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About the Paper

This paper discusses the often forgotten subject of the footprint that international development fraternity leave behind. The paper provides a socio-economic and political analysis of the effects of international presence in South Sudan. This knowledge provides a basis for conflict prevention and mitigation of negative effects of presence of international communities in host countries. The paper will be useful to policy makers who design interventions in post conflict societies.



International Peace Support training Centre

P.O. Box 24232-00505, Karen, Kenya
Tel No. 00254 (0) 20 883164/58
Fax: 00254 (0) 83159
Email: info@ipstc.org
www.ipstc.org



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The Effects of International Presence on Development in South Sudan in the aftermath of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement 2005-2012



Joseph Kioi Mbugua

Enhancing Capacity for Peace & Security through Peace Operations Training

*The Effects of International Presence on
Development in South Sudan in the
aftermath of the Comprehensive Peace
Agreement 2005-2012*

Joseph Kioi Mbugua

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Dr. Geoffrey Njeru (Institute of Development Studies, University of Nairobi)

Foreword

This publication is one of IPSTC's contributions to understanding the conflict situation in South Sudan. The role of the International Peace Support Training Center (IPSTC) as a regional center of excellence is to contribute to the preparedness of the Eastern Africa region in addressing peace and security challenges. This demanding and extensive task comprises two essential aspects; namely the ability to raise awareness about problems that may affect the region, and the identification of possible ways to address them.

The complex conflict situation in the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa calls for knowledge based policy making on pertinent issues of peace and security. Specifically the post conflict situation in South Sudan calls for profound research and analysis of the current conflict dynamics. Given the fragility of the new nation and the immense challenges of providing security and basic services to the entire country and initiating development amidst scarce resources; South Sudan requires reliable knowledge of conflict prevention, management and resolution.

The Effects of International Presence on Development in South Sudan in the aftermath of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement 2005-2012; discusses the often forgotten subject of the footprint that international development fraternity leave behind. The paper will be useful to policy makers who design interventions in post conflict societies. This knowledge provides a basis for conflict prevention and mitigation of negative effects of presence of international communities in host countries.

The International Peace Support Training Center has made considerable contribution in research and training on peace support issues in the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa. The research products inform the design of our training modules.

I would like to thank the Government of Japan and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for supporting the research and publication of this Issue Brief.

IPSTC will continue to collaborate with development partners to publish high quality research products on topical issues of peace and security in the region.

Brigadier R. G. Kabage

Director

IPSTC

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1 Introduction

South Sudan has recorded an influx of international and civil society organizations after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 and subsequent independence in 2011. As these organizations descended on Juba and other growing urban areas such as Torit, Nimule, Wau, Rumbek and Malakal, strains are emerging on the poor infrastructure and inadequate housing thereby raising rent of the few houses available. Many other effects of the presence of the international community in Juba have emerged with consequences on the socio-economic and political environment. The traditional societies of South Sudan were affected by the long war. Some people migrated to neighbouring countries, Western Europe and North America as refugees and others were internally displaced. With the return of the diaspora, the new environment in South Sudan has been a melting pot of cultures informing the social, political and economic environment.

This paper is divided into 4 main sections. The first section examines the nature of international community presence in South Sudan. The second section reviews the effects of international community presence on South Sudanese societies. The third section audits the capacity of the Government of South Sudan (GOSS) and other actors to mitigate the negative effects of international presence. The last section examines the opportunities for sustainable international community presence in South Sudan.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

South Sudan has experienced great change since the advent of colonialism and subsequent subjugation by the north Sudan. However, the focus of this paper revolves around the effects of international influence on traditional societies since the CPA. Since the advent of development aid after the end of the Second World War and the formation of IMF and World Bank in 1944, international development assistance was modelled on the western ideals with no profound consideration of the negative effects on the local situation. This paper examines the ‘unforeseen’ effects of the presence of international development actors in South Sudan. The signature of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the Government of Khartoum and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) in 2005, generated hope and considerable expectations both within the international community and the people of Sudan. The enthusiasm that followed the CPA was further enhanced by the independence of South Sudan some 6 years later, and was quickly followed by the visible presence of and donor funding by development actors especially after the installation of a new peace-keeping mission. These developments have had profound effects on the new country, its population, economy and cultural evolution. However, the scope of these effects and their mid and long-term consequences are yet to be evaluated.

