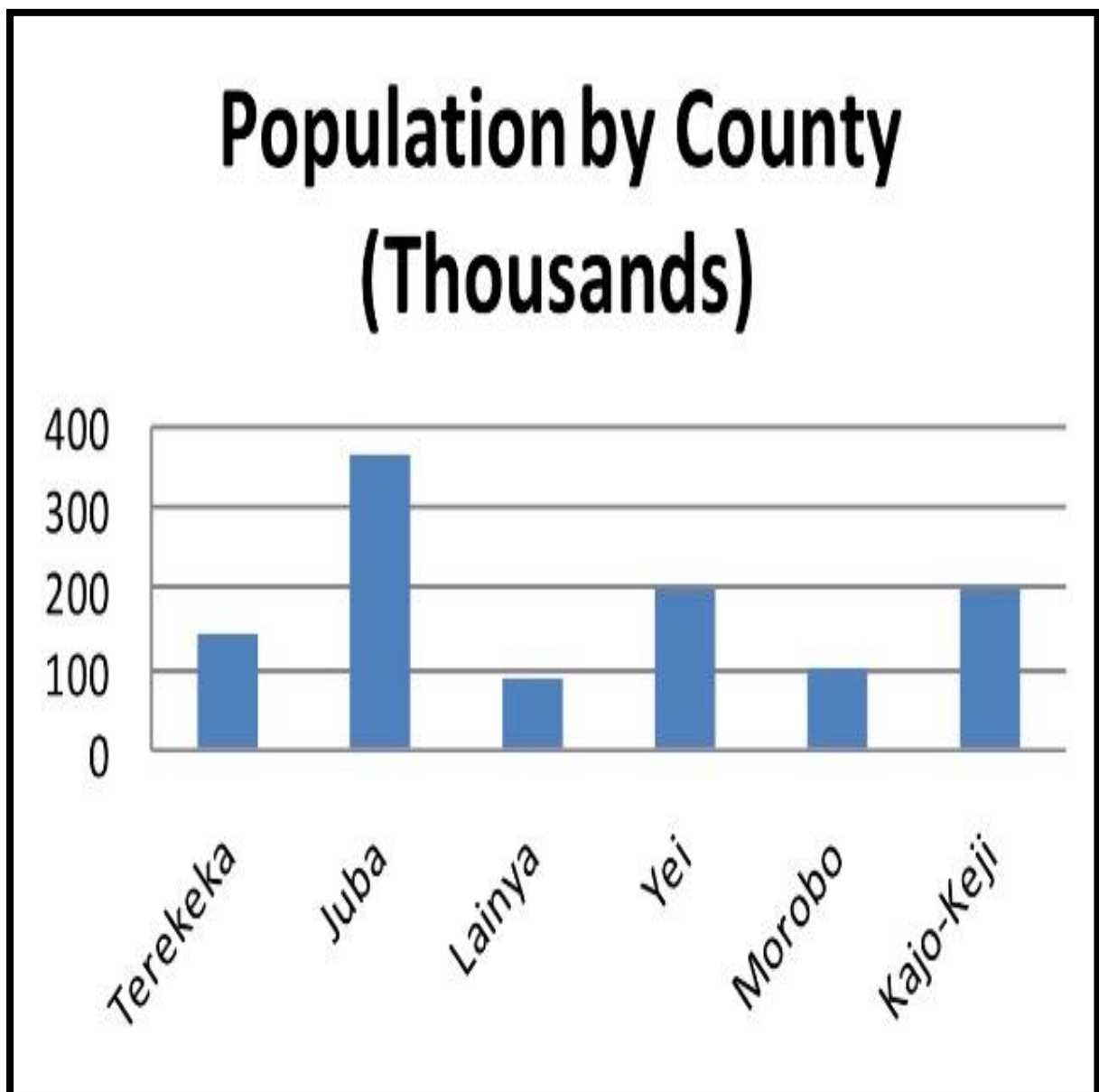
Figure 2: Map showing the 32 newly created states of South Sudan.



The population of the Central Equatoria consists of various tribes that live in different counties maintaining their traditional boundaries where generations have lived for years. Its estimated population is more than 1,1 million from the census of 2009 (SSNBS, 2009). The most

dominant tribes are the Bari people, the Kakwa, Lugbara, Pojulu, Keliko, Avokaya, Baka, Nyangwara, Makaraka, Lulubo and the Kuku people (Schomerus, 2008). Most of these tribes live through agriculture growing crops like maize, potatoes, soghum, beans and ground nuts. They are also into livestock mostly cattle, goats and sheep. Central Equatoria has a small population of cattle however, compared to other regions of the north and central parts because of tsetse fly which poses a lot of diseases for cattle rearing to thrive (Abate, 2006). A combination of agriculture and relative livestock however provides the people with enough food for the season except in drought years which normally affect the greater sub-Saharan Africa.

Figure 3: Graph showing the population distribution for the Central Equatoria.



Source: South Sudan National Bureau of Statistics.

Poverty levels in the Central Equatoria are high but relative compared to other states in the north (SSNBS, 2012). With 65% of the population living in the rural areas and relying on rain fed subsistence farming, there is little to no other sources of livelihoods and this feeds into the national crisis of little to non-existent manufacturing industry even in the capital Juba. The South Sudan National Bureau of Statistics reported that 65% of the population in the central Equatoria is illiterate and 44% of that population lives below the poverty line. The average consumption for a poor person in the rural areas in 2017 was 35 SSP compared to 197 SSP for the non-poor. The low statistics in the Central Equatoria region is a miniscule of the bigger picture of South Sudan and even better compared to other states mostly the Nile states.

The economic base of the Central Equatoria lies in Agriculture and Pastoralism mostly in the Western part of the region. The existence of the two industries enables the region to be relatively food secure compared to other regions in the north and the east (NRC, 2018). It has always been a food basket of the country relative to other parts of the country partly because of the good rainfall patterns in the region and its proximity to Uganda which provides a trade route. Most of the Central Equatorians trade at the border allowing business to flourish and hence providing sustainable livelihoods to the people.

In terms of political stability, the region has experienced various phases of conflict in the past. As conflict has been a phenomenon in post-colonial Sudan until the signing of the comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005, the Central Equatoria was not spared (International Crisis Group. 2016). The roots of the conflicts in this region are however multidimensional and, in some ways, unique compared to other parts of the country (ICG, 2016). Various scholars and organisations point to the antagonism of the agriculturalists and the pastoralists in the region. Ethnicity also contributes to the conflict but more as a tool for mobilisation rather than the source of the conflict (IRC, 2015). The national conflict between the government and the SPLM-IO has also paved way for various other rebel movements to be formed to represent and defend their local people mostly from a tribal perspective. There are also criminal elements that take advantage of the conflict to rob and maim people in the remote parts and these form

part of the instability in various states of the region (Radio Tamazuj, 2017). The instability has led to many displacements especially of the rural population. More than one million people crossed to Uganda from the Greater Equatoria region while many are displaced internally (OCHA, 2017)

Climatically the region receives relative rainfall compared to other regions in the north which allows subsistence farmers in the rural areas to produce seasonally. The region receives its rainfall around April to July which is basically the growing season for the farmers. The region has no irrigated land and therefore relies on rainfed agriculture which exposes it to hunger during drought years. The displacements since the outbreak of the conflict created severe food insecurity challenges in a region that has acted as a basket to the whole country (NRC, 2018)

1.7. Summary of the methodology

The research is qualitative in its approach to understand the perceptions on how the conflict has impacted on rural food insecurity. Considering the nature of research questions that prompted the research which demanded the researcher to dig deeper into the perceptions, understanding and behaviours of victims and third parties on the impacts of the conflict on food security, qualitative approach was more appropriate to this study. This was done through a triangulation of both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected during the period February to March 2018 while secondary data was collected before, during and after the field visit to the study area. Among the data collection techniques used were semi-structured interviews and observations during the field research period.

A detailed methodology chapter is presented in chapter 4 to give a narrative of how the data was collected and analysed to arrive at some of the generalisations presented in this thesis. The researcher interviewed respondents from the government, the NGO sector, the extension services and the ordinary rural citizens who were the key informants to this research.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1. Background of the conflict in South Sudan

The current armed conflict in South Sudan can better be understood by revisiting the history of the conflict from the greater Sudan until the secession in 2011. The civil conflict has roots in the major and longest conflict in Sudan from 1955 a year before independence up to 2005 with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) (Rolandsen, 2016). The reasons for the war in the greater Sudan were varied, key among them being religious differences of the Islam/Arabic north and Southern Christian and the unequal distribution of resources (Deng, 2001).

The current conflict has however shifted in terms of its dynamics and the players. Rolandsen argues that the current conflict can best be situated in deep cleavages within the ruling SPLM party, neopatrimonialism and weak state structure as well as a general culture of war from past conflict (Rolandsen, 2015). The state is heavily divided based on tribal differences and pedigrees in war participation. It is therefore necessary to revisit the pre-independent South Sudan and the ruling SPLM to understand the post independent impasse that has resulted in a full-fledged armed war that began in 2013.

Sudan gained its independence in 1956 from the Anglo-Egyptian condominium that had ruled the country from the late 19th century (SAHO, 1959). The country gained its independence as the greater Sudan with the north being Arabic dominated while the south was Christian. Prior to its independence, Egypt had sought to gain dominance over the country in a move that is viewed by various scholars as an attempt by Abdel Nasser to annex Sudan and make it part of Egypt (O'Balance, 2000. Pg 3). Russia had also sought to spread its communist ideals using the newly independent Sudan as the gateway, while the USA, Britain and various European allies sought to protect Sudan in defence of the capitalist ideas (O'Balance, 2000). The newly independent state, therefore found itself amid various pressures and geo-political complexities due to ideological competition by erstwhile colonisers. Part of the reasons can be situated in resource interests in the country with reference to water and land (O'Balance, 2000) Beyond this international interest, there were however internal upheavals that had begun before

the independence in the South. Western influence and Christianity were dominant in the South and continued even after independence due to heavy presents of the missionaries towards the end of the 19th century and the 20th century until 1956 (LeRichie & Arnold, 2013). It has been argued that the British by intent sought to stop the spread of Arabic as a language and the Islam religion in the south and instead promoted the use of English and opened space for the missionaries to spread Christianity. More so LeRichie & Arnold argue that the British governed the South effectively hence deepening a nascent self-independence drive based on regional identity (LeRichie & Arnold, 2013). The drive climaxed over the years until the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the subsequent secession of 2011.

Figure 4: Map of Sudan before secession



Source: Le Richie

The 1955 war in Sudan can be regarded as the first civil war between the north and south over the objection by the southerners to Islamisation and Arabisation. As argued by LeRichie, the sense of a separatist state or rather strong Southern identity was driven by long oppressive rule over the people which effectively turned the southern part into a repository of ivory and slaves. The system created by the British and the Mahdist rulers favoured the North and alienated the south. More so, after 1958, there were assimilation programmes to spread Arabisation and Islamisation in the South which intensified the first civil war in Sudan (LeRichie & Arnold, 2013). Prior to the Abboud regime, armed struggles in the South were over the refusal to submit under northern command in the army. The fighting intensified after 1958 causing a wide range of challenges particularly food insecurity due to displacements of farmers in the South and attacks by mutineers in various regions of the South (O' Balance, 1977) During the period, farming was mostly done on a subsistence level and in the south, cattle rearing and hunting were more pronounced (LeRichie & Arnold, 2013) The civil war therefore affected the regions of the north in the former greater Sudan but also some parts of the South that received little rainfall. Suliman argues that five hundred thousand people died in the first civil war and that there was a crisis of subsistence. The displacement by the war coupled with the subsistence type of agriculture which was again anchored on poor farming methods resulted in the drought.

It is worthwhile to note that the first civil war in Sudan a year before the independence heavily affected food insecurity however, the climatic conditions of Sudan particularly the desert areas of the North contributed immensely to the food insecurity. The Torit Mutiny of 1955 spread to many other places in the south and specifically in the greater Equatoria region (O' Balance, 2000). O' Balance argues that the first civil war affected the south as many people fled into Uganda because of the violence by the government in search of mutineers. The displacement had huge impacts on food production as subsistence farmers were forced out of their land as well as limited access to food due to armed violence. The impacts of the civil war of 1955 on the farmers and the resultant impacts on food security both in production and access can be used to make analysis of the current food insecurity challenges in the equatorial region by analysing the nexus between the two concepts.

The initial stages of the first civil war in Sudan was mainly driven by the refusal of the military to be placed under the command of the north. The southerners demanded a fair share in military positions and positions in government. Resistance by the Khartoum regime intensified the conflict causing widespread civilian loss and food insecurity. The advent of the Anya Anya rebels that emerged in 1960 redefined the war and fuelled the violence more (O' Balance, 2000). These rebels became the face of the southern insurgency in the fight against Khartoum dominance. Specific to their objectives, was the demand for Southern independence. They viewed secession as the only solution to escape northern dominance which was characterised by Islamisation and Arabisation. They sought to escape the historical proclivity of the north to marginalise and exploit the south and force the Khartoum government to stick to its past promises of creating a federal state. The war lasted for 17 years displacing thousands of people particularly in the rural areas where the Anya Anya rebels mainly operated from (Pike, 2000).

In 1972 after several years of fighting the war ended with the signing of the Addis Ababa agreement which among other things gave semi autonomy to the southerners. The agreement, provided for a regional government and assembly with provisions to protection of religious and cultural rights (LeRiche & Arnold, 2013) These were part of the key demands of the rebels in the south, to enjoy religious and cultural rights without being forced to obey Islamic and Arabic cultural and religious values. O'Balance however argues that, along the course of the civil war, there were changes on the demands, as the Anya Anya rebels shifted from demanding a federal state to demanding a complete independent state (O'Balance, 2000). This assertion and the continued exclusion of the south by preceding Khartoum administrations explains the plausibility of the failure of the Addis Ababa agreement and the eventual start of the war in 1983, commonly known as the second civil war of Sudan.

2.2. The second Civil War and impacts on food security

The agreement at Addis Ababa to grant semi-autonomous powers to Southern Sudan lasted for a decade before the second civil war emerged with the advent of the Nimeiry regime which instituted the sharia law to be obeyed by non-Muslims in the south and the north (Pike, 2000) In 1972, after several judgements had been passed against many southerners for contravening the Muslims laws, a mutiny at Bor led by John Garang spread across the country under the banner of the newly formed Sudan People's Liberation Movement (O Balance, 2000). The

emergence of the SPLM led by John Garang Mabior marked the intensification of the second civil war albeit with different demands to those of the Anya Anya rebels. The SPLM instead demanded for a secular and democratic Sudan as opposed to an independent state (Suliman, 1992) Part of the causes of the second civil war were divisions in the south based on ethnicity and the demands to which the fight was based on. The SPLM however gained much support from the rural communities and various tribes as it was viewed to be addressing their religious and political exigency (Suliman, 1992). The demand for a national revolution as opposed to an independent state pushed by Garang was controversial among the southerners, however his ideas gained resonance because they were coerced by national identity and had potential to address historical marginalisation of the southerners (LeRichie & Arnold, 2013).

The second civil war is regarded as one of the longest civil wars in history with huge consequences and humanitarian disasters recorded by the United Nations. Among the humanitarian disasters were famines of 1989, 1993 and the 1998 that resulted in the loss of 70000 lives in northern Bahl El Ghazal and more in other regions (Grada, 2011). To understand the current impacts of the conflict on food security in South Sudan, one needs to understand the historical narrative of how the conflict has affected food security from the perspective of access and production through disruption of activities in the rural areas and closure of space for humanitarian players. Salinas argues that the food insecurity situation experience in southern Sudan during the second civil war was a combination of hunger and civil strife (Salinas, 1998). After the war resumed in 1983, many parts of southern Sudan experienced starvation however the situation was relatively better for the equatorial region especially the Central and Western Equatoria which are basically wet regions in the whole of South Sudan (Salinas, 1998).

