BUILDING A NATION:

SOUTH SUDANESE SHARE THEIR THOUGHTS ON THE CREATION OF A SUCCESSFUL STATE

Findings from Focus Groups with
Men and Women in South Sudan

Conducted March 16-April 6, 2011

By Traci D. Cook

November 23, 2011

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BUILDING A NATION:

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This map is illustrative only and its inclusion does not imply endorsement of specific geographical boundaries.

Source: The World Factbook, 2011.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

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PREFACE

For South Sudanese, July 9, 2011, marked the end of one journey filled with conflict and the quest for self-determination and the beginning of a new one that will define their future. This study, based on 67 focus group discussions conducted from March 16-April 6, 2011, with 860 participants across all 10 states in South Sudan, explores public attitudes about the nature of that journey and details participant predictions for its outcome. They articulate aspirations for their new country and share their trepidation about obstacles that could prevent them from building the nation they desire. Issues of tribalism, insecurity, underdevelopment, corruption and government respect for citizens are top of mind for participants, who believe the handling of these key issues will determine the success or failure of an independent South Sudan.

Focus Groups 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 provides insight into how citizens think and feel and is an even more powerful means of understanding why those attitudes exist. Information gathered in this way reflects citizen values and needs and is critical in helping decision-makers test their assumptions and incorporate the will of the people into policy-making.

A Snapshot of Public Opinion. Any public opinion research, including focus group discussions, is only a snapshot of opinion at the moment the research is undertaken. Public opinion is dynamic and evolves as people experience and react to major events, particularly in conflict-affected environments. Therefore, the conclusions of this report only represent opinions when the research was undertaken. NDI conducts focus groups in South Sudan approximately every six months and thus is able to capture to some degree changes in attitudes. Such attitudinal shifts can then be viewed against baseline information from previous research.

A Qualitative Research Tool. Focus groups are a qualitative, not a quantitative, research instrument. Although focus groups are a superior research method for understanding the meanings behind commonly-held attitudes, the total number of participants in a focus group study is always

relatively small and thus is not statistically representative of the larger population. This report reflects the opinions of the citizens of South Sudan who participated in this study. General terms, such as 'people' and 'citizens' may be used on occasion in this report as a convenience to represent the attitudes of those participants; however, the Focus Group Locations and Participant Demographics chart as well as the Methodology Notes appearing at the end of this report, in Appendix A and B respectively, should be consulted by all readers to understand the sub-set of individuals interviewed for this study.

Participant Perceptions vs. Political Realities. The perceptions of participants in the focus group discussions do not necessarily reflect reality. In the context of South Sudan, for example, the perception of participants regarding progress in development may differ from the reality on the ground. The reasons for this are many. Communication is difficult in Sudan, and current information is not always available. Also, ordinary citizens often judge progress based on the change in their own lives. Improvements in areas outside their immediate interests (although important in the greater context) are not always viewed as progress by the average person. Participants in this study sometimes get their facts wrong and often form their opinions based on inaccurate or semi-accurate readings of the world around them. Even if they do not represent reality, however, there is power in people's perceptions. Citizens make decisions based on what they believe. Without knowledge of these perceptions, policy-makers and other stakeholders will not be able to address them. Thus, the goal of this research is to report the perceptions and opinions of participants, regardless of their factual accuracy, to political and civil society leaders so they may better understand and respond to the concerns of the general populace.

Ethnic Designations. Where possible, the focus group discussions are conducted among single ethnicity groups, and quotations are labeled with the tribe and section or clan provided by the participant. In some areas populated primarily by smaller tribes, single ethnicity groups are not always possible or appropriate. In these cases, quotations are labeled only with the gender and location of the participant.

NDI's ongoing citizen participation program in South Sudan is funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) through a multi-year grant. The inclusion of regular public

opinion research in NDI's wider South 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 country. This is the twelfth in a series of bi-annual studies NDI has conducted in Sudan, with most of those conducted in the now independent South Sudan, since late 2004. NDI would like to acknowledge USAID officials in Juba who provided guidance on topics of interest and shared their knowledge of South Sudan.

This study is the first measure of public opinion following citizens' overwhelming endorsement of independence for South Sudan. The euphoria of the vote had begun to fade by the time the fieldwork for this study was undertaken, and participants were already contemplating both the nation they wished to build and the challenges that could keep them from achieving it. They paint a clear picture of how the new country can put itself on the path to success, and NDI is pleased to present their thoughts to government officials and other stakeholders who want to ensure the viability and vitality of the world's newest nation.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

In this study, participants express definite ideas about the nation they hope to build, demonstrate a keen understanding of the challenges that lie ahead and display a high level of enthusiasm for participating in their own governance. The wisdom of the citizens of the new South Sudan is reflected in the quotations below.

I want South Sudan to be a democratic nation considering people's views and respecting human rights.

We want our country to be a country of unity, togetherness and love for all, not tribalism.

We need the government to involve all the citizens in whatever decision it is taking.

I consider myself a Southerner first before my tribe because the sense of nationalism will help build the young nation. One tribe cannot build the nation.

Democracy is a good system of government for the new South Sudan because it promotes the values of inclusivity, and it can make leaders to be accountable.

The biggest challenge today is tribalism, and if not dealt with properly, it will prevent the new nation from being what I want it to be.

Prioritizing unity among Southerners is the best way of involving all tribes and clans in nation-building. We should also educate people on the importance of mutual co-existence among the tribes.

If there is no development and yet everyone knows that we have oil resources, the whole nation will be a mess.

There should be equality in the government. There should be fair and just distribution of wealth, regardless of which tribe is dominant or the majority.

South Sudan will have succeeded if there is security. Conversely, the government will have failed if insecurity persists.

Issues related to corruption can break up the country and make it unstable. Thus, corruption is a big disease that needs to be done away with.

On behalf of the rights of citizens, the constitution should have justice and equality. People must be equal and no favoritism. Respect for the citizens and everybody is valuable.

It [the method of approving a new constitution] should be people voting through referendum because those are our issues, and nobody can pass a law on our behalf.

A term should be four years, and a President should serve for not more than eight years. Leaders who stay long in power turn dictatorial, so there must be a limit.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The conclusions below are drawn from 67 focus group discussions conducted from March 16-April 6, 2011, across all 10 states in South Sudan. A total of 860 South Sudanese citizens participated in the study. Each of the findings below is explored in more detail in the Principal Findings section of this report, where there are also quotations from participants that further illuminate their opinions on the key issues highlighted here.

I. NATION-BUILDING

- **South Sudanese have great hopes and aspirations for their new country, but they also have great concern about fundamental challenges that could prevent them from achieving the nation they desire.** Participants in this study describe their ideal nation as one that is democratic, peaceful and developed; their ideal government as one that is responsive and transparent to its citizens; and their ideal national ethos as fair, equitable and united. They are keenly aware, however, that significant challenges face the new country. Most identify four areas that must be addressed if South Sudan is to become the nation they desire: insecurity, underdevelopment, tribalism and corruption. Everything begins with security, the participants say, and they want the government to prioritize finding solutions to the current rebellions, tribal clashes and increasing crime and banditry. After years of devastating conflict, they also make clear they will define success for the nation in part on whether they see tangible improvements in development and on whether development has been distributed fairly. Government corruption is a third area participants highlight. If not addressed, they believe it will impede the country's growth and increase the likelihood for instability. Participants point to tribalism, though, as perhaps the biggest challenge facing the country. They believe the government must act quickly and skillfully to ensure all tribes feel represented, to reduce tribalism in civil service employment and to encourage South Sudanese to embrace each other fully.

- **Participants strongly promote the idea of nationality as a unifying factor but believe for nation-building to succeed all tribes must be treated fairly, including in governing, and reconciliation among tribes must be encouraged.** When asked whether they consider

themselves South Sudanese first or a member of a tribe first, participants emphatically identify as South Sudanese, saying their blood was shed for that right. They believe instilling a sense of nationhood and encouraging patriotism will help to address some of the most serious threats facing the country, including tribally-based rebellions, power struggles and fights over resource distribution. This can only be achieved if there is equitable distribution of resources and equal consideration for all tribes, sections and clans, according to participants. They also advocate for a government that recognizes the importance of inclusion and one where all can feel represented. In the end, though, nation-building, participants say, ultimately requires a change of citizens' attitudes toward each other. Participants believe reconciliation efforts are needed to heal old wounds and want massive education and awareness campaigns undertaken to highlight the dangers of tribalism and promote the benefits of peaceful co-existence and cooperation.

- **The citizen's role in nation-building is defined by participants as paying taxes, participating in development and promoting peace, while they view the government's primary role as protecting citizens, building a strong economy and improving the lives of its citizens through development**. Citizens are eager to help build their new country, according to participants, and will drive the development process by paying taxes, growing food, starting businesses, serving as a source of labor and working for unity among Southerners. In turn, they expect the government to deliver a stable environment within which they can take advantage of economic opportunities, particularly jobs, and enjoy a better life through government provision of basic services and improved infrastructure.

II. TRIBALISM

- **The tribalism problem in South Sudan is described as "big as a mountain,"[1] and some say it is the biggest problem facing the new country. Participants fear the consequences of tribalism and believe a multi-pronged approach – cultural, administrative, political and legal – must be taken to address it.** Tribalism has three features according to participants: imbalance of power, unfair government employment practices and tribal conflict. The perception of most participants is that one tribe, section or clan usually occupies the

[1] Phrase is from a quotation by a Dinka man in Renk Town, Upper Nile.

majority of top positions in government both at the national and state levels, though which tribe, section or clan is faulted for practicing tribalism differs by state or level of government. Participants indicate that tribes, sections or clans not occupying seats of power in the national or state governments believe they will not benefit from development to the same extent as those in power. Discrimination in government employment and tribal conflict are the other two aspects of tribalism mentioned by participants. Participants recount stories of government offices where all the employees are from the same tribe, clan or even family and say it is common practice for job candidates to be asked their tribal affiliation. Tribal conflict is not new in South Sudan, but participants view the current level of conflict as high and worry about the disunity it can cause, such as people identifying themselves more closely with sub-clans. The potentially serious consequences of tribalism trouble some participants, and they believe if allowed to persist it could endanger the very future of their new nation. The solution, they say, is to have a wider mix of tribes within key government posts at the national and state level, to adopt policies that will guarantee the equitable distribution of resources and development, to encourage ethnic balance in employment, to promote merit-based hiring and to transform cultural biases among the new country's citizens.

- **Participants believe having a voice and bringing development to their areas requires a fellow tribesman in government.** Having a tribesman in government makes them feel represented and, they say, opens a channel of communication through which they receive information from the government and can report the problems of the community to the government. Participants also view having a tribesman in government as their best chance to bring development projects to their home areas and, conversely, believe not having a tribesman in government positions means they will be ignored.

- **Participants strongly support merit-based hiring to address one of their top concerns – unfair civil service employment practices – but about half say affirmative action-type measures would also be necessary to ensure all tribes are treated fairly.** One of the biggest complaints across South Sudan is tribalism in government employment. Jobs are scarce and the perception is that only tribesmen and relatives of those in power are afforded the opportunity for civil service employment. The participants suggest merit-based hiring as the solution and

recommend new procedures, exams, multi-tribe recruitment panels and laws to enforce it. However, about half of participants say that hiring the most qualified must not take precedence over ensuring ethnic balance. They say it would be unfair to deny other tribes employment, even if they did not have the most qualified candidates, and have no faith that an office dominated by one tribe, even if they are the most qualified, would distribute development equitably.

III. DEVELOPMENT

- **Although most participants indicate development is heading the right direction, they also have high expectations for seeing major development changes shortly after independence.** There is a general sense among participants that the development situation in South Sudan is improving. New schools, hospitals, roads, mobile networks and radio stations are all cited as examples of progress by participants. However, they remain frustrated by the slow pace and limited reach of development and make it clear they want a much stronger effort now that South Sudan is independent. Most participants argue there is no reason for further delay since the country is now in full control of its resources and has had six years to plan. As a result, they believe major improvements in development will be visible within two years in their home areas.