The international presence mainly in the urban areas and the prospects of new job opportunities has generated a boost in urban populations since the signing of CPA. Although urbanization is relatively low and 84% of South Sudanese still lives in rural areas, the other 16% are concentrated in very few urban areas.¹ The lack of investments in public infrastructure has resulted in the growth of informal settlements (read slums) that lack basic amenities. The influx of foreign organizations and development of the hotel industry have

¹Government of South Sudan; Statistical Yearbook, Juba 2010

boosted the demand for land in large cities, thus adding new pressure on the real estate market. In large cities (Juba, Malakal, and Wau) the price of land, rentals, and construction has increased exponentially thus pushing the local population to the periphery with poor infrastructure. Many other effects of the international presence in Juba have emerged with consequences on the socio-economic and political environment. The traditional societal fabrics of South Sudan have been undergoing gradual change during the last 30 years. During the war, besides the internally displaced persons (IDP), the South Sudanese political and intellectual elite migrated to neighbouring countries, Western Europe, and North America. Today, these elites are back to their country, though with little connection with the local traditions and mind-sets, but with principles and ideas that are in tune with those of the international community.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

- To assess the nature and effects of international presence on traditional societies in South Sudan.
- To assess the response of the Government of South Sudan and other actors to this emerging phenomenon.

1.3 Scope of the Study

This study explores the effects of the presence of the international community in South Sudan since the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005. This study is informed by the sustainable development approach that employs sustainable development indicators (SDIs) to assess the impact of development assistance. This model was developed by the UNDP and subsequently improved through research and development.² By using relevant indicators for assessing the effects and impact of the presence of the international community in South Sudan, one is able to gauge the extent of positive and/or negative change. By using selected indicators, one can evaluate the effects of the international community on socio-economic and political development in South Sudan. Though a lot of research has been carried out on the impact of labour migration and remittances on the developing countries, little research seems to have been done on the impact of international presence on post-conflict societies. A number of studies have been carried out by the World Bank to assess the impact of private companies' investments in post-conflict societies.³

The UN Millennium declaration set a target of achieving significant improvements in the lives of about 100 million global slum dwellers by the year 2020.⁴ The UN-Habitat is the institution tasked with this responsibility including improvement of local authorities' governance. The Istanbul Declaration and Habitat Agenda provide the international policy and legal context for any review of the policies, laws and practices relating to urban land tenure. This includes providing security of tenure and equal access to land for the poor and vulnerable groups, ensuring transparent mechanisms of land administration and transfer, protecting people from illegal eviction, and finding alternative settlements for evicted people.

²Sustainable Development Indicators; Overview of relevant FP-Funded Research and Identification of Further Needs, European Commission, P.6

³John Bray: International Companies and Post Conflict Reconstruction, Social Development Papers; Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction, Paper No. 22, February 2005

⁴USAID, Land Tenure Issues in Southern Sudan, p. 105

For the purpose of this study, the expression “international presence” comprises physical, financial, and cultural aspects of the international community in South Sudan. It includes not only the presence of “expatriates”, and financial contributions, but also international influence in the legal, social, and societal structures. International presence impacts the society at multiple levels. The mere physical presence has consequences on the overall consumption of goods and services and on their price. As observed in other countries, international presence tends to raise the level of price without impacting positively on the overall standard of living. Generally, international presence tends to widen the gap between the various categories of socio-economic actors. While providing opportunities for the few who have a good educational background, the international organisations tend to have a destabilizing effect on the social structure by increasing the level of wages for a small portion of the population. In South Sudan, because the education level of the local people is extremely low, preference tends to be given to individuals who had the opportunity to receive better education in North Sudan or in other countries.

