



A PLACE TO CALL THEIR OWN

SOUTHERN SUDANESE COMMENT ON THE HARD WORK & STRUGGLES OF SELF-GOVERNANCE

Findings from Focus Groups with
Men and Women in Southern Sudan

Conducted February 20 - March 30, 2007

By Traci D. Cook

September 18, 2007

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs





A PLACE TO CALL THEIR OWN

**SOUTHERN SUDANESE COMMENT ON
THE HARD WORK & STRUGGLES OF SELF-GOVERNANCE**

Findings from Focus Groups with Men and Women in Southern Sudan

Conducted February 20 - March 30, 2007

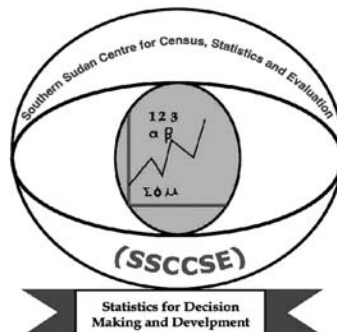
By Traci D. Cook

September 18, 2007

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs



2030 M Street, NW, Fifth Floor
Washington, DC 20036
Telephone: 202-728-5500
Fax: 202-728-5520
Website: www.ndi.org



This report and the National Democratic Institute's (NDI) focus group research in Sudan are made possible by the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (under associate cooperative agreement no. 623-A-00-04-00091-00). The opinions expressed herein are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of USAID or the United States Government.

The National Democratic Institute would also like to acknowledge its logistical and operational partner, the Southern Sudan Commission for Census, Statistics and Evaluation.

Questions about the content of the document should be directed to Shari Bryan, Director of NDI's Southern and East Africa Division, 202-728-5500, sharib@ndi.org.

Copyright© National Democratic Institute (NDI) and Southern Sudan Commission for Census, Statistics and Evaluation (SSCCSE) 2007. All rights reserved. Portions of this work may be reproduced and/or translated for noncommercial purposes provided NDI is acknowledged as the source of the material and is sent copies of any translation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	1
THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.....	3
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.....	4
PRINCIPAL FINDINGS.....	10
1. Attitudes Linked to Ethnicity and Personal Experience.....	10
2. No Consensus on State of the CPA.....	11
3. Enthusiasm over Self-Government Tempered by Its Performance.....	13
4. SSLA Members Judged on Interaction with Consitutents; Most Fail.....	14
5. Ethnic Representation of GOSS Should Be Adjusted, Participants Say.....	16
6. GOSS Faulted for Lack of Large-Scale Development Activities.....	18
7. Kiir is a Respected Leader but More is Expected.....	19
8. Corruption Starts at the Top and Reachs All Levels of Government.....	21
9. SPLM Dominates the Political Landscape.....	23
10. Opposition to a Multi-party System is Based on Fear.....	24
11. Leadership Ability, Development, Southern Unity are Candidate Criteria.....	25
12. Civic Education & Traditional Authority Involvement Will Aid Census.....	26
13. Separation in the Self-Determination Vote Remains Choice of Most.....	28
14. Insecurity Originates from Multiple Causes; Requires Different Solutions.....	29
15. LRA Negotiations Widely Applauded.....	30
16. Significant Progress Made in Transformation of the SPLA, Except in Urban Areas.....	30
17. Mother Tongue Instruction Desired in Early Primary Grades.....	31
18. Few Objections to Payment of Taxes but Expected Use in Development.....	32
CONCLUSION.....	33
APPENDIX A - FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS.....	36
APPENDIX B - METHODOLOGY NOTES.....	38
APPENDIX C - MODERATOR'S GUIDELINE.....	40
APPENDIX D - ABOUT THE AUTHOR.....	49

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) is a nonprofit organization working to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. Calling on a global network of volunteer experts, NDI provides practical assistance to civic and political leaders advancing democratic values, practices and institutions. NDI works with democrats in every region of the world to build political and civic organizations, safeguard elections and promote citizen participation, openness and accountability in government.

Democracy depends on legislatures that represent citizens and oversee the executive, independent judiciaries that safeguard the rule of law, political parties that are open and accountable, and elections in which voters freely choose their representatives in government. Acting as a catalyst for democratic development, NDI bolsters the institutions and processes that allow democracy to flourish.

Build Political and Civic Organizations: NDI helps build the stable, broad-based and well-organized institutions that form the foundation of a strong civic culture. Democracy depends on these mediating institutions—the voice of an informed citizenry, which link citizens to their government and to one another by providing avenues for participation in public policy.

Safeguard Elections: NDI promotes open and democratic elections. Political parties and governments have asked NDI to study electoral codes and to recommend improvements. The Institute also provides technical assistance for political parties and civic groups to conduct voter education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs. NDI is a world leader in election monitoring, having organized international delegations to monitor elections in dozens of countries, helping to ensure that polling results reflect the will of the people.

Promote Openness and Accountability: NDI responds to requests from leaders of government, parliament, political parties and civic groups seeking advice on matters from legislative procedures to constituent service to the balance of civil-military relations in a democracy. NDI works to build legislatures and local governments that are professional, accountable, open and responsive to their citizens.

International cooperation is key to promoting democracy effectively and efficiently. It also conveys a deeper message to new and emerging democracies that while autocracies are inherently isolated and fearful of the outside world, democracies can count on international allies and an active support system. Headquartered in Washington, D.C., with field offices in every region of the world, NDI complements the skills of its staff by enlisting volunteer experts from around the world, many of whom are veterans of democratic struggles in their own countries and share valuable perspectives on democratic development.

SOUTHERN SUDAN COMMISSION FOR CENSUS, STATISTICS AND EVALUATION

The Interim Constitution for Southern Sudan has provided for the establishment of the Southern Sudan Commission for Census, Statistics and Evaluation as an autonomous statistics bureau authorized, *inter alia*, to (i) collect, compile, analyze and publish all official statistical information on economic, social, demographic, environmental and general activities and conditions of the people of Southern Sudan; (ii) conduct all censuses and surveys that are carried out throughout Southern Sudan; (iii) monitor and evaluate social impacts of public policies, projects and programmes; and (iv) monitor the progress of poverty alleviation and the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals in Southern Sudan. The Constitution also provided for the appointment of a Board of Directors as the highest policy-making body of the Southern Sudan Commission for Census, Statistics and Evaluation (SSCCSE).

The SSCCSE provides expertise in data collection through surveys and assessments, information dissemination and, importantly, the provision of capacity building for the Commission's stakeholders. In Southern Sudan, the Commission works in collaboration with public institutions such as the Ministries of Agriculture and Forestry, Education, Science and Technology, Finance and Economic Planning, Environment and Wildlife Conservation, Mining and Industry, Health, State, and county authorities, as well as civil society institutions such as farmers' associations, chambers of commerce, professional associations, non-governmental organizations, women and youth groups, and research and international institutions. Currently, SSCCSE collects and analyzes information on agriculture and crop yields, climate and market prices, and health and education, among others. The Commission also plays a critical role as a point-of-reference on statistical methodology and standards in Southern Sudan.

PREFACE

The signing of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) gave Southern Sudan the right to create a semi-autonomous government and marked the first time southerners had the right to form a political entity they can call their own. Their experience with self-rule began with high hopes and high expectations, but those were soon dashed by the death of Dr. John Garang, the long-time leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). As the shock of Garang's death wore off, the SPLM had the difficult task of creating a government with little precedent to guide them. Many had questions about Southern Sudan's ability to rule itself. Would southerners be able to put aside ethnic tensions and hold the region together once the unifying force of a common enemy was removed? Would southerners have enough capacity to bring much-needed development to the region? Would southern leaders prove to be prudent fiscal managers of the oil revenues provided in the CPA? Would the fledgling government be able to address continuing insecurity in parts of the South? The Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) is now a fully formed government, but the hard work of day-to-day governance remains a challenge. With country-wide elections scheduled for 2009, the answers to these questions lie, at least in part, in how ordinary Southern Sudanese judge the performance of their government thus far. This report details a series of 32 focus group discussions with citizens in 12 locations throughout Southern Sudan between February 20-March 30, 2007. The discussions focused primarily on governance issues, and included the participation of 356 (205 male and 151 female) Southern Sudanese.

Focus Group Results and Usage. Focus groups are semi-structured group discussions directed by a moderator and following a pre-set guideline. Unless otherwise noted, the conclusions presented here represent views commonly, and repeatedly, cited during the groups. The interaction between participants in a focus group setting provides insight into how citizens think and feel and is an even more powerful means of understanding why these attitudes exist. Information gathered in this way takes into consideration citizen values and needs and is critical to helping decision-makers test their assumptions and incorporate the will of the people into policy-making.

A Snapshot of Public Opinion. Any research, including focus groups, is only a snapshot of public opinion at the moment it is undertaken. Public opinion is dynamic and evolves as people experience and react to major events, particularly in post-conflict environments such as Southern Sudan. Therefore, the conclusions reached in this report can only be said to represent opinions in February-March 2007. NDI is conducting focus groups in Southern Sudan and/or the Three Areas approximately once every six months, and so focus group research will continue to capture any change in attitudes and measure that change against baseline information from previous research.

A Qualitative Research Tool. Focus groups are a qualitative, not a quantitative, research tool. Although focus groups are a superior research method in teasing out the meanings behind commonly-held attitudes, the total number of participants in focus group research is always relatively small and thus, it is not statistically representative of the larger population. This report reflects the opinions of the 356 citizens in Southern Sudan who participated in the focus groups. General terms, such as "people," and "citizens" may be used on occasion in this report as a convenience to represent the attitudes of these participants; however, the Focus Group Participant Demographics chart as well as the Methodology Notes appearing at the end of the report should be consulted by all readers to understand the sub-set of Southern Sudanese interviewed for this research. In addition, participants who are quoted in this report are identified by ethnicity, gender and location, except when the quote is from a mixed ethnicity group. In that case, the participant is identified by gender and location.

Participant Perceptions vs. Political Realities. The *perceptions* of participants in these focus groups (and indeed in any research) do not necessarily reflect the *reality* of any given situation. In the Southern Sudan context, for example, the perceptions of participants on progress in the implementation of the CPA in their areas may lag behind the reality of significant strides forward in the political realm. The reasons for this are many. Communication is difficult in Sudan and thus current information is not always available. Also, ordinary citizens will most often judge progress based on the change it brings in their daily lives, so larger political gains (although important in the greater context) are not always immediately viewed as progress by the average person. Participants in this research sometimes get their facts wrong and often form their opinions based on inaccurate or semi-accurate readings of the world around them. This study does not purport to represent any true reading of the reality of what is happening in Southern Sudan. Even if they do not represent reality, however, there is power in people's perceptions. Ordinary citizens will make political decisions based on their perceptions, and, without knowledge of these perceptions, political leaders will not have the information necessary to address them. Thus, the goal of this research is to report the perceptions and opinions of participants (regardless of their degree of accuracy) to political and diplomatic leaders so they may better understand and respond to the concerns of the general populace.

NDI's ongoing citizen participation program in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas is funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) through a multi-year grant. The inclusion of regular focus group research in NDI's wider Sudan initiative is intended to help policy-makers better understand the views of citizens, as they make important decisions that will shape the future of the region. NDI would like to acknowledge USAID officials in Nairobi, Juba and Khartoum who provided substantive and critical assistance to the focus group study by offering guidance on appropriate subjects and sharing their intimate knowledge of Southern Sudan.

NDI's local partner for all research efforts in Southern Sudan is the Southern Sudan Commission for Census, Statistics and Evaluation (SSCCSE), an autonomous statistics bureau within the GOSS. For this effort, SSCCSE Chairman Isaiah Chol provided guidance on both the topics to be investigated, in particular as they related to the upcoming census, and on the appropriate ethnic mixture of the groups. SSCCSE staff members assisted with conducting a number of the focus group discussions in several locations. NDI, and our joint research efforts, benefit immensely from having a partner that is well-respected in the region.

Several NDI staff contributed to the focus group research and this report. NDI Sudan Country Director Kym McCarty directed all planning and preparation for the groups and oversaw the development and approval of the moderator guideline. NDI Sudan Program Officer Mary Kagunyi recruited moderators both in Nairobi and Juba, led logistical preparations and supervised focus group moderators in several locations. Traci Cook, an experienced opinion researcher, designed the research framework, drafted the focus group guideline, trained the focus group moderators, supervised the research in the field and authored this report. NDI also owes a debt of gratitude to the local and international NGOs that assisted with staffing, accommodation and transportation in each location. Without the hospitality offered by these groups, this research would not have been possible.

This is the fifth in a series of bi-annual focus groups NDI has conducted in Southern Sudan since late 2004. The first round of research investigated citizen attitudes toward peace and governance, the second round in early 2005 focused on citizen input into constitutional principles and protections, the third in late 2005 explored the real-life experience of Southern Sudanese with the implementation of the CPA and the fourth looked at the state of the peace in the Three Areas. This report details a return to Southern Sudan to discuss with citizens their experience of self-governance. NDI plans to continue this research on a regular basis through the national elections currently scheduled for early 2009.

The 2005 study revealed two key factors driving the prevailing attitudes of the Southern Sudanese: the first was the recent death of John Garang and the second was a continuing fear and distrust of the government in northern Sudan. The combination of grief and fear caused most to express attitudes and opinions that were fairly uniform, as people naturally come together in times of great emotional stress. Today, the GOSS is established and operational, citizens are more familiar with their new leaders, the CPA provides greater confidence that 'Arabs' are less of a threat, development activities are visible and negotiations with the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) are underway. In short, Southern Sudan is beginning to display the signs of a state maturing out of its infancy, and, as a result, opinions expressed in this study are much more diverse than in any previous one. A general trend is detectable, however: Southern Sudanese are beginning to look inward and examine their future without viewing it through a prism of dominance by the North. While this is an exciting new era for southerners, it also means that more pressure will be placed on the GOSS to deliver a better life for its people. On that front, the government only receives middling marks or as one participant said, the GOSS's performance thus far is "not so good, not so bad."¹ People desire self-rule because they believe that their own leaders will pay close attention to their concerns, needs and desires. In this report, citizens of Southern Sudan provide their government with a roadmap that clearly outlines the actions they see as necessary to fully realize the promise of self-rule. NDI and SSCCSE are pleased to have this opportunity to contribute in a small way to the ongoing dialogue between the citizens of Southern Sudan and their leaders.

¹ Phrase is from a Dinka Malual man in Maluaklon.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Approaching the third year of the interim period, the concerns of citizens have shifted to focus primarily on issues internal to Southern Sudan. Two such issues of concern are corruption and the development of a government responsive to citizen needs. The plea offered by a woman in a focus group discussion in Wunrok below is an example of how Southern Sudanese are beginning to demand more of their self-rule government.

- *On behalf of the Wunrok women, we advise our leaders that what we have said in the focus groups is actually what we want them to do for us and for the safety of the whole South Sudan.*
- *The corruption is so rampant in our state. The leaders confiscate all the salaries, and workers go without payment. We all urge our leaders in Juba to look into the issue of corruption and review it because it is affecting us here. The government should know that we don't have powers to sue the corrupt state leaders, but only the government has all the powers to sack and prosecute them.*
- *The government should tour us and know what is affecting us here. Since the death of Garang we have never seen Kiir, Matip, Nyandeng, etc. Does it mean that only Garang was able to tour and see us? We voted you in such that you check and know how we are suffering.*
- *Now, we shall not make a mistake of voting in leaders who don't have time for us. Our country does not want leaders who don't have time for us. Our country wants leaders who travel to see their people. A parent who doesn't check their children are not good parents at all.*

Yet it is also clear that the experience with self-rule has emboldened many to dream of greater things for themselves and their region. As the quote below from a man in Cueibet illustrates, confidence is rising that southerners can ably tackle their own problems.

- *I think the CPA has been going on well because I can see ourselves progressing well before we break away from Arabs, and if we separate from Arabs, then we shall do better things since it has been proved that we can rule ourselves. We have our own army, our own budget and our own government which we report to. These things seemed to be impossible but now are possible with the CPA.*

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. **Opinions about the current state of Southern Sudan are loosely correlated with ethnicity - Dinka and Nuer are more positive - and directly linked to personal experiences with security and development. Most have hope for the future but say that the government's actions will ultimately determine that future.** In assessing the current situation in Southern Sudan, most participants say that they have either seen positive changes or have seen a few positive changes but want and need more. This appears to be an improvement, albeit a small one, from the NDI-SSCCSE study in late 2005² when most participants demonstrated a negative or mixed opinion about where Southern Sudan was headed. The improvement is small, however, as participants in almost one-third of the groups continue to see the situation as bleak. Two key factors contribute to the divided opinion on this subject. The first is ethnicity; Dinka and Nuer tend to have a more positive outlook than smaller tribes. The second, and more important factor, is location. Participants in urban areas³ and in the most remote areas visited generally have a more negative view of their situation than those who reside in medium-sized towns or villages. More specifically, attitudes are linked to personal experience with two fundamental issues in a location: development and security. If participants have seen some improvement in development or security in their area, they are likely to believe that things are going well. If not, they are likely to have the opposite view. Despite a mixed view of their current circumstances, most participants are optimistic about their future. All agree, though, that government action - or inaction - will ultimately determine that future.

2. **There is no consensus on the state of the CPA or its future - some think implementation is going well, others poorly; some think peace will last until the 2011 referendum, others are doubtful. Those who have a pessimistic view blame repeated violations of the CPA by the NCP and issues internal to Southern Sudan.** No uniform opinion emerges on the state of the CPA - participants are evenly split on whether they think implementation of the peace agreement is going well or poorly.⁴ Those who are optimistic about the CPA say they see signs of progress in the simple fact that peace exists and has brought benefits such as freedom of movement and the formation of their own government. Participants who have the opposite view - implementation of the CPA is not going well - fall into one of two camps. The first group asks how the CPA could possibly be seen as successful when there have been numerous violations - in the Abyei Protocol, in the power-sharing and wealth-sharing agreements and in the security arrangements - of the CPA perpetrated by the National Congress Party (NCP). The second group focuses on issues internal to Southern Sudan, such as insecurity and lack of development, which they believe have hurt the implementation of the CPA. On the question of whether peace will last until the 2011 referendum, participants also express great uncertainty. There is an almost even divide between those who believe peace will prevail and those who do not. There is no single reason participants who have hope for peace give for their stance, but faith in the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS), belief in the resilience of the CPA and the South, pragmatic considerations ("[peace] is in the interest of both [sides]"⁵) and supervision of the international community are a few they cite. Those pessimistic about the prospect for lasting peace say that their concern is the result both of the actions by the NCP and militias and of issues within Southern Sudan like insecurity, tribalism and corruption. Issues like these, they say, place the peace agreement in danger of collapse.

3. **"My government" is how participants proudly characterize the GOSS, though their enthusiasm is tempered by a government that performs below their expectations. Issues like corruption, tribalism, non-delivery of services and lack of consultation keep GOSS performance ratings from rising above the fair-to-good range.** The GOSS is well-known among participants, many of whom describe it as "my government" or a government that "represents us". The GOSS is especially valued for its role as protector of southerners and as a bulwark against the NCP, 'Arabs' and northerners. If participants focus only on issues within the South, however, the view of whether the GOSS represents the average citizen is somewhat more mixed. While some participants say that it does, many others offer qualified responses. That is, the GOSS represents them "but" they have significant criticisms of the government, such as charges of tribalism. Others parse their feelings by saying some GOSS officials represent them while others do not. As a result, job performance ratings for the GOSS fall mostly in the fair-to-good range. This middle range is where most participants feel comfortable because they are not ready to heavily criticize a government that is relatively new or overly praise a government that is not delivering on its promises. What keeps the GOSS from higher job performance ratings and what drives the ratings of the significant number of participants who rate its performance as poor are several key factors. Corruption is the biggest drag on GOSS job performance ratings because most think that officials are out for themselves. A second area that

² See the NDI-SSCCSE report *Searching for a Path to Peace: Reaction to the Death of John Garang and One Year of the CPA*.

³ Participants in Juba express especially strong feelings of unhappiness and pessimism.

⁴ This is a slight improvement over the NDI-SSCCSE study conducted in late 2005 when participants were more likely to say that they did not think implementation was going well and did not believe peace would last.

⁵ Phrase is from a quote by a man in Wau.

impacts GOSS job performance ratings is what participants see as 'broken promises,' particularly in the area of service delivery. The specter of tribalism also dampens support for the GOSS among smaller ethnic groups who feel excluded. The last area that hurts GOSS' job performance ratings is its perceived lack of communication and consultation with citizens, who wonder how the government can be responsive to their needs without first understanding what those needs are.