2.3. Conflict and famine in Sudan

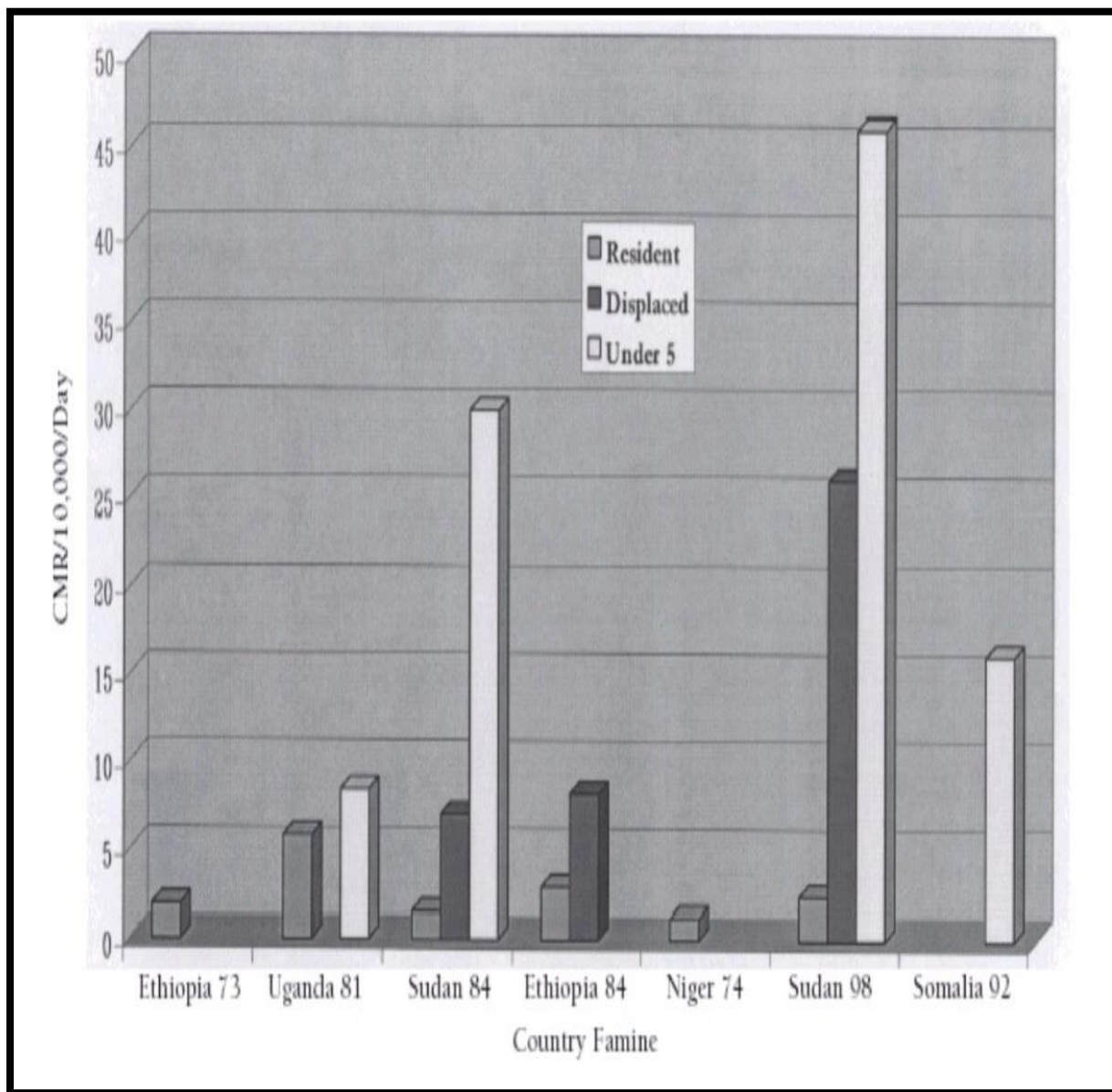
The outbreak of the civil war in 1983, triggered huge humanitarian consequences. Part of the consequences was food insecurity which manifested in different forms. In southern Sudan which is the present day independent state of South Sudan, famines were recorded in different places particularly in the northern states of Bahr El Ghazal. The Human Rights Watch documented the famines in this region and estimated that several thousands of civilians died

during the famine of 1998 (Human Rights Watch, 1999). Grada noted that seventy thousand people died in Northern Bahr EL Ghazal and more thousands in other neighbouring regions (Grada. 2011). According the Watch, famines in this region were purely manmade and made more intense by the civil war.

Food in southern Sudan was used as a tool of war by both government and rebel forces (HRW, 1999). The 1997 report by the Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS), a consortium of UN agencies stated that food insecurity in Bahr El Ghazal became more pronounced when the government banned the OLS from distributing food to the Dinka occupied areas resulting in many civilians dying of malnutrition (OLS, 1997). More so, the combined SPLA and Kerubino forces in response raided cattle and food items in government held places. The government responded by killing many Dinka and Jur people and in 1997 banned the OLS from distributing food relief in rebel-controlled places resulting in many casualties (Human Rights Watch, 1999). The Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) also reported that between 50 and 100 people were dying every day and malnutrition levels of 25, 50 and 70 percent were recorded during the period (Deng, 1998). A convergence of various forms of human rights abuses made the famine inevitable hence killing many civilians.

The crude mortality rates (CMR) for the 1998 famine exceeded that of Ethiopia and Niger in 1973 and 1974 respectively (Devereux, 2006). Deng 2002 noted that the crude mortality rates for the 1998 famine in Sudan were far much higher than any other African country has recorded (Deng, 2002). The mortality was more pronounced for the under 5 and the displaced population. More so at its peak, records of 26/10000 CMR per day were recorded for the adult displaced people while 46/10000 CMR per day was recorded for the under 5 in July 1998 (Deng, 2002). These records were too high even in comparison with past historical records of Africa.

Figure 5: Graph showing Famine Crude Mortality rates in Africa from 1973-1998



Source: Deng (2002)

2.4. Conflict in greater Equatoria

In the greater Equatoria regions, various rebel groups had been formed and the SPLM in the first instance had little support from the Equatorians (International Crisis Group, 2016). The

reasons for the lack of support was identified to be ethnicity and the cruelty with which the SPLM treated Equatorians during its operations and recruitment processes. The Nimeiri regime exacerbated the divisions in the south through the 1983 Kokora decree which divided the south into three sub regions, the Equatoria, the Upper Nile and the Bahr El Ghazal (Taban, 2017) The decree was a political move meant to cause further divisions in the south and in the process allowing the Nimeiri regime to yield its power on the divisions. The Equatorians through their leader Jame Tombura favoured the decree as it raised their prospects to occupy government positions. On the other hand, people from other regions particularly the greater upper Nile abhorred the Kokora and viewed it as a departure from the Addis Ababa agreement. They perceived and believed that the Kokora was a drift away from the demand for a separate state on which the Addis Ababa agreement had set a good foundation (ICG, 2016) These tensions and the attempts by the SPLM to gain the support of the Equatorians resulted in tensions among the southerners. The competition for support between the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and the SPLM made the Equatorians life more difficult. The SAF in 1990 blocked humanitarian access to rebel-controlled areas in the Equatoria creating famine like conditions for the people (Taban, 2017). In the following year the SPLM also closed the airport in Juba to restrict humanitarian relief (Human Rights Watch report, 1990). The conflict and the food war by different rebel groups in the south created food insecurity as opposed to natural climatic conditions. The events during the second civil war in the Equatoria provides a hint to the present food insecurity reports in the Central Equatoria region.

2.5. Signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement

The second civil war transformed many societies into different segments and led to creation of alliances based on tribal affinities and political interests (Rolandsen, 2016). The war also exposed the inherent conflicts existing in communities between the agriculturalists and the pastoralists and the land conflicts. More important for this paper is that the war came out as a major cause of food insecurity in various parts of the southern Sudan but more specifically in the Equatoria region which is a wet region and inhabited by agriculturalists. Looting of food stuffs and raiding of cattle was used as a tool of war and in the process disenfranchising the citizens. The situation was made worse by the banning of humanitarian actors to provide relief to different parts the Equatoria region.

The second civil war stretched from 1983 to January 9, 2005 with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Part of the reasons for the two parties in the name of the SPLM and the Khartoum regime to sign the agreement have been cited as emerging from external pressure and general fatigue. It is difficult to explain exactly what forced the parties to seat down and consider signing a peace agreement of 2005 given the complexity of the conflict during the time. One could however conclude that historically the Khartoum regime and the rebels in the South signed peace agreements with special reference to the 1972 Addis Ababa agreement. The CPA therefore does not come as a new phenomenon albeit in a different environment and with different players. Perhaps one could draw from the stages of conflict and argue that the conflict had reached the hurting/stalemate stage hence de-escalation was inevitable.

The CPA was signed by the Omar Al Bashir Sudan government and the SPLM led by Dr John Garang on the 9th of January 2005. In its content the agreement sought to provide the south with some form of autonomy and allow the southern Sudan self-government through regional governments (Rolandsen, 2015). It also sought to redress the religious animosity between the north and the south, specifically to allow circularism and freedom of religion for non-Muslims in the South. Just like the Addis Ababa agreement of 1972, the CPA recognised the importance of autonomy for the southerners which was one of the demands since time immemorial. At the formation of the SPLM, Garang had stated that their struggle was for democratic greater Sudan that allows for freedom of religion and regional government in the south to benefit citizens. The CPA was therefore in line with the SPLM objectives though many scholars have argued that along the course of the war the objectives had metamorphosed into demanding for a separatist state of South Sudan. LeRichie and Arnold argue that the use of Southern Sudan and not South Sudan was aimed at making it clear that the CPA was not to cement secession demands but to pave way for a devolved state (LeRichie & Arnold, 2013). The south remained under the Khartoum regime but with autonomous powers pending a referendum in six years for people to choose secession or a devolved united Sudan.

2.6. The post independent Conflict in South Sudan.

The signing of the CPA in 2005 by the north and south brought a new lease of peace in the south though there were a variety of conflicts going on at the community level. At the core of

the CPA was the key provision to give the south autonomous powers in which John Garang became the first vice president drawn from the south. The CPA also provided for the referendum to be held in 6 years in which case the south would choose between remaining part of the greater Sudan or to form a separate state of South Sudan (Rolandsen, 2011). The southerners chose the latter and in 2011 the country gained its independence.

At its independence the country and the new Kiir regime had a mammoth task to build the country after decades of civil war with the north. Part of the challenges that bedevilled the newest country on the continent were divisions along tribal lines, the food insecurity due to poor farming methods, water and sanitation and general infrastructure. The education sector was very poor and there was need to increase enrolment to close the gap. The tribal divisions were existent in the political elite particularly the President who is Dinka and the vice president from the Nuer tribe (Rolandsen, 2015). More so the administration that took over in 2011 inherited a deep patrimonial system of governance with very weak state institutions that were shaped during the condominium (Rolandsen, 2015). The ethnic divide in the ruling SPLM party coupled with the weak institutions and fragility in communities made the post independent conflict inevitable. The country was deep in social and political disorder which demanded strong institutions and one centre of power to bring order and address the inherent inequalities and hatred at national and communal level.

2.7. Defining Conflict

Galtung defines conflict as a situation in which actors are pursuing incompatible goals (Galtung, 1958). The pursuit of these goals breeds contestation which causes conflict among actors. Simply put, conflict refers to contention of individuals, groups or nations. In the field of politics, Jeong argues that conflict exists when two or more groups engage in struggle over values and claim to status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate the rivals (Jeong, 2008). There are many distinctions of conflict and these distinctions are based on the players for instance international and civil conflict or the time, nature and causes of the conflict like intractable, deep rooted or armed conflict. This paper focussed on the armed conflict definition as it explicitly speaks to the South Sudanese conflict.

The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) defined conflict in the context of armed conflict. In its definition, armed conflict is defined as a case that involves 25 battle dates in one calendar year (Gleditsch, Wallensteen, Eriksson, Sollenberg & Strand, 2002). Its definition focussed primarily on political incompatibility as the core of conflict and the use of violence by organised parties (Strand and Dahl, 2010). While the Correlates of War (COW) uses the 1000 deaths measure of armed conflict the UCDP uses the 25 battle deaths. The conflict can be interstate conflicts in which two or more countries are involved, or a civil or internal conflict where the conflict is confined within. The UCDP data set shows that civil conflicts have been on the increase since the end of the WW2 (Gleditsch, et al. 2002). More so Hendrix & Brinkman argue that the nature of conflict has shifted to civil conflicts and these are more difficult to resolve compared to interstate conflicts (Hendrix & Brinkman, 2013)

There are dimensions to armed conflict as noted in the UCDP definition which defined armed conflict as a contested incompatibility that's concerns government and or territory where the use of armed force between two parties result in at least 25 battle related death in a year (Harbom, Melander & Wallensteen. 2008). The definition encompasses the presence of warring parties which Harbom, etal refers to as the dyadic dimension of armed conflict. It implies that for any armed conflict there must always be a dyad as the basic unit. Dyads may however be many, where a government fights against various rebel groups as is the case in South Sudan. More so the objectives and grievances of the dyads may also differ (Harbom etal, 2008). In the case of South Sudan, the SPLM-IO rebellion against Kiir regime started as an internal political squabble within the SPLM party and degenerated into a war with ethnic undertones (DeWaal, 2014). The SPLM-IO therefore is fighting for hegemony at the national level, however, there are other rebel groups at community and regional level within South Sudan. Some of these rebels are fighting for autonomy from the state like the National Salvation Front (NSF) led by Cirilo Swaka (Rolandsen & Kindersley, 2017). Some of the dyads are pursuing ethnic superiority in the share of resources like the Mundari armed youth in the greater Equatoria region and elsewhere in the north. (Schomerus, e tal, 2008).

2.8. The complexity of the conflict

It is essential to look at sources of conflict in South Sudan before one can study the outcomes of that conflict. One needs to look beyond the current SPLM antagonism which characterise

the major conflict and be able to grasp some of the conflicts at community and regional level that pit the newly independent state. These have a bearing in shaping the national conflict, the outcomes of the conflict with respect to humanitarian impacts and the suggestions in resolving the conflict. The understanding of the social and political craft of South Sudanese communities with respect to conflict illuminates one understanding of the social struggle that the people live in and how the conflict by way of accelerating such struggles have resulted in a humanitarian food disaster.

Many scholars have embraced the tribal trope to explain the current conflict in South Sudan. Most of these scholars put forward that the antagonism between the Dinka and the Nuer explains the current civil war in South Sudan. Proponents of this idea contend that the various tribes in South Sudan and their inability to coexist is the sole reason for the conflict and that it manifests itself in the political elite of South Sudan. This is supported by the targeted killings of Nuer that was reported in 2013 when the war broke out between soldiers loyal President Salvar Kiir and those loyal to former Vice President Riek Machar. The same incidents were again recorded in 2016 in Juba and other cities hence bolstering the tribal theoretical characterisation of the conflict.

While the conflict has ethnic connotations, at the foundation of it is a weak patrimonial state without a centre of power to control the military and be able to provide order (Rolandsen, 2015). The fighting between the soldiers loyal to the two leaders ironically coming from different tribes, makes it easier for one to characterise the whole conflict as a tribal conflict. In these circumstances, tribal differences are loosely used to mobilise groups for violence by the political leaders and less as the root cause of the conflict. More so there are various structural causes to the conflict namely that there are weak institutions and the rampant poverty which raises rage against the state. All these factors come in when explaining the causes of the war.

The SPLM division and the use of tribes to mobilise builds a strong base for conflict to permeate in the rural areas where there are already tribal conflicts over natural resources. In these communities' conflicts over agricultural and grazing land, water and the prevalence of cattle raiding perpetuate a culture of violence. These conflicts are apparent in most states of

South Sudan and such divisions were fuelled by the political conflict beginning in 2013. The CPA signed in 2005 between the north and the south only gave temporary independence to the south but did not address the roots of the conflicts in South Sudan particularly in remote communities. In the same vein the 2011 independence also brought political independence from the greater Sudan but did not address the roots of communal violence particularly tribal violence over natural resources. Breidlid and Lie reported 2500 people were killed in 2011 in the Jonglei state and hundreds of thousands displaced due to inter-tribal violence (Breidlid & Lie, 2011). This was a time when the country had gained its independence and naturally one would expect peace after gaining independence that the south fought for more than five decades. Such incidences mirror a fragile state that is divided along multiple factors.

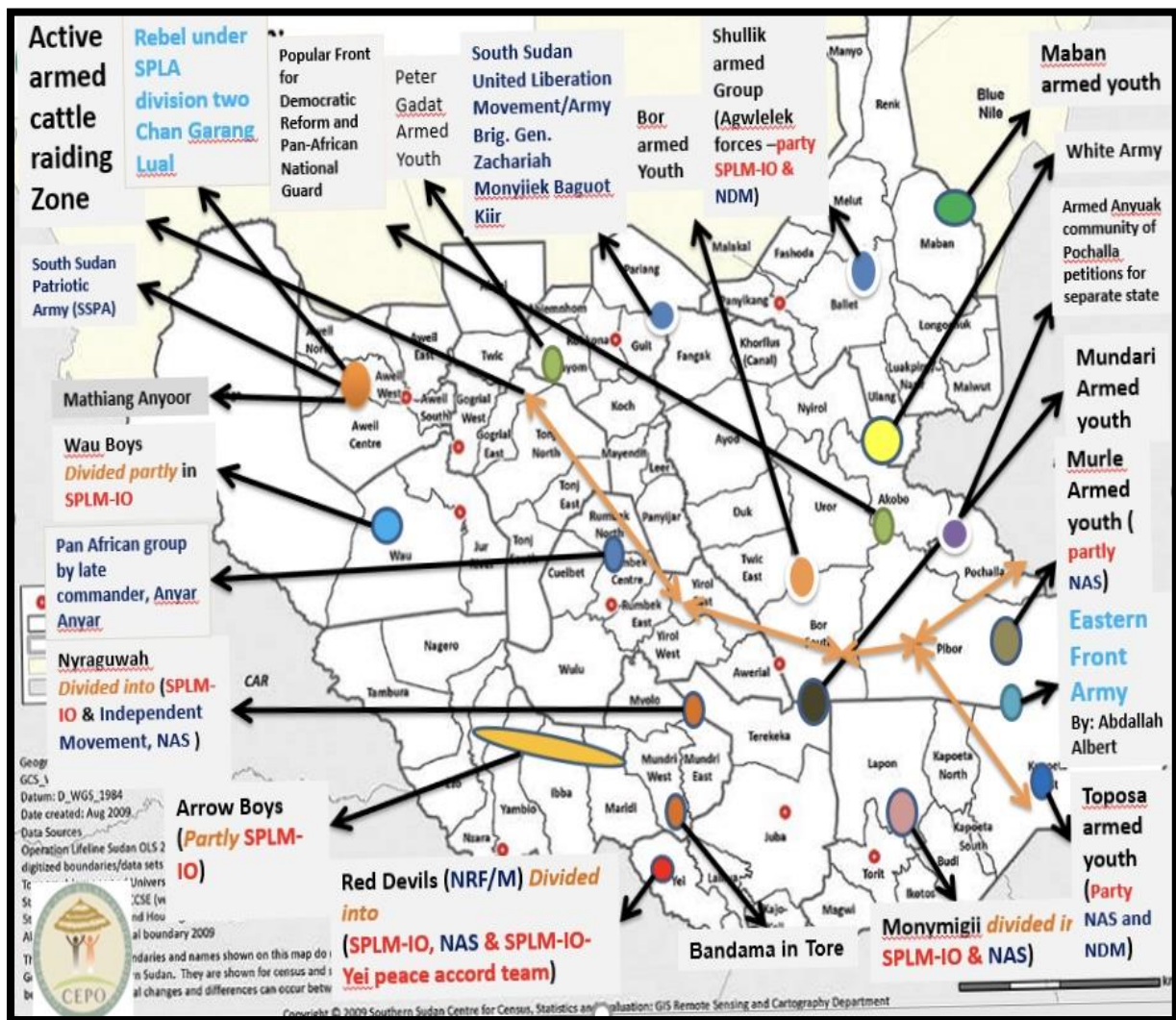
The conflict beginning in 2013 also triggered a sense of anarchy and paved way for the formation of various rebel groups that fight for dominance in the countries and in the process abusing and killing civilians (IRIN, 2016). In the Central Equatoria particularly in Terekeka and Kajo Keji counties, various rebel groups operate with the Dinka and Equatorian based rebel groups dominating. After the 2016 outbreak of the conflict and the collapse of the agreement, conflict intensified mostly in the Equatoria region. In this region many young men had been recruited by the IO under Riek Machaar during the period of his term as the first vice president (IRIN, 2017).