Besides the economic factors, the cultural dimension is probably the most controversial aspect of international presence. In South Sudan, international presence is still linked to the (re-) construction of the state and its institutions. The South Sudanese society had little contact with the outside world during the war. Further, the North-South conflict induced a multiplicity of South-South conflicts mostly ethnic in nature and this was opportunistically used by the North to weaken the South and prevent unity. These conflicts reinforced the sense of identity of the local communities, thus reinforcing a conservative stance in terms of culture, social structures, and “*Weltanschauung*”.⁵ The emergence of a post-war elite mostly composed of returned refugees coming from the Northern Hemisphere combined with an influx of international staffs tends to generate a gap between the urban elites and the countryside population and former bush-warriors. Most refugees and internally displaced people are located close to cities where there are prospects of economic opportunities. Different ethnic groups settle in informal areas and compete for meagre resources and are susceptible targets of recruitment by politicians and insurgents for political and economic gains. During national political crisis, slums are the most vulnerable areas of violent conflict.

1.4 The Nature of International Presence

Shortly after the Declaration of Independence in 2011, the UN Security Council mandated the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) to contribute to the stability, development and early peace-building in the new state. With more than 7,000 military personnel, up to 900 police officers and more than 800 civilian staff, the new mission employs some 1400 local personnel, thus providing not only financial resources but also working opportunities. Together with independence, many countries established diplomatic relations with the new State, and within one year, 18 foreign embassies and 4 consulates and diplomatic offices had been opened in South Sudan. In addition to this foreign presence, some 200 international non-governmental organizations have also established their presence in South Sudan. Though they do not have a strong expatriate presence, they provide job opportunities for the local population. The foreign presence appears to be having a heavy footprint on the new economy. The demand for goods and services has increased thereby raising the prices of essential commodities. The price of land especially in urban areas has also escalated. Real estate, hotel

⁵This is a term of German origin that refers to the framework of ideas and beliefs through which an individual, group or culture interprets the world and interacts with it

and construction businesses are profitable activities in Juba but seem to have generated collateral damage by pushing the less wealthy population to the sub-urban periphery.

1.5 Financial Support

Some programs sponsored by development partners have negative spill-over effects on individuals, communities, environment and the entire economy at large. Large inflows of foreign aid tend to raise the exchange rate of the local currency thereby slowing down foreign investments that are necessary for employment creation.⁶ Foreign aid is slowing down the development of government infrastructure and the relatively high wages paid to employees of international organizations also appears to have a distorting effect on local wage levels. This is not unusual as economies emerging from conflict often face a wide variety of macro-economic challenges and opportunities.⁷ Unscrupulous individuals from neighbouring countries such as Uganda and Kenya have been accused of bringing with them vices such as corruption and theft. Such incrimination appeared to gain credence when there was a report of the mysterious disappearance of about Ksh. 140 million from the Kenya Commercial Bank (KCB) South Sudan branch in Juba. Though it never became clear who stole the money, the bulk of suspicion appeared to target Kenyans. This was a bad precedent for the new nation.

The independence of South Sudan acted as a magnet for many regional entrepreneurs who identified lucrative business opportunities in this new country that was likely to attract money from Western countries, China and Japan. As a matter of fact, the sudden demand for construction capacities, hotels, banking services and technical skills attracted a lot of regional actors in South Sudan especially Juba. The development of small business activities (e.g. public transportation, retail stores, etc) by regional actors does not seem to be well received by the South Sudanese who tend to perceive it as unfair competition.

The international community settles in the urban areas where there are social amenities. This accelerates the growth of urban areas thereby attracting migrants from the rural areas. The migrants end up living in informal settlements due to lack of employment or sustainable means of livelihood. Insecurity problems arise owing to this influx of unemployed migrants. Informal settlements in Juba experience severe social problems such as alcoholism, crime and community conflict.