- **The distribution of development over the last six years has been unfair, according to most participants, but there is no consensus on what would constitute a fair system for resource distribution.** There are several reasons participants judge development distribution as unfair thus far. Among those they cite are that it has been inadequate, concentrated in the center, plagued by corruption and influenced by tribalism. The latter means, they say, that government officials' home areas are developed first. Mostly, though, participants conclude the distribution of development has been unfair by comparing what they see in their areas to what they hear – factual or not – about other areas. The comment by one participant, "If you see roads in Bor, they are better than here in Torit,"[2] is typical of such comparisons. Although they view development distribution as unfair, the participants do not agree on the best way to remedy that. Participants' support is split among various options: targeting the neediest areas first, beginning

[2] Quotation is from a Lutukho Man in Torit Town, Eastern Equatoria.

in areas with the largest populations; developing remote areas initially as a way of "bringing towns to the people"[3]; letting development roll downhill by starting in the urban areas; focusing on productive areas, such as oil fields and borders; or concentrating in key sectors, like education and agriculture. On the use of natural resources revenues, however, there is a strong preference for keeping a large percentage of those revenues in the state where they are extracted to compensate and develop the local areas and to reward the "owners"[4] of those resources.

- **Participants expect government and agriculture to be the primary sources of employment in the newly independent South Sudan and would like the number of states increased to ensure even greater employment and development.** Government will provide a high proportion – 30 to 50 percent – of the country's employment, participants say, because it has a large number of institutions and must serve as a first employment option for citizens in desperate need of jobs. Agriculture, with its ability to employ large numbers, is seen as the only other viable employment option. The view of government as a major employer drives participants' desire for more administrative structures; thus, most support an increase in the number of states to increase civil service employment opportunities. They also believe more states will bring government closer to the people and result in greater development for their areas.

IV. CORRUPTION

- **Almost all participants describe corruption in South Sudan as a major problem and believe the only solution is strong enforcement of anti-corruption laws and prosecution of those involved.** Participants view both abuse of government funds and tribalism in government employment as corruption. The belief that it is impossible to win government appointment unless you know someone in an office leaves many feeling disenfranchised. "Leaders are working to get something not to do something,"[5] is the judgment on government financial corruption of most participants, who consider corrupt acts directly responsible for the

[3] This is a phrase used by the late Dr. John Garang, and it was repeated in several focus group discussions.
[4] Some participants refer to the communities living in the oils areas as the owners of the land and any resources contained therein.
[5] Quotation is from a Dinka Rek man in Kwajok Town, Warrap.

slow pace of development. Participants advocate for strong laws, stiff punishments for wrongdoers and independent anti-corruption institutions as necessary measures to tackle corruption. They acknowledge the role their fellow citizens play in perpetuating corruption, saying it is driven by poverty and accepted by some because others do it, but view such acts as unpatriotic and harmful to development.

V. SECURITY AND JUSTICE

- **Participants report improvements in security in some locations, but insecurity remains a debilitating problem in others. The post-election rebellions are cited as a key source of insecurity, but there is no common view on their cause.** In areas where security is noted as improving, effective policing and attentive government officials are credited. Participants in insecure areas say their problems emanate from multiple sources: the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), insufficient deployment of police, cattle raiding, the proliferation of arms and the rebellions that began following the April 2010 elections. This multifaceted aspect of insecurity is particularly on display in Jonglei as illustrated by the comment of one participant in that state: "There was only one enemy before the CPA, but now there is insecurity everywhere. Even neighbors are becoming enemies."[6] The post-election rebellions are of concern to all, but there is no agreement among participants about their origin. Some participants blame power-hungry men, some say Khartoum is at fault and others point to an unfair SPLM candidate nomination process or rigged elections. There is more consensus around how to respond to the rebellions. Most participants believe prosecution is preferable to amnesty because of the seriousness of the crimes committed and a belief that it will discourage similar behavior. However, a significant minority of participants believe the best chance for peace is through negotiation, amnesty and/or inclusion of the rebels into government.

- **Over half of participants criticize the work of their local police and about half are unhappy with what they describe as a weak and corrupt system for resolution of legal disputes. However, almost all approve of devoting significant portions of the new country's resources to the creation of a strong army.** Most participants describe the police in

[6] Quotation is from a Dinka Bor woman from Bor Makuach Payam in Jonglei state.

their communities as untrained, uneducated, corrupt and/or ineffective. Police request bribes, there is abuse of alcohol by policemen, even when in uniform, and most are too old to be effective, according to participants. There are also claims that police in some areas are from one section or clan only and not representative of the community. Participants who are critical of their legal systems believe bribery and improper influence tilt decisions in the favor of the rich, powerful or tribally connected and bemoan the poor quality of judges. A weak and unfair judiciary, these participants say, contributes to conflict because people are more likely to take the law into their own hands. In contrast, participants support substantial allocations from the budget for the development and upkeep of the army because they believe soldiers deserve to be well-compensated after years of sacrifice. They also want a strong army that can provide adequate security to South Sudan from both internal and external threats.

VI. CONSTITUTION

- **In contemplating a new constitution for South Sudan, participants emphasize the importance of guaranteeing rights, freedoms and equality, protection for women and girls and the right to education. Limits to power, they say, must be addressed as well through a commitment to democracy and presidential term limits.** After years of discrimination and oppression, South Sudanese participants are adamant that their permanent constitution must ensure basic human rights and freedoms. Internal tribalism problems also prompt many to focus on the need for equality for all citizens. Beyond those basic desires, there is significant support for provisions to protect women and girls, such as a prohibition on forced and early marriage, and for the right to education so that all have an opportunity to improve the quality of their lives. Ensuring there are limits to political power is also a priority for participants who support a constitution that is based on a democratic system of government and express a strong preference for presidential term limits.

- **Participants desire a constitutional development process that includes all political parties and features strong input from citizens, including the requirement of a referendum for the adoption of the constitution.** Participants stress that the permanent constitution for South Sudan will be a national document meant for all, and as such, the process

to develop it must include all. Thus, while they see a lead role for the SPLM in constitution-making as important, they voice a clear desire for inclusion of other parties in the process. They also believe citizens have valuable contributions to make to a new constitution and expect the government to conduct extensive consultations with the populace through public meetings, the media and local and traditional authorities. That consultation, participants assert, should include a referendum vote to approve the constitution. They view a referendum as the best way to promote citizen participation in the process and to ensure their interests are protected.

VII. POLITICAL SYSTEMS

- **Democracy, direct election of the country's leader, a national representative with strong ties to their geographic location and traditional authority involvement in governing are all the preference of participants who believe these mechanisms are the best way to ensure they have a participatory and accountable government.** More than anything, participants want a government that listens and is responsive to its people. They believe that achieving that first requires the adoption of democracy, with its provision of equal rights for all and its empowerment of the citizenry to choose leaders and hold them accountable. The system of democracy they prefer allows citizens to choose the leader of their country through direct elections. Participants believe that there is no better judge of who can best serve the nation than the citizens themselves and that a leader directly elected by the citizens better understands where his or her power and responsibilities lie. The value of those close ties are also why participants prefer a political system that allows them to choose representatives from single-member constituencies who have close ties to their geographic areas, though some would also pair that with party list representatives. The closer the relationship the representative has to their area, participants argue, the more likely they will work hard to improve the quality of life of their constituents. The reasoning for the desire to have traditional authorities involved in government is similar. Participants say local chiefs are best placed to understand their issues and communicate their problems to government.

- **Participants have not yet developed strong opinions about devolution of power in key policy areas.** When asked how to divide power between the national and state governments in

key policy areas – health, education, police and judiciary – participants offer mixed views. Overall, there is slightly more support for greater national government influence because it has more resources and, particularly in the case of education, can ensure uniformity of standards. Those advocating more state involvement in policy feel that level of government is best suited to understand local challenges and needs.

VIII. GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE

- **The Government of South Sudan (GoSS) receives mostly positive performance ratings from participants, but the same participants express significant concern about the direction of the country due to persistent insecurity and the slow pace of development.** Most participants rate the performance of the GoSS in the good-to-fair range, similar to findings in past studies. These participants are grateful for their hard-won independence and point to initial signs of development as proof the government is trying to make things better. Lesser ratings are given by those who are not happy with the government's effort on development, corruption, tribalism or security. Participants in greater Bahr el Ghazal tend to rate the government's performance the highest, while those in greater Equatoria, particularly in Central Equatoria state, the lowest. Despite the generally favorable performance ratings, the combination of the uptick in local conflict and the significant development challenges facing South Sudan cause most to question the direction the country is headed. Basic services and necessary infrastructure remain at extremely low levels and are nowhere near meeting the need, participants say, and the resolution of one type of insecurity resulted only in its replacement with many other sources of insecurity. Participants from the Equatorian states, Upper Nile, Unity and parts of Jonglei and Lakes are more likely to have a negative opinion about the direction of South Sudan.

- **Participants are very disappointed in the performance of their elected representatives in the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly (SSLA)[7] and very dissatisfied with the lack of information, especially related to development, communicated by the government.** Almost all participants say their representatives in the SSLA have not performed as expected

[7] Following independence, the SSLA was re-named the National Legislative Assembly.

because they have not maintained contact with their constituents and have failed to fulfill their election promises. Some feel they voted in vain since their assessment is the representatives do nothing but remain in Juba and collect their salaries. Lack of contact with elected government officials is one reason the vast majority of participants indicate they receive little or no information from the GoSS. They also blame the lack of radio stations and mobile networks in rural areas and language barriers, since most government communication and radio broadcasts are in Arabic or English. Participants find the lack of information from the government frustrating and implore it to increase its communications with the population, especially in areas relevant to their daily lives, such as development and security.

IX. RELATIONSHIP WITH SUDAN

- **Participants hope for a good, economically fruitful relationship with Sudan, including a soft border, but some are skeptical that is achievable and fear hostile relations and a disputed border.** Participants want Sudan and South Sudan to have a peaceful and mutually beneficial relationship. They do not envision much cultural or social interaction but think trade can facilitate strong ties between the two countries. The best way to accomplish that, most participants say, is through a "soft" border – with low tariffs and few restrictions on crossing – that will benefit both countries economically. Some, though, find it hard to believe the Sudan-South Sudan relationship will be a good one. The bitter history between the two countries, unresolved issues (such as border demarcation and Abyei), what some participants believe is Sudan's support for militias in South Sudan and Sudan's historical need for South Sudan's resources leads this group of participants to conclude that the two countries are most likely to remain hostile toward each other and to have a disputed border similar to other hotspots in the world.

- **Paying a fee for oil transport through Sudan is acceptable to most, but only in the short-term and a strong minority remains opposed.** Faced with the reality that there is no immediate alternative, most participants reluctantly accept that South Sudan must pay a transit fee to Sudan for the transport of oil to a port. These participants make clear, however, that the fee should be a business (and not revenue sharing) arrangement, reasonable in cost, closely

monitored and short-lived. They also want the government to begin immediately developing other transport options. A strong minority of participants fear the fee will allow Sudan to cheat South Sudan out of oil revenues or believe Sudan does not to deserve to benefit more than it already has from South Sudan's oil. Some in this group suggest it would be better closing down oil production rather than transporting oil through Sudan.

X. ABYEI

- **Any means necessary, including war, should be employed to have Abyei become part of South Sudan,[8] participants say, because it is "part of us."**[9] Participants strongly support Abyei and believe the name, culture, language and skin color of the areas' residents prove beyond doubt it belongs to South Sudan. For this reason, they do not want abandon it, and most are willing to make the ultimate sacrifice of a return to war to ensure the region can join the newly independent country.