In Nyori and other counties and payams (Administrative areas) of the Central Equatoria, a former member of the government General Thomas Cirillo formed is leading a rebel group, the National Salvation Front (NAS) to oust Salvar Kiir. The rebel group clashes with the dominant IO in the counties in competition for dominance. Reuters reported in 2017 that a clash of the IO soldiers and the NAS had resulted in the death of many civilians (Reuters, 2017). Several reports of violence and abuse by these rebel groups and government forces have been reported in remote areas. In Terekeka the dominant government forces which are largely Dinka and the IO dominate however other paramilitary groups also exist operating in communities. The Mundari armed group from the Mundari tribe is one of them and is in constant clash with the Dinka tribe over cattle and the political dominance of the Dinka (South Sudan Humanitarian

Project, 2016). Cattle raiding between the Dinka and the Mundari tribes often result huge casualties.

The proliferation of small arms as well in communities due to long years of war perpetuates violence and eliminates dialogue in the communities (Waal, 2014). It is common in South Sudan communities for rent seeking rebellions to occur as small groups use violence against the state or other rebel groups to gain resources. The system is crafted so that cashflows are directed to the patron or leader of the group and the rest benefit out loyalty to the leader (Rolandsen, 2016). These clashes with government and other rebel groups are usually clouded in identity politics and hence generate hatred that remains a stumbling block to peace. The craft of the system in which the elite use loyal groups to acquire resources has bred a culture of violence both from the state and from rebel groups. Such a narrative mould an intricate political culture that uses violence and force to get access to resources. Waal states that the culture of violence and the system of patronage and patrimonialism fuels violence in communities that are already armed with small arms (Waal, 2014). More over defecting army generals take with them force of arms and distribute them to their loyal groups for defence and rent seeking rebellions. The following map shows part of the complex nature of the conflict in South Sudan. It shows the existence of different military rebel groups besides the SPLM-IO though it remains the biggest rebel movement.

Figure 6: Map showing the complex nature of conflicts in South Sudan



Source: Cafod Juba South Sudan (2018)

2.9. Defining Food Security

Food security has been defined by various scholars and organisations to encompass many dimensions. The traditional definition of food security focussed mostly on the availability of food without taking into consideration the nutritional value of the food and that availability was in some cases not translating to access (Andersen, 2009) It focussed specifically on ensuring that a country could produce enough food needed for its population measured at a national level. The 1974 World Food summit defined food security as the availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic staffs to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and food prices (Renzaho & Mellor,

2010). In 1983 the FAO added access to the definition in which the definition became access to all people at all times to enough food for an active healthy life (Andersen, 2009). Scholars in the 1970s had identified a gap in the food availability definition which neglected the issue of access to food albeit its availability. The definition also had a false presumption that food availability and enough calories passed for a food secure situation neglecting the nutritional value of the food which is essential for one to be classified as food secure.

At the food summit of 1996, the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) having added the nutritional dimension of food security, a definition of food security was drafted as a case when all people at all times have the physical and economic access to sufficient and nutritional food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for healthy and active life (Andersen, 2009) The 1996 definition changed the food security definition from the ordinary access to food to that which considers access, nutrition and the food preferences of a person regardless of circumstances. The inability by an individual or a people to access food in these dimensions falls short of the definition and therefore leaves an individual as insecure. The food preferences dimension also attracted world attention to the food aid sector where in most cases people receive food aid which is not preferred but do so out of desperation. More importantly the FAO definition defines food as a substance that one eats or drink, which makes clean water an essential part of food insecurity.

The writings of Amartya Sen on the entitlement of individuals to food played a key role in this definition. According to Sen, food insecurity specifically famines, occurs not only because of food availability decline (FAD) but there are other asymmetries that need to be interrogated (Devereux, 2000). Sen in his writings on the Bengal famine of 1943, argues that famines occur not only because of failure on the supply side but there is need to analyse the supply side in terms of the entitlement sets of different socio-economic groups (Nayak, 2000. Pg. 2) This incorporates the negative impacts that conflict brings to household entitlements leading to food insecurity. The reports of food aid confiscation and diversion proves Sen view that food insecurity is not as a result of FAD but goes beyond and is dependent on entitlements of the recipients.

2.10. Dimensions of Food security

Food security as highlighted in the definition has many dimensions that need to be looked at independently to establish the position of an individual, community or country. The dimensions provide for the full definition of food security and the aspects that determine whether a community or country is food insecure. They are drawn from the definition of food security and some have been discussed above to explain the meaning of food security for different settings particularly for developing countries like South Sudan. The dimensions are food availability, food access, food utilisation and the stability in the provision of these three (Schmidhuber & Tubiello, 2007, pg. 2). Scholars in the food security discourse have moved a step further to look at issues of traditional food as opposed to any food that is nutritious especially in cases of food aid. This dimension fits into access and availability but challenges the notion of mere availability and mere access. It looks at individual preferences and respect for one's usual food. These dimensions will be discussed below with examples from the study area and other contexts on the African continent and beyond.

2.11. Availability

Food availability refers to the physical existence of sufficient quantities of food of appropriate quality (FAO, 2011). It basically speaks to the physical presents of food and the overall ability of agriculture to meet demand (Schmidhuber & Tubiello, 2007). At individual level availability means the ability by the individual to produce the food. as what the peasant farmers in most developing countries do, or the ability to find the food on the market to buy like what most non-growers especially in the urban areas do. Amartya Sen in his writings on the Bengal famine elucidates that one may be forced into starvation if production and the capacity to buy from the market become compromised (Sen, 2001. Pg. 161). Availability of food therefore entails the physical presence and not the access to the food.

At the national level availability is a combination of domestic food production and commercial imports and exports. If the local producers can produce enough to feed the country or the country can import enough food supplies, food availability is sustained. Food availability can also be through aid by donor organisations in places where the people can neither produce nor afford to buy from the market because of various socio-economic and political reasons. In such cases organisations provide food and strive to ensure that the food is healthy enough to meet

the nutritional needs of an individual (WFP, 2014). In most developing countries food availability is hampered by fall in production due to bad climatic conditions coupled with the inability to cope with these natural disasters that destroy supplies and production. This is combined with an incapable state to import enough food for the population (Gregory, 2005). In recent years climate change has been identified as one of the major causes in food availability decline through disasters like drought, floods and others that interferes with production. The views fits into the Food Availability Decline (FAD) theory which basically explains the cause of famines.

Man-made disasters also pose negative impacts on food availability. Conflict is a major cause in the reduction of food availability particularly in developed countries (Pinstrup-Andersen, P., & Shimokawa, 2008). Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for the most food insecure region and coincidentally is one of the most conflict regions. Terrorist groups and paramilitary groups like Boko haram in Nigeria and Al -Shabaab of Somalia also disrupt farmers and thus affects food production and availability. The food insecurity in northern Nigeria can partly be explained by the activities of Boko haram which cause widespread displacement of people particularly peasant farmers in the rural areas and thus affecting production. Eme e tal argue that clashes between herdsmen and farmers and the activities of Boko Haram sect have added to food insecurity challenges in the polity as population displacement, death, and non-cultivation of farmlands and the burning down of farm produce have reduced the quality and quantity of food demand (Eme & Ibietan, 2012).

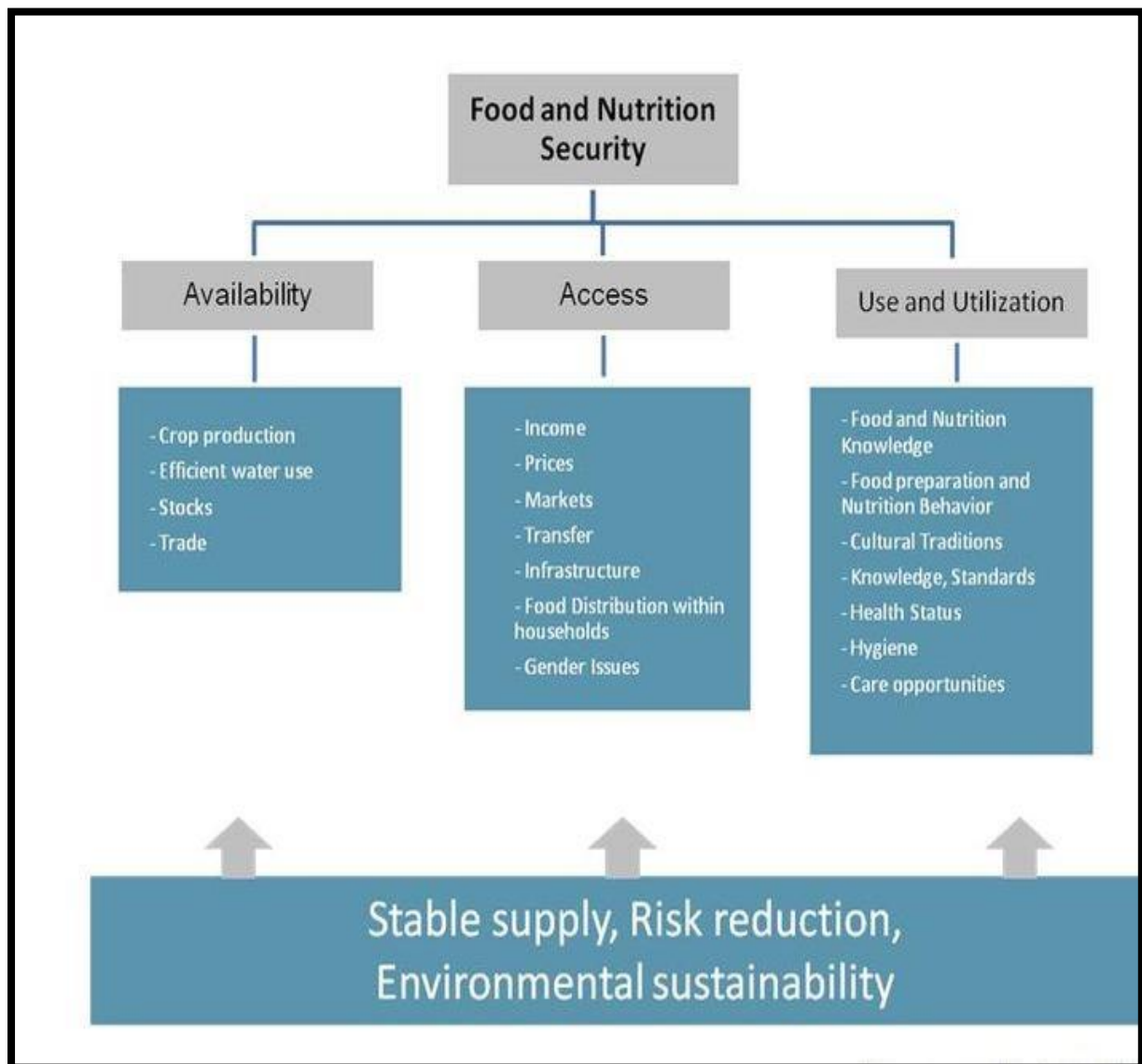
In the Central Equatoria region, food availability is based on the production by peasant farmers enabled by the arable land in the south and the good rainfall patterns (South Bureau of National Statistics, 2018). It also relies on imports and exports with Uganda and the proximity of the region to Uganda makes it easier for business to thrive between the two countries. The sources of food in the form or production by the farmers, buying from the market and donor support are all susceptible in conflict areas. Blanchard argues that the conflict has negatively affected production by farmers through displacement, confiscation and other indirect effects hence causing food availability decline (Blanchard, 2016). Availability in the context of the Central Equatoria lies largely on aid from donor organisations because imports and food production

have been hindered by the economic decline and conflict outcomes. Food and nutrition insecurity are both consequences of the conflict hence food insecurity is globally concentrated in conflict zones like South Sudan. The impacts of the conflict on food availability will be discussed in the next chapter with evidence from the rural farmers, extension workers and government.

2.12. Accessibility

The second and crucial dimension of food security is the access of an individual to the available food. WFP defines accessibility as the ability of households to have sufficient food (WFP, 2018). Access is attained when one can be able to produce, borrow or get food aid. Access goes beyond just availability to look at the physical and socio-economic capacity of an individual to acquire food. Conventional explanation of food insecurity before the writings of Sen proposed the decline in food availability as the main cause of famine. In 1977, Amartya Sen challenged the FAD idea and introduced his entitlement theory which proposed that famine or food insecurity in general does not occur because of just decline in food availability, but also because of the lack of entitlement or access to the food (Sen, 1981). He introduces the concept of distribution of the food among the population as opposed to the availability of the food. His views have been widely accepted particularly in the developing countries where the population can starve even when the food is there but without the capacity or purchasing power to access the food. The writings of Sen were informed by the Bengal famine of 1943 in which millions of people died. He argues that inequalities in the distribution of food is at the fulcrum of famines and that the death of people during the Bengal famine was a result of an urban boom which raised food prices beyond the reach of the majority (Sen, 2001). His views have been challenged by various scholars, however they explain explicitly, the concept of access to food.

Figure 7: Diagram on Food security dimensions.



Source: FAO (1998)

2.13. Utilisation

Utilisation refers to the use of the food, the preparation and the hygiene of the people in the preparation of food for a healthy diet. UNICEF in its food security lexicon identified utilisation as one of the important dimensions. The definition encompasses water and sanitation which is usually lacking in places with severe food insecurity. UNICEF reported that 663 million do not have access to water and about 800 children die every day due to poor water (UNICEF, 2015). These statistics speak volumes to the state of food security particularly for the developing

world. Within the dimension of utilisation is also the actual utilisation of the food in the body for one to be able to carry out activities. It emphasises the ability of the food to ensure a healthy and active life as enunciated in the FAO definition (FAO, 2008).

2.14. Stability

Stability refers to the temporal determinant of food and nutrition security and affects all three physical elements of availability, access and utilisation (Gross, et al, 2000). It basically looks at how the household level supply remains constant across the year. FAO identifies sustainability and risk as part of the important pointers to determine food security stability of an individual or a population. Any household or group of people with uncertainty over its food supply or capability to access food is classified as food insecure and the risk of plunging into food insecurity by people living in disaster areas like floods, drought and conflict is very high (Gross, et al 2000). Stability therefore looks at the sustainability status of a household or people over the long term in terms of its ability to have available food, to access it and be able to utilise it. Fragile states have a less stability in terms of food security because of their inability and or limited capacity to respond and curb food security jams. The stability dimension is therefore the foundation upon which the other three dimensions are anchored on.

The greater Equatoria region of South Sudan in general is a traditionally food secure region because of its good climate and good soils that are arable (FAO, 2018). Stability of food security in the region is however shaky and remains so because of various structural causes. Part of the factors that causes this instability is the weak state, the susceptibility of subsistence farmers due to communal conflicts and factors around poor farming methods and lack of resources to support large scale agriculture (Messer, 1998). The outbreak of the conflict, the various community conflicts over natural resources and the deep tribal divisions places food security in this region on an unstable position. More so the reports of high poverty levels in the region creates instability in food security particularly the rural poor. Widespread poverty is an impediment to food security stability as it reduces one's capacity to produce and access food.

2.15. World Food Security status

Demand for food across the globe has been increasing against a backdrop of various impediments to food production (Tilman, Balzer, Hill & Befort, 2011). The IFPRI argues that in the coming decades, the globe will face huge climate change impacts, increased population, rise in food prices and various environmental stressors that will have severe impacts on food security (IFPRI, 2017). These factors will have huge impacts on the poor people who are already feeling the consequences of climate change particularly in the so called developing countries.

The declining food security follows Thomas Malthus prediction in the 18th century that population growth will ultimately outnumber food supplies. He argued that population grows exponentially while food supplies grow arithmetically hence need for population control measures to slow down population and ensure that it tallies with food production (Malthus, 1888). At its High-level expert forum, the Food and Agriculture organisation predicted that world population by 2050 will grow to 9.1 billion and this will put pressure of food production (FAO, 2009). The growth in population will demand a rise in cereal production to 3 billion tonnes up from 2.1 produced in 2009. These statistics only speak to the negative food security situation that awaits the world albeit its presents in various places across the globe. The rise in population will likely affect sub-Saharan African and South Sudan in particular which has population growth rate of 4% (SSNBS, 2018).