1.6 Activities of the International Community

The international community in South Sudan is currently engaging in a number of activities including relief and rehabilitation done by the United Nations and International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs). There are also small scale business services and diplomacy conducted through Embassies. About 80% of the businesses in Juba are in the hands of foreigners.⁸ Citizens of Kenya, Somalia, Uganda and Ethiopia run restaurants, petrol stations and general retail shops. The food consumed in the markets and restaurants is imported from the neighbouring countries. There are also banking services established as branches of large banks from Kenya and Uganda. A number of NGOs are helping to establish

⁶United Nations Policy for Post Conflict Employment Creation, Income generation and reintegration, Geneva, 2009, p. 12

⁷In August 2012, South Sudan Workers in UNMISS staged a strike to protest against wage difference between local and international staff, The Citizen, Juba, 18 August, 2012

⁸Mathias Donas Tombe, South Sudan Human Rights Commission, Interview , Juba, August 2012

dairy industry in Eastern Equatoria and the Kenya government is assisting in various capacity-building efforts including establishment of the cooperative movement. Chinese and Malaysian companies are involved in oil mining and exploration. While all these services are essential and beneficial to the South Sudan's economy, they undermine the growth of the local agricultural sector and command of the local economy. This condition generates xenophobia among the emerging educated elites and could be a source of insecurity in future. Though there are legal requirements for partnerships with South Sudan citizens, the experience has not been smooth since the local people do not inject capital into the business. Support for the development of a vibrant private sector for job creation is necessary to address unemployment. Development of cooperative societies offers alternative protection and empowerment of conflict affected groups.

2 The Effects of International Presence

The effects of international presence in South Sudan can be divided in two categories: direct and indirect.

2.1 Direct Effects

The direct impact relates to the benefits and problems directly generated by the international presence. On the positive side, employment and fair wages seem to have contributed directly to the improvement of the local living standards. Technology transfer has benefited the country where majority of the local people lack technical skills in various development fields.

Many development partners came to the aid of the nascent nation with substantial packages. These include USA, UK, Norway, EU, World Bank, Japan, UN, UNDP, Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopia. Indeed, South Sudan was ranked the thirteenth largest recipient of official aid allocated to countries in 2009.⁹ About 60% of that assistance was used in humanitarian programmes. The EU has earmarked 200 Million Euros for assistance in South Sudan in the 2011-13 financial period. USAID made a pledge of about US\$ 400 million in 2011 and 470 million for 2012. DFID has pledged about 94 Million pounds (\$148 Million) for 2011-15 and has requested for \$430 million in 2013. The influx of “free money” provided by the international community contributes to feed inflationary pressure in South Sudan. The inflation rate (about 43%) is growing at a faster pace than in North Sudan.¹⁰

2.2 Indirect Effects

2.2.1 The Job Market and Employment

As South Sudan is essentially a rural country whose economy is based on its primary sector, unemployment is traditionally a relative concept. However, the sudden development of urban areas in the wake of the surge of international presence generated true unemployment. The perspective of job opportunities had a synergic effect on the displacement of South Sudanese. Thus the population of Juba – that was estimated to be 163,440 in 2005 – more than doubled to reach an estimated number of 368,436 in 2010.¹¹ But the skills required by the economy to live in an urban environment are generally a function of the education level of the population. As a consequence of the low education level of South Sudanese people, the unemployment rate has drastically increased. As a result, the discrepancy between the requirements for skills and the workforce supply tends to grow, with obvious social consequences. There is a strong feeling in South Sudan that developed countries and international organizations (IOs) channel their development support through international non-governmental organizations and the Government of South Sudan at the expense of the local civil society. Local civil society organizations are better placed to champion local interests because they understand the local socio-economic and political context. However there are a number of local NGOs and community-based organizations (CBOs) that are emerging in South Sudan with the assistance of development partners but civil society remains a weak sector in South Sudan.