4. Members of the SSLA are described as people who are "representing us," but with little knowledge about their role or work, participants judge their representatives solely on their interaction with them as constituents - a test most members of the SSLA fail. Participants, especially males, know of the existence of the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly (SSLA) in Juba, but most have only basic knowledge of the institution and its work. Nevertheless, one idea that participants consistently relate to the SSLA is that of representation. Because there is little information about the actual work of the SSLA and its members, the sole criteria by which members of the SSLA are currently being judged is whether they communicate with their constituents. Most representatives in the SSLA, according to participants, get a failing grade on this front. Many members are said not to return to their areas or consult their constituents at all, causing participants to wonder how a person can represent them without listening to their priorities and concerns. The reward for representatives that do communicate is the loyalty and support of their constituents, who tend to hold them blameless for development delays and other problems. As demonstrated in groups where members of the SSLA are active in their areas, simple communication translates directly into high marks for the job performance of SSLA members. The penalty for a representative that does not communicate may well be a loss of position. As one participant said, "The only solution for these MPs who don't represent us is to vote them out of parliament and replace them with other new MPs."⁶

5. Representation of different ethnic groups in the GOSS should be adjusted to include a greater number of non-Dinka, participants say, with some advocating an equal number of posts for each tribe. There is full support for increasing women's representation in the GOSS to the required 25 percent; some desire even more. There is a strong perception among participants that representatives of the Dinka tribe dominate the GOSS a view held even by Dinkas themselves. Typical perception among non-Dinkas is that Dinkas hold one-half to three-quarters of GOSS posts and Nuers occupy a quarter. Dinka participants simply say they have majority representation in the GOSS. Whether current levels of Dinka representation in the GOSS are viewed as fair or not, many participants agree that Dinka representation in the GOSS should be reduced. Dinka who favor such a move believe it will help ensure harmony among tribes; non-Dinkas see it as "getting what they [other tribes] deserve."⁷ Most participants suggest that one of two precepts be followed in determining tribal representation in the GOSS: equal opportunity or equal division. Those who support equal opportunity in representation say they only want the process to be fair and a chance to be given to all tribes to participate in government. This suggests an endorsement of some type of merit-based system for GOSS posts. More, though, lean toward the latter option of equal division, saying that fair representation can only be achieved through the assignment of an equal number of posts in the GOSS to all tribes in the South. Support for the concept of significant representation of women in the GOSS is extremely strong. Most participants are aware that women's representation lags far behind the constitutionally-mandated 25 percent, and both men and women see this as unfair. In fact, almost half the groups (and again both men and women) feel that the threshold for women's representation should be raised anywhere from 30 percent up to 50 percent.

6. Despite some outward signs of development, the GOSS is faulted for its lack of large-scale development activities. Many now doubt that the government can deliver on its development promises, in part due to corruption. When asked, most participants can bring to mind some sign of development - the building of a school or health facility, the construction of a road or the drilling of a borehole - in their area since the signing of the CPA. Nevertheless, participants consider these efforts too few in number to meet their expectations of government-sponsored development. It is the GOSS's responsibility, participants believe, to directly engage in the large-scale building of roads, schools and health facilities in order to develop the South. Participants have a number of theories about why the government's development efforts have not kept pace with their expectations. Most commonly mentioned is corruption - resources for development are not reaching the people. Almost no participants have heard of the 200 Day Action Plan;⁸ though once being told about its goals, they almost unanimously support it. Their trust in the GOSS to deliver widespread development has faded, however, and so most say they will take a wait-and-see attitude about the Plan and other GOSS-touted development initiatives. The one sign of development that stands in stark contrast to the pace of change in other areas is the local marketplace, with most areas reporting exponential growth. While the expansion of local markets is largely viewed as positive, participants complain about the high prices of goods available there. They offer two solutions to this problem: government-instituted price controls or a lowering of customs duties and other taxes collected from traders.

⁶ Quote is from a Dinka Malual man in Maluakon.

⁷ Phrase is from a quote by a Nuer Dok woman in Leer.

⁸ The 200 Day Action Plan was developed by the GOSS and described the priorities and work projects planned for each ministry over a 200 day period.

7. **President Salva Kiir is a respected leader who wins praise for his personal integrity and accomplishments, though many expect him to deliver more for the South in the future. He is the only leader who has widespread appeal across Southern Sudan.** A good person and a good leader who is doing a good job is how many participants describe GOSS President Salva Kiir. Dinkas speak most of his loyalty, ability to stand firm against the North and his success in following in the footsteps of the late Dr. John Garang. Others care more about the improvements they have noticed under this administration. Maintaining the CPA despite obstacles, improving security in the South and paying and reorganizing the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) are the accomplishments for which these participants give Kiir credit. The general feeling about Kiir's leadership is "so far, so good," but many are expecting him to do more. In fact, when participants criticize Kiir, it is usually because they do not feel he is pressing hard enough (or at all) to bring about change to the South. When participants are asked what President Kiir could have done differently in his time in office, development issues dominate the responses. Participants say that if they were president, by now there would be many schools, roads and health clinics throughout Southern Sudan.⁹ Despite recent corruption scandals involving GOSS officials, Kiir's reputation as a man of integrity remains intact. Participants say the blame for corruption and other activities like tribalism goes to those serving under him, not to the president himself. In a mock voting exercise conducted during the groups, Kiir is the only person able to break through geographic barriers and garner votes from participants in all the areas of the South.

8. **In the Southern Sudan context, corruption has two definitions - misuse of public money and tribalism - and is a problem that permeates all levels of government. Good faith efforts by the GOSS to address the issue are appreciated, but consistent actions will demonstrate proof of sincerity.** There is near unanimous agreement among participants that corruption in Southern Sudan is a widespread problem and one that is having a detrimental effect on them and their communities. For most, the definition of corruption boils down to two main issues - misuse of public funds by government officials and tribalism. Embezzlement of public funds is the most common form of corruption identified by participants, but, among smaller tribes, tribalism is viewed as an equally bad form of corruption, particularly as it relates to public employment. Government corruption is commonplace in Southern Sudan, according to participants, and it permeates all levels (GOSS, state and local). Corruption scandals, stories and rumors have also colored the way participants see their leaders in the GOSS. Many repeat, with confidence in their veracity, various accounts of embezzlement and fraud committed by GOSS leaders. In addition, the corruption believed to occur at the top level of government is seen as having an adverse impact on all levels below it. Without corruption at the GOSS level, participants say, corruption at the state and local level would not be possible. As one participant said, "Corruption can't be here [local] if it is not up there [GOSS]."¹⁰ Participants see a direct connection between both types of corruption and the quality of their daily lives. Their list of the negative impacts of corruption on their lives includes opportunities lost, delayed development, diversion of capital to other areas and increasing division among southerners. As a result, participants are firm in their belief that corruption in Southern Sudan has endangered their economic, social and political well-being. Despite the scale of corruption, participants report, they have faith that the GOSS can successfully tackle the issue. When read a statement by President Salva Kiir on anti-corruption efforts the government is undertaking, most say they believe the GOSS is sincere in its desire to resolve the corruption issue, and they feel confident it will be able to do so. Participants stress, though, that the words of Kiir can not simply remain on paper; they expect action.

9. **The SPLM dominates the political landscape throughout Southern Sudan. A few other political parties have modest name recognition, but that does not translate into support. Women's knowledge of political parties is low, and traditional authorities have mixed views about whether supporting parties is appropriate.** The Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) is by far the most well-known political party in Southern Sudan, and the only one with a significant grassroots base, according to the participants in this study. Though not approaching the level of recognition of the SPLM, a significant number of participants are also able to name three other parties: UDF, SANU, SSDF.¹¹ Name recognition did not equal support for smaller parties in this study, as only one participant indicated that they are a member of a party other than SPLM. In contrast, many participants say they support the SPLM and consider themselves members of the party. Loyalty to the SPLM is based in the party's roots as a leader "of the struggle." While most participants cannot conceive of a situation in which they would not vote for the SPLM, a few ventured that they could be forced to abandon the party if it does anything that would betray the "cause" or move the SPLM away from its original purpose, which is a reference to any shift away from support for separation from northern Sudan. Women's political knowledge, as it relates to parties, lags significantly behind that of men. Only three women's groups could name more than one party (SPLM), and four groups could not name any political party, even the SPLM. Traditional authorities (all male in this study), on the other hand, are typically knowledgeable about political parties, but express different views about their own role in the

⁹ In the 2005 study, participants complained about the frequency with which President Kiir communicated to the population. No such complaints are heard in this study, although in describing what they would do differently than the president, some participants indicate they would consult the people more.

¹⁰ Phrase is from a quote by a Dinka Twic woman in Wunrok.

¹¹ UDF=United Democratic Front; SANU=Sudan African National Union; and SSDF=South Sudan Democratic Forum.

process. Some of the traditional authority groups declare that chiefs are not allowed to belong to a political party while others enthusiastically embrace a partisan position. Either way, traditional authorities say they will play an important role in advising their people about their vote. Some traditional authorities are unsure, however, if they will be allowed to vote themselves.

10. Opposition to a multi-party system is based on fears of conflict and confusion and a weakening of Southern Sudan's position prior to the self-determination referendum. These same fears drive participants to unanimously reject any party that is formed for the benefit of one tribe only. Most participants believe a multi-party system is not right for Southern Sudan. The prospect that political parties could exacerbate ethnic tensions is frightening for many who remember past divisions in the South. Some are also concerned that, at this nascent stage in Southern Sudan's political development, multiple parties in government can only bring confusion. As one participant said, "Let the cow grow horns as it was born only with ears."¹² However, most are not bothered by the concept of political pluralism or how the current multi-party system operates, but rather, its timing. Participants are particularly concerned with exposing any weakness of the region prior to the self-determination referendum. Once the referendum has occurred and - many hope - independence gained, participants say they will not be opposed to a multi-party system. At the same time, a significant minority of participants already view a multi-party system as beneficial to Southern Sudan because it is a sign of democracy and provides a counter-balance to the party in power. The idea of a party formed to represent the viewpoint of a single tribe was anathema to all participants in this study. Above all, participants want to avoid anything that promotes division or bias among southerners.

11. Candidates who demonstrate leadership abilities, promote unity among southerners and make development a centerpiece of their campaigns will receive the most support in the 2009 elections. When asked how they will decide which candidates to cast their vote for in 2009, most participants say their decision will be based on a person's leadership ability and qualifications. A leader, in the eyes of Southern Sudanese participants, is someone who can be responsive to citizens' needs, act selflessly and understand development. Candidates who demonstrate these qualities, however, cannot automatically count on support unless they also exhibit a characteristic highly valued by many: the willingness to set aside personal ethnic loyalties to enhance unity among southerners. Not all participants will assess each candidate individually; some say that party identification will be the determining factor in their vote. For these, the SPLM is a trusted guide to which they owe their allegiance, regardless of the quality of the candidate. Only a handful of groups in the study indicate that their support for candidates will be based on ethnicity, and indeed most were strongly opposed to such an idea. Nevertheless, the comment of one participant may reflect the default position for many, if candidates are not able to make themselves and their positions well-known. She said, "If there are many candidates and I don't know them, I will vote for my tribemate."¹³ Development tops the list as the subject that participants most want candidates to address in their campaigns. More specifically, schools and roads are priority topics for voters, though priorities differ somewhat based on location.

12. The basic goal of a population census is understood, but officials cannot expect accurate answers from all segments of the population without significant civic education and the assistance of traditional authorities. There is widespread knowledge of the basic purpose - to count people - of a population census. Many participants go further to describe the census as an exercise to arrive at a count so that development and services can be brought to their areas.¹⁴ For this reason, some participants say they will eagerly offer any information required to census workers. Others are more cautious. They say that before providing any personal information, they will need to hear the government publicly and widely announce the census, explaining why the information is needed and how it will be used. How the census is conducted will also affect the willingness of citizens to participate and the accuracy of their responses. Chiefs and citizens alike talk about approaching people through "the right channels," which is primarily a reference to informing and involving the traditional authority structure in the census process. The other major obstacle to accurate collection of information identified by participants is the timing of visits by census workers. In this study, many people strenuously oppose any visit at night. Some participants suggest, however, having more information about the census and/or knowing that their chiefs have approved of the activity would make them more amenable to accepting visits by census workers at night.

13. Not all participants are confident a self-determination referendum will occur in 2011, but most are certain of how they will vote - separation from the North. Among a few who can envision it, Salva Kiir's assumption of the presidency of Sudan prior to the referendum would prompt them to vote for unity. There are mixed views on the likelihood that a self-determination referendum will be held in Southern Sudan in 2011. Some participants are confident the referendum will occur, primarily because they have faith in the international community and/or the SPLA/M to

¹² Quote if from the Nuer Dok Male Chiefs group in Leer.

¹³ Quote is from a Lotukho woman in Torit.

¹⁴ Only a few women's groups claim to have no information about the census process.

deliver upon the guarantees offered in the CPA. Others say they are doubtful. There is no single factor driving their lack of confidence, but violations of the CPA, concerns over possible bribery of leaders, and the crisis in Darfur are among the reasons these participants are hesitant to believe the referendum is an immutable part of their future. Separation remains the overwhelming choice of participants who are asked how they would vote if the referendum were held today. Opinions on this issue have not changed to any obvious degree from the last study, which posed a similar question in 2005.¹⁵ As in that study, past grievances and a desire for self-rule are the oft-cited justifications for opting for separation; participants in this study now add CPA violations to this list. Few participants can imagine any scenario in which they would vote for unity in the referendum. Of those that can, the primary drive of their about-face would be Salva Kiir's assumption of the presidency of all of Sudan prior to the referendum.

14. The origins of insecurity in Southern Sudan are no longer the result of a single primary threat - conflict with the North - but are now increasingly varied and require an equally varied response. However, the resolution of security issues remains, participants say, a fundamental government responsibility. Southern Sudanese have enjoyed an improving security environment over the past four years due to a ceasefire and the subsequent signing of the CPA. Although the primary cause of insecurity in the region has been resolved, many participants report some level of insecurity in their areas. The causes of insecurity are now generally unrelated, specific to an area and suggestive of the need to develop different approaches to resolve persistent insecurity in the region. Participants feel that resolving insecurity - whatever its cause - is a government responsibility. Among the actions participants list as important for the government to undertake in addressing security are: deploying the SPLA to drive out the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and militias; strengthening of the police and judiciary to address crime; improving soldier discipline; disarming civilians; and providing protection to the unarmed in areas prone to tribal/clan conflict.

15. The GOSS's initiative in undertaking negotiations with the LRA is widely applauded because it has improved security and opened up business opportunities. Participants would be equally supportive of President Kiir's stated intention to forcibly drive the LRA out of Southern Sudan if the negotiations fail. Participants are generally aware of the GOSS role in negotiations with the LRA and strongly support the government's effort. For Equatorians, who often cite LRA attacks as among the worst events of 2006, the negotiations offer a respite from violence and are a sign that the government is addressing their concerns. Other Southern Sudanese support their fellow Equatorian citizens in their desire for peace, but also appreciate the negotiations for a very practical reason - the decline in LRA attacks has allowed more goods and business to flow into their areas from Uganda. The preference of almost all participants is that the negotiations proceed to a final resolution of the LRA issue as it relates to Southern Sudan. If that fails, however, there is no hesitation among participants to support a military solution. Almost all feel that President Kiir's statement about the SPLA forcing the LRA out of Southern Sudan should they refuse a peaceful solution is an appropriate strategy.

16. Outward signs, such as uniforms, and improved soldier discipline convince many participants that the GOSS has made significant progress in the transformation of the SPLA into a professional army, though pockets of discontent with soldier behavior remain. The GOSS's efforts to transform the SPLA into a professional army are succeeding in many areas. Participants say they see the transformation occurring through the provision of uniforms, the outfitting of nearby units with vehicles, the payment of salaries to soldiers and the ordering of soldiers to their barracks. These actions, they say, have greatly reduced both soldiers' harassment of civilians and their reliance on the populace for basic needs. The professionalization of the SPLA is also adding to participants' overall sense of peace and security. Not all participants agree with the assessment of the SPLA as an army in transformation. There are pockets of the population, centered primarily in larger towns like Juba, Yei and Wau, where soldier arrogance and lack of discipline is a chief complaint. Regardless of whether participants feel the SPLA is making progress in its transformation to a professional army, all think the effort is worthy and should be a priority for the GOSS. Participants desire an army that can offer them both protection and a sense of political identity similar to that of other countries. In fact, in weighing the job performance of President Salva Kiir and the GOSS over the last two years, some participants cite efforts at transformation of the SPLA as the best initiative the government has undertaken thus far.

17. Use of the mother tongue as the language of instruction in early primary grades is strongly backed in areas of single-language dominance but raises concern in locales where multiple tribes and languages exist. The current Ministry of Education policy to use the mother tongue as the language of instruction in early primary grades and thereafter switch to English is highly popular in areas where a single language is dominant (e.g., Dinka, Nuer areas). Participants in these areas say use of the mother tongue will aid early learning and help keep the culture and traditions of the area alive. Given the strong support for mother tongue instruction, a number of participants react poorly to the suggestion of a future policy requiring all areas of Southern Sudan to use English as the only language of instruction in early grades, saying that such a policy would amount to re-colonization. In areas where there are multiple languages and ethnicities, there is a

¹⁵ See the NDI-SSCCSE report *Searching for a Path to Peace: Reaction to the Death of John Garang and One Year of the CPA*.

mixed response to the Ministry's language policy. Some approve because of the same reasons (the policy promotes culture and learning) as participants in single ethnicity areas. Others, though, are concerned with the practicality of it. How will officials choose which of the many languages in the area will be taught? Will it mean that children not speaking the selected language will have to go elsewhere to be taught in their mother tongue? Some also fear that using the mother tongue as a language of instruction could increase divisions among the many tribes living in those states.

18. There are few objections to the implementation of taxes by the GOSS, but participants expect those taxes to be used for development in their areas and say that traditional authorities are the best placed to collect taxes. Most participants are supportive of the idea of paying taxes to the government, primarily because the concept is not a new one. Tax collection activities were common in "old Sudan" and during the war, so participants find it natural that the GOSS would implement its own tax policies. Most believe the purpose of collecting taxes is to bring development - not just generally to Southern Sudan but more specifically to their areas, and they expect to personally experience tangible benefits from the taxes they pay. Both traditional authorities and regular citizens believe that using chiefs, sub-chiefs, headmen, and *gol* leaders¹⁶ is the most effective and fair way to collect taxes from the people. When people speak of the collection of taxes, though, it is unclear if they are referring to the remittance of money or to some donation to the government of their crops or other goods.

¹⁶ These terms refer to posts held by individuals within the traditional authority structure in many cultures in Southern Sudan.

PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

With its region now given semi-autonomous status by the CPA, Southern Sudanese are experiencing self-rule for the first time in modern history. Fears of domination by 'Arabs,' though still strong, are fading. That has prompted more southerners to look to themselves and their government in defining their future. Approaching the third year of the interim period, the question that now interests most citizens is not how they will throw off the yoke of a national government they see as oppressive, but how well their own regional government will respond to their needs and concerns. This set of 32 focus group discussions with regular citizens across Southern Sudan provides insight into their assessment of the government's work thus far and their expectations for the future as the South prepares for country-wide elections in 2009.

1. **Opinions about the current state of Southern Sudan are loosely correlated with ethnicity - Dinka and Nuer are more positive - and directly linked to personal experiences with security and development. Most have hope for the future but say that the government's actions will ultimately determine that future.**

In assessing the current situation in Southern Sudan, most participants say that they have either seen positive changes or have seen a few positive changes but want and need more. This appears to be an improvement, albeit a small one, from the NDI-SSCCSE study in late 2005¹⁷ when most participants demonstrated a negative or mixed opinion about where Southern Sudan was headed. The improvement is small, however, as participants in almost one-third of the groups continue to see the situation as bleak. Two key factors contribute to the divided opinion on this subject. The first is ethnicity; Dinka and Nuer tend to have a more positive outlook than smaller tribes. The second, and more important factor, is location. Participants in urban areas¹⁸ and in the most remote areas visited generally have a more negative view of their situation than those who reside in medium-sized towns or villages. More specifically, attitudes are linked to personal experience with two fundamental issues in a location. What makes participants believe Southern Sudan is going in the right direction - security and development - is the mirror opposite of what makes others think it is going in the wrong direction - insecurity and lack of development. In other words, if a participant has seen some improvement in development or security in their area, they are likely to believe that things are going well. If not, they are likely to have the opposite view.