XI. ELECTIONS

- **About half of participants perceive the April 2010 elections as unfair, though this opinion is not always based on first-hand observations. The best timing for the next elections, most say, is in the next four or five years.** Intimidation, "forced" voting[10] and rigging are the primary complaints of those who say the 2010 elections were not conducted fairly. The concern of some is not on the vote itself but on the SPLM nomination process, which they feel was not in the interest of the community and where unpopular leaders were forced upon them. The evidence upon which some participants base their conclusion that the elections were unfair is not from personal observations but rather on complaints of defeated candidates, rebellions over election losses and the simple fact that so many SPLM candidates won. Complaints about the elections are scattered throughout all parts of South Sudan but are concentrated in several states, namely Central Equatoria, Western Equatoria and Northern Bahr el Ghazal. Despite the

[8] The fieldwork for this study was undertaken prior to the May 2011 conflict in Abyei.
[9] Phrase is from a quotation by a Jur Chol woman in Mapel, Western Bahr el Ghazal.
[10] "Forced" voting is described by participants as instances when they were instructed or pressured to vote in a specified way by party leaders, government officials or traditional authorities.

complaints of these participants, most believe the next national elections should not be held before four or five years because they want to give the recently elected government time to demonstrate whether it can succeed. There is a significant minority, however, that would like to see much quicker elections – in a year or two – because they believe a newly independent South Sudan deserves a new government and/or think that allowing others a chance to lead is the best way to avoid conflict.

XII. RETURNEES AND LAND

- **The large number of South Sudanese returnees is not yet a significant concern of most participants, though some worry about the impact on already stressed resources. Land is one of those resources, and most participants now prefer government ownership of land as a means to reduce conflict and encourage development.** Participants talk of the expected returnees as brothers and sisters and fully support government and other efforts to ensure they are reintegrated into society. Most do not anticipate major problems as a result of the influx of returnees and even say the skills they are bringing with them will be beneficial. However, there are some who fear the country's currently available resources and weak infrastructure will not be able to accommodate all that are expected. Since these public opinion studies began, there have been mixed opinions on government ownership of land versus community ownership. For the first time, the majority of participants in this study view government ownership as preferable. Their reasoning is that community ownership of land is a major source of tribal conflict and hinders development because communities are reluctant to give up land for businesses or other growth projects. The strong exception to this opinion is among participants in the Equatorian states, where community ownership is seen as a natural right of the citizens and is viewed as the best way to ensure proper usage of the land.

PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

This is the twelfth public opinion study NDI has undertaken in the former Sudan. Most of those studies were conducted in what is now the country of South Sudan. The principal findings outlined below are based on 67 focus group discussions conducted from March 16-April 6, 2011. The discussions were conducted in both rural and urban locations across all 10 states in South Sudan, and a total of 860 South Sudanese participated in the study. Group discussions were conducted with men and women of various ethnicities, age groups and education levels. Consult the location and participant demographic chart in Appendix A for further information on group composition.

I. NATION-BUILDING

1. In describing their vision for the new nation, participants highlight the key qualities they hope the nation and its government will embody: democratic, peaceful, responsive, developed, honest and open, fair and equitable and united.

Participants have high hopes for their new country and want it to be an example for other African nations. They believe it should represent the best that a country can offer by being democratic, peaceful, developed and united and by having a government that is responsive, honest and open and fair and equitable. Participants also explain what they mean when invoking these words. For them, democratic means the guarantee of rights and freedom. A peaceful nation is one where the government successfully ends the current rebellions, reduces tribal conflict and addresses crime and banditry. Participants define a responsive government as one that listens to its people and works hard to address their most pressing problems. Their idea of a developed nation is one that has schools, hospitals and roads and can provide opportunities for employment. An honest and open government promotes transparency and eliminates corruption. Participants' view of a fair and equitable government is one where all are treated equally and development is distributed fairly. A united nation is one where discrimination is eradicated and tribalism is a thing of the past.

> *I want South Sudan to be a democratic nation considering people's views and respecting human rights…I want South Sudan to be democratic state with powers lying in the hand of citizens.* (Two Dinka Malual Men, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

We voted to separate from the Arabs who made us slaves, but as we have separated now we want a nation with good governance, [respect for] the feelings of its citizens, a nation that will eliminate tribalism and with no empty promises from its leaders. (Zande Man, Rangu, Western Equatoria)

I want South Sudan to be a nation free from wars and rebellions. (Dinka Malual Woman, Mayen Ulien, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

I want to see a corruption-free, united and transparent government in the new nation. (Kakwa Chief, Mugwo Payam, Central Equatoria)

South Sudan will be our dear home, a country that cares for her people's needs and looks to providing better services, at all costs, to all her people irrespective of race, gender or religion. (Dinka Twic Woman, Pawel, Jonglei)

I want a nation where you speak and talk without any discrimination and work as a Southern Sudanese, not on tribal affiliations. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

We want our country to be a country of unity, togetherness and love for all, not tribalism. (Woman, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

2. **South Sudan can only become the nation its citizens desire, participants say, if fundamental challenges currently facing the new country are addressed: insecurity, underdevelopment, tribalism and corruption**.

Participants repeatedly return to four issues they believe will determine whether or not South Sudan will thrive over the next five years. The first is security. South Sudan must demonstrate it can protect its citizens by ending the current rebellions, reducing tribal conflicts and taking action against crime and banditry. Second, there must be significant improvement in the citizens' quality of life through the provision of basic services. Participants say the country will be a failure if they cannot see tangible, on-the-ground development – such as well-functioning schools and health facilities and a

large road network – that is distributed in a manner fair to all. Third, South Sudan has to make great strides in bringing its people together. Participants want to arrive at 2016 in a country where all tribes feel represented in government, where government employment is based on merit, not tribal connections, and where all tribes and clans live in peaceful co-existence. The last key to South Sudan's future, according to participants, is reducing government corruption. Corruption, they believe, will hinder the country's growth and increase the likelihood for instability.

South Sudan will have succeeded if there is security. Conversely, the government will have failed if insecurity persists. (Dinka Twic Chief, Panyagor Town, Jonglei)

If there are tribal clashes and cattle raiding, then South Sudan will not be like I had wanted it to be. (Avokaya Man, Mbalindi, Western Equatoria)

I will expect the government to have failed if it doesn't stop the current rebellions. (Nuer Jegai man, Bentiu Town, Unity)

If there is no development and yet everyone knows that we have oil resources, the whole nation will be a mess. (Nuer Lou Man, Deng Jok, Jonglei)

Unfair distribution of resources is a factor that could prevent South Sudan to be a country I want. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

Issues related to corruption can break up the country and make it unstable. Thus, corruption is a big disease that needs to be done away with. (Dinka Bor Man, Paleek Payam, Jonglei)

The biggest challenge today is tribalism, and if not dealt with properly, it will prevent the new nation from being what I want it to be. (Nuer Lou Man, Deng Jok, Jonglei)

If we leave corruption, then the government will succeed, but if our nepotism and tribalism issues like in the employment field – the whom you know and not what you know principle – [continue] then differences will be faced. (Dinka Rek Man, Kwajok Town, Warrap)

3. **Participants say the citizen's role in building the new nation is to be the engine of development, pay taxes and promote peace and unity. The primary role of government, they believe, is to provide security, cultivate a strong economy and increase development.**

Participants demonstrate a strong desire to be involved with, and make a significant contribution to, building their new country. Citizens, they contend, will drive the development process by growing food to ensure the nation can feed itself, starting businesses to address the issue of massive unemployment and serving as a source of labor so that larger businesses and development projects can get underway quickly. Participants also embrace the idea of paying taxes. They view taxation as a proper government tool for increasing development in their local areas and thus are happy to contribute toward that goal. Promotion of peace is a third key role participants say citizens need to play in South Sudan. They talk of the importance of all citizens working to encourage unity and of making a personal commitment to end tribalism.

> *The nation belongs to us. If we don't develop it, there is no one who will come and develop it…We can start up projects like tailoring and weaving and sell the crafts, earning us capital, or even have a water project.* (Two Toposa Women, Atlabara, Eastern Equatoria)

> *My role is to cultivate on the farm so that people can be free from hunger and starvation.* (Dinka Malual Man, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

> *My role as a citizen in South Sudan is to create employment opportunities in our local areas. This will be through…the opening up of small farms, which in the long run will lead to development*. (Zande Man, Rangu, Western Equatoria)

> *We citizens should work in factories and big plantations in order to build this country…Citizens should engage in all aspects of development like construction of roads and schools.* (Two Dinka Atwot Chiefs, Yirol West, Lakes)

As a citizen, we should pay taxes to help in development and building the new nation. (Woman, Yei Town, Central Equatoria)

A*s a citizen I would fight hard to wipe out tribalism and encourage nationalism.* (Dinka Malual Man, Mayom Adhel, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

Security is a fundamental role of government in the eyes of participants, and they expect the South Sudan government to place a high priority on the protection of its citizens. A second important role is the development of a strong economy. In particular, participants are looking to the government to create a significant number of jobs through the encouragement of investment and the establishment of major businesses, such as factories. The third role, and the one most often mentioned by participants, of government is to improve the quality of life of its citizens. Participants say the government must provide basic services, especially health care and education, increase infrastructure, especially roads, and facilitate the ability of citizens to become self-reliant, especially through assistance with agriculture. Some participants add that one of government's roles is to listen to citizens and involve them in decision-making.

The government should provide security and protection to all the citizens regardless of where they come from. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

The government should come up with a plan of providing a lot of jobs to the people, so that citizens will generate development and build this nation. (Acholi Woman, Nawai Messer, Eastern Equatoria)

The government has a role of building for us better schools, roads, electricity and health care centers. (Bari Man, Na Bari, Central Equatoria)

The government has the role of initiating agricultural programs for tackling the problem of food insecurity. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Hai ChotYiek, Unity)

We need the government to involve all the citizens in whatever decision it is taking. (Fertit Woman, Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

4. The best way to ensure all tribes participate in building the new South Sudan is to have an inclusive and fair government and to encourage reconciliation among the tribes, according to participants.

Participants believe that building the nation requires all tribes, sections and clans be treated fairly and included in governing. They define fairness as equitable distribution of resources and equal consideration for civil service employment. An inclusive government, participants say, is one that allows all tribes and clans to be represented. Participants recognize, though, that government action alone will not create a unified nation. They say citizens' attitudes must change as well and advocate education and awareness campaigns to highlight the dangers of tribalism and to promote the benefits of cooperation. Some also suggest reconciliation efforts would help heal old wounds and inter-tribal marriage would encourage South Sudanese to think of themselves as one people. A few participants promote education as the key to ensuring all tribes see the advantages of building the nation together.