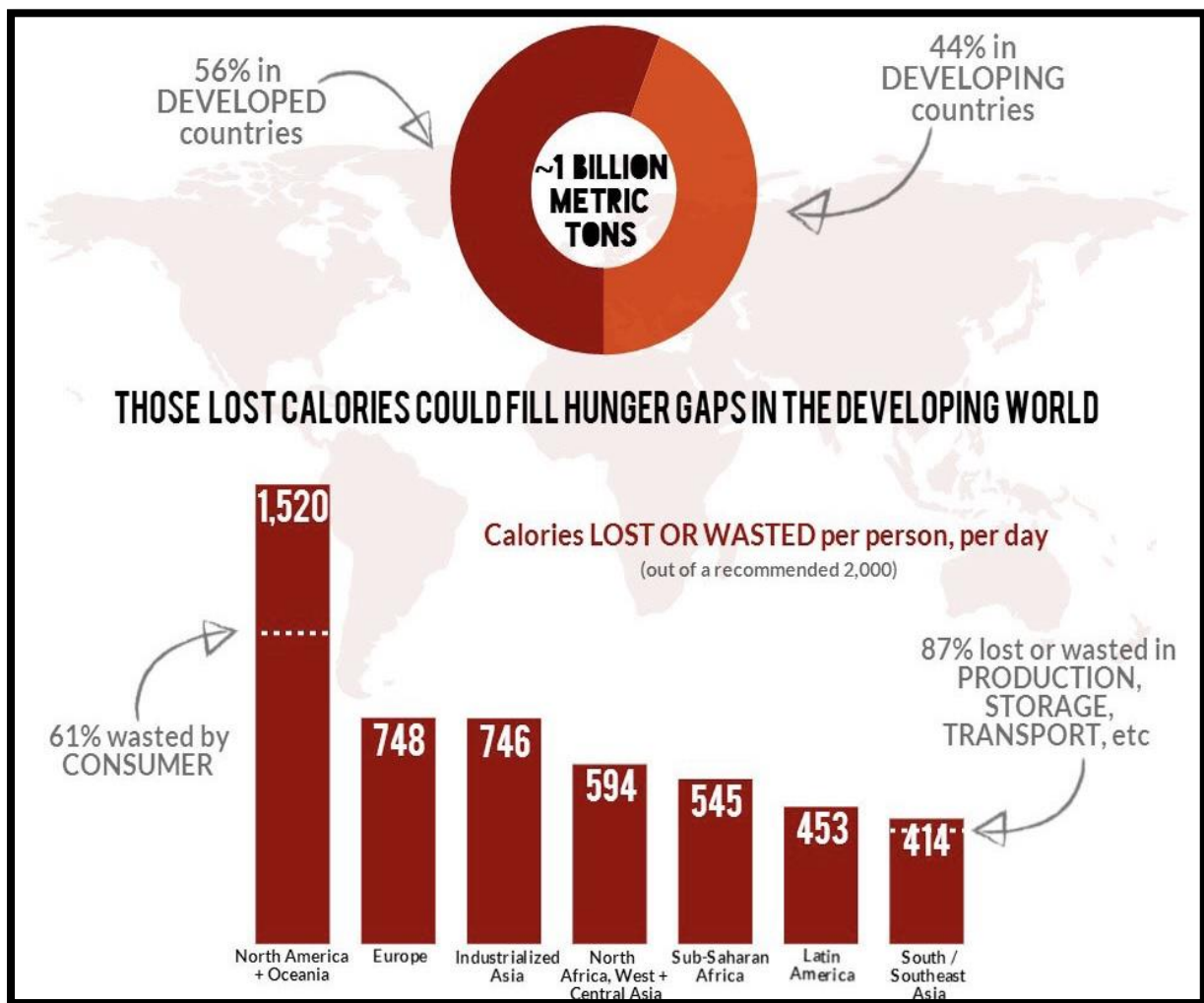
Adding to the rising population growth is the climate change factor which is currently affecting the world and taking toll on developing countries like South Sudan which cannot cope with the impacts. Eckstein noted that climate change is currently responsible for the water and food shortages across the globe particularly in the developing countries (Eckstein, 2009). This will be made worse in countries where food production systems are poor and capacity of the people to cope is low. Where conflict is present, the impacts become more pronounced as is the case in South Sudan and various other Sub-Saharan countries.

The fall in food production and rise in demand for food has implications on food prices across the world. This is coupled by the global financial crisis recorded at different levels. The UN

reported that food prices have been rising since 2009 (UN, 2014). The World Bank further notes that the rise in food prices has plunged 40 million people into poverty and food insecurity where 842 million people go to bed hungry every day.

While food insecurity is hitting the developing countries mostly, the world produces about 2700 kilocalories every day which is enough for everyone to survive. There is therefore unequal distribution of the food and food loss or waste across the globe. Food loss refers to the decline of food along the food supply chain intended for human consumption. The WB noted that about one third of the metric tonnes of food produced annually is lost or wasted (World Bank, 2014). It further explains the importance of access dimension to food security as highlighted earlier.

Figure 8: Graph showing the Food Waste in different regions.



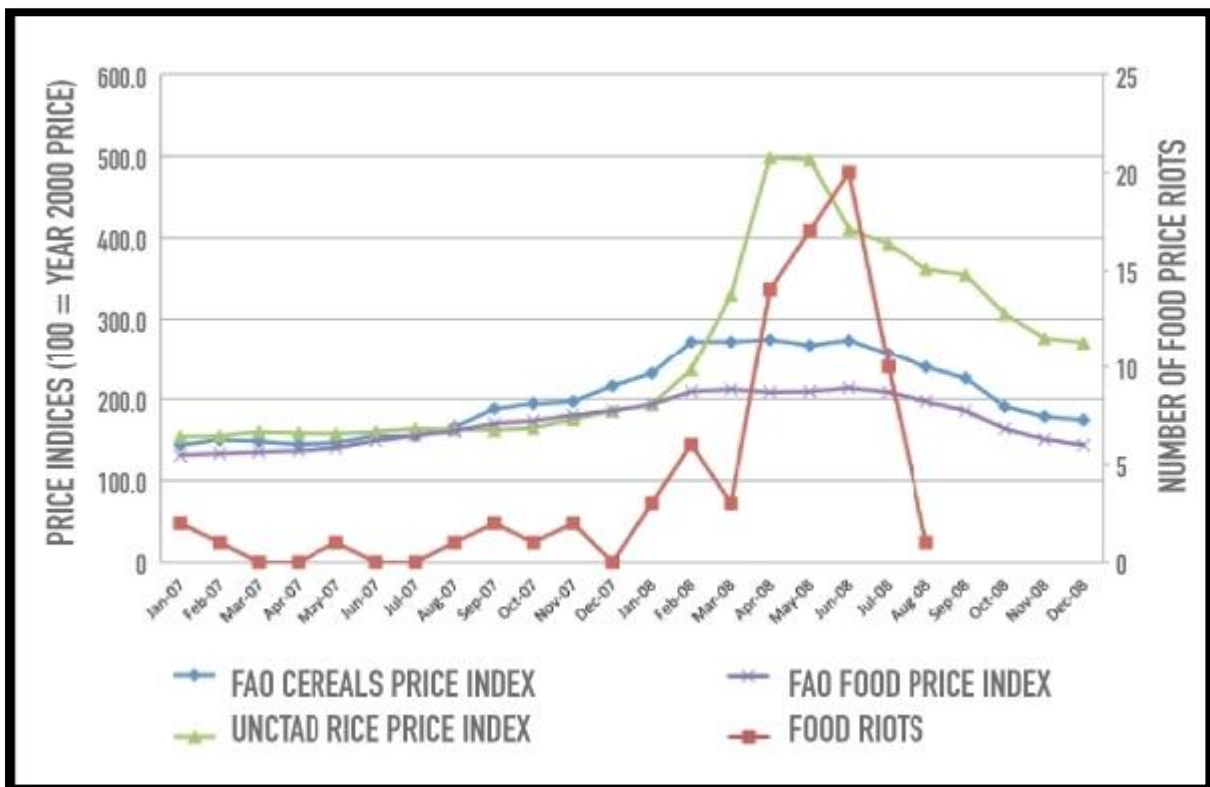
Source: World Bank (2014)

2.16. Food security conflict nexus

There is a close linkage between food security and conflict and examples can be drawn from various countries across the world. Scholars agree that food security is a buffer to conflict and that its absence accelerates conflict through building grievances within a population. The argument that food insecurity causes conflict often refers to civil conflict as opposed to interstate conflict. There is little research on food security as an outcome of interstate conflict, however wars have been waged before because of scarcity of land for agriculture and other purposes. The Lebensraum by the Nazis over Poland and eastern Europe and the invasion of china and Indochina by Japan are some cases where interstate conflict erupted over scarce land for agriculture and other purposes. In Africa interstate conflicts have also emerged around land and water but there is very little literature that identifies food insecurity arising from such cases.

In 2011, FAO reported a peak in its Food price index and the world witnessed rise in prices which was accompanied with various conflicts particularly in North Africa (Brinkman & Hendrix, 2011). The fall of Mubarak of Egypt and Ben Ali of Tunisia are examples that are cited as outcomes of protests over food prices. While there were other underlying factors to the conflict, food prices became a trigger to the widespread protests that culminated in the Arab spring. The impact of food security on a country stability will depend on its ability to handle and respond to the crisis as well as the existence of strong institutions. In fragile states where state legitimacy and its capacity to respond is weak, food insecurity will have serious negative implications. In these countries, the citizens are left vulnerable without a shield from the state which ordinarily has a responsibility to find alternatives. While there is no strong evidence to suggest that food insecurity can trigger violent conflict, the 2007-2008 violent riots particularly in North Africa provides a semblance of evidence of the causal relationships between the two.

Figure 9: Graph showing Food prices and rioting in 2007-2008



Source: World Food Programme (2008)

There is a school of thought that food insecurity can cause conflict through creating a breeding ground for recruitment of combatants that partake in violent conflict. This school of thought is based on the idea that military groups are usually liquid and resourced through the use of force to acquire resources and confiscation of food from the civilians. Hendrix and Brinkman however argue that in various conflicts the claim is not supported by empirical evidence (Hendrix & Brinkman, 2011). They argue that rather than singling out food, the motivation must be situated in the need for better living conditions, food security included. In Burundi and Colombia, the motivation were unemployment and the need for a livelihood while in Sierra Leone, food and money were key in recruiting combatants for a violent conflict. Food security in these instances therefore fits into the broader struggle for better living conditions and basic needs as propounded by Maslow.

The discourse of conflict and food security has in the past focussed on full-fledged conflicts or armed conflict to explicate the impacts. Taking from Galtung however, the absence of interstate or civil conflict does not imply the presence of peace. Food insecurity can have grave consequences by triggering communal conflicts arising from food shortages. In East African countries like Kenya, Sudan and South Sudan, community conflicts over cattle, water and raiding of both cattle and food stuffs have been pointed as outcomes of food insecurity (FAO, 2016). In these communities, conflicts increase during drought years or in regions where food production is usually low. Though various conflicts have been linked to food security issues, it is apparent that conflict arising from food security are normally accompanied by various other factors. Food security is rarely a singular cause of conflicts even in fragile regions. It must be accompanied by other inequality, political and various other factors that generate grievances within a society.

Food insecurity can also retard conflict depending on the degree that it affects a region or community. Hendrix and Brinkman gave three instances in which food insecurity can slow down conflict particularly acute food insecurity. The first case deals with the inability of civilians to participate and be recruited in violent conflict when they are hungry (Hendrix & Brinkman, 2011). In acute food shortage scenario, civilians become more preoccupied in searching for food than anything else. In this case it makes it difficult for militants to recruit and even for civilians to be willing to participate in the conflict. Secondly acute food shortage can diminish conflict by diminishing resources available for militants. In most conflicts, ordinary civilians are the resource base for militants both human and other. Where a community is hit by acute food shortage however, the impact is felt on the military groups as they become insolvent and therefore unable to wage a strong war. Food insecurity or drought has huge implications on rural agricultural production which lessens willing civilians to support militants and build resistance to be coerced. This explains why food in most conflict is used as a tool of war to starve opponents and make them insolvent while building resistance from their support base. The Al Shabaab of Somalia suffered huge resistance and defections during the drought of 2010 to 2012. The coercive methods to acquire resources bred antagonism with the local people and the attack on donor offices of UNICEF resulted in the insurgent group losing local and foreign support (Hendrix & Brinkman, 2011).

While food insecurity coupled with other factors causes conflict, the unchallenged consensus is that conflict ravages economies, livelihoods, collapse of social trust and food insecurity (Brinkman & Hendrix, 2011). Collier argues that there is a correlation between food insecurity and conflict because they are both symbols of low development (Collier, 2004). In conflict areas production is destroyed and the capacity of the state to provide safety nets for the citizens is lessened. Government spending goes mostly on the military while starving other expenditures like food security for the population and support mechanisms.

Conflict often affects production trade and the social fabric of the society. A blow on these components has a ripple effect of raising food prices and hence causing food insecurity. In Syria, prices had sextupled as of 2012 compared to the pre-war period because of the destruction of factories and huge government spending on shipment of arms (Hendrix & Brinkman, 2013). In the case of Mali, the prices of cereal rose by 80-100 % because of the collapse of agricultural production and increased import. This makes it plausible to conclude that there is a strong correlation between food security and conflict. Conflict leads to a collapse in food security and the more the fragility of the state and vulnerability of citizens, the severe the consequences.

2.17. Theoretical Framework

The philosophical underpinning of this research will be informed by the New War theory and the human needs theory of conflict however it will also explore other major theories in conflict discourse. The two theories were selected for their ability to explain the existing linkage of food security and conflict in South Sudan particularly in the region of Central Equatoria to which this research focussed on. The New war theory focusses on the emergency of a new dimension of armed conflict which is more driven by identity and hence more lethal in terms of its consequences particularly in relation to food. The Human needs theory on the other hand explains the rise of conflict as a result of competition to access human needs. The two are key in analysing the major conflict in the Central Equatoria region as well as the small communal conflicts over scarce natural resources.

2.18. The conflict Theory.

The conflict theory is the broader theory which speaks to the origins of conflict. The theory broadly explains the general contours of conflict in society, how it starts, varies and the effects it brings to the society (Coser, Dahrendorf & Collins, 1958). At its foundations the conflict theory argues that conflict emanates due to the competition for scarce resources in a community. While there is a general consensus on the existence of social conflict in every society because of resources, scholars have given different explanations to the theory on the causes of the conflict and the kind of resources that a society competes over and how it can be handled. Scholars like Karl Max and Weber have contributed to the conflict theory to find answers on the sources of social conflict.

Karl Marx argued that a society is moulded on the basis of conflict rather than consensus (Moon & Dixon, 1985). He contended that social order is maintained by domination and power rather than conformity and consensus. In a society there are different classes of people and to Marx two classes existed which are the workers and the owners. Those with wealth and power try to hold on to it while suppressing the poor who also fight to get wealth and power. The competition and the oppressive nature of the society therefore breeds conflict in a social setting. The foundation of the Marxist view is primarily the existence of social classes which fight to dominate in a social setting and to achieve particular resources.

On the other hand, Weber viewed conflict as inherent in society but differed with Marx on the cause of the conflict, how it should be handled and his prediction for the future. While Marx saw conflict as a clash between two classes, Weber viewed it as being connected to other factors beyond just the economic struggle (Coser, et al 1958). In this regard Weber noted three factors which are encapsulated in class, status and power. More so in Weberian thought, culture's economic system is moulded by its ideas. Weber envisioned conflict as infinity and not dependent on changes in the political, social and economic nature of the society (Coser, 1958).

Applying the conflict theory to the South Sudan context views the existence of various social classes which are the rural peasants, the urban unemployed people and the political elite that benefit from the neo-patrimonial system of South Sudan (Rolandsen, 2016). These classes in society clash in the pursuit of resources and as a result are antagonistic to each other. The clash

of peasants in the rural central Equatoria and the Mundari herders over land expresses the Marxist view that there is always conflict in society as players compete for limited resources. It speaks to the social classes in these communities and the successive administrations have failed to address the inherent social acrimonies among the social groups which are stratified on tribal bases.

Within the competition for scarce resources in the form of land, water, grazing land and cattle are also factors of power, class and status. The agriculturalist who are essentially the original Equatorians are socially and economically stable because of their ability to produce and trade with the neighbouring Uganda. On the other hand, other tribes such as The Mundari own huge sums of cattle which are a sign of wealth in South Sudan culture for their importance economically and for marriage purposes (Leonardi, 2013). The competition between these classes and other smaller tribes with less access to resources breeds hatred and result in tribal conflicts.

2.19. Human Needs Theory

The human needs theory elucidates that human beings have basic needs and in the absence of these, they are likely to engage in conflict (Maslow & Lewis, 1987) The theory emanates from Maslow hierarchy of needs in which he outlined various basic needs for human survival and later the self-transcendence as a need above self-actualisation in the hierarchy of needs. It explains cause and prediction of conflict and therefore part of the conflict theory. Human needs theorists distinguish between human needs and interests and link them to conflict. Conflict in this regard happens when the needs or efforts to meet these needs are frustrated. Needs are also non-negotiable as they determine one survival as propounded by Hertnon in the theory of universal human needs (Hertnon, 2005). It supports the Maslow theory that the needs cut across all human being regardless of their social, economic and political distinctions. The non-negotiability of these needs prompts individuals and groups to resort to any means including violence.