The government is progressing well because the GOSS talks about development and nowadays we have freedom, medical centres, children are studying and there is adult education in the evening hours. The GOSS has also eliminated tribal conflicts, roads have been repaired and now the government is working hard on the outbreak of diseases like meningitis. (Dinka Gok Woman, Cueibet)

Things are okay here in Southern Sudan these days since the CPA...There has been the building of schools, roads and health centres, the withdrawal of northern troops and the improvement in trade in this area and so many others. (Two Nuer Dok Man, Leer)

Some things are going well and others are not. Like security is there but it is not so safe. There is development taking place, but the roads are still poor and goods are really expensive because of the hiked prices. (Man, Wau)

Since the peace agreement was signed, there is nothing that has changed in our living status in Akobo. We are still only having primary school in Akobo. (Nuer Luo Man, Akobo)

There are government promises that have never been fulfilled in respect to building of roads, hospitals and schools. (Man, Maridi)

The GOSS is not going in the right direction because we have insecurity and death in this area. (Dinka Twic Man, Mabior)

¹⁷ See the NDI-SSCCSE report *Searching for a Path to Peace: Reaction to the Death of John Garang and One Year of the CPA*.

¹⁸ Participants in Juba express especially strong feelings of unhappiness and pessimism.

Despite a mixed view of their current circumstances, most participants are optimistic about their future. Those who have seen some improvement in the areas of development and security are confident they will see more. Those who say that the change they have seen thus far is not enough believe that there will be at least some gradual movement in the right direction. Even some who say "nothing has changed"¹⁹ are willing to consider the possibility that the future will be brighter, although they often add that this will occur only if certain conditions are met. In about one-quarter of the groups, participants say they do not see their circumstances changing. The common denominator among all is their belief that government action - or inaction - will be the critical factor in determining if their lives get better or worse.

I think life will be good in the future because there are some improvements that have been made. For example, we now have ox-plows, food and peace, and there are no more cattle rustlers attacking us. (Dinka Twic Male Chief, Wunrok)

We have experienced change now, so by 2009 more schools and hospitals will be built. (Man, Wau)

Change will be there, but not at the rate expected. (Man, Maridi)

Life will be better because the government will give us more aid so we can be able to deliver more to the people. (Male Chief, Maridi)

If the GOSS works hard to develop Southern Sudan, then we shall get change and if the GOSS does not improve, we will go back to conflict because there is no equal treatment. (Nuer Luo Man, Akobo)

Life will not change because I don't see positive changes being done by the government. (Dinka Malual Man, Maluakon)

2. **There is no consensus on the state of the CPA or its future - some think implementation is going well, others poorly; some think peace will last until the 2011 referendum, others are doubtful. Those who have a pessimistic view blame repeated violations of the CPA by the NCP and issues internal to Southern Sudan.**

No uniform opinion emerges on the state of the CPA - participants are evenly split on whether they think implementation of the peace agreement is going well or poorly.²⁰ In only a handful of occurrences did participants within a group agree on this subject. Those who are optimistic about the CPA say they see signs of progress in the simple fact that peace exists and has brought benefits such as freedom of movement. Participants with this view also point to progress in the formation of their own government, which has resulted in tangible improvements such as road construction and the payment of salaries. A number of participants with a positive assessment of the CPA, though, add a qualifier to their declaration. In their view, implementation may be going well, but there are still troubling problems with development and unresolved issues with the North.

I think the CPA has been going on well because I can see ourselves progressing well before we break away from Arabs, and if we separate from Arabs, then we shall do better things since it has been proved that we can rule ourselves. We have our own army, our own budget and our own government which we report to. These things seemed to be impossible but now are possible with the CPA. (Dinka Gok Middle Aged Man, Cueibet)

[CPA implementation] has gone quite well though certain issues have not been implemented. (Male Chief, Maridi)

The CPA is progressing well only that we still have some complications from not getting adequate social amenities... (Dinka Twic Male Chief, Wunrok)

Participants who have the opposite view - implementation of the CPA is not going well - are much more precise in their assessment of the peace agreement. Their concerns fall into one of two camps. The first group asks how the CPA could possibly be seen as successful when there have been numerous violations - in the Abyei Protocol, in the power-sharing and wealth-sharing agreements and in the security arrangements - of the CPA perpetrated by the NCP. These actions suggest, they say, that the NCP is not interested in implementing the CPA and may even be an early signal of future hostile acts. The second group focuses on issues internal to Southern Sudan, such as security and lack of development, which they believe have hurt the implementation of the CPA. Since this group links the CPA's purpose directly to improvement in their daily lives, they see internal problems such as insecurity and lack of development as signs that the peace agreement is not being implemented.

¹⁹ Phrase is from a quote by a Nuer Luo man in Akobo.

²⁰ This is a slight improvement over the NDI-SSCCSE study conducted in late 2005 when participants were more likely to say that they did not think implementation was going well and did not believe peace would last.

The deliberate attacks of Malakal, the LRA and several other militia activities in the South are being financed by the NCP, which is opposed to the ceasefire as signed. I don't see the progress of the CPA. (Dinka Twic Man, Wunrok)

If the CPA is really implemented then the 50% [oil revenue] share could have been given without any conditions...In fact, the North is seeking to link all the productive [oil] areas of the South to the North. (Male Chief, Juba)

The vision [of the CPA] was to better the lives of the south Sudanese, but instead people have been pushed to abject poverty and nothing has happened here. (Male Chief, Wau)

The CPA is not progressing because there are no schools and health centres, and this is due to lack of unity between NCP and SPLM members. (Dinka Gok Older Man, Cueibet)

About half the groups have heard GOSS President Salva Kiir speak of violations of the CPA by the NCP and problems in the agreement's implementation. Many referred specifically to his speech on the second anniversary of the CPA. In offering their advice on how to tackle the issue of non-implementation of the CPA, participants promote three main approaches. Some support a diplomatic approach, saying negotiations are the only way "to make it work."²¹ Others say that a show of strength is the best approach. They advocate strengthening the army, standing firm on any CPA violations and taking action, including a possible declaration of war, if the violations continue. And others would rely on the international community to repeat the vital role it played in bringing the peace agreement to fruition. Supporters of this approach say they would "tell the whole world"²² about the violations.

During the celebration of 9th January 2007, Salva talked to people about the progress of CPA. Salva went to Khartoum and talked to Bashir about the CPA. He also talked to the international community about the non-implementation of the CPA. (Dinka Twic Man, Mabior)

I must use diplomacy...If the North is not forthcoming about the CPA implementation, I must go back to the negotiating table with the NCP about the areas of the CPA that have not been implemented. A second plan to me is to wait until the 2011 referendum. (Two Nuer Dok Male Chiefs, Leer)

If any party breaks the law, the victimized party should take the law into their own hands...If the NCP breaks the law, the GOSS should act upon it. (Man, Yei)

The international community should be invited to review the progress of the CPA. We see that the CPA is not progressing. (Dinka Twic Man, Mabior)

Participants express great uncertainty about whether peace can last until the date of the referendum in 2011. Much like opinion on whether implementation of the CPA is going well, there is an almost even divide between those who believe peace will prevail and those who do not. There is no single reason participants who have hope for peace give for their stance, but faith in the GOSS, belief in the resilience of the CPA and the South, pragmatic considerations ("[peace] is in the interest of both [sides]"²³) and supervision by the international community are a few they cite. Some in this group say that peace will last but say so conditionally, qualifying their optimism with concerns about tribalism, payment of soldiers and civic education among others. Those pessimistic about the prospect for lasting peace link their concerns both to actions by the NCP and militias and to issues within Southern Sudan like insecurity, tribalism and corruption. Issues like these, they believe, place the peace agreement in danger of collapse.

I trust the GOSS leadership...According to me, the North is not serious about the implementation of the CPA, but there is no way [to change it] now because the SPLM is standing firm. I believe the GOSS will contribute to make it work. (Nuer Dok Male Chief, Leer)

Nothing has stopped it [the CPA] until now, so I think we will reach 2011. (Man, Wau)

If there is unity amongst us, we will reach [2011]. if not, we will not. (Male Chief, Wau)

There will be a war between North and South before 2011 referendum. (Anywaak Woman, Pochalla)

²¹ Phrase is from a quote by a Nuer Dok man in Leer.

²² Phrase is from a quote by a Nuer Dok man in Leer.

²³ Phrase is from a quote by a man in Wau.

The way I see it, peace won't be accomplished. The reason is that people have the corrupted mind of tribalism. How can we unite for a common goal? (Man, Juba)

The Arab militias are invading our territory by force, and that's a deliberate plan from the NCP and that's a threat to peace in the near future. (Dinka Twic Male Chief, Wunrok)

3. **"My government" is how participants proudly characterize the GOSS, though their enthusiasm is tempered by a government that performs below their expectations. Issues like corruption, tribalism, non-delivery of services and lack of consultation keep GOSS performance ratings from rising above the fair-to-good range.**

The GOSS is well-known among participants, who mostly describe it as "my government" or a government that "represents us." The GOSS is especially valued for its role as protector of southerners and as a bulwark against the NCP, 'Arabs' and northerners. In that role, there is almost no criticism of the GOSS or its officials. If participants focus only on issues within the South, however, the view of whether the GOSS represents the average citizen is somewhat more mixed. While some participants say that it does, many others offer qualified responses. That is, the GOSS represents them "but" they have significant criticisms of the government, such as charges of tribalism. Others parse their feelings by saying some GOSS officials represent them while others do not. A few declare they do not believe the GOSS is representing them because it has failed in performing critical duties in any number of areas (see below). In naming the leaders of the GOSS, there are only a few (non-local and non-state) officials that participants can associate with the government. Those commonly mentioned are Salva Kiir, Riek Machar, James Wani Igga, Rebecca Garang and Pagan Amum. As President, Salva Kiir heads that list and is the only GOSS official that virtually all participants can name.

I know the GOSS because it is my government. (Nuer Luo Woman, Akobo)

We all know that there is the GOSS...They are for us and stand for us fully. (Lotukho Man, Torit)

The GOSS represents us when discussing with the Arabs concerning the welfare of the whole South Sudan. So the GOSS and its officials represent our interests and protect it from northerners. (Dinka Twic Male Chief, Wunrok)

The GOSS represents me and my interests, but it needs to do more to strengthen itself. (Nuer Dok Male Chief, Leer)

They [GOSS officials] do not come to the people to address their issues, and thus are non-representative of their interests. (Dinka Twic Woman, Mabior)

The Government of Southern Sudan is Salva Kiir. (Woman, Yei)

The job performance ratings for the GOSS fall mostly in the fair-to-good range. Participants were asked to rate the job performance of the GOSS on a scale of 1 to 5, with one representing poor and five representing excellent. As with many other questions in this study, opinion is mixed, with some declaring strongly that the GOSS is doing a poor job and others declaring just as strongly that the GOSS is doing an excellent job. The middle range, though, is where most participants feel comfortable because they are not ready to heavily criticize a government that is relatively new, and they are not ready to overly praise a government that is not delivering on its promises.

What I know is that this GOSS is our government and works very hard for us. (Nuer Luo Man, Akobo)

GOSS is in the middle scale - not so good and not so bad. (Dinka Malual Man, Malualkon)

The GOSS is on the middle scale because there are some other things which have not yet been done, so we can't recommend that the government is excellent. (Dinka Twic Woman, Wunrok)

We grade it [job performance of the GOSS] at the center, because there is good and bad, but in a real sense the bad has diluted the good. (Man, Juba)

The GOSS is on the scale a one, which is the worst because of their failure to achieve the objectives of GOSS and execute them for public benefit. (Dinka Twic Woman, Mabior)

What keeps the GOSS from higher job performance ratings and what drives the ratings of the significant number of participants who rate its performance as poor are several key factors. Based on the number of comments from participants, corruption is the biggest drag on GOSS job performance ratings. There is a perception among some participants that many GOSS officials are out for themselves. Even some who say the GOSS is doing well attribute the failings they see in the government to "financial temptations,"²⁴ and those who believe the government is doing poorly see a direct relationship between corruption in the GOSS and lack of change in their areas. A second area that impacts GOSS job performance ratings is what participants refer to as 'broken promises,' particularly in the area of service delivery. They want, and expect, the GOSS to have an impact on their daily lives. Among smaller ethnic groups, the specter of tribalism in the GOSS dampens support for the GOSS. These groups sometimes feel excluded and believe the GOSS is not doing its job because it is not working for all citizens. Finally, sentiments about the GOSS' job performance are hurt by the perceived lack of communication and consultation with its citizens. Participants with this opinion, which included several groups comprised of traditional authorities, say that lack of communication leaves them without information they need to judge the work of the GOSS and lack of consultation makes them wonder how the government can be responsive to their needs without first understanding what those needs are.

The GOSS is doing well, only that they are not yet satisfied to avoid grabbing wealth.
(Dinka Malual Woman, Maluaklon)

These people [GOSS officials] work on their own interest only rather than the public interest. (Nuer Luo Man, Akobo)

They talk well but are not pragmatic; they do not deliver what they promise to the people. (Male Chief, Wau)

There is the presence of tribalism within the government, thus they are not doing their job. (Male Chief, Maridi)

I do not know for sure about the GOSS. Consultation in the high level of GOSS to its people is not reaching to us here. Signs of progress need to be seen here in order for me to know that there is the GOSS that is working hard to improve the lives of people like me. (Nuer Dok Male Chief, Leer)

Salva Kiir should try and consult with chiefs on issues relating to governance and the areas where they hail from, but all this is not done. There is no follow-up on anything nor is a team from government sent to monitor the situation on the ground. (Male Chief, Wau)

Participants are less able to articulate their opinion of the performance of the SPLM within the Government of National Unity (GONU) because of some confusion between the GOSS and the GONU and the SPLM's role in the South versus the party's role in the GONU. Of those that understood the differences, the SPLM's job performance as a partner in the GONU receives a good-to-very good rating. The strength of the rating is based primarily on participants' perception that the SPLM is protecting their interests "against the Arab-northern elite"²⁵ and that the South is enjoying a relatively high level of autonomy. There are some concerns about the strength of the SPLM versus the NCP, which is viewed as trying to derail peace, but these did not dominate the comments.

The job of the SPLM in the GONU is to protect our interests from northerners. This makes us say that they are excellent in their duties and are working hard to liberate the whole of South Sudan since the North didn't interfere with us after the CPA. (Dinka Twic Male Chief, Wunrok)

The SPLM is doing well in the GONU, though the NCP is trying very much to manipulate and bribe people to support them politically. (Dinka Gok Woman, Cueibet)

4. Members of the SSLA are described as people who are "representing us," but with little knowledge about their role or work, participants judge their representatives solely on their interaction with them as constituents - a test most members of the SSLA fail.

Participants, especially males, are aware of the existence of the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly (SSLA) in Juba, but most have only basic knowledge of the institution and its work. Nevertheless, one idea that participants consistently relate to the SSLA is that of representation. Some can name the person who is the representative from their area correctly, others do so incorrectly and a few cannot name anyone at all. All however, refer to members of the SSLA as people who are "representing us." Because there is little information about the actual work of the SSLA and its members, the sole criteria by which members of the SSLA are currently being judged is whether they communicate with their constituents.

²⁴ Phrase is from a quote by a Dinka Twic man in Wunrok.

²⁵ Phrase is from a quote by a Dinka Twic woman in Mabior.

Most representatives in the SSLA, according to participants, get a failing grade on this front. Many members are said not to return to their areas or consult their constituents at all, causing participants to wonder how a person can represent them without listening to their priorities and concerns. The reward for representatives that do communicate is the loyalty and support of their constituents, who tend to hold them blameless for development delays and other problems. As demonstrated in groups where members of the SSLA are active in their areas, simple communication translates directly into high marks for the job performance of SSLA members. The penalty for a representative that does not communicate may well be a loss of position. As one participant said, "The only solution for these MPs who don't represent us is to vote them out of parliament and replace them with other new MPs."²⁶

I know something about the SSLA because I have a person that represents me there. (Nuer Dok Man, Leer)

We know about the existence of parliament²⁷ and of those there like Justine Yach, Adhar Arop...I think they represent us in the parliament. (Dinka Twic Woman, Wunrok)

To my observation, they [SSLA members] are not doing anything as far as their job is concerned. They have not sought the opinion of the people...If given leave, they don't go home but go instead to Kampala and other places. (Male Chief, Juba)

We know about the Assembly, but we don't know our MP because she never talks to us. She comes on her private visits. (Dinka Twic Woman, Mabior)

No one has come to visit us. They [SSLA members] only come for their own personal business...They do not brief us on anything. (Male Chief, Wau)

Our local MP and other representatives often come here to talk to us about the things that concern us...I do not blame our local MP because of the difficulties he is facing in his workplace. (Two Nuer Dok Male Chiefs, Leer)

There are mixed reviews about the performance of other levels of government - state executive, state legislative and local. In some locations, participants feel their state and local government are working well; in others they view state and local government as failures (due primarily to issues such as corruption, incompetence and tribalism); and in some areas, participants in one group would have an opinion of state and local government completely opposite to participants in another group in the same village or town. Therefore, no clear, overall pattern of opinion on lower levels of government emerged. A positive job performance assessment for state or local government, however, almost inevitably includes comments by participants about the government representatives' consultative nature. Similar to the findings on members of the SSLA, the act of visiting, informing and consulting with the population is the single biggest factor in determining whether, in the minds of participants, their government is doing a good job or not. That is why participants in this study typically report greater satisfaction with their local/payam government (with which they have the most contact) than with any other level of government.

Unless [state government] representatives come out and talk to me, I will not understand what they are doing. (Woman, Wau)

Clement Wani does his job...[he is a] good man because he goes to the people without escorts, and while in Yei he visited students in school. (Man, Yei)

The governor is not good because he doesn't tour his people. He is stationed at Awiel and never goes to Marialbai, Malualkon and other places. (Dinka Malual Man, Malualkon)

The state legislative assembly representatives are familiar with us because they visit us frequently...We know their names and are actually convinced that they represent us and work to achieve our interests and protect our status and welfare. (Dinka Twic Man, Mabior)

I wish we had not nominated any MP to be in the state assembly...Someone's job can be appreciated when they come and talk to you and whatever you say should be taken and put into practice. (Nuer Luo Man, Akobo)

They [payam administrators] are doing a good job because their job is to sit down and discuss with the locals problems facing them like if there is a need to drill boreholes or construct schools and then take it to the government. (Man, Wau)

²⁶ Quote is from a Dinka Malual man in Malualkon.

²⁷ Participants sometimes referred to the SSLA as parliament.

5. **Representation of different ethnic groups in the GOSS should be adjusted to include a greater number of non-Dinka, participants say, with some advocating an equal number of posts for each tribe. There is full support for increasing women's representation in the GOSS to the required 25 percent; some desire even more.**

There is a strong perception among participants that representatives of the Dinka tribe dominate the GOSS a view held even by Dinkas themselves. Typical perception among non-Dinkas is that Dinkas hold one-half to three-quarters of GOSS posts and Nuers occupy a quarter. Dinka participants simply say they have majority representation in the GOSS. Participants from smaller tribes and Nuers see this as unfair. Dinkas have a mixed view. Some do not see their majority position as unusual given their population and their role during the conflict, but other Dinkas acknowledge that a high level of representation in the GOSS is not fair to other tribes. Whether current levels of Dinka representation in the GOSS are viewed as fair or not, many participants agree that Dinka representation in the GOSS should be reduced. Dinka who favor such a move believe it will help ensure harmony among tribes; non-Dinkas see it as "getting what they [other tribes] deserve."²⁸ Participants offer varied solutions for re-adjusting tribal representation in the GOSS. Dinka tend to suggest revising their numbers only slightly downward, while others suggest reducing Dinka representation in the GOSS to one-quarter of the total body.

Rather than focus on specific numbers, however, most participants suggest that one of two precepts be followed in determining tribal representation in the GOSS: equal opportunity or equal division. Some participants say they only want the process of representation to be fair and for an opportunity to be given to all tribes to participate in the government. This suggests an endorsement of some type of merit-based system for GOSS posts. More, though, lean toward the latter option of equal division, saying that fair representation can only be achieved by giving every tribe in the South an equal number of posts in the GOSS. This group appears to see neither population distribution nor merit as valid methods for determining GOSS representation. In their view, the only way to protect their interests in the GOSS is to have their tribe represented equally.