Tribes and clans should be treated fairly from national to boma level [to encourage all to participate in nation-building]. (Dinka Rek Man, Kwajok Town, Warrap)

Equal distribution of resources to all tribes will encourage them to build the nation. (Dinka Man, Renk Town, Upper Nile)

Equal distribution of employment opportunities to different tribes and clans will involve everyone in nation-building. (Kakwa Chief, Mugwo Payam, Central Equatoria)

All tribes and clans must be engaged and must be represented at all levels of government [to build the nation]. (Dinka Malual Man, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

I suggest that at least each tribe should have representatives in the government sector to be motivated by their people, hence peace and harmony and then development will occur. (Zande Man, Rangu, Western Equatoria)

We have to develop a spirit of togetherness in this country…Eliminate the element of tribalism through sensitizing people of the dangers of tribalism. (Two Men, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

Prioritizing unity among Southerners is the best way of involving all tribes and clans in nation-building. We should also educate people on the importance of mutual co-existence among the tribes. (Nuer Lou Chief, Akobo Town, Jonglei)

The first thing is to convene a national reconciliation conference so that we are able to understand ourselves as people of South Sudan. (Dinka Twic Chief, Panyagor, Jonglei)

I married from Madi and Fajulu, so the nation should not be built by one tribe but together with other tribes. That means people should inter-marry from one tribe to another so that we build this nation. (Toposa Chief, Kapoeta Town, Eastern Equatoria)

The Nuer speaks their dialect; Jur speaks their dialect and so on. The best way for them to come together and build this nation is only through education. Educated people don't discriminate. (Dinka Gok Woman, Mayath, Lakes)

5. **Most participants proudly identify themselves South Sudanese and express a great desire for all South Sudanese to think of themselves as one people – South Sudanese first, members of a tribe second.**

Participants stress the sacrifices they made and the blood they shed to create their new nation was for the right to call themselves South Sudanese, and they underline the importance of nationality as a unifying factor. Participants believe building a sense of nationhood and instilling a strong commitment to patriotism in the country's new citizens is the solution to the most serious threats facing the new nation. If South Sudanese think of themselves as one, they say, there would be no reason for tribally-based rebellions and power struggles and development could proceed unimpeded by fights over distribution of resources.

I consider myself a Southerner first before my tribe because the sense of nationalism will help build the young nation. One tribe cannot build the nation. (Lotukho Man, Torit Town, Eastern Equatoria)

My father died when fighting for a national cause. Therefore, I do not see a reason of promoting the tribe first at the expense of the nation. We should embrace ourselves as Southerners first because this helps us a great deal. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

It is important to put your country first because it will create a sense of nationalism among various tribes in South Sudan's new nation. (Nuer Lou Woman, Akobo Town, Jonglei)

South Sudan has many tribes, but if I consider myself a Southerner it is very important …If we consider ourselves as Southerners, that is the spirit of patriotism. (Two Shilluk Men, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

I feel ashamed to declare my tribe to someone. I am a South Sudanese first, and I would like this to be a policy…If we identify ourselves as members of our tribes first and not South Sudanese first, then the country will not develop because leaders will fight hard to make sure their native areas are developed. (Two Dinka Rek Men, Tonj South Town, Warrap)

It is important [for people] to think that they are Southerners first and then their tribe later because this will eliminate tribalism, corruption would die off and the issue of power struggles among the tribes would come to end. (Dinka Malual Man, Mayom Adhel, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

II. TRIBALISM

1. **Tribalism is a significant problem – some participants say the biggest problem – facing South Sudan and is manifested primarily in an imbalance of power, unfair government employment practices and tribal conflict. Some express strong concerns about the ramifications of tribalism if left unchecked.**

Almost all participants say the tribalism problem in South Sudan is substantial, or as one participant more colorfully puts it, "as big as a mountain."[11] They describe tribalism as having three main faces: imbalance of power, unfair government employment practices and tribal conflict. The perception of most participants is that one tribe or clan usually occupies the majority of top positions in government. Dinka are accused by some of controlling most offices at the national level, but the situation is much more complex at lower levels. At state and lower levels of government, which tribe is faulted for practicing tribalism depends on the location, and sometimes the accusation is leveled at clans or sections within a tribe. For example, in Lakes state some Dinka Gok participants in this study complain of tribalism and discrimination at the hands of Dinka Agar. The particular concern of participants about the lack of tribal balance in power structures is that it will limit the opportunity of tribes/clans not in power to benefit from development and receive government services. This feeling of exclusion is reflected in the comment of one participant about her tribe, "We are behind because we do not have our big people in the government."[12] Discrimination in employment and tribal conflict are the other two aspects of tribalism mentioned by participants. They detail stories of government offices where all the employees are from the same tribe, clan or even family and say it is common practice for job candidates to be asked their tribal affiliation. Tribal conflict is not new in South Sudan, but participants view the current level of conflict as high and worry about the disunity it can cause, such as people identifying themselves more closely with sub-clans. The potentially serious consequences of tribalism trouble some participants. They believe, if not rectified, the specter of tribalism will make progress difficult and endanger the very future of their new nation. As one participant noted, "Tribalism starts from the nomads to the towns. It is a big problem in the South. Tribalism will not give space for development, democracy or even a nation."[13]

> *It [tribalism] is really very much from homes, churches, markets, organizations up to the origin of tribalism, which is the government…Everything is spoiled due to tribalism, right from the government to the police to the army, including we civilians.* (Two Women, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

[11] Phrase is from a quotation by a Dinka man in Renk Town, Upper Nile.
[12] Quotation is from an Avokaya woman in Mambe Payam, Western Equatoria.
[13] Quotation is from a man in Hai Wara, Western Bahr el Ghazal.

Tribalism is very much in Southern Sudan. When it comes to the distribution of resources, people will say that they want their person to be in the government so that he can bring services to them. (Dinka Atwot Chief, Yirol West, Lakes)

The government officials have no sense of patriotism. They work for their tribes rather than their country…I believe a patriotic son of this land is yet to be born. Every government official is corrupt in South Sudan due to this tribalism. (Two Nuer Jikany Women, Nassir Town, Upper Nile)

It [tribalism] is very much in South Sudan because many Southerners say government is dominated by Dinkas and Nuer, when it is the government of all South Sudanese. (Dinka Malual Man, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

There is very much tribalism because the Dinka are taking most of the positions in the government. (Nuer Lou Chief, Akobo Town, Jonglei)

[Tribalism is] very much especially in offices. You find that if you are a Kuku, you will concentrate on taking applications from Kuku only and [throw] the rest away. What type of South Sudan do we really want? (Woman, Rajaf, Central Equatoria)

Tribalism is very much [a problem] because you find members of the same tribe dominating a particular ministry because the highest civil servant there or the minister is one of their own. (Dinka Rek Man, Tonj South Town, Warrap)

It [tribalism] is very much because of the questions asked when looking for work. Those questions range from what is your name, your tribe, where are you from, etc. (Mundari Woman, Terekeka Town, Central Equatoria)

Tribalism in Southern Sudan is very much because of fighting between all tribes of Southern Sudan. You can see Dinka fighting Nuer or even Dinka [fighting themselves] and so on. (Dinka Agar Man, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

Tribalism is very much a problem. You can take Akobo as an example. People are identifying themselves with their sub-clans. The whole of Southern Sudan is full of tribalism. (Nuer Lou Woman, Akobo Town, Jonglei)

It [tribalism] is a big problem that might lead to bigger problems if not handled with care. (Man, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

2. Tribalism must be addressed through a multi-pronged approach that incorporates cultural, administrative, political and legal responses, according to participants.

Participants believe the solution for tribalism begins at the top with political commitment to have a wider mix of tribes within key government posts at the national and state level. Policy and administrative directives must also be forged, participants say, to guarantee the equitable distribution of resources and development, to encourage ethnic balance in employment and to promote merit-based hiring. One popular administrative suggestion from participants is to transfer civil servants out of their home areas to increase interaction between tribes and to prevent the hiring of friends and relatives. Some participants want laws to be developed to control tribalism as well. Ultimately, the citizens themselves must be transformed to reduce cultural biases, participants say. As one said, "We have to watch out and change our heart."[14] This can be achieved, they think, through civic education, reconciliation discussions and efforts toward integration, such as through inter-marriage. Finally, the participants believe there is power in education because they trust a more educated population will be less focused on tribal differences.

President Salva Kiir should mix up his ministers and cabinet. One ministry should be administered by Lotukho, Dinka, Toposa, Bari and so on. This will take away tribalism, and the government will become a government; the same thing to the state government. The governors should also apply the same system of employing staff in the state ministries by mixing up different tribes in the ministries. (Toposa Chief, Kapoeta Town, Eastern Equatoria)

[14] Quotation is from a Mundari woman in Terekeka Town, Central Equatoria.

The heads for the top government positions should be from different tribes by rotating leadership for positions like governors and commissioners. (Dinka Twic Woman, Pawel, Jonglei)

There should be equality in the government. There should be fair and just distribution of wealth, regardless of which tribe is dominant or the majority. (Dinka Rek Woman, Yithliet Payam, Warrap)

The government should encourage unity through equitable development. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Ulang Town, Upper Nile)

Employment and recruitment should be distributed equally to reduce tribalism. (Kakwa Chief, Mugwo Payam, Central Equatoria)

The problem of tribalism is easy to address…if I were the government, I must make sure that any job advertised is given to a qualified person based on his career but not to tribe members. (Dinka Gok Man, Cueibet Town, Lakes)

I think what can be done [to reduce tribalism] is to interchange civil servants from Central Equatoria to work in Wau and so on. (Dinka Malual Man, Mayam Adhal, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

The law can help us. If anyone goes about tribalism, he should be imprisoned immediately. (Toposa Woman, Atlabara, Eastern Equatoria)

There is a great need for reconciliation and forgiveness among the communities and tribes…There is a great need to enlighten people on the national values and ideals of patriotism. (Two Dinka Bor Men, Bor Town, Jonglei)

In order to reduce tribalism acts in South Sudan, then we should encourage intermarriages among different tribes to have free interaction among them. (Zande Woman, Yambio Town, Western Equatoria)

Campaigns for anti-tribalism have to be initiated so that our people should understand evils related to tribalism and influence their mentality to live as one loving community…Lack of education brings a lot of tribalism, so I

would wish people are educated so that many people go to school and later will understand for themselves the evils related to tribalism. (Two Dinka Twic Women, Pawel, Jonglei)

To end tribalism…[we] should support NGOs to encourage unity, churches should start the role of bringing people together spiritually and socially and government should collect all tribal leaders to be provide what is called tribal seminars to unite different tribes. (Shilluk Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

3. Participant suggestions for improving the recruitment and employment process in government range from adoption and enforcement of appropriate recruitment procedures to requirements for balancing tribal representation in government offices.

The basic improvement participants most desire in civil service employment is merit-based hiring, and they have many varied suggestions for how this can be achieved. Recruitment procedures need to be clear, participants say. Some specific recommendations include writing procedures into law, stepping up enforcement of procedures, advertising openings widely, incorporating exams into the interview process and using numbers instead of names on candidate applications to prevent ethnic discrimination. Hiring should also be approached differently, according to participants. Some suggested changes include the regular rotation of personnel in charge of recruitment, the empowerment of the public service ministry/labor offices to make hiring decisions and the formation of local recruitment committees with representation from different tribes. Some participants focus on tribal representation in civil service employment as the key improvement needed. The ideas they propose include requirements for tribal balance in government workplaces and a guarantee that at least a small number of people from each community are given civil service employment, among others.