The conflict in the Central Equatoria region of South Sudan is multifaceted. It has a political cause as well as ethnicity and social dimension. The cause of the conflict however are the

resources which are the needs for the survival of people beyond the power imbalances. At the fulcrum of the national conflict is power struggles within the SPLM party between two leaders Salva Kiir and Riek Machar who hail from different ethnic groups. At communal level conflicts over land, water, cattle and grazing land are the dominant factors that drive conflict, and these represent the needs to which groups and individuals are prepared to use violence to access them.

The greater Sahelian region from Mali to Eritrea is long dominated by conflict around food and chronic malnutrition (Zyck & Muggah, 2013) In Mali and Sudan, water conflicts are also dominant as people seek water for domestic purposes but also for animals. The case of the Sahel region is not unique as many conflicts around the world are caused by unmet needs. Ethnicity, race, tribal differences and religious differences are used as tools to mobilise people into violent action and not the root causes of conflict. It is therefore imperative to note that food as part of the human needs is central to the conflicts in South Sudan though its interconnected to other causes.

The human needs theory however poses various questions and is a point of debate by various scholars of economics and development. While there is consensus on the causation of human needs and violent conflict, the distinction between needs and interests as well as the ranking of needs is disputed. Questions of the universality of needs across regions and cultures are also important to note. More over the distinction of conflicts emerging because of unmet needs and those arising from differing set of interests is an area of debate. The needs theory presupposes that given the role of food insecurity as a key cause of conflict, provision of unmet needs like food in the Sahel region and specifically in South Sudan will resurrect peace. This is not always the case in many places as conflicts are multidimensional and addressing one factor doesn't suffice to bring peace. This research will therefore triangulate the conflict theory which takes conflict as an inherent aspect of human nature and the New War theory, to explain the causes of the conflict in the Central Equatoria region and its impacts on food security.

2.20. The New War Theory

The New war theory is a departure from the traditional narrative of conflict to look at contemporary conflicts and try to explain them using the current characterisation. The theory holds that there is a dramatic change in post-cold war conflicts compared to the historical cold war conflicts in the terms of the patterns of violence and the negative consequences of such wars (Newman, 2004). Moreover, the theory argues that contemporary conflicts can be contrasted with old wars in terms of their goals, methods of warfare and how they are financed (Kaldor, 2001). De Waal argues that today's conflicts are complex humanitarian emergencies caused mostly by armed conflicts and exacerbated by natural disasters or international policies. 'New Wars' do not only involve state armies and insurgencies but also paramilitaries, ethnic groups, criminal gangs and international mercenaries (Kaldor, 2001). They differ from the old wars which were predominantly a clash of government militaries and insurgencies.

The New wars are mostly civil wars and spill over borders destroying livelihoods and food systems while forcing people to flee (DeWaal, 2015). The dataset for Uppsala supports the New War theory that conflicts have shifted from interstate conflict to civil wars. According to the dataset there has been a dramatic decline in interstate wars and an increase in intrastate conflicts. For instance, in the year 2001 the only interstate war was the India Pakistan war over the Kashmir region while civil wars had gone up. The shift provides an explanation to how war has become internalised and the impacts of that on livelihoods and food security.

Protagonists of the New Wars theory postulate that it is an outcome of state failure and a social transformation caused by globalisation and liberal economy which brews competition for natural resources and the rise of various other groups, war lords which are organised along identity lines (Newman, 2004). The social transformation builds classes that pursue human needs and therefore use any means to access their needs. Elsewhere the shift to intrastate conflict and the rise of terrorist groups like Boko haram in Northern Nigeria and Al-Shabaab in Somalia that are organised on religious fundamentalism clearly depicts the New War theory. In South Sudan the current conflict has seen an upsurge of various rebel groups that are organised and driven by ethnic/tribal identity in the fight for natural resources like land, water, and grazing land. Rolandsen argues that the current armed conflict in South Sudan has seen an intensification of ethnic clashes over natural resources and political differences. These clashes

threaten the very foundations of a united and newly independent South Sudan (Rolandsen, 2015). The clashes have also resulted in the destruction of property and confiscation of food stuffs as well as raiding of cattle among ethnic groups (FAO, 2015). The conflict which started more as a political conflict transformed and degenerated into an ethnic conflict by exacerbating the already existing tribal acrimonies.

The New war theory argues that ethnic and religious conflicts are a characteristic of New Wars than political ideology (Newman, 2004). These wars are fought not in pursuit of an ideology as was the case with the traditional wars, but essentially to advance collective interests of a religious or ethnic group. The very motives of the war which is hinged on interests of a particular group makes the conflict detached from any ideology as the fight seeks to gratify a few and not a collective transcending tribe, religion or any other social and political division. According to Kaldor the goal in the New Wars is to gain access to the state by a particular group and not to achieve and pursue a political ideology that informs policies for broader public interest (Kaldor, 2013). It is informed by the emergency of good communications by way of new technology and migration of rural to urban migration. More so the New Wars is an outcome of the erosion of more inclusive and often state based political ideologies like socialism and post-colonial nationalism. DeWaal argues that the New wars are more lethal than the old wars both in terms of violence and hunger (DeWaal, 2015). This is made possible because of the identity nature of conflicts and the environment that it creates which makes it difficult for the passage of food aid and the operations of aid workers. In the traditional wars government and insurgencies used to protect aid workers and allow passage of food aid as opposed to blocking of food aid workers which is a dominant characteristic of New Wars (DeWaal, 2015).

The Somali famine of 2011-2012 which killed 250000 people is often referred to as a depiction in the New War theory (Maxwell & Majid, 2016). The famine was an outcome of a plethora of factors encapsulated in natural hunger, war and economic crisis. Aid workers could not reach the need people because of restrictions by the governing authority Al-Shabaab as well as the high risk of kidnapping and violence (Maxwell & Majid, 2016). The situation was made worse by the US counter terrorism policy which acted as an impediment to aid workers in areas

occupied by insurgencies. At the core of the famine however was the conflict and the nature of that conflict which blocked humanitarian aid to areas occupied by the insurgencies. Despite warning signs, the humanitarian organisations could not come up with contingent plans to deal with the situation and hence many casualties were recorded. This in line with the New War theory which suggests that hunger in conflict is more pronounced in the new wars because of the identity nature of conflicts as opposed to fighting for public good. In the case of Somalia groups fraternise on religious grounds to take over control of resources and state power. The situation makes humanitarian operations difficult and threaten to cause 'New Famines' predicated on attacks of humanitarian workers as postulated by Devereux (Kaldor, 2013). Of the 78000 deaths recorded on each year in 2004 and 2009, only 7% were from direct conflict while 27% was a result of hunger and disease (Kaldor, 2013). It therefore elucidates how conflict affects food security by way of creating groupings that fight for their narrow benefits and using food as a weapon to their enemies. In the New War theory identity is more than a tool but a goal to which groups seek to achieve through access to state resources while relegating others.

CHAPTER 3

3.0. Methodology

This chapter focuses on the methodology that was used to collect data in the field by the researcher. It first outlines the sampling techniques, the data collection methods and how the data was analysed. The chapter also outlines the ethical considerations and some of the challenges that the researcher faced in the field along the course of data collection period.

3.1. The philosophical foundation

It is imperative to first outline the philosophy upon which this study is set. Bryman noted that in doing social research, there are two main dimensions, the epistemological and the ontological dimension (Bryman, 2016. Pg. 6). The epistemological approach deals with what is considered to be acceptable knowledge and specifically emphasises the use of the natural sciences in social research (Bryman, 2008). The positivist notion of epistemology uses both the deductive and inductive approach with strong emphasis on the application of the natural sciences on social research. It includes the deductive empiricist approach that knowledge acquired through experience and senses can be regarded as acceptable (Bryman, 2016). It also however draws the inductive approach of gathering of facts as part of the process to produce acceptable knowledge. A key point to note in the epistemological consideration is that it focuses more on ensuring that knowledge generated is free from the prejudices and influences by the researcher. In other words, the positivist emphasis on the use of the natural sciences is essentially to achieve objectivity and avoid subjectivity of the researcher through emotions and interest to the topic under study.

The broad debate on the two is whether the social world can be studied in the same way as the natural sciences (Tuli, 2011). There are therefore two broad approaches to this debate which are the positivist and the interpretivist constructionist approaches. Key questions to positivist epistemological paradigm is the relationship between the researcher and what is already known. More so what counts as knowledge based on the afore mentioned relationship to which objectivity can be obtained. The positivist approach seeks to do away with the involvement of the research to avoid any bias.

On the other hand, the interpretivist approach in epistemology emphasises that social actors are participants and therefore have influence to the social world. It contrasts the positivist epistemological approach by assuming that reality is a product of social processes. Tuli argues that the interpretivists believe that reality and meaning making are socially constructed and that people make their own sense of social realities (Tuli, 2011). In this regard the researcher uses the qualitative methods which seek to find the explanation and interpretation of the social world as opposed to deducing interpretation from figures in the positivist approach.

As illustrated in the previous chapters this research was looking at the perceptions of people and how the conflict has negatively affected their food security, such is a social world that needs to be interpreted by the players and hence the appropriateness of the qualitative approach. The approach allowed the researcher to make meaning out of the perceptions of the people and observed settings. According to Bryman, in the constructionist approach the researcher presents a specific version of social reality not as definitive (Bryman, 2016). In this case the researcher provides interpretation and the knowledge is indeterminate. The researcher combined the already available knowledge with what was drawn from respondents, the observations and experiences in the field during the collection of data.

The approach informed the data collection techniques in which semi structured interviews, observation and use of secondary data was used to get data from the respondents. The qualitative approach would suffice in this research as it allowed the researcher to gain insights into the perceptions of the rural people on how the conflict has affected their access to food. On the other hand, the quantitative approach would not have allowed the researcher to get perceptions and draw meaning from the behaviours and perceptions of the respondents. More so the qualitative approach allowed the researcher to get a broader picture into the lives of the rural people of the Central Equatoria which was key to understanding the correlation of conflict and food security in a rural set up.

3.2. Qualitative approach

There are distinctions between the qualitative approach and quantitative approach in research and these distinctions go beyond the mere presents of numbers in one and the absence in

another. There is a debate among scholars on the effectiveness of the two approaches in research and that debate is anchored on the validity and reliability of research outcomes. Bryman defines quantitative approach as a deductive approach to the relationship between theory and research (Bryman, 2016). It emphasises quantification in the collection and analysis of data to draw facts to the subject matter. The quantitative approaches include the natural science models and specifically the positivist approach in research. It is concerned with ensuring that the social world is external and seeks to create objective reality.

On the other hand, qualitative approach is an inductive approach which seeks to find explanations to the social world rather than quantification (Bryman, 2016). It emphasises an inductive approach to theory and research where generation of theories is key. From an epistemological point of view, qualitative research takes an interpretivist approach and a constructionist approach on the ontological dimension. Part of the qualitative approach definition is its ability to go beyond what is and to find explanation to the social world through interpretation of behaviours and perceptions of people.

The key distinctions of the two strategies have been outlined in the above explanation however it is important for one to look at some of the advantages and disadvantages of the two strategies and the appropriateness with regards to a particular subject under research. Scholars of research methods generally agree that the two strategies have pros and cons and selection in using these two is determined mostly by the subject under research not so much about their comparing their advantages and disadvantages. According to Silverman, the selection of research strategy is not a matter of right or wrong but is informed by the subject matter (Silverman, 2000). One of the key advantages of qualitative method is its exploratory nature and the ability to go deep into the subject matter. The use of data collection techniques like semi structured interviews and focus group discussions among others allows the researcher to get the why side of the topic under research and understand the emotions and perception of the people.

In this research the use of the qualitative approach allowed the researcher to understand the perceptions and emotions that the rural people from the rural central Equatoria attach to the conflict and its impacts on their food security. It allowed the researcher to go deep into how

the conflict has even affected the social fabric of the society and how that relates to food insecurity that currently characterise the region. This can be difficult to measure and to understand through quantitative approach. It therefore reinforces the earlier point that, selection of the research strategy is informed by the subject under study. There are matters that need to be quantified and therefore be understood by interpreting statistical data. There is also those that need to be probed to get to the gist of the subject matter.

While the researcher used the qualitative approach, it has its own weaknesses suffice to say that it was relevant to the study. One of the major weaknesses of qualitative approach is bias and the involvement of the researcher which might have implications on reliability and validity (Bryman, 2008). Silverman contended that there is always a tendency to invest emotions and subjectivity when a researcher is dealing with qualitative research. In this paper the research dealt with conflict issues which one might take sides and make subjective conclusions

More so, as a researcher who has been in the context and observed particular behaviours and challenges faced by the population, there is a possibility to make judgements based on experiences and observations albeit for a short period. Subjective judgements may emanate from personal values both social and professional and ignore realities of the victims.

3.3. Research design

Case study research design was used in providing answers to the research questions raised in the beginning of the paper. The basic definition of a research design is that it is a structure which explains how the data collection is going to be done. There are many research designs that researchers use, and these are informed by various factors among them being the kind of data that one wants to collect. Bryman argues that the selection of a research design is informed by the priority given to a range of dimensions in research. These according to Bryman express the causal relationship of variables, the need to construct generalisations for later groups and understanding behaviour as well as interpreting that behaviour in a particular social setting (Bryman, 2016). The use of experiments for instance are usually informed by the need to express causation between two components where one controls the independent variable and come up with generalisations.

In the social sciences field, case study design is more common and is used mostly to refer to locations or organisation. Though common in qualitative research, case study design can also be used in quantitative approaches. The benefit of a case study in qualitative approach is that it allows the researcher to go into depth with the subject matter. This research used the case study research design where the researcher focussed on a specific area and be able to answer research questions unambiguously. More importantly the case study design allows the research to understand the behaviours, experiences and attitudes of people in a selected setting by focussing the study on a particular setting or organisation.

3.4. Data collection techniques

There are various types of data collection techniques in research. This research used Semi structured interviews, secondary data and observation. The three techniques will be discussed below specifically their advantages to this research and the reason for their selection.

3.5. Semi-structured interviews

Semi structured interviews were used for all the interviews carried by the researcher with the rural citizens, the organisations, the government workers and the extension workers. The structured part of the interview asked about specific data like age, state of residency, tribe and others while the unstructured part had open ended questions that required explanations and probing on the part of the researcher. Bryman noted that one key advantage of semi-structured interviews is that they create a latitude for the researcher to get more insight through probing and taking note of emotions (Bryman, 2008).

The different types of respondents noted above were interviewed using relevant semi-structured interview guide relevant to the data that needed to be collected. A total of 35 respondents were interviewed by the researcher at different stages. The classification of these respondents were citizens, the government, extension workers and NGOs which included both local and international NGOs. The researcher had planned to do focus group discussions which also allows for wider collection of data, however with the insecurity situation in the country it was difficult to gather people who are willing to speak and be interviewed at the same time.

3.6. Observations

The researcher also used observation as a data collection technique with regard to the topic. The food insecurity in the rural Central Equatoria has caused many people to be displaced and some migrate to Juba the capital city in the hope of finding food. More so the visit by the researcher to the rural state of Jubek and in the UN PoCs allowed for observation to take place. In the rural Jubek many families could be seen with empty granaries. Water challenges were also a problem and most of these households rely on untreated water from rivers which exposes them to water borne diseases. Most of the people were not comfortable to be taken pictures neither to take their households. Even in the urban in Juba it was criminal to take pictures and the people themselves were not willing to be photographed. The observations by the researcher however helped in getting a clear picture of the situation in the rural areas and the nature of environment that exists as a result of the conflict. It helped the researcher to meet rural the rural citizens in the region and be able to understand their side of the story. Some were however afraid to be interviewed for fear of being victimised by different militia groups particularly the SPLM, NAS and SPLM-IO

3.7. Secondary data

The research used extensive literature on food security and conflict in South Sudan. The use of existing literature helped in situating the topic under discussion, look at previous trends and the findings of other researchers. Most of the literature was from the Institute of Peace and Development at the University of Juba. I also got various other secondary sources from different NGOs working in the rural central Equatoria region. The South Sudan National Bureau of Statistics was also a strong source of secondary statistical data which helped this research.

3.8. Research context and field work

This research was done in South Sudan between the period of February and March 2018. My first stop in Juba was the university of Juba where I had made contacts with the institute of Peace and Development Studies. I had also made contacts with various other organisations that would help me in carrying out my research. These are organisations that have worked in the study area for some time and therefore could provide guidance in carrying out my research.

When I went to South Sudan, the war was going on and the environment was tense. I therefore had to report to the Zimbabwean embassy and to be connected to other Zimbabweans in country so that my fieldwork could be easier and to familiarise with the place.

In Juba I saw various organisations dealing with different issues in the study area and across South Sudan. I also saw people living in the UN protected areas outside Juba and extension workers in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security. It was difficult to move around because of insecurity at the moment and the rampant criminality in the city. I was advised never to travel after 6 pm and to use the boda boda (motorcycles) which are very common as public transport in the city and for short distances in the rural areas.

Given the security situation that was obtaining and the rainy season which had begun, it was difficult to travel into the remote parts of the country. This was a decision I had made prior to the visit and when I arrived in Juba my fears were confirmed. I therefore focussed more on people from different parts of rural Central Equatoria that are living in UN protected areas and relevant government ministries as well as NGOs that are resident in Juba. I also visited rural areas in Jubek State with one of the local organisations which is focussing on peace building and food security. In these areas food insecurity is apparent and exacerbated by food obstructions by different rebel groups.