The Dinka have taken 75% of the GOSS and 25% is taken by other tribes. (Nuer Dok Man, Leer)

The Dinkas have dominated, taking one-half...Nuers and Shilluk represent a quarter...The other quarter is Equatorians. (Male Chief, Juba)

Dinka is the majority in the GOSS. Dinka take half, followed by Nuer, Equatoria, Shilluk, Funj and the remaining part is for the other tribes. (Dinka Gok Older Man, Cueibet)

I think is not fair, because it is only the Dinka and Nuer who are carrying all government position in the GOSS... Our county is ignored by government; there is no representation [in the GOSS] from our tribe or county. (Anywaak Woman, Pochalla)

The reason why Dinka are the majority in the government is because we are the majority. We cover four states of the ten states. We were also the majority in the SPLA during the struggle. (Dinka Malual Man, Malualkon)

Some tribes have no fair representation in the GOSS. (Dinka Twic Man, Wunrok)

The government should adjust [current GOSS representation] and ensure fair representation so as to cater for every Sudanese. (Man, Maridi)

What should be done to make ethnic representation equal is not [to come] from us, but the GOSS has the responsibility to re-organize the GOSS leadership and representation. (Dinka Twic Male Chief, Wunrok)

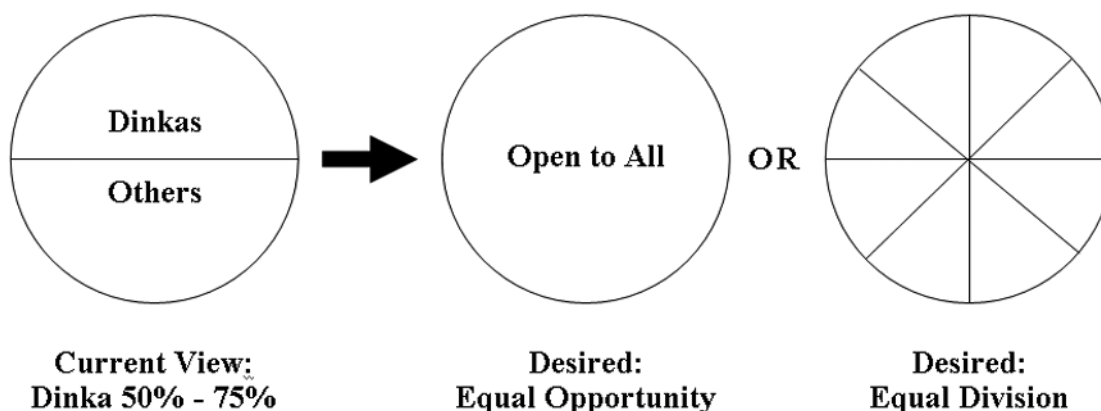
The government will do the right thing and represent all the people in the government to avoid going back to the Arabs and NCP. (Dinka Gok Middle Aged Man, Cueibet)

The government should give equal opportunity to all the tribes of Southern Sudan. (Male Chief, Torit)

To make it fair, there must be equal representation of all the tribes in the South. (Woman, Wau)

²⁸ Phrase is from a quote by a Nuer Dok woman in Leer.

ETHNIC REPRESENTATION IN THE GOSS



Support for the concept of significant representation of women in the GOSS is extremely strong. All participants know about and support the Southern Sudan constitutional mandate to have women comprise 25 percent of GOSS positions. A few participants believe the requirement has been fulfilled, but most acknowledge that women's representation lags far behind the stated goal. Both men and women see this as unfair and assert that the 25 percent quota should be honored. In fact, almost half the groups (and again both men and women) feel that the threshold for women's representation should be raised to anywhere from 30 percent up to 50 percent. In thinking about the practicality of that desire, however, the low educational and professional capacity of women cause some, particularly men, to give pause about how best to increase the number of women in the GOSS. A long-term strategy of promoting girls education is the strategy favored by these participants.

We all know that women are suppose to be given 25% in the GOSS, but now they are not fairly represented...We think to have a fairer representation of women in the GOSS, they should be given the quarter. (Male Chiefs, Torit)

Women have been given only a small percentage in the GOSS...That division is wrong, and it shows that the GOSS has no fair representation for women. (Nuer Dok Woman, Leer)

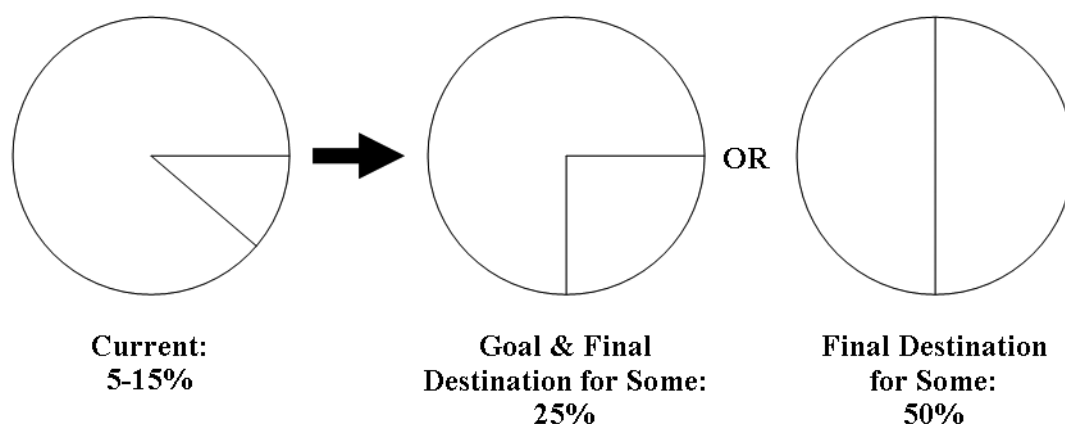
We think that they should be divided in the ratio 1:1, which brings the government positions to equal sharing. (Dinka Twic Woman, Mabior)

We all know that women are represented in the GOSS, but in a small number...Women should be given equal share with men. (Lotukho Man, Torit)

Women are not the same as men in number, but otherwise, they have the same capacity as men to lead if they are educated. So girls should be taken to schools to learn and be made capable to lead. (Dinka Gok Older Man, Cueibet)

The only way to improve women's representation in the GOSS is to put more girls to school. As time goes, these educated women will add or change the representation of women in the GOSS in the future. (Nuer Dok Male Chief, Leer)

REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN THE GOSS



6. Despite some outward signs of development, the GOSS is faulted for its lack of large-scale development activities. Many now doubt that the government can deliver on its development promises, in part due to corruption.

When asked, most participants can bring to mind some sign of development - the building of a school or health facility, the construction of a road or the drilling of a borehole - in their area since the signing of the CPA. Nevertheless, participants consider these efforts too few in number to meet their expectations of government-sponsored development. In addition, it appears that a project must be solely government-directed for participants to consider it true development. Projects led by churches and NGOs, while appreciated, are not credited as part of the government's development efforts. It is the GOSS's responsibility, participants believe, to directly engage in the large-scale building of roads, schools and health facilities in order to develop the South. Participants have a number of theories about why the government's development efforts have not kept pace with their expectations. Most commonly mentioned is corruption - resources for development are not reaching the people. Different levels of government (GOSS, state or local) are blamed for this gap, depending on the local situation. Lack of cooperation between the GOSS and state governments contributes to development delays some say. In larger towns, participants sometimes say that foreigners have slowed development because they do not invest in Sudan. And a few participants posit that perhaps there is no money to undertake development projects on the scale desired.

It is the responsibility of our government to bring more development to our area. (Woman, Wau)

The government has not yet done something for us, like now we are getting help from NGOs which are drilling boreholes for us. (Dinka Malual Man, Maluakon)

[There has not been more development because of] corruption. The government itself is corrupt. (Man, Yei)

The only obstacle [to development] is the state government itself misusing the resources allocated for development. (Male Chief, Wau)

The problem is that state and the national governments are not cooperating. (Nuer Dok Male Chief, Leer)

Development can not go on in this area because most people are foreigners, and they do not plow back their returns in Maridi. (Woman, Maridi)

I think maybe they don't have enough budget for all developmental activities...I think maybe the treasury of the government is empty. (Woman, Yei)

Almost no participants have heard of the 200 Day Action Plan;²⁹ though once being told about its goals, they almost unanimously support it. Few are willing, however, to believe in further development promises. Their trust in the GOSS to deliver widespread development has faded, and so most say they will take a wait- and- see attitude about the Plan and other GOSS-touted development activities.

Wani Igga³⁰ has spoken a lot so that we even sleep thinking it [development] will happen, but nothing is done. (Woman, Juba)

Some government officials treat citizens like children. They promise and never deliver, so we will wait and see but we cannot keep our hopes high. (Man, Wau)

It [the 200 Day Action Plan] is a very excellent idea, but our people are full of good suggestions which never work when it comes to implementation of the idea. (Dinka Twic Woman, Wunrok)

The one sign of development that stands in stark contrast to the pace of change in other areas is the local marketplace. Most participants in the areas visited report exponential growth in their local markets, saying they have grown both in size and in the variety of goods available. They attribute this blossoming of trade primarily to the opening up/improvement of roads and an increase in security, which allows traders from other countries to bring in more goods. While the expansion of local markets is largely viewed as positive, participants complain about the high prices of goods available there. They offer two solutions to this problem, both of which require government action. Some participants

²⁹ The 200 Day Action Plan was developed by the GOSS and described the priorities and work projects planned for each ministry over a 200 day period.

³⁰ James Wani Igga, Speaker of the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly.

believe the government should institute price controls to make goods more affordable to the average person. Others say the high prices are the result of government taxes along the borders, which should be reduced so that those costs to the trader will not be passed on to the consumer. The latter group also believes that high taxes are impeding the further growth of the market.

We have seen that the market is growing both in size and in variety of goods because of the food and non-food items from the neighboring countries of Uganda and Kenya. (Male Chief, Torit)

The market has expanded; there are variety of goods including what we couldn't get in the past. This is the impact of having good roads. (Dinka Malual Woman, Malualkon)

It has grown in size and variety, but there is no price control. Everyone can set up their own prices...The government should issue laws to regulate the price because this is where the problem comes from. (Two Male Chiefs, Wau)

The items [in the market] are very expensive due to too many customs duties being collected from our traders. (Dinka Twic Woman, Mabior)

7. President Salva Kiir is a respected leader who wins praise for his personal integrity and accomplishments, though many expect him to deliver more for the South in the future. He is the only leader who has widespread appeal among participants across Southern Sudan.

A good person and a good leader who is doing a good job is how many participants describe GOSS President Salva Kiir. Dinkas speak mostly of his loyalty, ability to stand firm against the North and his success in following in the footsteps of the late Dr. John Garang. Others care more about the improvements they have noticed under this administration. Maintaining the CPA despite obstacles, improving security in the South, and paying and re-organizing the SPLA are the accomplishments for which these participants give Kiir credit. The general feeling about Kiir's leadership is "so far, so good," but many are expecting him to do more. In fact, when participants criticize Kiir, it is usually because they do not feel he is pressing hard enough (or at all) to bring about change to the South. As one participant said, "His work is slow."³¹ Most of these types of complaints are driven from a frustration with the pace of development. When participants are asked what President Kiir could have done differently in his time in office, development issues dominate the responses. Participants say if they were president, by now there would be many schools, roads and health clinics throughout Southern Sudan.³²

He is a good person...He is worthy to be in the position. (Anywaak Man, Pochalla)

Salva improved himself and became a good leader. (Nuer Dok Woman, Leer)

Salva has fully succeeded Garang and has been doing good work to liberate us from Arabs. (Dinka Gok Older Man, Cueibet)

So far so good [with Kiir as president]. After the demise of John Garang, he is the one who replaced him at a difficult time and he struggled to keep the CPA on track. (Male Chief, Maridi)

He reduced the issues of the LRA...We will imitate and follow his example of good leadership. (Two Male Chiefs, Torit)

He has transformed the SPLA soldiers into a professional armed force...he has given the soldiers their monthly salaries. (Woman, Yei)

He is a good man and our leader but is not a man of action. (Male Chief, Wau)

He has done nothing in his time so far. (Man, Maridi)

³¹ Quote is from the male chiefs group in Juba.

³² In the 2005 study, participants complained about the frequency with which President Kiir communicated to the population. No such complaints are heard in this study, although in describing what they would do differently than the president, some participants indicate they would consult the people more.

Kiir's reputation as a man of integrity remains intact. Despite recent corruption scandals involving GOSS officials, participants say that the blame for corruption and other activities like tribalism goes to those serving under Kiir, but not the President himself. Most are able to separate Kiir from his subordinates, and so thus far their bad acts are not influencing participants' opinion of the President.

He [Kiir] really is transparent to people, he speaks openly to people of the bad and good... He doesn't tolerate corruption. (Man, Juba)

The government of Salva is good because he pledges on our behalf and brings out what is in the GONU for us, but only those who are working with him are the corrupt individuals. (Dinka Malual Man, Malualkon)

The leadership of Salva is good because he unites us all...Kiir is not a tribalist, jealous or corrupt. Though things go missing, we know that it is not him [Kiir] hiding them. (Dinka Malual Woman, Malualkon)

He [Kiir] does a good job... It is only his cabinet ministers that want to spoil him, but he is good. (Male Chief, Juba)

There is tribalism done by GOSS leaders, which he [Kiir] is not anything about. (Male Chief, Wau)

GOSS Vice President Riek Machar is now most closely associated with his work to mediate peace talks between the LRA and the Ugandan government. Many participants applaud his efforts, saying that it demonstrates his commitment to peace. Even some Dinka participants, who overall have a hard time finding praise for Machar, give him credit on this front, although they note it is the "only good thing"³³ he has done. However, as in past studies,³⁴ there remains an ethnic divide between how Nuers view Machar and how Dinkas view him. The views of participants from other tribes usually fall somewhere in the middle. Nuers are generally unreserved in their admiration for Machar. They see him as a strong, conciliatory leader who is making an important contribution to the GOSS. Dinkas' first reaction to hearing Machar's name is a recollection of his split from the SPLM in the early 1990s. Though some participants say they forgive him now that he has returned to the SPLM, none say they are yet willing to trust him. Regardless of whether they view Machar as a good or bad leader, participants from smaller tribes generally do not express their opinions in the emotional extremes that Nuer and Dinka do.

He is a good leader...He brought a relative peace to our area by talking to the LRA. (Male Chief, Torit)

Dr. Machar is doing a lot of things together with Salva, and I heard that he was the one who negotiated the peace between LRA and Uganda government...Dr. Machar is a peacemaker and loves all people in South Sudan. (Nuer Dok Male Chief, Leer)

When I hear about Riek, what comes to my mind is the destruction he made and, though he does well, we only see it as disguise to fool people about his real plans. The first rebellion against the movement gives us a lot of fear and worries about him. (Dinka Malual Woman, Malualkon)

He is a hard-working leader...He initiated the talks of the LRA and Ugandan government...He is dealing with electricity and really has policies. (Three Men, Juba)

Riek is not doing anything as the vice president of South Sudan. (Anywaak Woman, Pochalla)

Near the end of each focus group, participants were asked to imagine that it was election day in 2009, and they were voting for the office of President of Southern Sudan. The verbal ballot they were given placed top SPLM leaders in a head-to-head contest and included Kiir, Machar, Speaker of the SSLA James Wani Igga and SPLM Secretary-General Pagan Amum, among others.³⁵ Participants were also allowed to name any other person they supported. In tallying the vote, Kiir had almost unanimous support among Dinka and solid support among some mixed ethnicity areas such as Wau and Maridi. Machar is the choice of Nuers in this study, but not to the total exclusion of Kiir, who had a least one vote in all the Nuer groups and beat out Machar among Nuer women in Akobo. James Wani Igga is popular in Equatorial states and shows particular strength in the capital city of Juba, where Kiir received few votes. Despite the localized

³³ Phrase is from a quote by a middle-aged man in Cueibet.

³⁴ See the NDI-SSCCSE reports *Searching for a Path to Peace: Reaction to the Death of John Garang and One Year of the CPA* and *On the Threshold of Peace: Perspective from the People of New Sudan*.

³⁵ The verbal ballot included the following names: Salva Kiir, Riek Machar, Lam Akol, Pagan Amum, James Wani Igga, Rebecca Garang [John Garang's widow], Bona Malwal and [Any Person Not on the List].

strength of some candidates, Kiir was the only person in the exercise who was able to break through geographic barriers and garner votes from participants in all the areas of the South.

8. **In the Southern Sudan context, corruption has two definitions - misuse of public money and tribalism - and is a problem that permeates all levels of government. Good faith efforts by the GOSS to address the issue are appreciated but consistent actions will demonstrate proof of sincerity.**

There is near unanimous agreement among participants that corruption in Southern Sudan is a widespread problem and one that is having a detrimental effect on them and their communities. Corruption is spoken of as an evil that exists throughout various aspects of society: business, government, rule of law, social and cultural. For most, though, the definition of corruption boils down to two main issues - misuse of public funds by government officials and tribalism. Embezzlement of public funds is the most common form of corruption identified by participants. They say this practice exists at all levels of government and can provide specific examples of government corruption they know of or have heard about. They also say they can identify corruption by comparing what they see - government officials with nice houses and cars - and what they do not see - development in their communities.

Among smaller tribes, tribalism is viewed as an equally bad form of corruption. Tribalism can be found in almost every aspect of life, participants in these groups say. Dinka and Nuer dominance in government is tribalism and majority tribes getting special treatment by the police or judiciary is tribalism, but what troubles participants from smaller ethnic groups most of all is tribalism in public employment. Too often, they say, government jobs are only for the "tribe-mates" of the largest tribe in the area, and more qualified applicants from smaller tribes are passed over. Participants see a direct connection between corruption of both types and the quality of their daily lives. Their list of the negative impacts of corruption on their lives includes opportunities lost, delayed development, diversion of capital to other areas and increased division among southerners. As a result, participants are firm in their belief that corruption in Southern Sudan has endangered their economic, social and political well-being.

To me, the corruption is growing very well in the South. (Nuer Dok Male Chief, Leer)

There is corruption in the whole South Sudan at all the government levels and in the private sector. I say as a concerned Sudanese that corruption is very dangerous for the growth of our young and growing South Sudan.
(Dinka Twic Male Chief, Wunrok)

Embezzlement of money...is the worse because if you steal money you make the public suffer economically.
(Male Chief, Torit)

I think there is corruption in Government of South Sudan because the representation in the GOSS is also a corruption. Only majority tribes like Nuer and Dinka are in leadership. (Anywaak Woman, Pochalla)

It [corruption] is greatly there because Dinka only employ their tribemates who are not even educated. One is brought from the deepest forest and even with ashes to be a minister. (Woman, Juba)

The worse kind of corruption is not seeing development while there is peace because of the divergence of the money for development. (Nuer Luo Woman, Akobo)

I think one of the worst kinds of corruption is tribalism because it encourages disunity among the people of different ethnic groupings. (Woman, Yei)

Government corruption is commonplace in Southern Sudan, according to participants, and it permeates all levels (GOSS, state and local). Of the three levels of government explored in this study, the local government level (payam and county) is viewed as the least corrupt, although a majority of participants still say that corruption exists at that level. Misuse of public funds is the type of corruption cited most at the local government level. Participants say that taxes collected at the local level sometimes go missing and that money allocated from the GOSS or the state is sometimes "lost," misallocated or used for personal benefit. At the state level, the corruption concerns are a combination of tribalism, nepotism and misuse of public funds. The tribalism charge is made by members of smaller tribes based both on dislike of larger tribes' dominance in government posts and biased employment practices. Nepotism is mentioned more often in relation to state government than any other level and is also linked to employment in the civil service. Participants complain that only relatives get employed, that there is no public advertisement of jobs and that employment only of

people close to those who are powerful is "leaving out the learned people who can perform well."³⁶ However, the type of corruption related to the state government that is mentioned most often, like at other levels of government, is the misuse of public money. Participants say they can see with their own eyes state officials converting public funds into their own personal development projects like houses and cars.