People should be employed based on their qualifications. (Nuer Lou Woman, Akobo Town, Jonglei)

There should be laws to manage recruitment and employment [in government]. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

The government can introduce the use of code numbers to represent the name of an applicant…[Government should] mix up the people in the concerned ministry responsible for recruitment. (Two Jur Chol Chiefs, Mapel, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

Applicants should be tested before they are employed. (Dinka Bor Woman, Makuach Payam, Jonglei)

There should be a recruitment committee that comprises a panel from different tribes who will assess the applicants based on their qualifications and fairly mixing the tribes. (Man, Juba Town-Gumbo, Central Equatoria)

Jobs should be equitably distributed to people from various regions. I know people from one region may be more highly educated than people from another region for some reasons, but it is not okay for them to be the only ones taking the public jobs. (Dinka Rek Man, Tonj South Town, Warrap)

Recruitment processes need to be transparent through the labor office...Government needs to choose from each community five people to work in the government jobs. (Two Avokaya Women, Mambe Payam, Western Equatoria)

A law should be there [such] that any office found having more than three of the same tribe in the same office must face the law. (Woman, Rajaf, Central Equatoria)

4. **Although there is strong support for merit-based hiring, about half the participants say representation of a mix of tribes in government offices is more important than ensuring the most qualified are hired.**

Throughout the study, participants note time and again their desire to have only qualified candidates hired for civil service positions. However, when presented with a scenario in which a single tribe filled the four top positions in a government office because those individuals had proved the most qualified, only about half say they could accept that. This reveals a desire for affirmative action-type measures in addition to the expressed preference for merit-based hiring. Those participants who indicate they find it acceptable for only the most qualified to be hired (about half in the study) say as long as appropriate recruitment measures are followed, they would have no issue with one

government office employing members of the same tribe. For this group, the importance of having civil servants who can perform well is paramount. "It is better to employ people of the same tribe who are qualified…there are people [in government] who do not know how to read and write,"[15] one participant notes. The other half of participants in the study rejects this notion. First, in reviewing the scenario, they argue that qualified candidates of other tribes could have been found for some of the top four positions if greater effort was made. Beyond that, these participants believe that one tribe holding the four top positions in a government office is too unfair to overlook. They say such decisions will leave other tribes unemployed because those civil servants would only hire others of their tribe for positions underneath them. They also would have no faith that a government office run by one tribe could treat others fairly and distribute development appropriately. In their view, the tribe represented in the office would develop their home areas and ignore others or as one participant says, "They will be happy in life while others are suffering."[16]

> *As long as they [four top employees in a government office of the same tribe] were taken based on their experience and qualifications and are not corrupt, there is nothing wrong with them being in that office…There is nothing wrong with that, as long as they are working for the benefit of the office and in the interests of all Southern Sudanese.* (Two Nuer Women, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

> *It [hiring four members of the same tribe for the top positions in a government office] is okay if they are qualified because they are a great resource to help in development…Qualified people know what to do and are trustworthy.* (Two Dinka Bor Women, Makuach Payam, Jonglei)

> *It [having the top four positions in a government office filled by members of the same tribe] is not good because there are other tribes that are also qualified for such positions…That's being unfair. Why do they not think of the rest? Even if they had the right qualifications, does it mean all the rest of the tribes have no qualifications?* (Two Men, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

> *Even if they [four members of the same tribe in the top positions in a government office] are qualified for the job, we still have our own people to be trained and get employed. No one was born with qualifications, so it is through*

[15] Quotation is from a Dinka Rek woman in Yithliet Payam, Warrap.
[16] Phrase is from a quotation by a Dinka Malual woman, Majak Akoon Payam, Northern Bahr el Ghazal.

training that one's qualified for a job. (Zande Man, Rangu, Western Equatoria)

For me, it is not okay to have people of the same tribe in one government office because they will employ other people from their tribe who are not qualified. (Two Dinka Atwot Chiefs, Yirol West, Lakes)

It [having the top four positions in a government office filled by members of the same tribe] is not okay because they will take advantage of suppressing their rival tribes…It is not okay because they will not do anything positive for others and this, in turn, encourages tribalism. (Two Nuer Lek Men, Rubkona Town, Unity)

5. Most participants indicate they need to see their tribesmen in government to feel they have a voice and to increase the chances of development in their home areas.

Seeing a fellow tribesman in government makes participants feel proud and as though it confers a certain status upon them. As one participant notes, not having a tribesman in government means a tribe "may be looked down upon by the tribes with tribesmen in the government."[17] More important to participants, however, is the belief that having a tribesman in government gives them a voice and makes them feel represented. Government becomes accessible, they say, when a tribesman is in government because it opens up a channel of communication through which they can learn about what is happening in government. Participants also view having a tribesman in government as their best chance to bring development projects to their home areas and, conversely, believe not having a tribesman in government positions means they will be ignored. It is also evident from participant comments that part of the desire to have tribesman in government is driven by a feeling that their own people can do the best job of understanding their communities and reporting the communities' problems and needs to the government for resolution. Only a few participants in most locations say they do not believe it is important to have their tribe represented in government, but notably almost all the participants in Northern Bahr el Ghazal state were of this view.

It is important [having a tribesman in government] because I may feel proud…This may raise the value of the tribe if there is a tribesman in the government. (Two Fertit Men, Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

[17] Phrase is from a quotation by a Fertit man in Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal.

It is important to have our tribesmen in the government to represent us and our views in the eyes of the government. (Acholi Woman, Nawai Messer, Eastern Equatoria)

It is important to have tribesmen [in government] to make it easy to get information from the government. (Madi Man, Moli Tokuro, Eastern Equatoria)

There are so many reasons why people like to have a member of their tribe in the government. For instance, if you come from rural area where everything is lacking [in development] your tribesman can help you get what is not with you. (Dinka Gok Man, Cueibet Town, Lakes)

It [having a tribesman in government] is important because my tribesman understands me better than a stranger, and I so should always wish to have my tribesman in the government…It is important to co-ordinate between us and the government, like taking our concerns and needs to the government. (Dinka Twic Woman, Pawel, Jonglei)

*What you are saying is the cause for tribalism, and I do not support the idea that I should have someone from my tribe in the government***.** (Shilluk Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

6. **Most participants deny they would ask for a job for which they were unqualified from a fellow tribesman in government, though asking a tribesman for a government job for which a person is qualified or for an unclassified post is deemed acceptable by some.**

Many participants view asking for a job without the required qualifications from a government employee with kinship ties as wrong and harmful to their goals of broader development and the elimination of tribalism in South Sudan. They also say it would bring shame on themselves and their tribesman. Some see nothing wrong, however, with approaching a tribesman in government to help them obtain a position for which they are qualified or for an unclassified post. Only a few participants say they would push for any position, even one for which they were not qualified. One

part of this group notes that poverty would force them to do so, while another part has the attitude, "if others are doing it, what am I waiting for?"[18]

> *We need development to occur in Southern Sudan, so we need the right people to work, not just because of being my brother-in-law or relative. So it [asking a tribesman in government for a job] is not okay.* (Zande Woman, Yambio Town, Western Equatoria)

> *A country where you work for your relative and not where your competence lies is a failed country. I cannot ask for a job from my relative.* (Dinka Twic Chief, Panyagor, Jonglei)

> *Completely, I can't do that mistake [asking a tribesman in government for a job]. It can encourage tribalism.* (Jur Chol Chief, Mapel, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

> *I cannot ask [a tribesman in government for a job] because it would later bring shame on my tribesman if I failed to perform.* (Nuer Lou Man, Deng Jok, Jonglei)

> *I will ask [a tribesman in government for a job] though I am not qualified because there are other simple works that I can do, for example cleaning.* (Madi Man, Moli Tokuro, Eastern Equatoria)

> *I will ask him [a tribesman in government] to employ me where I can fit in his ministry because if he could not employ me I will have nothing to eat…so poverty is the main thing to be reduced by all means.* (Dinka Bor Man, Paleek Payam, Jonglei)

> *I would automatically ask [a tribesman in government for a job] because that is how our nation is. Like you find that some people give their relatives a job and yet even writing is a problem…So why not me asking from mine also?* (Woman, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

[18] Phrase is from a quotation by a man in Juba Town, Central Equatoria.

7. **Participants embrace the idea of hiring the best-qualified persons for civil service jobs in their state regardless of that person's state of origin. Most believe this practice would discourage tribalism and improve the prospects for development, though some warn civil servants from other states should only be those with technical skills.**

In response to other questions, some participants spontaneously raise the idea of having qualified civil servants serve outside of their state of origin and when asked directly about it, most endorse it. Participants believe transferring civil servants out-of-state would increase the number of qualified people in their state and promote a sense of unity through reduced tribalism. They see other benefits as well. Development would improve because the "strangers" would work harder for approval of the local people, and all tribes/clans would be treated equally since the out-of-state civil servants have no pre-existing ties. In addition, expertise and experience not available locally could be shared and transferred to the community. Some participants, though, express skepticism about bringing in even qualified civil servants from other states. This group of participants notes the large unemployment problem in their areas and says their preference is for local people to be trained. The only civil servants from other states they are willing to accept are those who perform technical jobs, like doctors or engineers.

> *If the person [an out-of-state civil servant] is a South Sudanese and he is qualified, then it is okay [to hire him]. After all, the South belongs to every Southerner.* (Man, Hai Wara, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

> *They [out-of-state civil servants] should be hired because we need qualified people no matter where they come from.* (Nuer Jikany Woman, Hai Chot Yiek, Unity)

> *I support that they [out-of-state civil servants] should be hired because it creates a good relationship among the tribes…That is what our government should encourage to make people feel togetherness.* (Two Zande Men, Rangu, Western Equatoria)

> *They [out-of-state civil servants] can be hired because people from other states work with honesty because they do not discriminate against people…They [out-of-state civil servants] can be hired because these people do not know who members of tribes are. They will treat people equally.* (Two Dinka Got Men, Cueibet Town, Lakes)

They [out-of-state civil servants] are welcomed to work in our area. People from different areas will respect us more than those from within us. (Jur Chol Woman, Mapel, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

It's important for qualified persons to work outside of his/her home area to give examples and experience to the locals. (Dinka Man, Renk Town, Upper Nile)

It's not good to hire people [from out-of-state] just because the residents of that particular place may also need the work, so it is only good to train them and they get employed in their place than hiring [from out-of-state]. (Zande Woman, Yambio Town, Western Equatoria)

They [out-of-state civil servants] should be allowed to do some jobs, mostly technical positions. Administrative roles should be left to the people of the area. (Dinka Rek Man, Tonj South Town, Warrap)

III. DEVELOPMENT

1. Development is improving, according to most participants, though some say development does not meet their expectations and is limited in its reach.

Most participants indicate the development situation in South Sudan is getting better. The proof, they say, is in improvements they are witnessing in their areas. Common signs of development participants cite include the opening or refurbishing of schools and hospitals, road construction, new boreholes, new markets and new buildings. In urban areas, electricity is what some point to as the main development indicator. Those with access, whether in more urban or rural areas, appear especially appreciative of mobile phone networks or radio stations. However, while indicating development is improving, some participants say it has not met their expectations or is limited to only certain areas or certain people. Also, a significant minority of participants notes no improvement in development or says the situation is worsening. Some in this group complain of urgent and unmet development needs in their areas, while others blame corruption for impeding the development process.

It [development] is improving. If you go outside the town now, you will see changes in people's way of life. You will see people preparing their food with modern utensils…It is improving because everyone is taking his or her child to school, which was something impossible in the past. (Two Dinka Atwot Chiefs, Yirol West, Lakes)

Development is improving because in this payam they have constructed a hospital, a school and two borehole water systems. (Nuer Lou Man, Deng Jok, Jonglei)

Development is improving because there are mobile networks and radio stations for the communities. (Madi Man, Moli Tokuro, Eastern Equatoria)

The development has a bit improved, but it is not the full improvement that we want. (Dinka Rek Woman, Yithliet Payam, Warrap)

As I look into it, now there is a slight change [in development] unlike before, but only in specific areas of South Sudan. (Zande Man, Rangu, Western Equatoria)

The development situation is getting worse in our area because there are no beds in hospitals…There are poor schools structures for learning. (Two Mundari Men, Terekeka, Central Equatoria)

The situation is getting worse. Some people are looting public resources meant for development for their own benefit. These resources should be used for schools, roads and healthcare…The North donated a lot of money to lure us to choose unity, but the money was used by individuals. (Dinka Twic Chief, Panyagor Town, Jonglei)

2. Education, health and clean water top the list of development priorities for participants.

In naming their top three priorities for development, participants choose education and health as their top two by a significant margin over other choices.[19] Clean water is a third priority for

[19] Participants were given a list and asked to choose their top three development priorities. The list also contained an option for a participant to name an area of development not on the list. The choices on the list were: clean water, electricity, jobs, roads, housing, healthcare, education and any other area of development (to be named by the participant).

participants. In certain areas, such as Jonglei and Upper Nile states, roads take precedence over clean water, and electricity is an important development priority for those living in urban areas.