3.9. Sampling

The research used purposive sampling in selecting units of respondents and snowball in identifying displaced farmers from different rural places. In qualitative purposive sampling in selecting units is more common and appropriate. According to Bryman, purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method that seeks to identify units of analysis relevant to the research. It is done based on the discretion of the researcher with regards to the research questions that ought to be answered. In purposive sampling, units of analysis are selected and can be added as the research progresses based on the knowledge that the research is gathering and therefore the need to incorporate other units into the research. In this research the unit selected were the rural subsistence farmers from various states of the Central Equatoria region,

the government ministries relevant to this research, NGOs and extension workers. These were relevant in answering research questions and meeting the overall objective of this research.

In the selection of respondents, snowball sampling was used particularly for local organisations, the displaced rural farmers and the extension workers from different states of the central Equatoria region. Having identified the units of analysis, the researcher used snowball to identify farmers from different states, and to identify other local organisations that were key in answering research questions. The sampling technique is useful in identifying hard to reach populations and in cases where the connectedness of participants is the focus of the research (Bryman, 2016). More over Atkinson and Flint adds that snowball sampling is advantageous as a means of accessing vulnerable and impenetrable groupings. In this case identity of individuals was difficult to detect hence the need for reference from other participants within that unit of analysis.

3.10. Data analysis

There exist various methods of analysing data in qualitative research as it is in quantitative approach. According to Bryman, the inductive approach and the grounded theory represents the main methods of data analysis though the grounded theory has gained traction over the other methods (Bryman, 2008). This research used the grounded theory as the basis of analysis for the data gathered in the field and triangulated the induction method of analysing data to increase validity and reliability. Lacey and Luff argue that qualitative data analysis must involve several processes that can be completed to ensure a thorough and effective analysis (Lacey & Luff, 2009). These processes include, transcribing of the data, coding, identification of themes, recording and development of categories. The researcher then develops a theory and tests the data against that theory.

In this research the researcher after collection of data first transcribed all the interviews in verbatim. This was followed by coding of the data to come up with themes for analysis. Bryman proposed two methods in this regard that is indexing and coding for which the researcher chose the latter. Coding is done to break down the data into components parts that are then analysed. The themes developed in this case included, food availability, food access, food prices, impact

on production of food etc. The coded themes were analysed using the existing theories and literature discussed in the theoretical framework chapter above.

3.11. Ethical considerations

This research gave attention to ethics in carrying out the field research in South Sudan. Ethical considerations are norms and conduct which is acceptable in research. Bryman noted that ethical issues cannot be ignored as they relate directly to the integrity of the research and other disciplines involved in the research (Bryman, 2008). It basically alludes to acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in research. Bryman noted four key ethical considerations notably, whether there is harm to participants, informed consent, an invasion of privacy and whether deception is involved (Bryman, 2008). These form the basis for acceptable behaviour in research and are important for the researcher to consider in carrying out research.

This research gave consideration to research ethics noted above. Firstly, the issue of informed consent was key to deal with particularly for the rural citizens that were part of this research. According to Bryman, inquiries regarding human subjects should be based as far practicable as possible on informed consent and this should apply even in cases where participation is required by law (Bryman, 2012, pg. 138). The researcher had a consent form that he would give to the respondent to sign as a way of agreeing to participate in the interview. The consent form had an explanation on the kind of research that is being carried out, the rationale behind the research and how the research findings will be used in this case for academic purposes. In instances where it was difficult for the respondents to understand the language on the consent form, assistance to translate was sought so that participation in the end was by consent and voluntary. It was also emphasised that at any stage if the respondent feels uncomfortable to continue with the interview, they were free to stop, and the interviewer would respect their right.

There is a debate around informed consent and cases where sometimes it's not observed. Cases where observation is used as a data collection method are such cases where the researcher can just observe and only seek consent to carry out interviews. In this case the researcher used observation of the health of children given the malnutrition challenge noted in the previous

chapters and also the incidence of people begging for food on the streets. It is essential however to note that all the participants who participated in this research did so voluntarily and that consent was sought before carrying out the research. In most cases consent was given verbally, and this was for various reasons. Some agreed based on seeing other fellow members of their community participating and others agreed with a view that I was part of the NGOs and therefore would directly or indirectly give them favours. This was clarified however in the consent form that they signed that there was no material benefit in participating. The researcher also wrote to directors of organisations both local and international NGOs and heads of Ministries seeking consent to carry out research.

In some cases, consent was denied for fear of political victimisation by various military groups. The most striking issue was the question of why I had decided to come to South Sudan to carry out research of all other places given the risk associated with the country. Some perceived the researcher to be a spy and therefore refused to participate, while some thought I was doing research so that I could deliver help or connect the people to donors. These perceptions were apparent notwithstanding the explanation given by the researcher by way of consent form and verbally. More over taking of pictures was heavily denied and most of the respondents flagged it up that they were not comfortable to be taken pictures neither to have their homesteads or anything taken pictures. The researcher realised that it cuts across in the rural and urban centres that people are not comfortable of being taken pictures for fear of their security given the war that is currently going on.

The issue of insecurity and fear brings in another ethical consideration that this research noted which is that of privacy for the respondents. The research in its consent form made it clear that the privacy of the respondents will be taken care of and in cases where there was need to divulge their consent will be sought. Most of the respondents had fears for their privacy in partaking in the research because of the insecurity situation currently obtaining in the country. Assistance of a local organisation that has been operating in the area and engagement of opinion leaders who assured them of the purpose of the research helped to clear their fears. The researcher further emphasised verbally that the research would ensure that the participants will not be

revealed. Anonymity and confidentiality falls within the privacy ethics and is essential to consider for a research to pass the test of acceptability (Bryman, 2012).

Another ethical concern in this research was that of causing harm to participants. This is linked to the two afore mentioned and was key to consider in protecting participants of this research. In a country at war, blaming certain groups and or the government might cause to the respondent. More blaming and speaking negatively of another tribe may be harmful and hence this ethical concern is linked to the privacy ethic. The ethical concern over harm is further addressed by advocating for confidentiality of participants (Bryman, 2012). It was key to assure the participants of their safety. The local organisation also created platform in which the participants would be interviewed without the interference of third parties. In this case the interview was hidden from the public eye and only the researcher and the organisation knew those that participated. This was key to protect respondents from harm in society or in the camps where there are various other tribes displaced by the war.

One of the dilemmas with regards to harm was psychological and emotional harm to participants. The research had questions that solicited the impact of the conflict on food security of the rural people. An example of such questions was: How has the conflict affected your access to food? While this question seemed to probe on food access to the respondents it triggered memories of how they have lost properties and human life because of hunger and because of the conflict. One of the mother from rural Yei River state answered this in tears after she lost her children during the famine of 2016. She also lost all the cattle to military Mundari rebels. The researcher however stopped for a while to give the respondent an opportunity to contain themselves and go further with the interview. Key to this ethical concern however was that all the participants in the research were protected from any harm.

3.12. Challenges faced

One of the challenges faced in this research was that of fear by the participants to divulge more information about their way of living, the perpetrators of conflict in their localities and corrupt activities that goes on during food distribution. Most of the rural participants had a history of torture, or even loss of relatives because of the conflict. Such experiences interfered with their

participation as they were afraid of the government soldiers and rebel groups that operate in their communities. They also have had experiences with spies that come to just collect information and pretend to be ordinary researchers and that acted as a bad precedent to the researcher.

Secondly the researcher had an experience of being captured by government soldiers for hours and robbed off his money. These soldiers threatened to kill and abduct him while holding guns and using very harsh language against the researcher. They accused the researcher of being a spy from Uganda working in cahoots with the SPLM-IO of former Vice President Riek Machaar. The experience instilled fear in the researcher particularly to interview and engage military leaders who were key to this research. More so the loss of money by the researcher also limited his stay in South Sudan contrary to the planned period.

There were also challenges to find individuals or organisations to accompany him to remote places in the rural areas. Most of the people feared for their lives and to have their vehicles confiscated by different rebel groups. The roads are also very bad and with the beginning of the rainy season many people were not willing to travel even when offered lucrative fares.

Thirdly there were challenges to engage bigger international organisations and UN organisations. Most of them though they had been engaged prior to the research had a lot of bureaucracy which went out of the planned research period. More so most of the responsible persons in organisations were in most cases not available as they were in the field distributing food or running other programs. The researcher therefore engaged mostly the local organisations which incidentally were privy to the existing situation in the rural areas.

CHAPTER 4

4.0. Findings of the Research.

This chapter is dedicated to discussing the findings of the field research carried out in the Central Equatoria region of South Sudan in light of the research objectives afore mentioned. The research was done through interviews and to a lesser extend observations which enlightened the researcher's understanding of the context and well-being of the people. These findings will be discussed with the aid of secondary data to provide a balanced discussion that dovetails with existing literature. Most of the views came from rural farmers of the three states of Yei River, Terekeka and Jubek state that constitute the Central Equatoria region. The government through its various ministries formed part of the respondents and was key to get data on food security and demographic information of the three states. The researcher also engaged different organisations that are working on different issues focussing mostly on food aid, Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH), peace building and youth capacity building in the three states. They are constantly in touch with the grassroots in the rural areas as they have projects running and some carry out researches on various issues around food security and peace building.

The chapter will firstly provide a breakdown of the respondents that the researcher engaged to look at their demographic descriptions particularly their gender, their tribes, the state from which they hail from and the ages. These are key factors in analysing their responses and the degree of impact that the conflict potentially presents. It will also present the nature of organisations interviewed, their views regarding political issues in South Sudan, and the degree of localisation by these organisations in rural communities. The researcher carried 35 interviews with farmers some of which are internally displaced and residing in UN protected sites, extension workers, government workers from different ministries and NGOs.

4.1. The nature of interviews

The research on the impact of conflict on rural food security in the Central Equatoria region, demanded engagement of various stakeholders that have a say in rural communities. In these communities' food availability and food access are dependent on various factors and only through engagement of these can one be able to provide a real picture of what is obtaining. Due

to the security situation in South Sudan, many of the interviews were done with NGOs, displaced farmers and government workers working in different ministries that are related to food security. Out of a total of 20 interviews carried out with the subsistence farmers, eight of the farmers were non-displaced and resident in their rural counties.

Using the interviews carried out the chapter will present the findings on the impact of the conflict on agriculture and pastoralism, which are the sources of livelihoods and the mainstay of the economy in the region. It also focusses on the complexity of the conflict which helps to understand how it has permeated the society and destroyed the fabric that historically united society in drought situations through cultural sharing practises. Critical to the food security question is the issue of safe drinking water in the rural areas. The research will discuss its access by the rural population and look at how the conflict has affected access to clean portable water. Conclusions will be made at the end of the chapter based on the discussions and findings from the field work.

Table 1: List of respondents.

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Local NGOs	7	18.42
International NGOs	5	13.16
Rural subsistence farmers	20	52.63
Extension Workers	4	10.53
Government Ministries	2	5.26

Source: Author

4.2. Rural Farmers.

The researcher carried interviews with farmers in Juba that were displaced from the rural areas and are living in the UN protected areas. These are farmers who were producing in the rural

areas mostly for subsistence but were forced to flee as the conflict intensified in form 2013 and in 2016 up to the period of the research. A total of 20 farmers were interviewed with a consideration to gender and states from which they come from. Of the 20 farmers that were interviewed, 5 of them are living in the UN camps while six others had temporarily moved to Juba at the time because of the conflict in Terekeka and Yei river states. The remaining farmers were resident in their homes in the counties of the three states.

In 2016 when the war broke out once again in Juba with the clash of the two factions of the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM), thousands of IDPs came to seek refuge in Juba and six of the farmers among the interviewed respondents had moved to Juba in 2016. All the farmers interviewed were from the rural states of Yei River, Terekeka and Jubek in the southern part of the country. The farmers interviewed constituted 13 females and 7 males all between the ages of 20-50.

Table 2: Table showing the Sex distribution of the respondents.

Age Range	Frequency	Percent
20-24	2	10.0
25-30	3	15.0
31-34	4	20.0
35-40	6	30.0
41-44	4	20.0
45-50	1	5.0
Total	20	100

4.3. Tribal distribution.

In terms of tribes, the respondents were from various tribes of the two states. The region consists of the Bari people, the Dinka, the Pojulu, Kakwa, the Lugbara etc. Tribe was an

important attribute in this research given the tribal dimensions that characterise the current conflict. Most of the interviewees introduced themselves with special mention of their tribe. It only showed how tribe is a key aspect in these communities and therefore fundamental to consider in the research. 30% of the respondents were from the Bari tribe which is dominant in this region according to the 2008 census (SSNBS, 2008) while the Dinka mostly in the Jubek state constituted 25% of the total respondents. These are regarded in as arrivants and not original residents in the region.

Table 3: Table showing the tribal distribution of the respondents.

Tribes	Frequency	Percentage
Bari	6	30.00
Lugbara	2	10.00
Pojulu	4	20.00
Kakwa	3	15.00
Dinka	5	25.00
Total	20	100.00

Source: Author

4.4. Extension Workers

A total of 5 extension workers were interviewed on the state of agriculture in the research area. These were drawn from the various counties of the states of Yei River, Terekeka and Jubek. Three of them were from Kajo Keji, Morobo and Lainya counties of Yei River state. These extension workers were trained by Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) and other different non-governmental organisations to work in the states during the peaceful period after 2011 independence. During this period NGOs like USAID sought to build agricultural production in the whole of Sudan. This was on the backdrop of a country importing 70% of its food albeit the vast arable land and water resources in the southern part of the country and along the Nile catchment (FAO, 2014). The project recruited many extension workers to teach subsistence farmers in the rural parts of the country on the use of hybrid seed and fertilisers with a view to transform most of these farmers into commercial and semi-commercial farmers.

Most of the extension workers resident in Juba city though they were all drawn from the rural counties of the region. They frequently go to the rural areas as part of their duties to work with farmers and to collect data on the needs of the farmers and link them to various stakeholders. Their work has however been slowed down due to the conflict and the ensuing difficulties to operate in the rural areas since 2016. The extension workers were important to engage in this research because of their proximity to the farmers and their knowledge on food trends that the rural communities have gone through in terms of food availability and access. The respondents in this category were three females and two males. Three were below the age of 40 while the other two were in their late 40s.

4.5. Non-Governmental Organisations

A total of 12 Non-Governmental Organisations were interviewed, and these are NGOs working in the rural parts of the Central Equatoria doing different activities that range from food aid, WASH, youth capacity building and refugee protection services. Seven of the NGOs are local and national based while the other three are international organisations that have been operating in the area for a longer period. The rationale for interviewing NGOs was to get the picture from a third perspective as these organisations have been working in the area for several years. The local based organisations interviewed are manned mostly by local employees who have a broader picture of the conflict and its consequences some being victims themselves. More so

most of the NGOs continue to operate in the rural areas even when the conflict intensifies because of the appeal and pressure from UN and African bodies.

The researcher engaged one or more respondents from each organisation given that in some of the organisations, there were departments created to focus on specific thematic areas like food security, refugees and IDPs, WASH etc. Engaging one department would therefore not be sufficient to get data on various categories of the research problem. The international organisations that were engaged are mostly funding partners and not involved on the ground to implement various projects. These were however key on in providing data from different stakeholders that they coordinate and fund. 58% of the organisations were grassroots and local organisations running grassroots projects in the area.

4.6. Government Ministries

The research encompassed government ministries to get data on the extend of the impact of the conflict on food security. Government Ministries engaged are the Ministry of Agriculture and Food security, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Welfare. These are working specifically on the issues under investigation and therefore privy to the existing situation. Due to the rudimentary economy that characterise the country, government funding has been heavily affected. The ministries are therefore essentially there to assist humanitarian agencies in program and project implementation mostly food aid programs, extension workers training, women empowerment and child welfare.

There is a general agreement by both the government and the NGOs working in the area that food security in this region is a big challenge which demands coordination of efforts by all stakeholders. It was therefore essential to get the perspective of the government through these ministries on the food security situation in the region and their perceptions of how the dire food security situation is linked to the conflict from a government perspective. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security encompasses the extension workers that operate in the wards and villages while having a head office in the city of Juba. The officers from the Ministry normally accompany different NGOs to provide technical expertise and knowledge on different areas. They also help with language barriers and culture familiarisation particularly to

organisations with mostly foreign nationals. The Ministry did not have much data however on the status quo of food security in most of the regions of South Sudan. They also relied on research and reports from WFP, FAO and other independent researchers. Most of this data however comes as estimates rather than empirical data because of the difficulties to go into the rural areas to carry out comprehensive researches.

The Ministry of Health was key to get the data for malnutrition cases in the region. Like many other ministries, the Ministry of Health cooperates and get most of its funding from NGOs for it be able to operate. The health system in South Sudan is still poor and the government has no capacity to quickly respond to emergencies rising out of cholera, pneumonia and malnutrition. The Ministry of Health however was essential in providing some statistics and knowledge on the prevalence of malnutrition in communities.

Interviews were carried with the Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Welfare which basically focuses on the welfare of women and children. The Ministry extends to look at other issues like the homeless people. These are however utopian objectives rather than the roles that they carry on a daily basis. The role of the ministry has been affected by the fragility of the situation in South Sudan which has among other things seen high cases of rape and sexual abuse of women and children as well as the poor care for children and for the underprivileged people. The ministry gets assistance from the donor community which allows it to operate. Engagement of the ministry in this research was meant to establish the gender dimension of the food security case and its impact on children and women both being vulnerable groups of the society.