There is a lot of corruption right from the GOSS down to the government of the states and local government.
(Dinka Twic Woman, Mabior)

There is no corruption in the local government, only that we get little from what comes, but we understand that there is not enough because we are many. (Dinka Gok Woman, Cueibet)

Yes, corruption exists in the local government. For example, the collected taxes are being embezzled by the local authorities.
(Male Chief, Juba)

The other type of corruption that I can say is in the state government is where the government officials only employ their own people who are not even educated and those who are educated with degrees and diplomas are floating, which is unfair.
(Middle Aged Woman, Juba)

There is only one tribe who dominates our state, Jonglei state - the Dinka tribe. This is corruption.
(Anywaak Woman, Pochalla)

There is corruption because some [state] ministers bought very expensive cars, and we don't know their sources of income.
(Dinka Gok Middle Aged Man, Cueibet)

Corruption scandals, stories and rumors have colored the way participants see their leaders in the GOSS. Many repeat, with confidence in their veracity, accounts of embezzlement in the Ministry of Finance, GOSS ministers spending lavishly on multiple homes abroad and a government official being caught at the Ugandan border with a car or coffin (depending on how the story is told) full of cash. Also discussed is President Omar Bashir's comment that he had released \$60 million to the SPLM that remains unaccounted for. The corruption believed to be at the top level of government is seen as having an adverse impact on all levels below it. Without corruption at the GOSS level, participants say, corruption at the state and local level would not be possible. The two views are that the GOSS is either allowing corruption to happen at the state and local level or is actively encouraging and participating in corruption at those levels. As one participant said, "Corruption can't be here [local] if it is not up there [GOSS]."³⁷ In addition, the corruption in the form of tribalism in the GOSS continues to be a concern for smaller ethnic groups.

GOSS actually stands for Government of Self Service, not South Sudan. (Man, Yei)

The leaders of the SPLM who are now prominent figures in the GOSS are mostly corrupt except a few individuals.
(Nuer Dok Man, Leer)

It [corruption] originates from the top leaders in the government who in turn make the state leaders corrupt by using them, and they all end up protecting their interests and abusing their power... And the local government leaders have been shown an example from their superiors, thus they also carry it [corruption] out. Especially when money is allocated for something, they just misuse it. (Two Men, Maridi)

There is corruption in the GOSS because leaders steal money, go abroad, build monuments and transfer their families to stay outside Sudan. So that is corruption because that lump sum amount is not only their salaries but also has some corrupted amounts. (Dinka Gok Older Man, Cueibet)

Corruption is tribalism - the appointment of one ethnic group into the key positions of the GOSS. (Woman, Yei)

Despite the scale of corruption participants report, they have faith that the GOSS can successfully tackle the issue. When read a statement by President Salva Kiir on anti-corruption efforts the government is undertaking, most say they believe the GOSS is sincere in its desire to resolve the corruption issue, and they feel confident it will be able to do so. Participants stress, though, that the words of Kiir cannot simply remain on paper; they expect action. Actions that would reassure the participants corruption is being taken seriously include: a purge of corrupt officials, replacement by people with unassailable reputations, immediate and intensive investigations of any suspected abuse, imprisonment of those

³⁶ Phrase is from a quote by a Dinka Twic male chief in Wunrok.

³⁷ Phrase is from a quote by a Dinka Twic woman in Wunrok.

found guilty and the sale of any assets gained through any illegal means. Overall, most participants are willing to give the GOSS the benefit of the doubt in its fight against corruption, but there are some participants who remain skeptical. These are primarily located in the larger towns of Juba, Maridi, Yei and Wau. In these areas, the government will have to work harder to change the conventional wisdom that "the people who are involved always get away with it."³⁸ Regardless of their personal feelings, many participants view corruption and its impact as harmful in both narrow terms (it delays development) and broader terms (it undermines peace).

The [Kiir] statement to eliminate corruption is very good because people will be tried and pay for their corrupt practices. It is a sincere statement and if followed, it will be extremely good and promising. (Dinka Malual Man, Malualkon)

If the government works hard, they can stop it [corruption] through anti-corruption enforcement. (Lotukho Man, Torit)

The GOSS is sincere [in fighting corruption], but this can only be possible if they get a person who can deal with the issue at hand and someone who is firm. Otherwise, the fight against corruption is in vain. (Male Chief, Wau)

We expect the GOSS to expel the corrupt officials and bring in other people who are not corrupt...They should be investigated and held accountable for their corrupt deeds. They should be imprisoned but not sentenced to death. (Two Dinka Gok Women, Cueibet)

That [anti-corruption] song is now out-dated, and we no longer want to hear about it but want to see action done. (Two Middle Aged Women, Juba)

The government should take a firm stand and fight corruption because it is undermining the peace attained. (Male Chief, Wau)

9. The SPLM dominates the political landscape throughout Southern Sudan. A few other political parties have modest name recognition, but that does not translate into support. Women's knowledge of political parties is low, and traditional authorities have mixed views about whether supporting parties is appropriate.

The SPLM is by far the most well-known political party in Southern Sudan, and the only one with a significant grassroots base according to the participants in this study. Though not approaching the level of recognition of the SPLM, a significant number of participants are also able to name three other parties: UDF, SANU, SSDF.³⁹ Beyond those, other parties are mentioned by participants in only a handful of groups or not named at all. In particular, participants in Equatorial states do not appear to know much about other parties. The only ones that rate a mention by any group in that area are UDF and SSDF. Name recognition at any level did not equal support for smaller parties in this study, as only one participant indicated they are a member of a party other than SPLM. In contrast, many participants say they support the SPLM and consider themselves members of the party, although this does not necessarily indicate they are official, registered members. That formalization of their support was lacking among many of our participants.⁴⁰ In most areas, participants report no current activities being undertaken by any political parties, including SPLM. However, some mention that the SPLM is a constant presence on the ground and that party members have visited in the past to provide updates on the political situation. One exception to the lack of political party activity recorded is Wau, where participants say that many political parties are holding various events, and the SPLM is registering party members.

The most dominant party is the SPLM which always organizes rallies. (Male Chief, Juba)

These [smaller] parties have not yet reached our area, and I think they will not come since SPLM is already in control. (Dinka Twic Woman, Wunrok)

We are all [SPLM] party members. I am not [registered] yet because the registration forms were not available. (Man, Maridi)

Have not heard [of any political party activities]...The SPLM presence is much felt here though. (Male Chief, Maridi)

Only SPLM politicians used to come here to brief the community and make people aware about the vision and their mission, and also they used to say that the SPLM is open to every southerner to be a member. (Nuer Dok Woman, Leer)

³⁸ Quote is from a man in Maridi.

³⁹ UDF=United Democratic Front; SANU=Sudan African National Union; and SSDF=South Sudan Democratic Forum.

⁴⁰ SPLM launched a registration drive after this research was completed.

All the parties have done political activities here, but they do not have a manifesto yet. (Male Chief, Wau)

Participants express a strong sense of loyalty to the SPLM as a party, in particular because the SPLM was part of the struggle and new parties have just arrived on the scene. While most participants cannot conceive of a situation in which they would not vote for the SPLM, a few ventured that they could be forced to abandon the party if it does anything that would betray the "cause" or move the SPLM away from its original purpose, which is a reference to any shift away from support for separation from northern Sudan.

SPLM has been struggling [with us] and other parties came recently after CPA...We shall not vote for others. We shall leave the SPLM to lead and see what they will do. (Dinka Gok Middle Aged Man, Cueibet)

We shall vote for SPLM if they are for separation. (Dinka Malual Man, Malualkon)

I can no longer be a member of the SPLM if their vision and their mission is to let southerners remain with the Arabs. (Nuer Dok Woman, Leer)

If the party [SPLM] does not stand for the cause that it should stand for, [I will not vote for it]. In this case, the people's struggle is at the heart of the party's cause. (Male Chief, Maridi)

Women's political knowledge as it relates to parties lags significantly behind that of men. Only three women's groups could name more than one party (SPLM), and four groups could not name any political party, even SPLM. Traditional authorities (all male in this study), on the other hand, are typically knowledgeable about political parties but express different views about their own role in the process. Some of the traditional authority groups declare that chiefs are not allowed to belong to a political party while others enthusiastically embrace a partisan position. Either way, traditional authorities say they will play an important role in advising their people about how to vote. Some traditional authorities are unsure, however, if they will be allowed to vote themselves.

We are illiterate people. We don't know something like that [political parties]. Political parties are for you educated people. (Lotukho Woman, Torit)

Chiefs are not allowed to belong to any party. (Male Chief, Wau)

Yes! We are all members of the SPLM. (Nuer Dok Male Chief, Leer)

People are like sheep, they always listen to their shepherd's instructions...I have to advise my people as a chief for them not to choose danger for themselves. (Two Male Chiefs, Juba)

10. Opposition to a multi-party system is based on fears of conflict and confusion and a weakening of Southern Sudan's position prior to the self-determination referendum. These same fears drive participants to unanimously reject any party that is formed for the benefit of one tribe only.

Most participants believe a multi-party system is not right for Southern Sudan. The prospect that political parties could exacerbate ethnic tensions is frightening for many who remember past divisions in the South. Some are also concerned that, at this nascent stage in Southern Sudan's political development, multiple parties in government can only bring confusion. As one participant said, "Let the cow grow horns as it was born only with ears."⁴¹ However, most are not bothered by the concept of political pluralism or how the current multi-party system operates, but rather, its timing. Participants are particularly concerned with exposing any weakness of the region prior to the self-determination referendum. Once the referendum has occurred and - many hope - independence gained, participants say they will not be opposed to a multi-party system. In addition, a significant minority of participants already view a multi-party system as beneficial to Southern Sudan because it is a sign of democracy and provides a counter-balance to the party in power.

It does not sound good to me to have six parties in the interim period. I should suggest to remain with the SPLM party up to the time of referendum. (Nuer Dok Male Chief, Leer)

[Multiple political parties] will make the government less strong and bring about confusion. An example is the West African situation, where a country has many political parties, and this will surely bring confusion. (Man, Maridi)

⁴¹ Quote if from the Nuer Dok Male Chiefs group in Leer.

It is not good to have six political parties because there will be conflict between each other. (Anywaak Man, Pochalla)

Having many political parties may cause grudges among people resulting into disunity. This will weaken the southerners, and Arabs will defeat us again...The other political parties should have emerged after we are independent. (Two Dinka Twic Men, Mabior)

Multi-party is good because opposition parties challenge the ruling party to run things properly; democracy will be encouraged...Multi-party good because corrupt individuals can lose a vote for their corrupt deals. (Two Dinka Malual Men, Malualkon)

It is good to have six political parties, the reason being they are there to see and point out the wrong and right things of those heading government; in that, it brings efficiency. (Man, Juba)

The idea of a party formed to represent the viewpoint of a single tribe was anathema to all participants in this study. Above all, participants want to avoid anything that promotes division or bias among southerners and feel strongly that a one-tribe party would be detrimental to peace and stability in the region.

It [a one tribe party] is not good because it misleads people and brings about tribalism. (Man, Wau)

All the six parties belong to every person in South Sudan, and if a person uses bias, that person should be left alone because at this time we don't need division. (Nuer Dok Man, Leer)

The political party which is formed to represent the viewpoint of just one tribe is not good...A party should be widespread to every county, like the SPLM. It has offices in every county. (Two Male Chiefs, Juba)

11. Candidates who demonstrate leadership abilities, promote unity among southerners and make development a centerpiece of their campaigns will receive the most support in the 2009 elections.

When asked how they will decide which candidates to cast their vote for in 2009, most participants say their decision will be based on a person's leadership ability and qualifications. A leader, in the eyes of Southern Sudanese participants, is someone who can be responsive to citizens' needs, act selflessly and understand development. Candidates who demonstrate these qualities, however, cannot automatically count on support unless they also exhibit a characteristic highly valued by many: the willingness to set aside personal ethnic loyalties to enhance unity among southerners. Not all participants will assess each candidate individually; some say that party identification will be the determining factor in their vote. For these, the SPLM is a trusted guide to which they owe their allegiance, regardless of the quality of the candidate. Only a handful of groups in the study indicate their support for candidates will be based on ethnicity, and indeed most were strongly opposed to such an idea. Nevertheless, the comment of one participant may reflect the default position for many, if candidates are not able to make themselves and their positions well-known. She said, "If there are many candidates and I don't know them, I will vote for my tribemate."⁴²

I will only vote for people who are capable of doing things well, rather than voting for a relative who is not capable of leading us properly. (Dinka Malual Woman, Malualkon)

I can vote for a person who has a good personality, vision and mission and will not divide Southerners. (Nuer Dok Woman, Leer)

We should not vote on a tribal basis but vote on the people who are capable of leading us, regardless of his tribe or ethnic group. (Dinka Gok Woman, Cueibet)

The basis of my vote will depend on my party member who is running regardless of which tribe he or she comes from...political party affiliation will only matter to me. (Nuer Dok Man, Leer)

We shall vote for SPLM representatives even if they are not fit to lead. (Dinka Twic Male Chief, Wunrok)

Development tops the list as the subject that participants most want candidates to address in their campaigns. More specifically, schools and roads are priority topics for voters, though priorities differ somewhat based on location. For example, in some areas, participants want candidates to first offer solutions to the security situation before sharing their

⁴² Quote is from a Lotukho woman in Torit.

platform on development issues. As noted above, unity among southerners will be an important theme for any candidate hoping to capture voter support, and participants say they want to hear candidates actively supporting this concept. Some voters want to be reassured about another issue as well, but it is less of a campaign issue than a fundamental criterion by which they will measure candidates even before they speak. Support for the choice of separation in the self-determination referendum is a prerequisite that must be satisfied before these voters will consider any of a candidate's other qualities or policies.

I want them to speak about development...building schools...road construction and the digging of boreholes.
(Three Male Chiefs, Torit)

He [a candidate] should talk about South Sudan and how he can develop it for the good of the people... Should talk about building more schools. (Two Women, Maridi)

I want security concerns to be addressed and to be assured that there is no more war and peace will prevail. (Man, Wau)

The government candidates and others should encourage unity, democracy and development for all regions.
(Dinka Gok Woman, Cueibet)

Never shall we vote for candidates who lobby for the unity of South and North Sudan. (Dinka Twic Man, Mabior)

I want to hear about separation and development. (Nuer Dok Male Chief, Leer)

Not all participants spoke of the upcoming elections in a broad sense, but among those who did, a myriad of concerns arose: possible rigging, obstruction by the North, delay of the census and southerners' reaction to their first-ever free and fair election. In all of these areas, participants hunger for additional information so they can increase their knowledge of elections. They view the availability of that information as both a way to educate themselves and to protect the legitimacy of the process.

There will be many problems during elections because southerners have never experienced such competition before.
(Nuer Dok Man, Leer)

I think conflicts will arise because our people have no knowledge about voting. Each will be struggling to have his relatives vote for them. (Dinka Gok Middle Aged Man, Cueibet)

I think that the election will not take place because the North will not allow us to carry out the elections. (Woman, Wau)

I do not know whether it [the 2009 election] will take place as the census has not taken place. (Male Chief, Wau)

The elections should not be rigged. It should be proclaimed and announced publicly. (Dinka Malual Man, Maluakon)

The elections should be announced to [raise] the consciousness of the public and should not be rigged. [Information] must be broadcast over the radio such that all are informed. (Nuer Dok Male Chief, Leer)

12. The basic goal of a population census is understood, but officials cannot expect accurate answers from all segments of the population without significant civic education and the assistance of traditional authorities.

There is widespread knowledge of the basic purpose - to count people - of a population census. Many participants go further to describe the census as an exercise to arrive at a count so that development and services can be brought to their areas.⁴³ For this reason, some participants say they will eagerly offer any information required to census workers. Others are more cautious. They say that before providing any personal information they will need to hear the government announce the census publicly and explain why the information is needed and how it will be used. Participants also urge the government to undertake a civic education campaign before the census is conducted. The campaign is necessary, they say, to reassure the public that the process is legitimate, to reduce any adverse impact among those who may react badly to census activities and to increase the likelihood that their fellow citizens will provide accurate information.

[A census is the] counting of people in an area within that locality...to know the number of people in the area so as to deliver the services according to the number of people staying there. (Two Men, Yei)

⁴³ Only a few women's groups claim to have no information about the census process.

It is now the beginning, and whatever the GOSS will need from civilians will be given to the GOSS. We will answer all questions which will be asked by the census workers. (Nuer Dok Male Chief, Leer)

The problem is fear of the unknown. If I have known why the information is needed and nothing bad comes out of the investigations, I will certainly be frank and let out the truth. (Dinka Twic Woman, Wunrok)

I will not tell the truth [to census workers] unless it has been announced over radio and television, and we are all aware of what is going on. Some [people] have personal interests. (Man, Juba)

The society must be taught civic education to know the importance of the population census. (Dinka Twic Man, Mabior)

Something that is important [for the census] is the enlightenment of every Southerner. For example, if you ask somebody how many children you have, he will term you a wizard. But when explained that the government wants to bring things like schools, hospitals, etc., they can tell the truth. (Male Chief, Juba)

Providing detailed information to the populace is only one of the keys to conducting a successful census, participants say. How the census is conducted will also affect the willingness of citizens to participate and the accuracy of their responses. Chiefs and citizens alike talk about approaching people through "the right channels," which is primarily a reference to informing and involving the traditional authority structure in the census process. With that first step taken, most objections to the kinds of questions asked in the census subside. The other major obstacle to accurate collection of information identified by participants is the timing of visits by census workers. In this study, many people strenuously oppose any visit at night. Their reasons are varied: strangers coming at night have suspect motives; work is not done at night; night is the time for rest; security will be compromised; and no legitimate activity is undertaken at night. Some participants suggest, however, having more information about the census and/or knowing that their chiefs have approved of the activity would make them more amenable to accepting visits by census workers at night. Also, the demeanor of census workers will have impact on the data collected. Participants say census workers must be polite and humble if they hope to elicit clear and correct answers from the population.

If the person [census workers] comes through the right authorities and asks chiefs, then people will not have a problem with them. But failure to do that and they will they have a problem. They should go to the chiefs, subchiefs and headmen to enable communication to the people before they are accepted to carry out the census. (Male Chief, Maridi)

I will not tell them [census workers] first. Chiefs must be informed by any census worker. (Lotukho Man, Torit)

Let it be conducted before five o'clock because any one who will come beyond that will be an enemy. (Middle Aged Woman, Juba)

I will not give [information to census workers] because it is at night. Why not come during the day? ... Witchcraft practitioners can take advantage of the situation. (Man, Yei)

If the officials of the census come at night, we shall not accept them...No work is done at night. That's why we don't accept giving information at night, but we can compromise if they come with our nearest leader of the village. (Dinka Gok Older Man, Cueibet)

Census workers should introduce themselves and ask questions gently, and as a result you will just get information if you follow the right procedures. (Dinka Malual Man, Malualkon)

Based on the reaction of our participants, certain questions asked in the census will delve into sensitive cultural areas, and certain questions will seem illogical. For example, some participants have a hard time understanding why a census worker would ask about the dead. If a census is about counting people, their logic goes, why would the government need information about deaths? Not understanding the basis for a question leads some to declare they will not answer a question or will deliberately mislead. Several census questions also cover territory that clash with traditions in certain Southern Sudanese cultures. Sharing the number of children or livestock with strangers is something generally forbidden, and questions concerning either issue can raise suspicions, according to participants in some areas of the South. Again, however, providing more information about the census to the population and involving traditional authorities may overcome some of these hurdles.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Of the questions tested in this study, participants did not express great concern about providing information on their biological parents, their household livelihood and marriage. See Appendix C to view questions asked relating to the census.

I will not tell because the census has nothing to do with cattle or the dead... Of what use is [that information] to you? (Two Male Chiefs, Torit)

I will lie and wonder why you should ask about the dead. After all, census workers do not query about the dead. (Man, Yei)

It is a taboo in our culture [to talk about the number of children], but we shall co-operate if the government orients the community to be aware of what is actually going on. (Dinka Twic Woman, Mabior)

The question of livestock is a bit sensitive because in our culture if you have cows you will only say, 'I have one.' (Dinka Malual Man, Maluakon)

I will not tell. That [question] means he or she is cheating. Why are they asking for animals? I will not tell because headcount is for people not for animals. (Lotukho Woman, Torit)

13. Not all participants are confident a self-determination referendum will occur in 2011, but most are certain of how they will vote - separation from the North. Among a few who can envision it, Salva Kiir's assumption of the presidency of Sudan prior to the referendum would prompt them to vote for unity.

There are mixed views on the likelihood that a self-determination referendum will be held in Southern Sudan in 2011. Some participants are confident the referendum will occur, primarily because they have faith in the international community and/or the SPLA/M to deliver upon the guarantees offered in the CPA. Others say they are doubtful. There is no single factor driving their lack of confidence, but violations of the CPA, concerns over possible bribery of leaders and the crisis in Darfur are among the reasons that these participants are hesitant to believe the referendum is an immutable part of their future.