⁹Aid in Transition: South Sudan, Global Humanitarian Paper, South Sudan Briefing Paper, p. 1

¹⁰National Bureau of Statistics, Government of South Sudan, October 2012

¹¹ Southern Sudan Centre for Census, Statistics and Evaluation, Statistical Yearbook for Southern Sudan 2010, Juba, 2010, p.14

International NGOs bring in their human resources from outside of South Sudan. A number of conditions hinder the local people from participating in the job market. Therefore the locals become irrelevant in the economic and social considerations of projects that are supposedly meant for their benefit. Most of the job advertising and recruitment are carried out in Nairobi or Juba, which locks out many prospective locals due to distance and transportation costs. As a result, international experts grab the most job opportunities at the expense of the locals who are locked up in the rural areas by poverty and low levels of education. At the end of the project, the foreign expatriates leave nothing behind in South Sudan.

The local people are also locked out of jobs under the guise that the job requires certain minimum expertise that the locals do not possess. To compound the problem, the little that the expatriates are supposed to inject into the national economy is negligible and restricted the local 'tents' put up by the international organizations. These tents are some of the most expensive hotels in the region. Expenditures by single individuals in some of these tents may go for about \$120 a day. The tents belong to the foreigners and consequently, most of the money spent by the international staff in the tents ends up being repatriated to foreign countries. This practice leaves the country's infant economy in tatters and dysfunctional, devoid of growth.¹²

2.2.2 Environmental Impact

According to a UN Report (2008), the presence of the international community has had an environmental impact in post conflict countries.¹³ The international community is bound to put pressure on water, energy, solid and hazardous waste disposal, waste water, wildlife and cultural and historical sites. Most organizations and businesses in urban areas of South Sudan depend on electricity generation that pollutes the environment. There is no proper management of waste disposal as can be seen alongside the road from Juba to Nimule. Contamination of water with human waste is common in Torit due to the use of pit latrines in a high water table region. Despite the potential for use of solar and wind based clean energy sources, there is little exploitation of these environmentally-friendly technologies.

Currently South Sudan has no environmental impact assessment law. However, the Transitional constitution of the Republic of South Sudan (TCRSS/2011) provides direction for the development of a legislation to safeguard a clean and healthy environment. Multi-lateral development institutions undertake environment assessments of their projects but often fail to notice other 'hidden' effects of their presence in a post conflict environment. Some development partners implement their programs through non state actors. While this approach is inevitable given the low capacity of the GOSS, inclusion of the government at all levels of the projects is essential for sustainability. Though most development partners subscribe to the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005),¹⁴ environmental assessments do not seem to include the unforeseen political, environmental, economic and social effects of development intervention..

International development projects do set in motion a chain of events that has various effects on the socio-economic environment. The presence of tens of international development

¹²Chuol R. Kompuok, International NGOs Vis a Vis Local Community of South Sudan, Sudan Tribune, 2008, p. 2

¹³Peace keeping operations alone represent 56% of the UN's total climate footprint of 1.7million tons of CO₂, See Greening the Blue Helmets, UNEP, 2012

¹⁴Constantine Bartel, Strategic Environmental Analysis for the Basic Services Fund Phase II, CIDA, 2009, p., 20

organizations and their staff in urban areas such as Juba has had an impact on the physical environment. Their presence has affected the socio-economic environment including local values, cultures, tastes and preferences, consumerism, class formation and mannerisms. The cumulative long-term impact of international development actors' presence is often overlooked in project evaluations and even impact assessments.

Some observers have claimed that international organizations including the United Nations give priority to interests other than those of the local people. Their welfare and prestige in host countries is prioritized over the need to consolidate peace and security.¹⁵ A golden principle of international assistance 'light footprint' proposed in the Brahimi Report, is that international workers shall do everything possible to work themselves out of their jobs as soon as possible. The local people must take charge of their destiny as soon as possible. The light footprint approach requires careful identification and systematic use of human and institutional assets that exist in a country in spite of a conflict situation.¹⁶ Previously, there have been large international missions that duplicate local efforts and thereby undermine national institutional development. On many occasions, workers in international organizations can earn \$1,000 for jobs for which their local counterparts in government earn a paltry \$50. This salary distortion translates into local market distortions for various products and services which ultimately make the cost of living for the local people almost unbearable.