4.7. Conflict and Displacement of rural farmers

Displacement of population is one key characteristic and outcome of conflicts. As the conflict intensify, ordinary citizens are forced to leave their homes for fear of victimisation. The movement of people from a conflict by ordinary citizens however often present challenges and exposes them to various other connected challenges. One of the strong sentiments by farmers from rural communities of Yei River and Jubek states was the issue of them being displaced by the conflict and forced to flee violence leaving their produce, cattle and properties. The

conflict in the region intensified mostly after 2016 when fighting broke out in Juba. It spread out to the rural communities where already there were conflicts over land, grazing land and cattle. Due to the intensity of the conflict most of the rural people were displaced either internally or cross the Ugandan border as refugees. It is widely agreed that conflict in general affects farming populations through direct attacks, malnutrition, forced recruitments, enslavement and death (Cohen & Andersen, 2009). Where people are displaced the few that are left stop producing out of fear of having their produce looted. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security respondent noted that food insecurity in the Yei River and Jubek states which is usually a region of food surplus is largely a conflict outcome given the huge displacement that has taken place especially after 2016 (Personal Interview 10.03.18). The displacement has mostly affected the rural population and it is in these rural areas that food insecurity is mostly recorded. An official from the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) also reported that in two months after the 2016 outbreak of violence, more than 12,000 people had been displaced around Juba and thousands more displaced mostly in Yei river crossing the border into Uganda (Personal Interview 04.03.18)

The farmers interviewed by the researcher acknowledged that the conflict had negatively affected their work as they used to produce before the conflict at least to feed their families. One of the farmers from Yei river state said, “Except during drought years like in 2008, we normally have enough food to carry us to the next season, but the conflict has literally moved us away from the source to which we rely on”.

The farmer who used to produce sufficient food for his family was displaced in 2016 from Morobo county in Yei River state together with his family and came to Juba to live in the UN Protection of Civilian sites (PoCs) where they rely on food aid from aid organisations. Given the conditions in the PoCs, the farmers cannot be able to farm and produce for themselves. They continuously hope that one day they shall go back to their traditional farm lands and be able to produce as they have always done in the past as opposed to relying on food aid.

Figure 10: Picture showing food distribution centre in Yei River state.



Source: Author (February 2018)

Displacement of people in the rural areas has not only affected the farmers in terms of the agricultural production, but also loss of properties. In a region that is rife with conflicts from different fronts, looting of properties is very rampant and, in some cases, violent. The respondents agreed that their rural communities are rife with various groups that are antagonistic to each other. Chief to the conflict groups are the land conflicts by the agriculturalists and the pastoralists. Displacement does not only affect the individual on the destination, but it robs one of their belongings making it hard for one to return back even when the conditions back home changes for the positive. One of the farmers from Lainya county

avowed that the conflict had forced them to run away at the expense of their properties, and the produce they had gathered in the previous season. The farmer came to Juba in the end of 2016 after being attacked by IO soldiers in the north of Juba city in Terekeka rural. He confirmed that going back to his rural home would be difficult because his produce and properties has since been looted in his absence. He will need to start again and have a source of livelihood that will sustain him and his family before they can stabilise and begin producing.

To support this claim, Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) reported that the demand for food aid increases in South Sudan even when the conflict dwindles because of returnees that have no livelihoods to rely on except food aid (FAO, 2014). These are people displaced either internally to other states or internationally as refugees in the neighbouring countries. As they return, they often do not have food and any source of livelihoods which increases the burden for food aid organisations. Moreover, the vulnerability of returnees ultimately affects their production capacity for the next season creating a longevity of food crisis. It takes a few years before one can settle and be able to be self-sufficient. The impact of the conflict in this regard goes beyond just a season but affects an individual for a longer period before one can be able to produce enough food and gather livelihoods to sustain themselves. Half of the farmers interviewed had bigger families of about 6 people per household on average. They also have dependents from the extended family which adds to the responsibility. A woman from Morobo county had a family of 7 and is taking care of 3 orphans of a close relative who perished during the 2013 conflict. Such a case presents a burden on the woman to fend for the family though she literally has no source except waiting for aid from donors. Displacement has therefore a direct relationship with food security as it lessens food availability and food access. It robs off people's livelihoods and elongate food crisis. It presents a huge burden on donor funding through increasing the population that demand food aid.

4.8. Displacement and access to food

The FAO/WFP crop and food security assessment mission to South Sudan reported that the food security situation in most parts of the Greater Equatoria region had worsened mostly after 2016. More so WFP also reported that the food security situation in this region had gone three steps backward and that the number of people requiring food aid had tripled after 2016. The

food insecurity situation in this region has been differentiated from other states in the north where food insecurity is mainly by natural causes and exacerbated by the conflict.

In the Central Equatoria region many people ran away from the armed violence in the rural areas and in so doing exposing themselves to food insecurity. One of the farmers from Morobo rural communities indicated that she had relative food stocks to carry her family for some months before she could entirely rely on food aid. She however could not go back because of the fighting and fear of being raped or killed based on her ethnicity. In such circumstances the conflict has caused limited access to food even though some of the communities were relatively food secure. In the presence of threats to life, people desert their homes into the forest or to Juba the capital exposing themselves to food insecurity. It is plausible to argue that the armed conflict in South Sudan has negatively affected access to food beyond its impacts on food availability and production.

4.9. Decline in agricultural production.

The current conflict in South Sudan has affected structurally every industry of the country from the agricultural sector, manufacturing and infrastructure development. It is in the nature of armed conflict that it affects and destroys industry and the economy. The conflict has however taken a huge toll on the agricultural sector which forms the source of livelihood for over half the population that resides in the rural areas. The independence of the country in 2011 had created a new lease of life and a functioning agricultural sector that allowed farmers mostly in the green belt of the greater Equatoria region to access markets and other services that the farmers require for their production (Personal Interview 04.03.18). The conflict has however limited these services much to the detriment of the rural farmers. The outbreak of the conflict in 2013 and in 2016 had far reaching impacts on the agricultural sector and eventually on food production. Part of these challenges is that it threw the national economy into comatose hence limiting the capacity of government funding on agriculture and individual funding on the part of the rural farmers. It also created a dysfunctional extension service which is a sine quo non of a progressive agricultural sector.

4.10. Armed Conflict and extension services.

Extension service is generally a service or system of giving education and knowledge to the farmers to help them increase their production efficiency and income and ultimately their standard of living. It basically gives the farmer the knowhow to produce more taking into consideration the climate and the relevant type of crops in the region. The interviews carried with the extension workers uncovered how the conflict has affected the agricultural sector from an extension services point of view. Most of the extension workers reside in Juba and not in their duty stations in the counties across the two states. One of the extension workers trained by the ministry in collaboration with FAO is stationed in Yei river state, to train farmers on efficient methods to produce surplus.

Given that a greater percentage of the population resides in the rural areas and rely on subsistence agriculture extension services are not only important in boosting production but key to the economy. The South Sudan Bureau of Statistics stated that more than 80% of the population in South Sudan resides in the rural areas and 78% of that population rely on crop farming and animal husbandry mostly cattle rearing (SSBNS, 2018). The statistics gives a picture of how the agricultural sector is a mainstay for the greater population and how poor extension service creates a negative reflex on food availability in the rural areas.

The conflict as in other cases has affected the operations of the few extension workers that operate in the Central Equatoria region. Those operating in Kajo Keji and Yei river had spent months without visiting the farmers because of the intensity of the conflict. More so most of the farmers had been displaced due to the conflict hence it was insecure for the extension workers to carry their duties. One of the extension workers from Lainya county said, “the food insecurity situation is partly an outcome of the lack of knowledge by the few farmers because of a dysfunctional extension sector”. She narrated how the farmers had improved in their production during the peaceful years after 2011. The was introduction of new farming methods and the use of mobile telephone enhanced by the extension workers which enhanced production capacity of rural farmers. While the correlation might look gloomy, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security in Juba buttressed that the conflict had negatively affected their programmes to teach farmers on new farming methods and skills to produce more. The respondent from the ministry held that before the conflict, the Ministry had started trainings of farmers on growing

drought resistant crops according to the climate changes. These programmes were abandoned because of the hostile environment in the states but with dire consequences on food production.

The conflict also created animosity of the extension workers and the communities based on political differences and suspicions. The extension workers from Yei River indicated that the political conflicts spilled over in their work where they are accused of being aligned to the Kiir regime in a community that is anti Kiir. One of the extension workers operating in the Kajo Keji said, “Working with a Ministry of government in the rural communities is interpreted as being pro-Kiir and anti SPLM-IO and therefore gives a negative tag on us as extension workers which makes working in these communities risky” (Personal Interview)

Beyond the political divisions, there are conflicts around ethnic differences particularly the Dinka Mundari and the Bari antagonism. The extension workers elucidated that it’s difficult to come along as a neutral individual in a community that is fragmented along political and ethnic lines. It is plausible therefore to look at the blow on the extension services as having a negative reflex on food security given the insecurity that their working environment poses.

Funding of the extension services from the government is very limited and the support to the sector as is the case in many sectors is very minimal. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security interviewee indicated that the government was struggling to support the sector and specifically the extension services and hence affecting production by the farmers in the rural communities. One of the goals of the government on the eve of independence was to ensure a metamorphosis of the small holder farmers to commercial farmers that produce not only for subsistence but for sale. Such a dream needs to be supported by a strong extension service which currently is not present. The current food and past food crisis demands more support to the sector to boost production and negative impacts on the sector which lessens support to farmers results in food insecurity in a country with little to no capacity to produce.

4.11. Food War as a device to control political intransigency.

The FAO definition of the food security has various dimensions satisfying the food security measurement. Part of the dimensions is the access to food even when the food is available. It was given priority from the 1970s having realised the incapacity that an individual might have socially, economically and physically to access food. The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), defines food insecurity as a condition of limited or uncertain access by a household to adequate food (USDA, 2015). The access part remains integral to food security and hence the need to consider circumstances of a people distinctly even in cases where they are regarded as food secure.

The interviews carried out with the local NGOs and the local farmers explicated how access in the region is hampered by the armed conflict and in the process causing food insecurity. One of the organisations working in Yei river and Jubek state on food aid programs indicated that while the region is a green belt compared to the rest of other states, access to food has been hampered beginning in 2016 with the intensified conflict. Since the outbreak of the conflict in 2013, food security in South Sudan has generally been affected by a combination of disturbances in food production and economic meltdown causing high food prices (FAO, 2014) The Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) for the country shows that food security generally declined after the 2013 outbreak of the conflict. The decline and the demand by a huge population, has seen many NGOs operating in various states providing food aid.

Figure 11: School Children receiving food aid in Yei.



Source: Author (March 2018)

The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) noted food aid by the donor community has contributed to food availability however access is sometimes not guaranteed. In the states of the Central Equatoria region, many NGOs have been distributing food and supporting farmers in the rural parts of the country. After the 2016 outbreak of the conflict however, it intensified in the counties of Yei river like Kajo Keji, yei and Lainya making it difficult for passage of NGOs. While food was available from the NGOs, passage to distribute was difficult because of the fighting and confiscation of the food by various rebel groups in the counties. The blockage of food aid by government militias can be dubbed food war against the people and is rampant across Central Equatoria region where both the government soldiers and rebels are culprits. It fits directly into the New War theory discussed above.

One of the local NGOs operating in Terekeka confided that they have been victims of both government and rebel forces while distributing food (Interview 5, 3 March 2018). Towards the end of 2017, the organisation fell victim to a rebel group 80 km before Yei town and lost tons of food to a rebel group. The food was meant for hundreds of rural communities in Terekeka after the area was noted as a critical case in terms of food security. The conflict presented a difficult working environment for food aid organisations at the expense of millions of people that rely on food aid. While the donor community is ready and prepared to distribute food, government and rebel forces occasionally block the passage of food as a tool of war. A respondent in the organisation said, “food is sometimes used as a device to control political intransigency in the rural areas”. Various counties in the region are strongholds of rebel groups with special mention of Yei river state and its various counties. In these counties donor organisations face challenges to operate and if they do, they do so under control by the government or the rebel forces which disrupts their non-partisan stand in the distribution of food.

Local organisations operating in Kajo Keji also reported that in most instances the government forces demanded to distribute the food and do so in a partisan way. Those accused of supporting the rebels, are denied food as a way of punishment (Personal Interview 3, 01.03.18). The farmers from the area agreed that indeed there was selective distribution of food aid mostly by government forces. One of the farmers from Yei river state said, “the selective distribution is done specifically to buy loyalty from rural communities however it’s difficult for the rural people to be neutral in the present circumstances”. The scenario clearly presents how the conflict has affected access to food by the rural population despite various aid organisations that are willing to distribute food.

4.12. Rise in food prices

Conflict often destabilises the economy and leads to high prices because of disruptions on production and general collapse of institutions that are necessary for the economy to function. The vulnerability increases for most populations causing high demand for food and other services. The high demand pushes prices of food to rise in an environment with a dysfunctional or stationary economy. South Sudan has been confronted by very high inflation particularly the rise of food prices of sorghum the staple cereal by over 300 percent within a period of two

years (IMF, 2017). The South Sudanese pound continues to weaken as production in the agriculture and mining industries continues to be shattered by conflict. The World Bank reported in 2017 that the South Sudanese pound depreciated both on official and parallel market from SSP 18.5 per US dollar in December 2015 to SSP 172 per US dollar by August 2017 (IMF, 2017). As of 2018, the pound continued to weaken with huge implications on food prices given the widespread poverty. Huge spending on defence and security by the current administration led to economic collapse, high inflation and rise in food prices (Interview 17).

Figure 12: Graph showing trends in exchange rate of the South Sudanese Pound (SSP)



Source: WFP Juba

In all the interviews carried out with the rural farmers from different parts of the three states of Jubek and Yei River and Terekeka, the researcher noted that rise in food prices had affected

many households and lessened their capacity to buy food resulting in food insecurity. Most of these rural households were on the brink in terms of their access to food after having lost their sources of livelihoods due to the conflict particularly after 2016. A rise in food prices for rural communities pushed them into malnutrition and there are limited options for these communities to cope. A father of 7 from Lainya county bemoaned the conflict as he could not buy food for his family after his crops were destroyed and his cattle raided. The farmer used to rely on selling cattle in critical times to buy food. Loss of his cattle was loss of his livelihood and capacity to buy food.

The World Bank reported in 2017 that the number of people requiring food aid had doubled from the previous year partly because of the rise in food prices that pushed households in the poorest quintile not to afford even a basic meal (World Bank, 2017). The Initiative for Peace Communication and Association (IPCA), a local organisation working in Terekeka rural gave an experience of people mostly children dying of malnutrition even though shops in the small towns were selling sorghum and (chapati) local food. The representative from the organisation said, “These households cannot afford to buy because their sources of livelihoods have been destroyed along the course of the war” (Interview 17, 2018). The conflict permeates into the social economic and political lives of the people, factors which food security is dependent upon.

There are several reasons to the rise in prices and these are situated in poor macro-economic policies and huge spending on the military. A government representative from the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security lamented the conflict for diverting huge government funding to support the war while alienating other ministries causing an economic meltdown. Low production in the agriculture and oil industries which sustain the economy have resulted in price sky rocketing and economic downturn. The output in the oil production fell from 165,000 barrels per day in 2014 to 120,000 in 2016 (WB, 2017). The decline in production has reduced export revenues which has impacted significantly on the economy particularly on food prices.

Moreover, conflict often distorts local and regional markets due to high demand and vulnerability which often compels retailers to sell food stuffs at very high prices while

vulnerable communities sell their properties and cattle at very low prices just to afford basic needs. The farmers from the rural Central Equatoria confessed selling their cattle and labour at very low prices just to get money to carry them to the next day. Examples on the correlation of conflict and food prices and ultimately food insecurity can be drawn from past conflicts on the continent. The fleeing of refugees in northern Chad from the conflict which caused an upset in prices in western Darfur Sudan during the drought years of 1983-1985 is often cited as one among many cases (Cohen & Andersen, 1999).

On the contrary many retailers both locally and from Uganda raised the price of their products because of the high demand in South Sudan specifically in the urban areas like Juba. These two developments distorted local and regional markets in the Greater Equatoria region which encompasses the study area and in northern Uganda where most of the South Sudanese refugees are located. One of the farmers from the Morobo said,

“I sold my cattle at US\$100 per head down from US\$300 or above which is normally the price, because if I had not done so I would have lost my children”. The rural populations are forced to sell their produce out of desperation while retailers raise the prices of their goods and food stuff to take advantage of the demand in the urban centres. The result is more food insecurity on rural communities whose purchasing power is low.

The rise in food prices in South Sudan is also exacerbated by the poor infrastructure which makes it difficult to reach remote places. One of the extension workers interviewed runs a retail shop in the remote rural parts of Lainya county. In these places it is difficult to access and to deliver goods because of the bad road infrastructure especially during the rainy season but also because of fear of confiscation by military groups. The prices are therefore determined by these challenges making it difficult for the rural people to afford food even when there are retailers that provide. A combination of high demand due to food shortages, and the failing economy results in higher food prices in a country where most of the food comes from Uganda and Kenya.

4.13. Impact of conflict on pastoralism

The conflict in South Sudan that began in 2013, came to fit into the already fragile communities which are rife with communal conflicts around agricultural land, grazing land, cattle raiding and water (Interview 10). Most of these conflicts are driven and mobilised on an ethnic basis particularly by local and traditional leaders with the support of various political players in government and opposition. The national conflict increased cattle raiding at community level mostly by dominant tribal groups hence disenfranchising other groups and exposing them to food insecurity.

Cattle raiding in the Central Equatoria is rampant mainly because of the value of cattle as a sign of wealth but more importantly for use as bride price. There is no agreeable cause of cattle raiding and various factors come into play. Most recent literature concluded that cattle raiding is situated in rise of pride bride and the increasing difficulties for young men to own a head of cattle. It puts forward that the capacity to own a head of cattle dwindled while the cultural demand for cattle for marriage purposes remained stagnant creating a mismatch. The pride price costs about 35 to 60 head of cattle at \$300 dollars per head, which is very expensive even by African cultural benchmarks (Personal Interview).