The referendum will happen because the whole world knows about it; so it will happen. (Man, Yei)

If the international community is still supervising the CPA, I should say that I am very confident [of the 2011 referendum]. (Nuer Dok Woman, Leer)

I am not sure [the referendum will be held]. Some of our leaders could sell us out because of money. (Male Chief, Juba)

I am less confident [the referendum will be reached] because of the continuous violations of the CPA by the NCP. (Nuer Dok Man, Leer)

I am not sure [the referendum will occur] because certain problems like the Darfur crisis are still going on which will disrupt the arrangement. (Man, Wau)

Separation remains the overwhelming choice of participants who are asked how they would vote if the referendum were held today. Opinions on this issue have not changed to any obvious degree from the last study, which posed a similar question in 2005.⁴⁵ As in that study, past grievances and a desire for self-rule are the oft-cited justification for opting for separation; participants in this study now add CPA violations to this list. Few participants can imagine any scenario in which they would vote for unity in the referendum. Of those who can, the primary driver of their about-face would be Salva Kiir's assumption of the presidency of all of Sudan prior to the referendum. Individual participants also mentioned continued GOSS corruption and tribalism as forces that could change their vote to unity, but these were not repeated by others.

I will vote for separation because the Arabs are not good people, and they get their resources from South to develop the North. (Man, Yei)

Separation - we need to be independent of the Arabs and take control of our own affairs. (Male Chief, Wau)

We have two years since the CPA was signed and there is continuation of the CPA violations, so I can vote for separation in such a case. (Nuer Dok Woman, Leer)

⁴⁵ See the NDI-SSCCSE report *Searching for a Path to Peace: Reaction to the Death of John Garang and One Year of the CPA*

There's nothing that will make me change my mind and vote for unity again. Those who will vote for unity are just betrayers of the South. (Dinka Twic Woman, Wunrok)

I will compromise if Kiir becomes the president of the whole Sudan and the Arab becomes the vice president. In this situation, I will vote for unity since Kiir leads the whole Sudan. (Dinka Gok Woman, Cueibet)

- 14. The origins of insecurity in Southern Sudan are no longer the result of a single primary threat - conflict with the North - but are now increasingly varied and require an equally varied response. However, the resolution of security issues remains, participants say, a fundamental government responsibility.**

Southern Sudanese have enjoyed an improved security environment over the past four years due to a ceasefire and the subsequent signing of the CPA. Although the primary cause of insecurity in the region has been resolved, many participants report some level of insecurity in their areas. The difference is that now the causes vary and are mostly dependent upon geographic location. In the Equatoria area, the LRA is the cause of insecurity; near the North-South border participants complain of "Arab militias;" in the east, cattle rustling with tribal/clan origins is to blame; and in larger towns, soldiers and criminals are said to be the culprits. These causes of insecurity are generally unrelated, specific to an area and suggestive of the need to develop different approaches to resolve persistent insecurity in the region.

Even on the road from Torit to Juba, people are killed by the LRA. (Lotukho Woman, Torit)

Soldiers harass people if they go walking at a certain time at night. (Woman, Maridi)

How about those being killed or knifed at night? Isn't that insecurity? That is insecurity, and we even do not know the people behind it all. (Middle Aged Woman, Juba)

There is insecurity caused by Arab cattle rustlers who are just a few miles away from us. The Arab militias come with guns and force us to give them our cattle. (Dinka Twic Male Chief, Wunrok)

The Murle tribe is causing insecurity in our area by taking our cattle and raping our children. (Anywaak Woman, Pochalla)

Resolving insecurity issues in Southern Sudan - whatever their cause - is a government responsibility, according to participants. Whether they are speaking of tribal/clan violence, soldier misbehavior, criminal conduct or LRA and militia attacks, participants consistently say the resolution to these problems is not possible at the local level and instead requires high-level government intervention. Among the actions participants list as important for the government to undertake in addressing security are: deploying the SPLA to drive out the LRA and militias; strengthening of the police and judiciary to address crime; improving soldier discipline; disarming civilians; and providing protection to the unarmed in areas prone to tribal/clan conflict.

The government must protect this area [from tribal violence] because our men have no guns in their hands to protect the area. (Nuer Luo Woman, Akobo)

The government must deploy the army around to scare off militiamen who are threatening to violate the CPA. (Dinka Malual Man, Maluakon)

The government should disarm the civilians...The soldiers should be kept in the barracks. (Two Lotukho Men, Torit)

We think the best solution for the insecurity is for the government and SPLA to drive the LRA out from the Southern Sudan. (Woman, Yei)

The government should recruit many police to patrol at night...The judiciary should be empowered. (Two Male Chiefs, Torit)

15. **The GOSS initiative in undertaking negotiations with the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) is widely applauded because it has improved security and opened up business opportunities. Participants would be equally supportive of President Kiir's stated intention to forcibly drive the LRA out of Southern Sudan if the negotiations fail.**

Participants are generally aware of the GOSS role in negotiations with the LRA and, though they do not have detailed information about the negotiations, strongly support the government's effort. For Equatorians, who often cite LRA attacks as among the worst events of 2006, the negotiations offer a respite from violence and are a sign that the government is addressing their concerns. Other Southern Sudanese support their fellow Equatorian citizens in their desire for peace but also appreciate the negotiations for a very practical reason - the decline in LRA attacks has allowed more goods and business to flow into their areas from Uganda. The preference of almost all participants is that the negotiations proceed to a final resolution of the LRA issue as it relates to Southern Sudan. If that fails, however, there is no hesitation on the part of participants to back a military solution. President Kiir's statement that he would have the SPLA force the LRA out of Southern Sudan should they refuse a peaceful solution is strongly supported.

It [undertaking negotiations with the LRA] was a good decision because it is the responsibility of the GOSS to take care of its citizens and in this case they are affected. (Man, Maridi)

The intention to bring peace to LRA and Uganda is good because our traders to Uganda will be secure and business will flourish between the countries of Sudan and Uganda. (Dinka Malual Man, Maluakon)

It [Kiir's threat to drive out the LRA by force] is a good statement. An amicable solution should be used first, but if it fails then use this option because of the destruction they have caused in South Sudan. (Man, Wau)

16. **Outward signs, such as uniforms and vehicles, and improved soldier discipline convince many participants that the GOSS has made significant progress in the transformation of the SPLA into a professional army, though pockets of discontent with soldier behavior, centered primarily in larger towns, remain.**

The GOSS efforts to transform the SPLA into a professional army are succeeding in many areas. Participants say they see the transformation occurring before their eyes through the provision of uniforms and boots to soldiers locally and the outfitting of nearby units with vehicles and lorries. The payment of salaries to soldiers and the ordering of soldiers to their barracks are also cited by many as steps that have greatly reduced both soldiers' harassment of civilians and their reliance on the populace for basic needs. The professionalization of the SPLA is also adding to participants' overall sense of peace and security. They feel safer personally because they do not fear raids by soldiers looking for food or other necessities. They feel safer from regional enemies because of their growing confidence in the SPLA as a force that can be deployed quickly to deal with the many security issues that remain in Southern Sudan. And they feel safer politically because the transformation of the SPLA is a sign that peace is becoming institutionalized and thus much harder to reverse.

We have seen a transformation in the SPLA into a more professional army...The soldiers now have their monthly salaries...The soldiers now have vehicles...The soldiers now have uniforms. (Four Male Chiefs, Torit)

I have seen a very big change [in the SPLA]...Before the initiative by our government, soldiers moved to our homes to take things by force, but now the situation has stopped. (Two Nuer Luo Women, Akobo)

The SPLA has advanced because they have vehicles now. They dress in their smart uniforms...and above all soldiers don't walk nowadays. They are carried by their vehicles, hence they can meet the urgent need wherever they are wanted for action. (Dinka Gok Middle Aged Man, Cueibet)

It [transformation of the army] came as a surprise to me because I was not expecting this settlement of the SPLA...As community leaders, we believe that everything is now coming to an end. (Nuer Dok Male Chief, Leer)

Not all participants agree with the assessment of the SPLA as an army in transformation. There are pockets of the population that still suffer at the hands of soldiers. The problem appears to be centered primarily in larger towns, such as Yei, Wau and Juba, where soldier arrogance and lack of discipline is a chief complaint. Although individual groups in each of these towns dismiss the idea of progress in the transformation of the SPLA, the only town where all groups express this view is Juba. Participants in Juba speak of frequent run-ins with soldiers (for example, soldiers demanding seats on a bus) and particularly focus on violent clashes between soldiers and civilians in December 2006. In smaller towns, participants who feel the SPLA has not become a more professional army focus not on soldier misbehavior but instead on the lack of outward signs (uniforms, vehicles and salaries) that the GOSS was providing aid to their local soldiers.

We have not seen any progress. Soldiers have no respect for the law. (Male Chief, Wau)

Soldiers were told to look for criminals and instead they started harassing people and stealing from local people. This is as recent as last week. (Man, Yei)

There is no improvement at all [in the army] because they [soldiers] beat people without proper reason...for example, the conflict between the SPLA and the citizens of Southern Sudan, especially during the Christmas season [last year].
(Middle Aged Woman, Juba)

There is no change in the SPLA because we see them still dressing in civilian clothes. Soldiers are hungry and not healthy. Soldiers are still scattered across villages. Soldiers are shying away from the barracks because of hunger. This requires the government to do much for the betterment of the SPLA. (Dinka Twic Male Chief, Wunrok)

Regardless of whether participants feel the SPLA is making progress in its transformation to a professional army, all think the effort is worthy and should be a priority for the GOSS. Participants desire an army that can offer them both protection and a sense of political identity that would be the equivalent of other countries. In fact, in weighing the job performance of President Salva Kiir and the GOSS over the last two years, some participants cite efforts at transformation of the SPLA as the best initiative the government has undertaken thus far.

It will be very nice if our army is equipped and becomes a national army like other armies of Uganda and Kenya.
(Dinka Twic Woman, Mabior)

The SPLA has been equipped by the government, and we like the idea because our army should look like other armies we see from other countries. (Dinka Gok Woman, Cueibet)

The best thing he [Kiir] did is paid the SPLA soldiers. (Man, Maridi)

17. Use of the mother tongue as the language of instruction in early primary grades is strongly backed in areas of single-language dominance but raises concern in locales where multiple tribes and languages exist.

The current Ministry of Education policy to use the mother tongue as the language of instruction in early primary grades and thereafter switch to English is highly popular in areas where a single language is dominant (e.g., Dinka, Nuer areas). Participants in these areas say that using the mother tongue in schools initially is good policy since it is better to know your own language before others and will make early learning easier. There is also a strong sense of pride that the education system's use of the mother tongue will help keep the culture and traditions of the area alive. The only objection to the policy in single ethnicity areas is among those who wanted to have both English and the mother tongue used simultaneously. Single ethnicity areas also support providing a local option to determine the language of instruction. Given the strong support for mother tongue instruction, a number of participants react poorly to the suggestion of a future policy requiring all areas of Southern Sudan to use English as the only language of instruction, saying that such a policy would amount to re-colonization. Use of English is seen as important and necessary for the growth of the region but not to the exclusion of mother tongue in the early primary grades.

The suggestion to teach the mother tongue in elementary schools is very nice and positive because it is better to know your own language before starting with foreign languages. (Dinka Twic Man, Mabior)

It is good for children to start their learning in the mother tongue because it keeps them alert to their culture and tradition.
(Nuer Luo Man, Akobo)

Yes, it [learning the mother tongue] is good so that it can allow children to learn their mother tongue for effective communication with their fellow tribesmen. (Lotukho Woman, Torit)

English and Dinka should be started as early as standard one. (Dinka Gok Middle Aged Man, Cueibet)

The GOSS should give every single state, up to the county, the right to exercise and choose [languages] they want and think can fit them and/or represent their interests. (Nuer Dok Male Chief, Leer)

The GOSS couldn't force us to learn in English. Our children are not white or English people. We should react and reject this policy [of English-only instruction]. (Nuer Luo Man, Akobo)

In areas where there are multiple languages and ethnicities, there is a mixed response to the Ministry's language policy of using the mother tongue in early primary grades. Some approve because of the same reasons (the policy promotes culture and learning) as participants in single ethnicity areas. Others, though, are concerned with the practicality of the policy. How will officials choose which of the many languages in the area will be taught? Will it mean that children not speaking the selected language will have to go elsewhere to be taught in their mother tongue? Others fear that using the mother tongue as a language of instruction could increase divisions among the many tribes living in those states. Also, those who do not know English are concerned that exclusion of Arabic/Juba Arabic as a language of instruction could put certain people in the area at a disadvantage.

South Sudan is for all. If in Juba, Bari is taught and in Yei another language is taught, how will people communicate? ... Mother tongues should be taught at home. (Two Men, Yei)

I don't agree with this policy. I prefer English language to be taught from primary 1 up to the university level to avoid disunity among the Southern Sudanese. (Woman, Yei)

There are many tribes within a locality. What will be the basis of choosing to teach one mother tongue over another, unless each tribe will go to their area of origin? (Man, Wau)

Are they going to teach all 52 languages? (Woman, Juba)

To start English as the language of instruction is bad. The reason is currently some people have read Arabic and others English, so it will be a problem to the Arabic learners. (Man, Juba)

18. There are few objections to the implementation of taxes by the GOSS, but participants expect those taxes to be used for development in their areas and say that traditional authorities are the best placed to collect taxes.

Most participants are supportive of the idea of paying taxes to the government, primarily because the concept is not a new one. Tax collection activities were common in "old Sudan" and during the war, so participants find it natural that the GOSS would implement its own tax policies. They also, however, link the concept of taxes very closely with development. Most believe the purpose of collecting taxes is to bring development - not just generally to Southern Sudan but more specifically to their areas. In other words, they expect to see, with their own eyes, tangible benefits from the taxes they pay. Some participants took this idea one step further arguing development should come first and taxes second. Both traditional authorities and regular citizens believe that using chiefs, sub-chiefs, headmen, and gol leaders is the most effective and fair way to collect taxes from the people. When people speak of the collection of taxes, though, it is unclear if they are referring to the remittance of money or to some donation to the government of their crops or other goods. Several participants mentioned a past system whereby the government purchased food from citizens and then deducted a portion of the sale for tax.

There has been tax collection since the time of old Sudan, when we could even share the crops and harvests of the year with the government. So there is nothing strange about taxation. (Dinka Malual Woman, Malualkon)

I have no problem paying my taxes to the government because such taxes will allow the government to bring more development to my area. (Woman, Wau)

If the government brings schools, health centres, boreholes and initiates development, then we should not regret the initiative to collect taxes. (Dinka Gok Older Man, Cueibet)

Before any development, no tax should be collected. After development, it is fine to collect taxes. (Man, Maridi)

The government should delegate chiefs to collect taxes, and the chiefs will arrange it in their leadership hierarchy. (Dinka Twic Male Chief, Wunrok)

For the farmer, the government should buy the food from them, and from the proceeds out of the sale, they should deduct a portion for tax. (Man, Maridi)

CONCLUSION

Given the obstacles the GOSS faced in forming a government out of nothing, participants' rating of its performance as "in the middle" should probably be considered a triumph. However, the GOSS will have to work hard to maintain this level of satisfaction - especially since some participants were giving the government the benefit of the doubt because it is young - and even harder to improve upon it. Southern Sudanese are now focused inward. Issues related to 'Arabs' and the North, while important, no longer occupy daily thoughts and conversations. Concerns now are squarely focused on issues that can have a significant impact on improving citizens' lives within Southern Sudan.

The participants in this study provide a clear roadmap for the GOSS. They see their lives as adversely impacted by four key issues internal to Southern Sudan: insecurity, development, tribalism and corruption. If the GOSS focuses its energies in addressing concerns in these four areas, it will distinguish itself as a responsive, representative government and will promote unity among southerners. If not, the GOSS will be defined as an unfair, ineffective and discriminatory government and will risk creating a perception that some tribes are the 'haves' and others are the 'have nots.'

As noted in the Preface, the findings set forth in this report represent a snapshot of public opinion in early 2007. Southern Sudan is undergoing change at a rapid pace, and preparations for the 2009 elections will inevitably alter the political landscape further. As a result, public opinion is likely to shift over time. For now, however, the opinions and attitudes expressed by the 356 people who participated in the focus group research suggest the following actions will help Southern Sudanese leaders form a more representative and responsive government for the South.

Demonstrate Sincerity on Misuse of Public Funds by Taking Strong, Comprehensive and Repeated Action. As reported by participants, the misuse of public funds by officials is rampant throughout government structures. Despite this, the GOSS has a window of opportunity to change behavior and attitudes as the population has not yet become cynical about the government's efforts to address the issue. One reason that people have faith in the GOSS on this issue is President Kiir, who many believe to be beyond reproach. However, because people suspect that so many top GOSS officials are involved in corruption, there are signs that corruption is beginning even to affect opinions of Kiir. As participants in one group said, "[Kiir's] job is not good because the people in his cabinet are misallocating resources meant for development," and "[Kiir's] work is 50-50 because he is being judged by the action of his subordinates."⁴⁶ If people lose faith in Kiir's ability to tackle corruption, their attitudes will become much more hardened. Serious statements on corruption by Kiir, such as the one issued earlier in the year, are welcomed, but ultimately people want him to be a "man of action"⁴⁷ on this issue. To fully convince the public of good intentions on the corruption issue, the GOSS will have to supplement what could be seen as one-off moves for show (such as the highly publicized dismissal of officials at the Ministry of Finance) with a more comprehensive policy and plan to fight corruption. Formation of the anti-corruption commission is a step in the right direction, but what citizens want to see most of all is prosecution of those involved in corruption as the rule rather than the exception. This will require the GOSS to expand its anti-corruption efforts to all levels of government, to develop strong and standard punishments for the misuse of public funds so that certain people are not seen as receiving special treatment and to demonstrate the political will to continue a fight that will likely be an ongoing one.

Manage Expectations on Development and Focus on Three Top Priorities. People can name any number of signs of development they see in their areas since the signing of the CPA, but these have done little to meet the expectations of the population. Only when each community has, at minimum, schools, good roads and health facilities will their expectations be met. These expectations are reasonable when viewed from a personal perspective but dauntingly high when looking at the vast area and population that the government must serve. To raise the level of satisfaction among its citizens, the GOSS must begin to manage, and if possible lower, these expectations. Future government communication on development should focus not on promises of future improvements, but on educating the public about the scale of development that can reasonably be accomplished given fiscal constraints, the large area to be covered and the time it takes to implement appropriate projects. There are also several other ways in which communication can help lessen dissatisfaction with the government over the pace of development. First, the GOSS should clarify that the development work done by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) is part of the government's development plan. Currently, the GOSS does not get credit for this work, and in fact, it is viewed as ineffective in development efforts when compared to these NGOs. Second, GOSS communication on development should be tailored to focus only on the three

⁴⁶ Quotes are from two male chiefs in Wau.

⁴⁷ Phrase is from a quote by a male chief in Wau.

top priorities of citizens: education, road infrastructure and health. Participants had a good reaction to the 200 Day Action Plan once it was explained to them, but the plan is not easily digestible. Simplifying communications to focus on the people's top priorities will increase knowledge of the government's plans. Finally, this study and past studies have shown that people do not need to see development right away if they believe there is a plan for development. There should be a realistic timetable for each state, and perhaps each county, which is shared with the public and outlines what can be done this year, what can be done next year, etc. If Kajo Keji, for example, is not getting a road that links it with Juba this year, when will it get a road? Sharing development plans and the reasoning behind those plans will almost assuredly increase the population's patience with the pace of development and satisfaction with their government.

Consider a Policy on Ethnic Representation in Government and Promote Policies That Encourage Merit-Based Hiring in Public Employment. The charge of government-sponsored tribalism is a dangerous one for the GOSS. The largely ethnic split in the SPLM during the war is still fresh in the minds of the population, as are various smaller clashes between ethnicities in Southern Sudan. The biggest problem today is not a Dinka-Nuer divide, but a divide between large tribes, particularly Dinka and Nuer, and smaller tribes. Some participants in this study from smaller tribes say they are beginning to feel like second class citizens in their own homeland. In fact, their complaints about discrimination by larger tribes in public employment mirror complaints heard during the first 2004 NDI-SSCCSE⁴⁸ about unqualified Arabs being given jobs over black Africans. This discrimination was identified as one of the key causes of the North-South conflict. Another cause of the conflict was lack of representation in government, which smaller tribes say has not been resolved for them either because the government is dominated by larger tribes. To combat the discrimination claim, the GOSS should enact, promote and enforce merit-based hiring policies at all levels of government. This will also help resolve complaints even within single ethnicity areas about rampant nepotism. On the issue of representation, the GOSS should debate whether it needs to issue a clear policy position on how ethnicity is (or is not) considered in government appointments. The policy could approach the issue of ethnic representation in any number of ways - population-based appointments, merit-based appointments, minimum guarantees for smaller tribes, etc. The government will have to determine what is most appropriate for Southern Sudan, but promotion of a merit-based policy in civil service employment and a publicly-stated position on ethnic representation in government could go a long way toward addressing the tribalism concerns of smaller tribes and perhaps head off future ethnic-based friction among southerners.