2.2.3 Societal Impact

The potential for conflict between customary practices and international human rights regime is already being played out. It is a source of resentment amongst some and apprehension in others in the South Sudanese society. Many people believe that those elements of the international community highly critical of customary practices do not properly understand south Sudanese society.¹⁷ They also view the clamour for urgent change with suspicion and hostility. Many view the extremely patriarchal society as anachronistic in the modern sense and as imposing severe and unacceptable constraints upon the rights of the individual, particularly women and children.

South Sudanese customary practices generally hold community interests above individual interests and this contradicts the Western post-industrial approach that places individual liberty above collective community interests. Customary laws will inevitably change to accommodate contemporary mores on human and individual rights in the near future. However, the reconciliatory spirit of customary practices is a vital tool for peaceful transition in south Sudan that must not be lost in the change. Ideally, change should come from within and at a pace with which the people can cope. This is most likely not going happen in south Sudan. Change will be rapid, out of control for individuals or communities and for many, extremely disconcerting.¹⁸

The issue of the rights of the individual and in particular women and children in traditional south Sudanese society must be conducted against a background of complex, interlacing social structures, checks and balances designed over many years to establish, expand and

¹⁵Lakhdar Brahimi, State building in crisis and post conflict countries: Global Forum on Reinventing Government, 2007

¹⁶ Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (Brahimi Report), 2000

¹⁷Justice Aleu Jok: A Study of Customary Law in Contemporary Southern Sudan, 2004, p. 31

¹⁸ibid, p. 31

protect the community.¹⁹ There are undeniably a number of egregious inequities, particularly in respect to women's status that should be addressed. Many changes are already taking place such as payment of bride price using money. A culture of dependence on external aid and food tends to crop up. This has an effect on the agricultural sector that remains undeveloped despite a huge production potential. With limited local production, the domestic tax base remains insignificant thereby making the country over-rely on development assistance and/or oil.

2.2.4 Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons

The International community often settles in cities where basic amenities and infrastructure are available. Most refugees and internally displaced people are also located close to cities where there are prospects of economic opportunities. Different ethnic groups settle in informal areas and compete for meagre resources and are recruited by politicians and insurgents for political and economic gain. During national political crisis, slums are the most likely sources of violent conflict. Most of the immigrants to the cities lack sustainable means of livelihood and the new government has no adequate capacity to address their needs. This has resulted in the growth of informal settlements that lack basic amenities thereby creating possibilities for the growth of criminality.²⁰ Thus, the nascent local administration in South Sudan has the challenge of mitigating the effects of slum development witnessed in other capitals of Africa such as Nairobi, Kinshasa and Lagos. Rapid urbanization, coupled with poor governance, low economic growth and employment for the youth has created insecurity in many African cities.²¹ There is still not much economic interaction between the urban centres and hinterlands in South Sudan due to lack of infrastructure.

Devolution has been proposed as one of the measures of addressing insecurity associated with rapid urbanization. This works best in an environment where the citizens actively participate in fostering good governance and civil society is active in shaping the national agenda. Generally, enhanced national development that includes the rural areas is vital to stem the emergence of vulnerable groups and organized crime. Community policing is a short term measure and must be coupled with measures that address the root causes of urban insecurity. Provision of urban amenities including water, health and education services has been noted to be effective measures in some countries. Government policies must also take cognisance of essential commodity prices that the poor depends on. Implementation of durable land tenure systems also provides confidence for the urban poor to invest.²²

¹⁹Ibid, p. 47

²⁰Government of South Sudan; Statistical Yearbook, Juba 2010

²¹Stephen Cummins: Urban fragility and security in Africa, Africa Security Brief, African Center for Strategic Studies, No. 12, April 2011

²²Wolfram Lacher, South Sudan, *International peace building and its limits*, SWP Berlin, February 2012, p. 12