The farmers interviewed from Yei river and north of Juba, noted that cattle raiding in their communities increased after the outbreak of the conflict in 2016. The reason for such a rise after the conflict outbreak is not agreed upon and difficult to detect since the practise has been going on in South Sudan even before the post independent era. In an interview, the director for Initiative for Peace Communication Association (IPCA), said that “the increase in raiding could have been sparked by tribal antagonisms openly manifesting at national level ”. The argument is based on the Nuer and Dinka conflicts in communities which mirrors that at the national level. The Nuer and Dinka are usually associated with raiding and large bride price. The conflict between President Salva Kiir who is Dinka and Riek Machaar from the Nuer tribe could have deepened tribal conflicts at community level and it could also be that the conflict exacerbated anarchy and therefore pushing various groups to take advantage of the bedlam to enrich themselves through force. A farmer from Yei river who comes from the Neur tribe said the Dinka monopoly of state power is extending to communities where they think they can take

their cattle with immunity. Predominantly, the proliferation of small arms and light arms due to the long war history contributes to the challenge.

Given the value of cattle in South Sudanese culture as a source of food and livelihood and the increase in raiding coupled with the sale of cattle to buy food, conflict has destroyed livelihoods and, in the process, perpetuating food insecurity. FAO reported that the conflict has heightened conflict between herders and settled farmers and increased theft robbing away the people livelihoods especially military groups that demand cattle for food in their military bases. That cattle raiding by military groups is done for food purposes speaks volumes to the impact on the losing party.

More so the wide displacement of people due to the conflict has exposed cattle to various diseases like anthrax, haemorrhagic septicaemia etc (FAO, 2018). While it is difficult to have tangible figures of the impact of this displacement on livestock, local organisations noted that a combination of factors affecting livestock had huge implications on food security for the rural populations of the Central Equatoria. Cattle raiding robbed people of their sources of livelihood while displacement exposed cattle to diseases and compelled people to sell them at cheap prices out of desperation. With limited monitoring and control from the state, the implications could be huge.

Figure 13: Picture showing cattle owned by Mundari herders



Source: Author

4.14. Widespread poverty and food security

The incidence of poverty worsened from 44.7% in 2011 to 65.9% in 2015 with a corresponding increase in depth in poverty (WB, 2016). A respondent from the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) hinted that it is essential to note that the conflict has deepened poverty in a country that was on its track to recover from high levels of poverty because of decades of war with the north (Interview 1, 2 March 2018). Conflict often has huge impacts on the poor more than it does for the non-poor and elite classes. The conflict in the Central Equatoria according to the NRC respondent, has destroyed rural livelihoods and social welfare while justice and security has retracted in the urban and elite enclaves (Interview 1, 2 March 2018). These factors like security, justice and social welfare are absent in the rural communities of the central Equatoria, yet they are key to food production and access. In the absence of security, the rural farmers cannot produce sufficiently and without social welfare they cannot respond to shocks particularly food insecurity and food price skyrocketing.

In Yei river the remaining farmers are constantly attacked by both rebels and government forces destroying their produce and instilling fear for them to produce. One of the farmers from Kajo Keji country in Yei river said, “I am no longer farming even when the rain comes because last season all my crops were destroyed when the NAS rebels who burnt my granaries and took away my cattle”. The farmer lost her livelihoods and source of food and lost her capacity to produce in the next citizen for fear of the same happening. Through perpetuating poverty, conflict perpetuates food insecurity as the two are interconnected. Poverty often predicts food security and the destruction of livelihoods and disruption activities are part of the negative outcomes.

It is commonly agreed that there is a causal relationship between poverty and conflict. Poverty is both a consequence of conflict and a cause of conflict particularly in circumstances where there is government and identity divisions. In the case of the Central Equatoria poverty has emerged as a significant consequence of the conflict through displacement and destruction of livelihoods for the people. More than 4 million people have been displaced internally and across borders while rural infrastructure has been destroyed by the war (World Bank, 2016). The World Bank reported that the conflict has resulted in the loss in value of the South Sudanese pound and rising food prices that has left many households particularly in the rural areas poor. The conflict has robbed off the rural people the capacity to produce and, in the process, turning them into beggars that depend solely on humanitarian aid.

4.15. Collapse of the social fabric

Conflict is associated with hatred and collusion and as such promote divisions among people and communities. The conflict in the two states of Jubek and Yei river has destroyed the social fabric of the communities which is based on sharing and unity for community good (Interview 20, March 11, 2018). One of the farmers and opinion leader from Morobo county, noted that the conflict in South Sudan and the consequent food insecurity is worsened by a divided society that does not care for each other because of political and tribal differences. He held that before the conflict, communities were divided on tribal basis however united within. He said “No one would die of hunger without the community helping especially here in the Equatoria because people were united and upheld the values of unity and care for each other. Now Kiir and

Machaar have divided us and look how our children and women are dying of malnutrition” (Interview 20, March 11, 2018)

Given the mushrooming of various rebel groups purporting to represent the rural people, divisions have been sown. The Equatorians that dominate in the two states of Yei River and Jubek in general are divided and so are other tribes in the same region. The “New War theory” as expounded by Kaldor in which intra-state war is fought along identity and ideology lines and funded through predatory means that promote the perpetuation of violence explains the existing system (Kaldor, 2013). Such war breeds hatred among civilians who eventually become victims of the same violence. Beyond the sharing of the communities, the divisions in the rural communities could explain various acts of sabotage by various groups to destroy infrastructure in the rural parts of the country. An interview carried out with the Polish Humanitarian Action (PAH) revealed that there are acts of vandalism of water facilities in the rural communities. These acts can be attributed to the broader armed conflict but also be narrowed down to identity conflict at communal level.

4.16. Conclusion.

The outbreak of the conflict and its continuation in 2013 introduced and worsened food security in a region that is ordinarily food secure. The huge displacement of the rural people in Yei River Terekeka and Jubek states which constitute the Central Equatoria region acted as a blow to the agricultural sector which is largely subsistence, rainfed and primitive in terms of its methods and resource base. The displacement has also opened gaps for criminality and disorder which manifests itself in forced confiscation of food and increased raiding in the rural areas. More so the returning residents displaced by the conflict remain vulnerable to food insecurity as they have lost their livelihoods from which they can be able to leverage on.

The conflict has thrown the economy into comatose through huge spending on the military and low to no funding of other social sectors of the economy like agriculture, water resources and general improvement in the lives of the people. The economic downturn has deepened levels of poverty from the previously recorded. This research uncovered that poor people are more

vulnerable to food insecurity as they have little to none coping mechanisms. Their purchasing power is low to buy food even when the food is available which speaks to how the war has heavily affected the rural poor's access to food. While the study area recorded low levels of poverty relative to other states in the north and central of South Sudan, the conflict worsened the levels of poverty and in so doing worsening the food security situation for the rural poor.

CHAPTER 5

5.0. Recommendations and Conclusion

This chapter will give a summary to the findings and the discussions that the paper focussed on. It will also present recommendations to the challenges presented based on the experience of the researcher during the fieldwork. Several key issues were raised in this paper over the impact of the conflict on food availability and food access and many recommendations were gathered with respect to the challenges that the rural people in the study area are facing. These recommendations will therefore be presented in line with the significance of the study to investigate and proffer remedies. The recommendations are proffered in this paper with a view to address the problem statement identified and if possible to be plagiarised somewhere to address similar challenges.

5.1. Major findings of the research.

One of the major findings of the research was that conflict has the possibility of causing food insecurity in regions that are ordinarily food secure and with good climatic conditions. The food insecurity in the three states of Yei River, Jubek and Terekeka states has proved how the conflict has permeated the rural societies to create a food insecure region that is heavily dependent on humanitarian aid. Reports of food insecurity in South Sudan before the conflict and before the secession shows that the central Equatoria region was way above other states in terms of food security. The region enjoys good rainfall patterns and therefore is largely agricultural producing sorghum and other food crops. This historical narrative changed after the outbreak of the conflict in 2013 and worsened after 2016 which is an antithesis to orthodox research.

The conflict caused huge displacement of the rural population both internally and externally as the conflict retreated to the rural areas of the Central Equatoria region. The displaced people represent a larger percentage of the subsistence farmers who produce food in the region and surplus for sell on the formal and informal market. It also exacerbated communal conflicts and resulted in the formation of rebel groups which are entirely tribal driven. The conflict further deepened conflicts over cattle which represent a source of livelihood for the rural folks. The result of that is food insecurity which has left the whole region being recorded under crisis

position on the Integrated Food Security Classification. Most of the researches conducted by NGOs on the food insecurity in this region before the conflict noted that the region was food secure and acted as a food basket of neighbouring regions. Humanitarian aid organisations focussed on the regions in the centre of South Sudan and the Western states of Bahr El Ghazal. FAO noted during the huge famine of 1998 which was heavily felt in Barh El Ghazal that the southern parts of Sudan were relatively food secure despite the severity of the drought.

This research engaged the rural populations of the central Equatoria region and noted that most of these people had been displaced by the conflict and therefore unable to produce. Their food reserves had also been confiscated by different militia groups and as such exposing a number of families to hunger. The conflict therefore triggered food security and lessened the capacity of rural people to respond to the disaster.

5.2. Humanitarian aid and its access

Secondly this research also noted that in terms of accessibility to food, conflict lessens access to humanitarian aid and that poor infrastructure can work as a hindrance to people accessing food. Humanitarian aid in the central Equatoria region is normally controlled either by the government forces or by the rebels of the SPLM-IO. In this region the IO is dominant and in control of the rural areas while the government controls the urban counties of the three states. The situation creates an enclave for rural people whose characterisation as opposition or rebel dominated makes it difficult for food aid to reach them under the control of the government. The conflict in various places particularly Yei river displaces rural people into the forests where accessibility by aid agencies is difficult. This exposes the people to food insecurity irrespective of food being available in counties. A few contexts have been recorded to link up food availability and its inaccessibility due to poor infrastructure except through obstructions by military groups. The Ethiopian food war is one such case that can be noted as a case of food war resulting in severe food insecurity.

5.3. Returnees and Food insecurity.

The research discovered that there are serious implications posed by returning refugees and IDPs on food security. At the beginning of the conflict in 2013, the conflict displaced thousands

of people in the three states of Yei River, Jubek and Terekeka most of these people crossing into the neighbouring Uganda. Some were displaced internally into the UN protection sites in Juba the capital city and others dotted across the region. These people rely basically on food aid from the donor organisations in these protection centres and cannot return to their places of origin due to the conflict. Living in these sites however comes with its costs both on the part of the individual and the humanitarian stakeholders in the country. A greater number of the people interviewed from these sites noted that while they were in these sites, their belongings were robbed off by militia groups or simply by criminals taking advantage of the situation. The situation threatens their ability to go back even when conflict subsides as was the case in 2015 after the signing of the Compromise peace agreement of August 2015. Returnees as they are referred to presents a huge cost on humanitarian agencies to provide them with food and other necessities before they stabilise and be able to independently produce and feed their families. More stabilisation demands support from the state which ordinarily is incapacitated as many resources are channelled towards the war. Donor agencies therefore take responsibility to feel the lacuna however in the case of the Yei River, Terekeka and Jubek, the rural farmers remain incapacitated due to lack of support but more importantly due to too many obstacles in the form of communal conflicts and the bigger national conflict. The situations create a cycle of food insecurity hence the continued food insecurity reports in the region despite being green belt of the country. It's a depiction of the fragility of the region and its impacts on rural food security.

5.4. Food prices and impacts on rural populations.

The research noted that the rise in food prices due to a plethora of factors arising out of conflict takes a huge toll on the rural people more than it does on the urban counterparts. The conflict in South Sudan caused huge economic meltdown and a dramatic fall of the South Sudanese pound. It resulted in skyrocketing of food prices particularly sorghum which is the primary staple for the people in the study area. The phenomenon poses and continues to affect the rural population whose capacity to respond to such disasters is low and with very few alternatives. The food prices forced the people particularly in Yei River state to sell their cattle and produce at very low prices to buy food for the family. The cattle in this region are a source of wealth and are used for draught power. Selling cattle at lower prices becomes loss of livelihood and incapacity to produce which presents negative implications on food security.

It is essential to note that this research noted the various factors that aggravate food security in the three states. These are displacement, poverty, food prices and general melt down of the economy as well as the communal conflicts in the rural areas. These factors however draw their umbilical cord from the major SPLM conflict currently going on and the fragility of the state which leaves rural people to a range of shocks.

5.5. Implications of the Study

Food Availability and conflict

The study noted that food availability is heavily affected by the conflict particularly for the rural people who rely solely on the produce that they keep in their silos. In the region under study many families that had deserted their homes because of the conflict, reported confiscation of their food stuffs by militants from government and rebels in the area. It was also noted that criminals who steal and use force to get food take advantage of the situation hence aggravating the impacts. The implication of this study in this regard is that conflict perpetuates anarchy and the burden is borne by the vulnerable populations in the form of children, women and the broader rural populace. The study implicates that governments must protect vulnerable populations particularly the rural people. This becomes worse in the developing countries where the social security is ordinarily absent.

5.6. Theoretical Implications.

The primary theoretical underpinning of the study was the New war theory and the conflict theory in its broad sense. The New war theory notes that there is a paradigm shift from post-cold war conflicts to the New wars which are characterised by civil wars and identity driven conflict as opposed to ideological conflicts. These are conflicts that seek to achieve mostly narrow group interests as opposed to public interests hence they are divorced from ideology and are funded by predatory means and not necessarily from the state.

The research uncovered that food insecurity in the three states of the region is a result of conflict which is driven on identity grounds and with narrow objectives to achieve hegemony of a tribe. The situation creates hatred and serious violence within the communities and acts of sabotage are common. DeWaal argues that the emergency of New Wars has resulted in the destruction

of food systems and livelihoods due to localised competition for resources which is an outcome of state failure and social transformation through globalisation and liberal economy (DeWaal, 2015).

More so, the human needs theory identifies needs such as food and other natural resources as central to any conflict. People compete for the resources and in the process creating conflicts. Maslow identified three key needs that food, water and shelter and if these are not met, conflict is likely to occur. John Burton included other universal needs which includes distributive justice, safety and security, cultural security, belongingness, personal fulfilment, identity and basic freedom. In the absence of these conflict arises and borrowing from the New War theory the conflict arises along identity lines. Weber noted class, status and power as the fulcrum of any conflict. The current conflict in the Central Equatoria region depicts the both theories in both cause and effect on the rural populations. The broader conflict between the two leaders Riek Machar and Salva Kiir took a shift from a political conflict to that which is driven by identity in pursuit of power to control resources. The nature of the conflict comes with negative implications on food security and livelihoods hence the huge dependency on food aid. Its more lethal both in terms of violence and its ultimate impacts on food security as propagated by DeWaal.

5.7. Areas for Further Research.

This research focussed specifically on the impacts of the South Sudanese conflict on rural food security in the Central Equatoria region. For further research, the researcher noted water and sanitation as an area that needs to be researched in the context of the ongoing conflict. While this research gave some attention to water as a key component of food security, the impacts on hardware facilities in the rural areas and the coverage of sanitation were not part of the research but are key to fulfilling the food security chain.

There is need to investigate the food distribution model by humanitarian agencies that work in the area and identify gaps that limits food access by the rural populations. This research discovered that food distribution in the three states of Yei River is controlled and in some cases community leaders distribute it on political and tribal grounds. This results in

disenfranchisement of the minority tribes and ordinary individuals who are perceived political opponents. A research on the model or models would aid in ensuring food security particularly for peripheral groups.

Secondly the prevalence of communal conflicts and proliferation of small arms in the rural communities needs to be explored and come up with recommendations in that regard. While the national conflict has found huge coverage in both African media and beyond, communal conflicts over cattle and other resources using smalls arms is key to research to discover the root causes and the nexus with the national conflict. Discussions are that big politicians in government and the military generals distribute arms to their communities for them to gain support and to suppress rival groups. This needs to be validated or refuted through scientific research and be linked to the impacts of these conflicts on socio and economic lives of the people.

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Appendix 1: Consent form.



Consent Form

Introduction

My name is Avoid Masiraha a Masters Student from the University of Agder in Norway. I am studying Development Management and as part of my studies I am carrying out a research on The Impacts of the conflict on rural food security. The research will be used entirely for academic purposes and feel free to ask questions on any issues with regards to this research.

Purpose of the Research.

The purpose of the research is to establish how the conflict has impacted on food security in the rural communities of the Central Equatoria. It seeks to explore the nexus of the ongoing conflict with food availability and food access of the rural population on the Central Equatoria region. This will be done through engagement of rural displaced people and those in resident in the rural areas, extension workers, government ministries, NGOs and any other stakeholders that the researcher deems relevant to this research

Selection of Participants

The selection of the participants was done in line with the thematic areas under research. Rural subsistence farmers are the primary targets of this research however it also incorporates various other stakeholders. The research seeks to gather as much data on the afore mention research topic and any credible sources are welcome.

Confidentiality

This research maintains strict confidentiality with the names of the persons interviewed and what is said in the interview. The research is purely for academic purposes and as such participating in the research is voluntary. Where the researcher might need to use names, the person will be contacted for consent.

Contact.

If you have any questions regarding this research or any other related issue feel free to get in touch on avoidm16@uia.no , masirahaa@yahoo.com, or avoidmasiraha@gmail.com

Certificate of consent

I have read and understood the purpose of the research and consent to be a participant in this research as a representative of my organisation. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions regarding the research.

Name of Participant.....

Signature.....

Date.....