Enact a Long-Term Strategy to Increase Women's Representation in the GOSS. The GOSS has a unique opportunity to be among the leaders in Africa in the promotion of women's representation in government. The legal framework already exists with the Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan mandate of 25 percent representation of women in the legislative and executive organs of government, and there is tremendous public support for the concept - both this study and previous studies have shown that there is near unanimous support for the 25 percent quota. Now, the GOSS pledge must be acted upon. The government faces possible legal jeopardy if it does not fulfill the quota, but, more importantly, men and women alike see the current minimal representation of women in government as unfair. Particularly among women, the GOSS risks having the 25 percent quota viewed as yet another broken promise if it does not take action to remedy the discrepancy. Given the challenge of identifying educated and qualified women among a population devastated by a 21-year civil war, there may not be an immediate solution to fulfilling the quota requirement. However, the government can demonstrate its commitment on this issue by developing a long-term strategy for increasing women's participation in government, which could include any number of activities such as promotion of girls education and secondary and university scholarships. Based on this research, it is likely that the populace would consider such an effort an appropriate interim solution to the problem of women's representation in government.

Initiate a Large-Scale Civic Education Campaign on the Census that Leverages Ties Traditional Authorities Have with Their Communities. If the GOSS hopes to get complete and accurate information during the census, a large-scale civic education campaign will be essential. The starting point in the campaign should be to raise awareness of the census date and time. If the census is to be conducted in the evening hours (after 5:00 PM), there will need to be extensive education about why this is appropriate and necessary. Explaining why the census information is needed and how it will be used will also aid in making Southern Sudanese more comfortable with the process. Certain questions in the census should be the focus of special emphasis during civic education efforts. These include questions about deaths in a family and about the number of children and livestock. Again, understanding why this information is needed and, in particular, explaining how it will be used (not for any untoward purposes) will be important. Privacy and confidentiality will be key themes as well. Traditional authorities, whether they are simply information conduits or play a more active role, must be involved in census education. Getting the endorsement of chiefs, sub-chiefs or headmen will be the most effective strategy in convincing regular citizens to drop all objections and participate fully in census activities.

⁴⁸ See the NDI-SSCCSE study, *On the Threshold of Peace: Perspective from the people of New Sudan*.

Encourage Constituency Relations Activities to Increase Satisfaction with Government. People are most happy with the government when their representatives inform and consult them. Despite its best efforts, the GOSS is unlikely to meet citizens' expectations on development in the near future, but this research shows that even without significant strides in development citizens rate the job performance of government officials high when they believe those officials are making a sincere effort to represent their interests. With little information available about the actual work of government, the only way citizens can be convinced of this is if their representatives visit, inform and consult with them on key issues. Therefore, a relatively easy and low-cost measure the GOSS could implement to burnish its image as an effective and fair government would be to encourage its representatives, at all levels of government, to become more active in reaching out to their constituents. As a practical point, those seeking elective office in 2009, including members of the SSLA, avoid their constituents at their own peril. Leadership ability is the top criteria by which citizens say they will judge candidates and, to most, a good leader is a consultative leader. In particular, candidates should consult with traditional authorities, who are likely to have a large impact on how their people vote.

Expand Gains in the Transformation of the SPLA to Larger Towns. The GOSS has its own strategic and military reasons for professionalizing the SPLA. This research demonstrates, though, that transforming the army into a professional force has many benefits that go well beyond those narrow motives. A professional army in Southern Sudan reduces insecurity, makes people feel safer both personally and politically and increases the overall confidence in peace. Moreover, with development proving to be a slow process and hard to expand quickly to all areas, professionalizing the army is one of the few ways in which the GOSS can demonstrate substantial progress to the population at large. The continuing misbehavior of soldiers in some larger towns⁴⁹ is not only preventing people in those areas from having a sense of peace and security but it is also directly impacting how those people view the job performance of the GOSS. If soldiers are harassing citizens, they are much more likely to have a negative view of the GOSS and its leaders. The issue of soldier harassment of civilians also exacerbates underlying feelings of GOSS tribal discrimination, since large numbers of soldiers are Dinka, in some areas. The GOSS can largely turn around these views simply by expanding the gains it has made in professionalizing SPLA soldiers to those stationed in larger towns such as Juba, Yei and Wau. Greater soldier discipline in towns also will contribute to greater confidence in the government's ability to address law and order and justice issues.

Develop Location-Specific Interventions to Address Pockets of Insecurity. The GOSS will never be considered a completely effective or representative government until it can address persistent insecurity in certain areas of the region. However, there is not a one-size-fits-all solution to insecurity issues that continue to plague some Southern Sudanese. The GOSS must approach these issues individually and address the unique circumstances that cause insecurity in a particular area. By initiating negotiations between the LRA and the Ugandan government, the GOSS has taken a major step toward resolving the primary source of insecurity in Equatoria and, as a result, gets credit among people in the area for being responsive to citizen concerns. The GOSS should develop similar location-specific strategies for other areas that experience chronic insecurity as well. According to participants in this study, insecurity problems the GOSS still needs to address are conflicts between the Murle and other tribes in Jonglei state, cattle raiding by Arab militias in some North-South border areas and crime in urban areas. They believe it is a basic function of a government to protect its citizens, and they expect no less from their own.

⁴⁹ While this research was underway, an order was issued restricting soldiers from carrying guns in Juba town. Other attempts at increasing soldier discipline may have occurred in other towns and after the field research was concluded.

APPENDIX A - FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS

SOUTHERN SUDAN FOCUS GROUPS - FEBRUARY-MARCH 2007

Date	Group Size	Gender	State	Location	Ethnicity ⁵⁰	Religion	Age Group ⁵¹	Education
02/20/07	11	Male	Bahr El Jebel	Yei	Mixed ⁵²	Christian	Younger	Late Pri-Sec
02/21/07	11	Female	Bahr El Jebel	Yei (Wululture)	Mixed ⁵³	Christian	Middle	Primary
02/22/07	13	Male	Bahr El Jebel	Juba	Mixed ⁵⁴	Christian	Younger	In Secondary
02/23/07	13 ⁵⁵	Male	Unity	Leer	Nuer Dok	Chris+3Trad	Older ⁵⁶	Unknown ⁵⁷
02/24/07	11	Male	Northern Bahr El Ghazal	Maluakon	Dinka Malual	Christian	Mid-Twenties ⁵⁸	Pri-Sec
02/24/07	8	Female	Nuba Mountains	Maluakon	Dinka Malual	Christian	Middle	None
02/25/07	10	Female	Bahr El Jebel	Juba	Mixed ⁵⁹	Christian	Middle	Sec - Univ ⁶⁰
02/25/07	14	Female	Unity	Leer	Nuer Dok	Christian	Younger ⁶¹	Pri - Sec
02/26/07	11	Male	Unity	Leer	Nuer Dok	Christian	Middle ⁶²	Sec - Univ ⁶³
02/28/07	5 ⁶⁴	Male	Western Equatoria	Maridi	4Baka+1Zande	Christian	Older	Unknown
02/28/07	8	Female	Western Equatoria	Maridi	Mixed ⁶⁵	Christian	Younger ⁶⁶	Mid-Primary Sec
02/28/07	12	Male	Lakes	Cueibet	Dinka Gok	Christian	Middle ⁶⁷	Primary
02/28/07	7	Female	Lakes	Cueibet	Dinka Gok	Christian	Middle	None
03/01/07	8	Male	Western Equatoria	Maridi	Mixed ⁶⁸	Christian	Middle ⁶⁹	Pri - Sec
03/01/07	12 ⁷⁰	Male	Bahr El Jebel	Juba	Mixed ⁷¹	Christian	Older	None - Secondary
03/01/07	10	Male	Lakes	Cueibet	Dinka Gok	Christian	Older	None

⁵⁰ Names of ethnic groups and/or tribes are listed as recorded by the Sudanese moderators, but the spellings may be incorrect or alternate spellings may exist.

⁵¹ Younger refers to participants up to age 25; middle refers to participants age 26-40; older refers to participants more than 40 years old.

⁵² Five participants were Kakwa, five participants were Pojulo and one was Acholi.

⁵³ Five participants were Avukaya, five were Kakwa and one was Kuku.

⁵⁴ Eight participants were Bari, two were Muru, one was Acholi, one was Kuku and one was Fujulu.

⁵⁵ Participants in this group were all traditional authorities.

⁵⁶ One participant was slightly younger at age 35.

⁵⁷ The education levels of the traditional leaders in this group were not recorded.

⁵⁸ Participants were between the age of 24 and 28.

⁵⁹ Four participants were Kuku, two were Bari and there was one participant from each of the following ethnic groups: Madi, Balanda, Kakwa & Lugbara.

⁶⁰ One participant has no formal education and one participant had primary level education.

⁶¹ One participant was slightly younger at age 26.

⁶² One participant was slightly younger at age 23.

⁶³ One participant's highest level of education was primary and one was not noted.

⁶⁴ The participants were traditional leaders in the community and included the Paramount Chief of the area.

⁶⁵ Three participants were Muru, two were Zande, and one each was Baka, Muudu and Wira.

⁶⁶ One participant was slightly younger at age 14.

⁶⁷ Four participants were slightly younger at ages 22, 23, 24 and 25.

⁶⁸ Two participants were Bari, two were Muru and one each was Bukaya, Muiya, Zande and Nyambara.

⁶⁹ Three participants were slightly older with ages of 41, 42 and 43.

⁷⁰ The participants were all traditional leaders (chiefs, etc.) in the community.

⁷¹ Seven participants were Kuku, and one each was Madi, Bari, Pojulo, Mundari and Bakka.

Participant Demographics -- Continued

Date	Group Size	Gender	State	Location	Ethnicity	Religion	Age Group	Education
03/02/07	15	Male	Jonglei	Akobo	Nuer Luo	Christian	Younger ⁷³	Secondary ⁷⁴
03/05/07	15	Female	Jonglei	Akobo	Nuer Luo	Chris+4Trad	Older	None
02/22/07	12	Female	Eastern Equatoria	Torit	Lotukho	Christian	Older ⁷⁵	None -EarlyPri
02/23/07	8 ⁷⁶	Male	Eastern Equatoria	Torit	Lotukho + 2Pari	Christian	Older	None - Secondary
02/24/07	15	Female	Bahr El Jebel	Juba	Mixed ⁷⁷	Christian	Mixed ⁷⁸	None - Secondary
02/24/07	6	Male	Eastern Equatoria	Torit	Lotukho	Christian	Middle	None - Secondary
02/25/07	14	Male	Jonglei	Pochalla	Anywaak	Christian	Middle ⁷⁹	Late Pri - Sec
02/25/07	16	Female	Jonglei	Pochalla	Anywaak	Chris+3Trad	Mixed, Middle & Older ⁸⁰	None ⁸¹
02/26/07	11	Female	Western Bahr el Ghazal	Wau	Mixed ⁸²	Christian + 2 Muslims	Older	None - Secondary
02/28/07	8	Male	Western Bahr el Ghazal	Wau	Mixed ⁸³	Christian	Middle	Secondary
02/28/07	12 ⁸⁴	Male	Western Bahr el Ghazal	Wau	Mixed ⁸⁵	Christian	Older	None - Primary
02/28/07	12	Female	Warrap	Wunrok	Dinka Twic	Christian	Middle	None - Primary
02/28/07	12	Male	Warrap	Wunrok	Dinka Twic	Christian	Younger	Secondary
03/01/07	12 ⁸⁶	Male	Warrap	Wunrok	Dinka Twic	Chris+1Trad	Older	None - Primary
03/01/07	12	Male	Jonglei	Mabior	Dinka Twic	Christian	Middle ⁸⁷	None - Secondary
03/01/07	12	Female	Jonglei	Mabior	Dinka Twic	Christian	Mixed ⁸⁸	None - Primary ⁸⁹

⁷² This group was only partially completed due to illness of the moderator.

⁷³ Six participants were older: two were 28 and four others were 26, 27, 29 and 30.

⁷⁴ One participant had primary level education and one university level.

⁷⁵ Two participants were younger at age 28 and 29.

⁷⁶ Participants were traditional authorities.

⁷⁷ Five participants were Nyambara, three were Acholi, two were Kakwa, two were Muru, two were Bari and one was Mundari.

⁷⁸ There was a wide variety of ages in this group: six participants were age 30, three were age 40 and other ages were 21, 20, 43, 42, 25 and 38.

⁷⁹ One participant was slightly younger at age 25.

⁸⁰ Ages in this group were 29, 35, 45, 49, 52, two participants were 39, five were 40 and three were 50. One participant's age was unknown.

⁸¹ One participant had attended primary one and one had some secondary education.

⁸² Participants were Balanda, Kilesh, Zande, Golo, Bungawi and Ngodo.

⁸³ Participants were Dinka, Baya, Luo, Balanda and Yuro and one was of Chadian origin.

⁸⁴ This group was comprised of traditional authorities, including a paramount chief.

⁸⁵ Participants were Golo, Bongo, Ndogo, Sherawi, Bai and Balanda.

⁸⁶ This group was comprised of traditional authorities.

⁸⁷ Two participants were slightly younger at age 25.

⁸⁸ Ages of participants in this group were 20, 20, 22, 24, 26, 30, 30, 34, 35, 42, 43 and 45.

⁸⁹ One participant had secondary level education.

APPENDIX B - METHODOLOGY NOTES

Focus Group Research: Focus groups are open-ended group interviews directed by a moderator and following a pre-set guideline. The purpose of focus group research is to understand the attitudes, opinions and experiences of participants who are recruited for the exercise. Focus groups are particularly useful in gaining a deeper appreciation for the motivations, feelings and values behind participants' reactions. In addition, the group format enables respondents to participate in an exchange of ideas - thus revealing a more in-depth understanding of why opinions are held - that may not emerge in individual in-depth interviews or quantitative surveys.

Focus group discussions are comprised of a small number of participants, typically 8-10 per group. However, depending on the specific situation, groups may be slightly smaller or larger than the ideal. In the Southern Sudan context, a chiefs' group, for example, may work better with a smaller number because chiefs are generally well-informed and have strongly held opinions. A women's group in a more isolated area may benefit from being larger because it is likely that one or more of the participants will refuse to speak at length even if pressed.

Focus groups are recruited to be homogeneous - so, for example, men's and women's groups are conducted separately - to enhance the comfort level of the participants and to clarify the views of a particular sub-group. The number of groups conducted varies widely based on the goals of the research, but the total number of participants is always relatively small and cannot be considered statistically representative of the larger population. It is important to always be aware that focus groups are a qualitative, not a quantitative, research tool.

Group Composition: The focus groups in this report were stratified by gender, ethnicity, age and education. Single ethnicity groups were convened among three sections of Dinka, two sections of Nuer, Lotukho and Anywaak. In areas where several ethnic groups live in close proximity and interact with each other frequently, several groups of mixed ethnicities were conducted. These included groups in Yei, Maridi, Torit, Juba and Wau. (See Appendix A for further information on participant demographics.)

Age: Based on past research experience in Sudan, the age categories used are broadly defined as "younger," "middle" or "older." Younger refers to participants up to age 25, middle refers to participants age 26-40 and older refers to participants over age 40. Given the difficulty of gathering participants in largely rural areas and since people in some areas inside Southern Sudan do not know their ages, the categories are used as a general guideline rather than strictly enforced criteria. Appendix A details the general age category of each group conducted as well as notes when a participant fell outside the targeted age range.

Religion: The majority of focus groups were conducted among people who self-identify as Christians. Four groups were comprised of a mix of Christians and adherents of traditional beliefs and one group in Wau was predominantly Christian but had two Muslim participants.

Education: Participants sampled in the groups had widely varying degrees of education, ranging from none through university. As much as possible, the groups were stratified to include participants with relatively similar education backgrounds. We did not attempt to stratify by education when we were recruiting special groups, such as chiefs, since in that case the category of participant was the more important criterion.

Group Locations. The focus groups outlined in this report were all conducted inside Southern Sudan. Thirty-two group discussions were spread across twelve locations, covering 9 of the 10 states. (See Appendix A for a list of focus group locations.) In more rural areas, there are few structures appropriate for focus group research. As a result, groups were sometimes conducted in open-air settings, although this reduces the privacy of the group. The road network and transportation situation is improving in Southern Sudan but remains very limited. As a result, most of the research was conducted in towns or in rural areas that could be accessed by air. More remote peoples were not reached.

Logistics: The logistical challenges of conducting research in Southern Sudan are significant. Flight availability and security concerns often impact the number and type of groups that can be conducted. For example, the original research plan included a trip to Malakal but that had to be scratched due to continuing insecurity in the town. The lack of frequent air service to remote areas also causes delays and sometimes the abandonment of sites due to time constraints.

Staffing: All of the group discussions were facilitated by bi-lingual or multi-lingual Southern Sudanese moderators in the language appropriate to each area. As more Southern Sudanese return home from abroad, the quality of available talent in Juba has risen dramatically. In response to this, we abandoned our usual practice of recruiting most of the focus group moderators from the Nairobi Diaspora and instead held training sessions in Juba to select qualified candidates. Most of the moderators were chosen by this method, although two Southern Sudanese from Nairobi were added to supplement the team in specific areas. Recruiting female moderators continues to be a challenge and thus some women's groups were conducted by male moderators. In Southern Sudan, there are no cultural implications of this practice, and females appear to respond as well (or better) to male moderators as they do to female moderators.

Outside Influence: In some cases, local authorities are informed of the research activities before they start. However, every effort is made to ensure there is no undue influence exerted on the participants in the groups. In the majority of instances, the participants are gathered in some random fashion. During this research, there were two times when a local official tried to attend a group. Each time that person was asked to leave and consented. Overall, the findings in the groups were similar across locations, and this suggests that undue local influence was not a major factor in this research.

APPENDIX C - MODERATOR'S GUIDELINE

Southern Sudan Focus Groups
February-March 2007

I. INTRODUCTION

Hello, my name is _____, and I work for the Southern Sudan Centre for Census, Statistics and Evaluation, a Sudanese organization that is trying to learn more about what citizens of Southern Sudan think about the important issues in this area. I am the facilitator for today's discussion

- There are no right or wrong answers.
- Everyone's opinion is equally important. We want everyone to speak.
- If you disagree with someone, that is okay.
- This discussion is only between those of us here.
- I have this recorder to help me when I write the report. Your name will not be used in the report. The report will only say a [woman/man] from [location] said this or that.
- The person here is taking notes to help with the report.
- Please speak loudly so the recorder can pick up your voice.

Thank you. Now let us begin.

II. SOUTHERN SUDAN DIRECTION

1. How are things going in Southern Sudan these days? Are they going in the right direction or wrong direction?
2. If you could only pick one thing, what would you say is the best thing that happened in the last year (2006)?
3. If you could only pick one thing, what would you say is the worst thing that happened in the last year (2006)?
4. Think about your life today. Now think about your life two years from now in 2009. Will your life be any different? [IF YES:] How and why?

III. CPA IMPLEMENTATION

1. How do you think the implementation of the CPA is going?
2. What have President Salva Kiir and others in the GOSS said about implementation of the CPA recently?
3. Think about the areas, if any, in which you personally believe the CPA is being violated by the NCP. If you were in the GOSS, how would you respond to the NCP's violations and delays of the CPA?
 - 3a. Do you think the GOSS can make any progress with the North on these violations of the CPA? [IF YES:] How? [IF NO:] Why not?
4. What are your predictions for the CPA and peace - will it hold until the referendum in 2011?

IV. GOSS KNOWLEDGE & REPRESENTATION

1. Tell me what you know about the Government of Southern Sudan.

- 1a. Other than Salva Kiir, how many people here can name any person who is a part of the Government of Southern Sudan? [ASK FOR SHOW OF HANDS AND NAMES]
2. Do you feel the officials in the GOSS represent you and your interests?
3. On a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 being 'poor' and 5 being 'excellent,' please tell me how you would rate the job the GOSS is doing in governing Southern Sudan.
4. On a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 being 'poor' and 5 being 'excellent,' please tell me how you would rate the job the SPLM is doing as a partner with the NCP in the GONU.
5. Using the circle I have here, please indicate the representation of various ethnic groups (tribes) in the GOSS. Groups [tribes] that you believe have the largest representation in the GOSS should take up the largest space in the circle, the group [tribe] with the second largest representation in the government should have the second largest space in the circle and so on.
 - 5a. [AFTER CIRCLE IS COMPLETED] Does the GOSS have a fair representation of different ethnic groups? [IF NO:] Using this circle we have drawn, how would you change it so that it would have a fairer representation of groups [tribes]?
6. Using the circle I have here, please indicate the representation of women in the GOSS.
 - 6a. [AFTER CIRCLE IS COMPLETED] Does the GOSS have a fair representation of women? [IF NO:] How would you change it to be fairer?