3. **Although participants demonstrate strong support for democracy, most choose development as the first priority when asked to decide between the two. A significant minority, however, believe democracy is a prerequisite for development.**

The importance that participants place on development is revealed in a question in which they are asked to choose which they would want the government to focus on first: democracy or development. In a previous question about the appropriateness of democracy for South Sudan,[20] almost all participants identify it as the best system of government for their new country. But when democracy is pitted against development in determining government priorities, participants opt for development as the more important. First, development is tangible and can been seen and felt, while democracy is not. Second, the extremely low level of development in the country after decades of conflict makes any other priority pale in comparison. Some participants also believe that democracy would fail in any event without development. A strong minority, though, argue that having a democratic government is an essential ingredient in developing the country. They note that having a democracy allows the people to choose leaders they judge will be the most effective in developing South Sudan. A few participants reject the notion that the country must choose to focus first on either development or democracy and instead declare that the two go hand-in-hand and are both important to ensure progress.

> *Development first. We the citizens are after what we can see, but you can't see democracy, can you?* (Dinka Rek Woman, Romii, Warrap)

> *Development should come first because you cannot talk of democracy when you do not have food to eat.* (Nuer Lek Woman, Pulkuai, Unity)

[20] See section VII, finding 1.

Development should first be given priority because the long war has destroyed the lives of the citizens, and we need to reconstruct our country. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

If every place gets developed, then there would be no rejection of democracy, but if there were no development, government would fail because democracy would not be successful. (Fertit Man, Lokloko, Western Barh el Ghazal)

Democracy first because it will be like a foundation for development. It is hard to achieve development where there is no democracy. (Nuer Lou Chief, Akobo Town, Jonglei)

Strengthen democracy first because without leaders elected through democracy, who do you think can develop this country? (Dinka Agar Woman, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

Democracy and development can be handled concurrently, since they are not mutually exclusive. The two will help our country progress to meet the standard of most countries. (Dinka Man, Renk Town, Upper Nile)

4. **Most participants expect to see changes in their areas within a short time after independence and believe there is no obstacle to initiating major development projects immediately since South Sudan is now in control of its resources.**

Participant expectations for significant development in their areas fall within three general time horizons. Most believe they will see major development relatively soon – from less than one year to two years. These participants say the Government of South Sudan (GoSS) has had six years to plan, and there should be no further impediments with independence achieved and resources now available. Some with this view have highly unrealistic expectations, such as believing they will see immediate construction of schools, hospitals and roads in their areas. One participant comment demonstrates this view, "Immediately after July 9, I want to see ships coming to my area loaded with development materials."[21] Other participants have medium-term expectations, believing they will see major development changes in their areas within three to six years. This group says that

[21] Quotation is from a Nuer Luo man in Deng Jok, Jonglei.

development will be a longer process because there are many outstanding issues to resolve, such as border demarcation, Abyei and development of the constitution and because there is so much that needs to be done to develop the country. A few participants have much longer-term time horizons and say they do not expect major change before 10-25 years. These participants characterize development as a gradual process.

> *To me, major changes should take place two months after the independence day with the construction of schools, hospitals and roads among others…I expect major changes after a year with tractors for massive agricultural production…I expect well-qualified doctors to come to my area after a year.* (Three Nuer Lou Men, Deng Jok, Jonglei)

> *I expect major changes immediately in October since we are so rich in oil and fertile land. Our government is going to be assigned full authority over these resources…I expect changes in October because we were told that we are getting independent first; thereafter, our oil will be ours and development will take place as soon as possible*. (Two Dinka Malual Men, Yargot Payam, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

> *I expect that if government is serious we can see major changes within two years because we spent six years in an autonomous government, and there is not any development, especially in Malakal.* (Shilluk Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

> *Five years seems to be reasonable [to expect major changes in development] because things like health services and development require time to do it well.* (Woman, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

> *I am expecting changes after five years because there is going to be development of a new constitution, the border demarcation and many other things, so changes will come here after five years*. (Dinka Agar Man, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

> *I say 10 years because we don't have engineers who can build our houses…I disagree with them because 10 years would not be enough to cover what we want to do, maybe 20 years is when we should expect major changes.* (Two Fertit Men, Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

5. Citizens will play a vibrant and vital role in bringing development to South Sudan, according to participants.

Participants describe a multitude of contributions citizens will make toward development. Citizens, they declare, will help build the economy of South Sudan by engaging in business (formal and informal), growing food and by providing labor, in some cases voluntarily, for development projects. Citizens will promote education for themselves and others because, participants say, development is built on knowledge. Citizens will contribute toward development by building houses and improving their own lives. Citizens will pay taxes so that money can be used for development. And citizens will aid development by promoting peace, respecting the law and working to eliminate tribalism. A few participants also highlight the importance of self-reliance, such as the participant who notes, "We should not wait for the government to solve every problem."[22]

> *As a citizen, I must grow crops, such as sorghums, tomatoes, okras and maize. During harvesting, I will bring these to the market, and people will buy from me. This is what we call development.* (Toposa Chief, Kapoeta Town, Eastern Equatoria)

> *Our role as citizens of South Sudan is to make sure that we work as a team. If it means voluntary work, then we have to join hands and do it, so in this way we can bring development to our area.* (Zande Man, Rangu, Western Equatoria)

> *As a citizen, I can advocate for free education to all Southern Sudanese of all ages.* (Nuer Jikany Woman, Nassir Town, Upper Nile)

> *My role is in building construction. I know how to make blocks for construction. Through this I am able to bring development to my area.* (Nuer Lou Man, Deng Jok, Jonglei)

> *The role of citizen is to pay taxes, which can be used for development and payment of workers locally.* (Dinka Malual Woman, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

[22] Quotation is from a Dinka Rek man in Tonj South Town, Lakes.

My role [as a citizen] is to make sure that our people are peaceful…Our role is to tell our people to stop tribalism and live as one people. (Two Jur Chol Women, Mapel, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

I cannot wait for the government to bring the development to my area. I will start my own development as a citizen because I have so many possibilities. (Shilluk Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

6. Participants tend to judge the distribution of development over the last six years in South Sudan as unfair.

Some participants call development distribution unfair simply because they view the current level of development – schools, health clinics, roads, etc. – in their areas as inadequate. There are also general criticisms that development has been unfairly concentrated in Juba and Central Equatoria and that the distribution of development could never be considered fair in South Sudan because corruption robs citizens of greater resources and tribalism influences where development occurs. Some participants in Jonglei, Upper Nile and Unity states add that development distribution is unfair because adequate levels of security are provided to some areas and not to others. Most participants, however, conclude development is unfair through comparison to what they hear about development in other locations. "We do not have good schools like the ones in Wau and Juba"[23] or "If you see roads in Bor, they are better than here in Torit"[24] are typical of comments these participants make when evaluating the fairness of development. Participants who believe the distribution of development is fair point to significant improvements in their areas and the equal funding each state receives from the GoSS.

Distribution of resources has not been fair. If you look at government offices here in Twic, most of them were constructed in the past. Hospitals and schools are very poor. The only thing we value here is that we are in an independent South Sudan. (Dinka Twic Chief, Panyagor Town, Jonglei)

Development is distributed according to tribes and clans who have good positions in the government. (Dinka Malual Woman, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

[23] Quotation is from a Dinka Malual woman in Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal.
[24] Quotation is from a Lutukho man in Torit Town, Eastern Equatoria.

The distribution of the development has not been fairly done because it goes into the individuals' pockets. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

In the South, especially in Upper Nile state, development has not been fair. Deployment of police, for example, is not fair. There are few policemen in some areas and state capitals, yet they are many in Juba. (Nuer Jikany Man, Ulang Town, Upper Nile)

The distribution of development is not fair, just because in some places there is high rate of development, meanwhile other places get less and some even none. (Zande Man, Rangu, Western Equatoria)

No! [Distribution of development has not been fair] because some areas are more developed compared to other areas…Totally, there is too much difference because we can take a sample of our area compared to other payams in Central Equatoria and it is different. (Two Jur Chol Chiefs, Mapel, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

The distribution of development has been very fair because we have witnessed a great change here in our state. There has been infrastructure developments…The distribution of development is fair now because we have some good schools within our places. So I think in some years to come our children can never suffer at all. (Two Zande Woman, Yambio Town, Western Equatoria)

7. There is no consensus among participants on how to prioritize the government's limited resources for development.

Focusing first on the neediest areas and on areas with the largest populations are popular participant suggestions for prioritization of development projects. Some participants feel it is important to fulfill the late Dr. John Garang's vision of "bringing towns to the people" by targeting initial development to remote locations, while others have the opposite view, arguing that development should roll downhill from Juba to state capitals to county capitals and then to payams and bomas. Developing productive areas first – such as borders, agricultural schemes and natural resources locations – is recommended by participants who believe that will help bring revenues to South Sudan quickly. Another group of participants believes the key to making the most effective use of South Sudan's limited resources is to concentrate on key sectors like education and agriculture or key infrastructure,

like roads. A few participants caution that, however limited, South Sudan's resources must be divided equally because all areas need development and to do otherwise would be viewed as unfair.

The best way to base development is on disadvantaged areas. The areas most affected by the war should be developed first. They should get more resources than others less affected. (Dinka Bor Woman, Makuach Payam, Jonglei)

Development should be prioritized according to areas with bigger populations. (Nuer Jegai Man, Bentiu Town, Unity)

The very remotest places should be brought to the same level with others first to make development balanced. (Madi Woman, Pangeri, Eastern Equatoria)

The best way for some areas to receive development is for the government to develop the areas step by step…it should start it in Juba and then end in the states and counties. (Dinka Gok Woman, Mayath, Lakes)

The government should develop areas of sources of income first, for example borders and where minerals are found. (Mundari Man, Terekeka, Central Equatoria)

Government should focus first on agriculture because we do not want to import food from outside. (Avokaya Man, Mbalindi, Western Equatoria)

The best way to determine which area should receive or be given priority first is for the government to offer free education for every citizen, and these citizens will be the ones to develop their areas. (Dinka Atwot Woman, Yirol West, Lakes)

All of South Sudan went to the bush to bring change to South Sudan…Every area of South Sudan should be given an equal amount of share without discriminating and prioritizing any one because all of us need development. (Jur Chol Woman, Mapel, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

8. Participants expect government and agriculture to be the primary sources of employment in the newly independent South Sudan.

Most participants predict anywhere from 30-50 percent of South Sudanese will be employed by government. Their reasoning for government providing a high proportion of the country's employment is that it has many institutions, and it is a necessary measure to ensure much-needed jobs for the citizens. Participants expect agriculture production to engage 30-50 percent of South Sudanese because the sector has the potential to employ many people, and their work will help increase food security in the country. Business and other private sector activities will employ only about 10-20 percent of South Sudanese, participants say. [Note: In the quotations below, some participants choose to phrase their predictions as percentages of overall employment, while others characterize the proportion of employment for each sector by stating it as a number out of 100 people to be employed.]

The government will obviously employ the highest number of people. Agriculture comes after government because our land is fertile, then other jobs. (Jur Chol Woman, Mapel, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

Sixty [out of 100 people] will be employed by the state government, 20 employed by the business sector and the remaining 20 to the agriculture sector. This is because the government's primary obligation is to employ the citizens. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

The government should employ 70 [out of 100 people], 20 people for agriculture and 10 for business. This is because our government is the only major employer, and our people need jobs. (Dinka Rek Man, Tonj South Town, Warrap)

Fifty percent must go to the agricultural sectors and that should be enforced by the government, then 20 percent is left for the business. I say this because agriculture is the backbone of every country…More like 60 percent has to go to agriculture such that when fuel is finished we can still survive. (Two Men, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

Agriculture should take 60 [out of 100 people] because it has a lot of opportunities. (Fertit Man, Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

9. Most participants believe the number of states in the newly independent South Sudan should be increased because that is the best way to ensure broader development and to increase employment opportunities.