3 Responses and Measures

3.1 Government of South Sudan

So far, international presence in South Sudan has been perceived by the elite as a benefit rather than as a problem. The GOSS should have a comprehensive national development blue-print on which development partners must base their support projects. This is important to define development parameters, integration of various sectoral plans, consolidation of security sector reforms and reintegration processes. Multi-lateral development institutions undertake environment assessments of their projects but often fail to notice other ‘hidden’ effects of their presence in a post conflict environment. Some development partners implement their programs through non state actors. While this approach is inevitable given the low capacity of the GOSS, inclusion of the government at all levels of the projects is essential for sustainability. Though most development partners subscribe to the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) environmental assessments do not seem to include all the parameters of their intervention, namely the unforeseen political, economic and social effects on the society.

Security sector reform for managing urban criminality goes hand in hand with judicial reforms. Support for the development of a vibrant private sector for job creation cannot be gainsaid. Laws, infrastructure and institutions must be put in place to enhance marketing of products. Business development services to enhance the quality of the products and efficiency of the production process must be implemented.²³ Supporting development of cooperative societies offers alternative protection and empowerment of conflict affected groups. By their very nature of voluntary contribution, egalitarianism, community cooperation and networking, cooperatives provide suitable avenues for peace building and reconciliation.

3.2 The International Community

The UN has since developed guidelines of mitigating field mission’s effects on the environment. The UN carries out Environmental Baseline Survey (EBS) in host countries before deploying missions, a strategy that has reduced unforeseen environmental impacts.²⁴ The UN prohibits trade in Wildlife products among its staff and observes the requirements of the CITES treaty. The UN field missions are required to follow a strict exit strategy in their areas of deployment to prevent negative environmental impact but leave sustainable projects behind.

Environmental considerations are a key concern for UN peacekeeping missions, especially for those missions that operate in fragile environments. UNAMID is a case in point, where the problem of water consumption had to be raised at very early stages of the mission planning in order to avoid local water reserves being depleted. In addition to internal measures to save water and increase the number of boreholes, side measures were implemented such as replacing traditional building bricks with compressed soil blocks, leading to a 30 percent reduction in water use and 100 percent reduction in fuel wood consumption. In South Sudan, the situation is quite different due to the abundance of natural

²³United Nations Policy for Post Conflict Employment Creation, Income generation and reintegration, Geneva, 2009, p. 37

²⁴Ibid, p. 20

resources and the rather different pattern of refugee relocation. The absence of huge IDP/refugee camps that would drain resources locally, as is the case in Darfur, tends to make the footprint of the refugees on the environment lighter.

4 Conclusions and Recommendations

This paper has examined the effects of international presence in South Sudan in the aftermath of the CPA. It identifies areas of concern that the GOSS and international development community needs to consider. A number of measures can be taken to mitigate the negative effects and enhance the positive effects of the presence of international community in South Sudan. The government can develop policies that reduce urban fragility in development planning. Developing infrastructure and creating livelihood opportunities for slum dwellers can go a long way to mitigate negative effects of urbanization. Civil society should be supported through legislations and policies so that they can complement government in the delivery of social services. Providing titles deed for land ownership among the urban poor has also been successful in other countries. Land titles enable the owners to treat land as a marketable commodity. The international development community should engage in regular and dynamic analysis of their impact on the local socio-economic and political situation in post conflict societies such as South Sudan. The Government of South Sudan can evaluate and monitor activities of international NGOs and enact laws that protect the rights of its citizens and foster positive economic growth. The lessons from Uganda, Mozambique and Ethiopia where aid surge did not have significant side effects on the macro-economic level, should be used as pointers for South Sudan. Development of appropriate labour laws is essential to enhance job creation, enhancement of good working conditions and protection of vulnerable people such as women and people with disabilities. Protection of property rights and adoption of non-violent dispute resolution mechanisms will create confidence among the local and foreign investors. The restoration of the rule of law is cardinal to the protection of land, livelihood and access to resources. The GOSS could establish a unit charged with the responsibility of monitoring and evaluation of the socio-economic impact of the presence of international development partners so as to mitigate any undesirable effects.

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