V. SOUTHERN SUDAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

1. What have you heard about the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly?
2. How many people can name the member of SSLA that represents this area in the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly? [SHOW OF HANDS]
 - 2a. [IF NO, TELL THE GROUP THE NAME OF THE LOCAL MP] Have you heard of this person? [IF YES:] What do you think of the job this person is doing as a member of the SSLA?
3. Has this person or any member of SSLA [Parliament] visited this area since the signing of the CPA?
 - 3a. [IF YES:] What did they do and say when they visited this area?

VI. STATE & LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1. What do you think of the job the state government is doing?
2. What do you think of the job the Governor of this state is doing?
3. Each state has a legislative assembly. What do you know about this state's legislative assembly?
 - 3a. Can you name the person that represents this area in the state assembly?
4. What do you think of the job the payam administration is doing?
 - 4a. Is the payam administration focusing on the priorities of the people? [IF NO:] What are the reasons for this?

VII. DEVELOPMENT

1. Name all of the signs of development or improvements you see in this area since the signing of the CPA.
2. [IF FEW SIGNS OF DEVELOPMENT ASK:] Why hasn't more development taken place in this area?

- 2a. What problems do you think the government faces in trying to bring more development to this area?
3. One GOSS official said, "2007 is the year that the Government of South Sudan will deliver the services that the people of South Sudan expect." What do you think of this statement?
4. Has the market in this area grown in size or in the variety of goods available in the market over the past year? [IF YES:] Explain how it has grown.
 - 4a. What is keeping the market from growing bigger or from having a greater variety of goods?

VIII. EDUCATION

1. The GOSS Ministry of Education's language policy says that all instruction from Primary 1 through Primary 3 must be in the mother tongue [local language] and thereafter in English. Do you agree with the current policy? [FOLLOW-UP:] Why or why not?
 - 1a. Should the Ministry give each area in Southern Sudan the option of choosing to have English as the language of instruction from P1?
2. Let's pretend that tomorrow the Ministry of Education said that English would be the only language of instruction from P1 for all of Southern Sudan. How would you react to that?

IX. 200 DAY ACTION PLAN

1. Recently the GOSS announced what it called the "200 Day Action Plan." Did you hear anything about this? [IF YES:] What did you hear?
 - 1a. [IF NO:] The 200 Day Action Plan was developed by the GOSS and describes what the government planned to accomplish in the 200 days (6 and one-half months) following the announcement of the Plan. The Plan is now underway and includes things like rehabilitating 50 primary schools and starting construction on over 500 boreholes. What do you think of this plan?

X. POPULATION CENSUS

1. Have you ever heard of something called a population census?
 - 1a. [IF YES:] Tell me what it is? What is the purpose of a census?

[IF NO OR IF ANY MISUNDERSTANDING OF WHAT A CENSUS IS:] A population census is an effort to count the total number of people living in Sudan.
2. One night in the future, someone with a card that identifies them as working for the census will come to your house to collect information. Do you have any concerns about giving information on the age, gender (male or female), ethnicity (tribe) and religion for every person in your household to a census worker? [DISCUSS ALL CONCERNS FULLY AND DETERMINE WHICH INFORMATION IS VIEWED AS MOST SENSITIVE]
3. Do you think other people will be honest in their answers to these questions on age, gender, ethnicity and religion for all the people living in their house?
 - 3a. What about answering how many children are in the house...do you think people will answer that honestly?
4. Please tell me if you would have any concerns about giving any of the following information to a census worker. Please say yes or no to each. [IF ANY OF THE ANSWER TO THE QUESTIONS BELOW ARE NO, ASK WHY]

- If a census worker came to your house would you have a concern telling them the truthful answer to this question: Are your biological father and mother still alive?
- If a census worker came to your house would you have a concern telling them the truthful answer to this question: Was there a death among any members of your household in the last 12 months and if there was a death, was the cause of the death either an accident, an act of violence or did the death occur during pregnancy or delivery?
- If a census worker came to your house would you have a concern with the women in your house telling them the truthful answer to this question: How many children have you given birth to and how many of these children are still alive?
- If a census worker came to your house would you have a concern telling them the truthful answer to this question: What is the main source of the household's livelihood (source of income)?
- If a census worker came to your house would you have a concern telling them the truthful answer to this question: Who in the house is married and not married?
- If a census worker came to your house would you have a concern telling them the truthful answer to this question: How many cattle, goats, sheep and poultry do you own?

XI. FISCAL MATTERS

1. The GOSS will soon finalize its policies on taxes. What feelings do you have about paying taxes to the GOSS?
2. What do you think is the best way for the GOSS to collect taxes from the people?
 - 2a. [IF NOT ALREADY MENTIONED] What do you see as the role, if any, of traditional authorities (chiefs, headmen, etc.) in collecting taxes from the people?
3. What do you think are the best reasons the GOSS could give to the people about the need to collect taxes?
4. Do you know about the new currency that has been introduced in Sudan? [IF YES:] What is it called? Have you seen it? Do you like it?

XII. POLITICAL LEADERS

1. When I say Salva Kiir, what are the qualities - both positive and negative - that come to your mind? Just a word or two. [GET BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE]
2. Salva Kiir has been President of Southern Sudan for one and a half years. What do you think about the job he has done as President so far?
 - 2a. In his time as President, what are the best things Salva Kiir has done?
 - 2b. What would you have done differently than Salva Kiir in the last year and a half if you had been President of Southern Sudan?
3. If you were the President of Southern Sudan, what are the three things you would spend most of your time on?
4. When I say the following names, please tell me the first qualities - both positive and negative - that come to mind? Just give me a word or two. [MAKE SURE TO GET BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE QUALITIES]

● Riek Machar	● Paulino Matip
● Lam Akol	● Arthur Akuien
● Pagan Amum	● Bona Malwal
● Rebecca Garang	● Samson Kwaje
● James Wani Igga	
5. What do you think of the job that Riek Machar's has done as Vice President?

XIII. CORRUPTION

1. Do you think that corruption exists in Southern Sudan?
1a. [IF YES] Give me some examples of corruption.
2. [IF EXAMPLES DO NOT INCLUDE GOVERNMENT CORRUPTION] Now let's think more specifically about corruption in government. Does that exist in Southern Sudan? [IF YES] Give me some examples of corruption in government.
3. [IF NOT MENTIONED ALREADY:] Do you have any examples of corruption in the local government?
4. [IF NOT MENTIONED ALREADY:] Do you have any examples of corruption in the state government?
5. [IF NOT MENTIONED ALREADY:] Do you have any examples of corruption in the GOSS?
6. Of all the kinds of corruption we have talked about, what kind do you think is the worst? Why?
7. Do you think the GOSS is sincere in wanting to stop corruption in Southern Sudan?
8. What could the government do or say that would make you feel more confident about its ability to stop corruption?
9. I am going to read you a statement that President Kiir's office made on corruption:

We take this opportunity to assure the people of Southern Sudan that whoever misappropriates or squanders public money, that should otherwise be going for the education and health of our children, will be dealt with severely and without mercy. We will address corrupt practices wherever they are including the Presidency. Nobody is above the law.

How does this statement make you feel about the Government of Southern Sudan's ability to stop corruption - very confident, a little more confident, no change in my feelings OR less confident?

9a. [FOR THOSE SELECTING THE LAST 2 CHOICES:] Why didn't the statement make you feel better about the government's ability to stop corruption?

XIV. POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

1. There are now six political parties that participate in the GOSS. Who can name some of them? [ASK FOR SHOW OF HANDS AND REQUEST PARTICIPANTS TO NAME PARTIES]
1a. Do you think having six political parties in government is a good thing OR not a good thing? Why?
2. Do you know of any political party activities that have happened in this area? [PROBE: PARTY RALLIES AND MEMBER REGISTRATION DRIVES]
2a. Are you a member of a political party? [IF YES:] What is your involvement with the party? Are you registered with the party?
2b. [ONLY TO MEMBERS OF A PARTY] Will you vote for the candidate that represents your party regardless of which candidate is running?
2c. [ONLY TO MEMBERS OF A PARTY] What could your party do that would make you not want to vote for it?
3. What do you think about political parties that may be formed to represent the viewpoint of just one tribe?
4. In 2009, there will be elections for President of Southern Sudan, for Governors of each state and for Members of the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly, among others. Describe to me how you think the election will be conducted...what will happen in the election?

5. How will you decide who to vote for in each of these elections?
 - 5a. [AFTER ALLOWING PEOPLE TO ANSWER ABOVE QUESTION:] Will your vote be based on the person's political party affiliation, on the person's ethnicity [tribe], on your feelings about the person's leadership ability, on what the person says about problems you care about or on something else?
6. If candidates for the various elections in 2009 travel around to speak to you about voting for them, what do you want to hear them speak about?
7. If the election for President for Southern Sudan were held today, who would you vote for? [EACH PERSON SHOULD BE ASKED TO ANSWER ALOUD]
 - Salva Kiir
 - Riek Machar
 - Lam Akol
 - Pagan Amum
 - James Wani Igga
 - Rebecca Garang [John Garang's widow]
 - Bona Malwal
 - A Person I Support Not on the List [ASK FOR NAME]

XV. REFERENDUM

1. The CPA says there will be a referendum in 2011 to allow Southerners to choose to stay united with the North or create a separate country. How confident are you that the referendum will happen - very confident, mostly confident, not sure, have some doubt, have a lot of doubt?
2. If the referendum were today, would you vote to stay united with the North OR create a separate country? What is the reason for your vote?
3. [IF CONSENSUS IS FOR SEPARATION] Let's move ahead to 2010. You have now decided that voting for unity would be the best choice. What happened to make you change your mind?

XVI. RADIO LISTENERSHIP

1. When there are important things happening in Sudan, how do you most often find out about these - through radio, newspapers or from other people?
2. How often do you listen to the radio with the intention hearing what is being said for more than a few seconds (not just overhearing a radio in a market for example) - do you listen to a radio: daily, three times a week, once a week, not often or never?
3. What is the radio station/channel you listen to most?
4. Name all the other radio stations/channels you listen to.
5. How often do you usually listen to Sudan Radio Service (SRS) - daily, three times a week, once a week, not often or never?
6. What languages do you listen to Sudan Radio Service programs in?

XVII. INSECURITY/ LRA

1. Is there any issue with security in this area? [IF YES:] Please describe it.
 - 1a. What or who is the cause of this insecurity?
 - 1b. What is the solution to the insecurity issue in this area?
2. What do you know about negotiations with the LRA that have taken place in Juba?

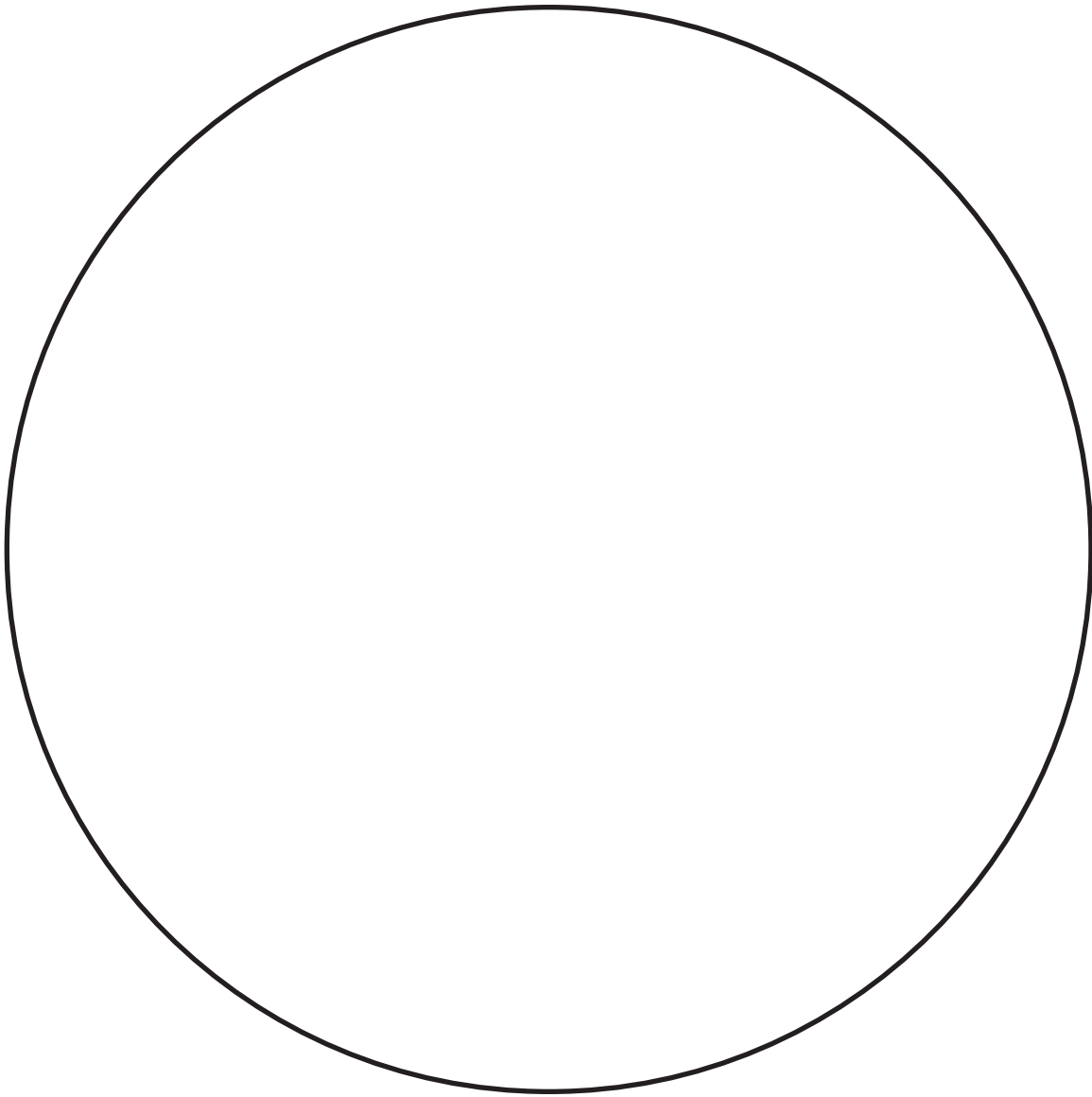
- 2a. Do you think it was a good decision OR not a good decision for the GOSS to initiate negotiations between the LRA and the Ugandan government?
3. Salva Kiir has said that if the negotiations fail, he will have the SPLA drive the LRA out of Southern Sudan. What do you think of this statement?

XVIII. SPLA

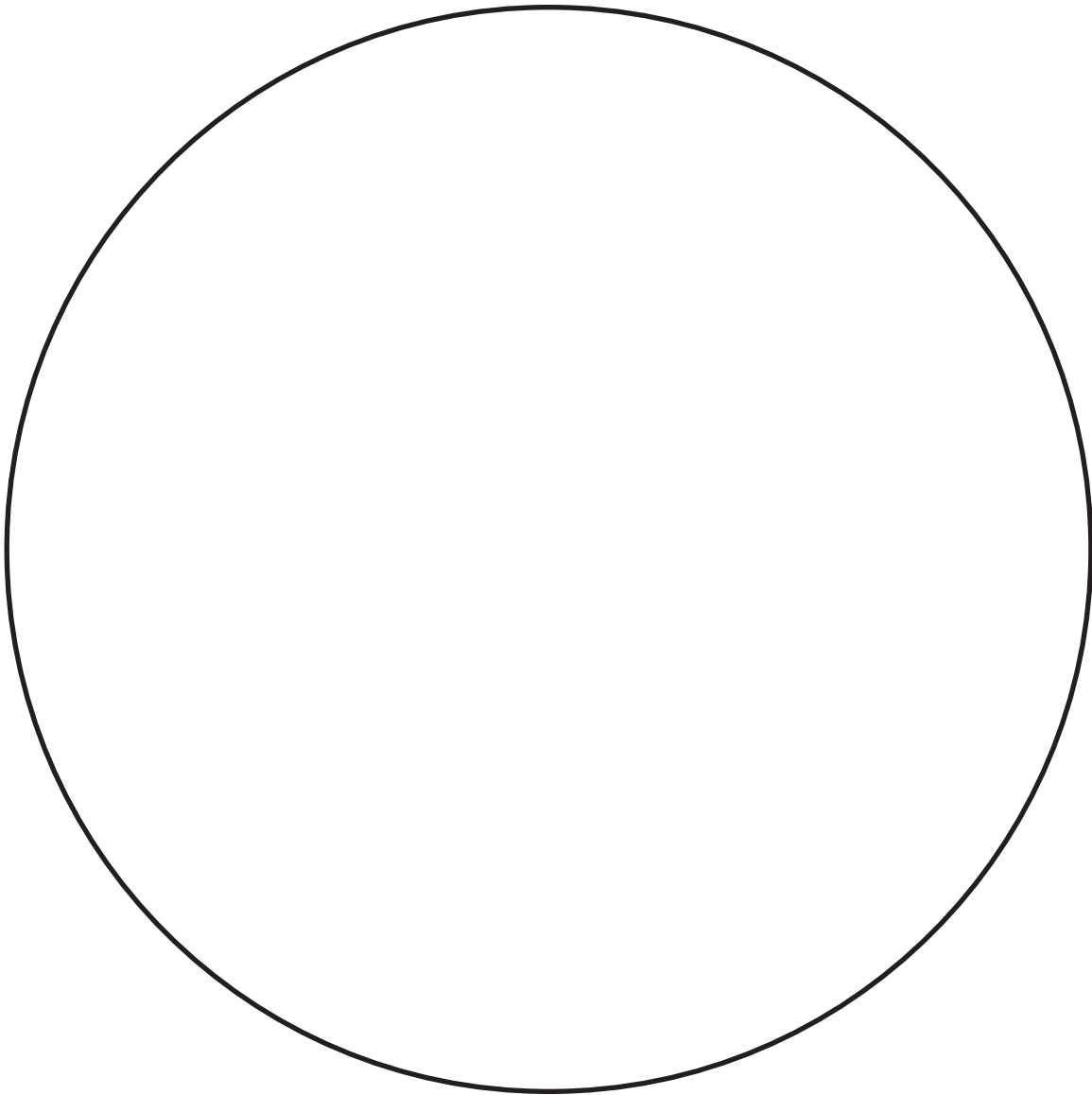
1. The GOSS is undertaking an effort to transform the SPLA into a more professional army. How much progress do you think they have made in this effort based on your own observations of the SPLA in your area?

XIX. CIVIL SOCIETY [ONLY IF TIME ALLOWS]

1. Are there groups in this area that do things for or on behalf of people who are not part of the government and are not traditional authorities? [IF YES:] What do you call these groups? [CONTINUE TO PROBE UNTIL THEY MENTION CSOs, NGOs, ASSOCIATIONS]
2. What is your opinion of these groups [NGOs, CSOs, Associations]?
3. Putting aside the activities the groups are engaged in currently in this area, what are the types of activities or issues you feel these groups should be focusing on in this area?
4. What do you think of a group that does not deliver any type of service to people but acts as their voice with the government on an important issue, like pushing the government to provide more support for the disabled or war widows?



ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE GOSS



MEN & WOMEN IN THE GOSS

APPENDIX D - ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Traci D. Cook is a Senior Advisor for the National Democratic Institute's Sudan program. An experienced opinion researcher who has done similar work elsewhere in Africa and the Caribbean, she previously served as the senior director for strategic and corporate communications at the Women's National Basketball Association and as vice president of marketing communications at Shepardson Stern + Kaminsky in New York, where she supervised and analyzed focus group research for Fortune 500 companies. As country program director for NDI in Malawi between 1993 and 1996, she also designed and conducted a series of focus groups on democracy and governance. Complementing her work in the field of international development and in the private sector is her experience as the political director for the Mississippi Democratic Party, legislative work on Capitol Hill, and research work for various U.S. House and Senate races. This is Ms. Cook's sixth study of citizen opinions and attitudes in Sudan.



National Democratic Institute
for International Affairs
Fifth Floor
2030 M Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036
Telephone: 202-728-5500
Fax: 202-728-5520
Website: www.ndi.org