With government employment being one of the few viable options in South Sudan, participants are eager for more administrative structures. More states, they surmise, also brings government closer to the people to undertake development projects. Other reasons participants offer for supporting more states include the vast land area in some states (particularly Jonglei) that makes good administration difficult, population growth of some states, partly because of returnees, and a reduction in power struggles that new states would bring because more people would get a chance at power. Suggestions for the appropriate number of states fall into three categories. Some participants feel 12-15 is the right number. Others want to at least double the number of states to 20-25, while others feel the number of states needs to be over 30 because of the vastness of the country. A smaller group opposing increasing the number of South Sudan states say that the country cannot afford additional states and should focus on developing the ones already established first. A few in this category also feel a discussion about adding states would increase tribalism.

The current number of states is not enough because most of our youths are unemployed, so creating more states will mean job vacancies are being created. (Avokaya Man, Mbalindi, Western Equatoria)

We need more states, like 30, because we need more jobs that can reduce problems of power struggle and tribalism among people. (Dinka Malual Woman, Majak Akoon, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

We should have more states so that development can reach to all the people. At the moment the regions are too vast for services to reach the locals. (Kakwa Chief, Mugwo Payam, Central Equatoria)

I suggest they should increase the number of states. For instance, Jonglei is a very huge state in terms of land and population. It needs to be broken into two states…They should increase the number of states because some states have a bigger population than others. (Two Nuer Lou Women, Akobo Town, Jonglei)

The number of states should not be increased. If we increase now where can we get the budget for maintaining these states? We know very well that our source of oil still has a lot of competition. So let us first maintain the existing ones. (Zande Man, Rangu, Western Equatoria)

We should avoid the issue of dividing states because this will encourage tribalism and people will think of developing where they come from not the whole of South Sudan. (Man, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

10. A substantial portion of revenues derived from natural resources should be allocated to the state government where those resources are extracted, according to the vast majority of participants.

Most participants believe state governments should retain in the range of 20-50 percent of the revenues that result from natural resources extracted in their areas. They offer a number of justifications for wanting a high proportion of revenues to remain local. Some participants say the money is needed to offset environmental damage, compensate displaced populations and increase development in the state. Others simply view themselves as the rightful owners of the resources in their areas or states and thus deserving of a significant share of resources. The relatively few participants who suggest that a smaller proportion, anywhere from 1-10 percent, of resource revenues be kept at the state level see value in sharing revenues with other states and/or believe the national government will provide them with an additional share when it is distributing the resource revenues among the states. Almost all participants in Western Bahr el Ghazal support keeping a smaller proportion of revenues at the state level.

The state should take 20 percent [of natural resource revenues]…because that state would experience environmental effects and health hazards on the inhabitants. (Dinka Malual Man, Mayom Adhel, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

Sixty percent [of natural resource revenues] should remain in the state…because extraction of resources – oil, for instance – displaces the population in the neighborhood, and this community needs to be resettled and compensated for the disturbance. (Dinka Bor Woman, Makuach Payam, Jonglei)

I want the state to get 75 percent of the [natural resources] revenue for developing its places like schools, hospitals and roads. (Zande Woman, Yambio Town, Western Equatoria)

Fifty percent [of natural resource revenues] will remain to me the owner so that I will be able to build and develop my area. If the government takes it all, what will be my benefit as the owner?...People where the resources are found in their area have the right to have more because God has blessed them. (Two Toposa Chiefs, Kapoeta Town, Eastern Equatoria)

Sixty percent to the state because the state owns the resources and should get the lion's share accordingly. (Nuer Lou Man, Deng Jok, Jonglei)

Three percent should remain with the state government because what goes to national government will still come back to the state. (Nuer Woman, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

I think it would be better if the revenues are divided equally because there may be some states without natural resources…I need [the natural resource revenues] to be divided equally because we may share with our neighbors. (Two Fertit Women, Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

IV. CORRUPTION

1. **Almost all participants describe corruption in South Sudan as a major problem, with some saying it permeates every level of government and involves the large majority of government officials.**

As demonstrated in past studies,[25] South Sudanese have two main definitions of corruption: the misuse of government funds and nepotism and tribalism in employment. Participants complain that discrimination based on tribe is rampant in government employment and that it is impossible to win government appointment unless you know someone in an office. This leaves them feeling disenfranchised and upset that one of the few sources of employment in South Sudan is not available to them.

The other pervasive attitude about corruption among participants is that government "leaders are working to get something not to do something."[26] They say lack of transparency, controls and accountability in the government system has led to large-scale corruption and cite as proof the houses and cars acquired by officials and delays in salaries, which they attribute to corruption. Acts of financial corruption are deemed directly responsible for the slow pace of development. One participant notes "instead of building hospitals they [government officials] are building their homes and families."[27]

> *Every leader in the government tends to be very corrupt…There is a lot of corruption in current government offices, major tribalism and embezzlement of government funds.* (Two Zande Men, Rangu, Western Equatoria)

> *Corruption is rampant; it's a disease that is more than HIV/AIDS. Everybody is corrupt in the GoSS.* (Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

> *Corruption is very much because government money is being stolen on daily basis, and the culprits are not brought to book.* (Nuer Luo Chief, Akobo Town, Jonglei)

> *It [corruption] is very much because those who are appointed as government officials work for themselves. They are buying cars and plots and building houses for themselves but not [delivering] public services.* (Fertit Woman, Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

[25] NDI's past public opinion studies in South Sudan can be found at www.ndi.org.
[26] Quotation is from a Dinka Rek man in Kwajok Town, Warrap.
[27] Quotation is from a Mundari woman in Terekeka Town, Central Equatoria).

Corruption is very much. Pay a visit to one of the [government] offices you will find that those working in that office are relatives; you can find the sister, cousin, etc. (Dinka Gok Man, Cueibet Town, Lakes)

Corruption is too much; that is why there is no development. (Woman, Warrap Camp A, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

There is money and development is not going on: no roads, schools, hospitals and other services needed. Where does the money go to if there is no corruption? Corruption is very much. (Dinka Twic Chief, Panyagor Town, Jonglei)

2. Corruption can be reduced, participants say, if greater effort is placed on the adoption and enforcement of strong anti-corruption laws, the prosecution of corrupt officials and the empowerment of anti-corruption commissions.

Participants want government to take a "zero tolerance" approach to corruption and believe that strong laws and stiff punishment are the key to success. Many are familiar with the Anti-Corruption Commission and want it to be given prosecutorial power, the space to operate independently and all the necessary training and resources, including the establishment of commissions in each state, to undertake its job seriously. Some note, however, that the Commission itself will need to be monitored against corrupting influences. Participants see the citizen's role as reporting corrupt acts and helping the government identify wrongdoers based on their local knowledge. Other specific suggestions participants offer for tacking corruption include the following:

- Increase transparency in government institutions
- Change members of the Anti-Corruption Commission every four years
- Fire corrupt officials
- Undertake ethics training for government officials
- Adopt strong recruitment and employment policies
- Force repayment of misused funds
- Publicize the names of corrupt officials
- Incorporate anti-corruption laws into the constitution

- Exchange government officials so they do not work in home areas
- Discourage tribalism
- Conduct a review of employee qualifications in each government office
- Undertake a civic education campaign on corruption (include in school syllabus)

Strengthening anti-corruption laws and implementing them [will help reduce corruption]. (Nuer Lek Man, Rubkona Town, Unity)

Prosecuting those involved in corruption including capital punishment [will help reduce corruption]. (Nuer Lou Chief, Akobo Town, Jonglei)

The independence of the anti-corruption body from the government or any political party will help reduce corruption. (Kakwa Chief, Mugwo Payam, Central Equatoria)

Fully support the Anti-Corruption Commission…Anti-corruption efforts can be strengthened by giving them [Anti-Corruption Commission] all powers pertaining to their work, even its means taking the culprit to the court of law. (Two Jur Chol Chiefs, Mapel, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

The Anti-Corruption Commission should be extended to all states so that corrupt officials are subjected to the rule of law. (Dinka Bor Woman, Makuach Payam, Jonglei)

Government should form another committee to supervise the work of the anti-corruption committee. (Dinka Agar Woman, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

We citizens should support our government leaders in identifying corrupt people and find out where things are not going on well. (Zande Woman, Yambio Town, Western Equatoria)

3. **Participants acknowledge the role their fellow citizens play in corruption, and most believe any citizen who asks for special favors from a relative in government has engaged in a corrupt act.**

Most of the participants deny they would engage in corrupt acts and view them as unpatriotic and harmful to development. However, they say asking relatives in government for jobs and money is human nature, is driven by poverty and is accepted by some because others do it. The only viable solution is to adopt and enforce strict anti-corruption laws, according to participants. They advocate termination of employment and prosecution, particularly for government employees who acquiesce to corrupt requests from relatives.

> *Those who are asking jobs for their relatives are the ones promoting corruption in South Sudan…It is happening, and is not good practice.* (Mundari Man, Muni, Central Equatoria)

> *If you are asking money from somebody in a government position you are encouraging corruption because these persons cannot get money from anywhere accept from the office…This is how citizens encourage corruption.* (Two Avokaya Women, Mambe Payam, Western Equatoria)

> *They [people asking relatives in government for favors] are part of corruption because jobs and money are for the public and not for relatives or tribesmen.* (Dinka Rek Man, Kwajok Town, Warrap)

> *People do that [ask relatives in government for favors] because they see other people are developing through corruption so they are also forced to do so.* (Man, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

> *If I have no one to turn to when I'm in need, then where do I go to? I have to ask my relative who is in the government [for favors].* (Dinka Twic Woman, Pawel, Jonglei)

> *As an individual, I cannot do it [ask favors from relatives in government], but another person may do it. The only thing is enacting laws that will prevent people from doing this.* (Nuer Lek Man, Rubkona Town, Unity)

V. SECURITY AND JUSTICE

1. **Views on the state of security in South Sudan are highly dependent upon location – with some participants reporting improved security situations and others reporting deteriorating ones**.

Participants who say security is improving in their areas generally credit the deployment of additional police and the effectiveness of their work, particularly patrols at night. Several participants also applaud the work of various government officials in attacking crime. Those who say security is worsening in their area offer a variety of causes, most of which depend on the location. In Western Equatoria, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) remains a significant threat, while in other states the problem of civilian gun ownership is the main culprit. Participants in some states complain about the insufficient numbers of policemen. Almost all participants in Jonglei state describe serious and worsening insecurity problems that range from militias to cattle raiding to proliferation of arms. One participant in that state describes the problem in this way, "There was only one enemy before the CPA, but now there is insecurity everywhere. Even neighbors are becoming enemies."[28]

> *Security is improving because we have enough policemen.* (Kakwa Chief, Mugwo Payam, Central Equatoria)

> *The security situation has improved because if you come out at midnight you will find the police patrol car parked at the bridge side.* (Fertit Woman, Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

> *It [security] is improving. We cannot say it is like before here in Tonj South. The road network has improved security because the police are quick to rescue people…More police are trained. It is different now…The police are doing their work.* (Three Dinka Rek Men, Tonj South Town, Warrap)

> *People are still scared because of the presence of LRA in the bushes of Western Equatoria state…The government needs to chase away LRA from the area.* (Two Avokaya Women, Mambe Payam, Western Equatoria)

> *Our cattle were just raided recently by Dinka Agar. What caused that is the carrying of guns by civilians. Had guns been disarmed, Dinka Agar could have not attempted with their traditional spears and clubs to raid cattle.* (Dinka Gok Man, Cueibet Town, Lakes)

[28] Quotation is from a Dinka Bor woman from Bor Makuach Payam, Jonglei.

[There is] nothing like security in this area…The first thing to make a place secure is police, but now there is no police. The police force is very small, so we wonder why there is not enough police. (Dinka Twic Chief, Turalei Town, Warrap)

It [security] has worsened because people are killed regularly. There is no farming because the government in the north[29] *is training militias who are killing farmers and taking their cattle.* (Dinka Twic Chief, Panyagor, Jonglei)

The security situation is getting worse because some communities are not disarmed. (Nuer Luo Chief, Akobo Town, Jonglei)

2. **There is a diversity of opinion about the cause of the rebellions that began following the April 2010 elections, but most participants prefer prosecution in a court of law – rather than amnesty – for those who have taken part**.

Opinions on the catalyst for the post-election rebellions vary. Some participants believe the rebellions are the result of acts by greedy, power-hungry men who were unwilling to accept legitimate defeat in elections. Others say the rebellions are Khartoum-backed and are designed to destabilize South Sudan. Still others attribute the rebellions to an unfair Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) candidate nomination process that excluded popular local candidates and/or to rigged election results. Participants who have this latter view are more likely to be from the Equatorian states, particularly Central Equatoria, Northern Bahr el Ghazal and Unity states.[30] The crimes committed during the course of the rebellions, including many civilian deaths, and a belief that any amnesty deal would encourage similar behavior by the rebels or others drive participants' desire that the government pursue prosecution over amnesty for rebel groups. A few also note that amnesty was offered to the rebels previously and was rebuffed, so that option no longer should be on the table. Even some participants who believe the rebels have legitimate grievances say that they should be tried in a court of law because of the crimes they have committed. A significant minority of participants prefers negotiation, amnesty and/or inclusion of rebels into the government.

[29] This is a reference to the Sudan government.
[30] These states coincide with ones that had some of the most contested elections, especially the gubernatorial races. Shilluk participants in two discussion groups in Upper Niles state hold this opinion as well.

Although they do not approve of the violence, these participants feel this course of action recognizes the government shoulders some responsibility for the situation (through their actions during the SPLM nomination process and elections) or offers a better chance for long-term peace, even if all of the blame goes to the rebels. There was only one state – Unity – in which more participants supported amnesty over prosecution, but the states where a significant minority of participants supported amnesty were Central Equatoria, Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Warrap, Lakes and Upper Nile.

I should say they [rebels] did this out of greediness. They should have just had zeal in themselves and waited for another chance. It's really bad because a lot of lives have been lost. (Nuer Woman, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

Poverty is the main cause of the rebellion. The rebels are fighting a proxy war, financed by Khartoum to destabilize the South. (Dinka Bor Woman, Makuach Payam, Jonglei)

The rebellions sprung up because of rigging and intimidation during the election process…It sprung up due to the unfair way of nominating the candidates. (Two Mundari Men, Terekeka, Central Equatoria)

They [the rebels] are right because their votes were rigged by SPLM. (Dinka Malual Woman, Mayen Ulein Payam, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

People like George Athor should not be given amnesty because by so doing the government will encourage more problems in the society…George Athor has killed many people and should be taken to a court of law. (Two Lotukho Men, Torit Town, Eastern Equatoria)

They [rebels] should be tried in courts because if they are not tried others will follow…They must be tried because they have committed serious crimes. Let justice takes its course. (Nuer Luo Man, Deng Jok, Jonglei)

The rebels rebelled due to their mistreatment and that is why they rebelled. But the worst of it is innocent people are the ones dying. Those who are involved in the rebellion must be prosecuted. (Shilluk Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

Peaceful solutions are the wisest means of dealing with these rebellions…[There is need for] peaceful settlement even if it means giving them [the rebels] something in the government. (Two Nuer Lou Women, Akobo Town, Jonglei)

They should be forgiven because their rights were undermined…To me, they [rebels] should be forgiven because their votes were rigged in favor of SPLM candidates. (Two Dinka Malual Men, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

3. Over half of participants say the police in their area are not doing a good job because they lack knowledge and training, request bribes, abuse alcohol on duty and/or are too old to properly carry out their duties.

Most participants are not happy with the police force in their communities. They describe the police as untrained and uneducated with little understanding of how to do their job properly. A common complaint is that police request bribes to either investigate a case, or they accept bribes to allow accused criminals go free. Many participants also highlight the abuse of alcohol by policemen, even when in uniform, and assert that most are too old to be effective. Apart from these performance issues, some participants criticize the government for recruiting police from only one section or clan in an area and decry the small number of police deployed to large geographic areas. Suggestions for improving the work of the police include: more training, better-educated recruits, screening out of ineffective employees due to age and an increase in the number of police deployed, especially to rural areas. Participants who applaud the performance of the police say they work hard, respect the law and are effective in protecting citizens from criminals. Most of the positive comments about police are from female participants.

The work of the police is not doing well because the police of today are so demanding. They only aim at a bribe before handling our cases…These police of today lack law and order. They tend to be in disorder by getting drunk in public places even in their uniform, yet we expect them to be the very people to maintain the law. (Two Zande Women, Yambio Town, Western Equatoria)

The police do not know the rules when they are supposed to keep laws…Citizens pay money to the police to get their complaint listened to. Most of them [police] are very old, but they do not want to be screened. The solution is to screen all these people off the police system and replace them with young people. (Two Dinka Rek Men, Tonj South Town, Warrap)

Here, we do not have police. The police force is only five or six people. They are not able to handle and control our area here. They are very few compared to the population of this area. To solve this problem, their number must be increased. (Man, Hai Wara, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

Their [police] work is not good because the government is doing wrong by deploying the police on a tribal basis. These police should be mixed up. For example, the government can bring Lotukho, Didinga and Toposa. I think they will learn and do work better and behave as police for one country. (Toposa Man, Kapoeta Town, Eastern Equatoria)

The police are doing well. They protect the lives of the citizens…Without the police, we would be in chaos. (Dinka Gok Woman, Mayath, Lakes)

The police are doing well. They have been standing firm on all problems facing us. We are now at peace because they are working hard for our safety…They are always patrolling day and night for our safety. (Two Nuer Women, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

4. There is strong support among participants for devoting a large portion of the South Sudan budget to the upkeep of the army.

Most participants fully approve of the current significant allocation for the army in the South Sudan budget, and some believe the army should receive an even greater share. Their reasoning is that soldiers deserve to be well compensated after their years of sacrifice and fighting without pay and for their role in bringing peace and freedom to the country. The participants also see need for a strong army that can provide adequate security to South Sudan and demonstrate the strength of the new nation. Some cite specific threats the army still needs to address, such as Abyei, internal rebellions, the LRA and any aggression from Sudan. The low level of pay for the normal soldier is

concerning to some participants who note they would like to see government increase the base level pay and work harder to ensure that all of the salaries allocated to the soldiers are not diverted by corruption. A few participants are of the opinion that the army budget should be reduced to provide more resources for development and rid the army of unproductive members within its ranks.

They have rights to take most of the government money because they suffered a lot and fought for the independence. They are the eyes of this country, and they lost their people during this war, so they have all the right to get the best pay. (Woman, Rajaf, Central Equatoria)

They are liberators, and it is their privilege to be given enough money. Without the army, there is no nation. So it is good that army money is increased…Like now a private in the army receives monthly 300 Sudanese pounds, and this money is not enough for his family needs. So it is a good idea that army be given enough budget. (Two Dinka Rek Women, Yithliet Payam, Warrap)

It's a good thing that much of the money is going there [to the army], and preferably there should be more added because they are the nation's backbone…They [the army] have the rights to it, for when we are asleep they are awake on our protection. (Two Toposa Women, Atlabara, Eastern Equatoria)

Yes, of course, it [spending so much money on the army] is a good thing. This ensures the security of the country. The army is meant to defend the country, as such they deserve that amount. (Man, Hai Wara, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

It [spending so much money on the army] is a good thing because we are still in the frontline with Arabs and the Abyei issue is still pending…We still have rebellions and the LRA is still in Western Equatoria. (Two Avokaya Men, Mbalindi, Western Equatoria)

The army is not [too] big in number, but the problem is the money does not reach the soldiers. The top army officials are misappropriating the funds. (Man, Juba-Gumbo, Central Equatoria)

They should reduce the number [in the army] after independence because it will hinder development, since most of the money will be for them. (Kakwa Chief, Mugwo Payam, Central Equatoria)

5. **There are mixed views on the handling of legal disputes in South Sudan. About half of participants believe legal matters in their areas are handled well, while the other half say bribery, improper influence and unqualified personnel result in erroneous and biased legal decisions**.

Participants in areas where the mechanisms for resolving legal matters are judged to be good usually credit the mature and calm direction of traditional authorities and the effectiveness of police. Participants who are critical of their legal systems often relate stories of bribery of police, judges and chiefs. This group says there is no hope of cases being judged fairly because arrests, investigations and rulings always go in the favor of the highest bidder. They also express frustration with undue influence due to tribal relations or "big man" intervention and deride the lack of qualifications and knowledge demonstrated by many judges. A weak and unfair judiciary system, these participants say, contributes to conflict problems because people denied justice are more likely to take the law into their own hands. In this study, participants most complimentary of their local legal system were those residing in Western Equatoria and Western Bahr el Ghazal states.

> *If there are any disputes among the communities here the first thing is they have to see the chief for a solution…If it is a crime case, it is taken to police and all cases are solved peacefully in Mambe Payam.* (Avokaya Woman, Mambe Payam, Western Equatoria)

> *Legal disputes are fairly handled here in Mapel. We have our chiefs, and if you have any complaint against anyone, you should just report to them and they handle it as soon as possible. Each one of us is accorded his or her rights in the courts.* (Jur Chol Woman, Mapel, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

> *They do it [resolve legal disputes] fairly because anyone who does a crime is immediately caught by police and then rules, regulations and laws will deal with that person.* (Dinka Twic Woman, Ajak-Kuach, Warrap)

> *[Legal disputes] are not fairly handled because if you are known and rich then the judgment will be altered where the innocent become guilty and the guilty become innocent.* (Madi Woman, Pageri, Eastern Equatoria)

They are not handling it [legal disputes] fairly because the judge is basing [decisions] on relationships and tribes. (Dinka Rek Man, Kwajok Town, Warrap)

There are a lot of corruption cases amongst chiefs and government officials in Nassir now. Those in the wrong mostly are the ones who win cases through bribes. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Nassir Town, Upper Nile)

According to me, legal disputes are not handled fairly because the judges have no capacity or good knowledge of the law itself. (Nuer Lek Man, Rubkona Town, Unity)

[Legal disputes are] not handled fairly because the judges are not fair. They are being bribed and leave the killers to go free…If the person who kills is left to go free, then the relative of the person who was killed will revenge and the problem will increase. (Dinka Agar Man, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

VI. CONSTITUTION

1. In outlining their priority elements to be included in a new constitution, participants emphasize rights, freedoms and equality. Protection for women and girls, the right to education, gun control and a commitment to democracy are also important to some.

Participants most want any new constitution in South Sudan to guarantee basic human rights and freedoms and ensure equality for all South Sudanese citizens. Specific desired rights and freedoms participants list include freedom of expression, freedom of movement, freedom of religion and legal protections against torture and arbitrary arrest. Both women and men, though more frequently women, stress the importance of incorporating into the constitution rights for women, focusing especially on protection elements such as a prohibition on forced and early marriage and on violence against women and girls. Addressing tribalism and ensuring equality before the law is high on the priority list for participants who want to rid South Sudan of discrimination and ensure fairness in employment. Including assurances on democracy was also important to participants who want provisions on voting, elections and term limits to prevent dictatorship. The right to education was a popular suggestion for inclusion in the constitution, with some participants noting a particular need to include a right to education for girls and women. Some participants advocate a prohibition on

gun ownership by civilians as well. Other preferred constitutional features that rate a mention by a significant number of participants include: respect for South Sudan's diverse cultures and the inclusion of customary laws; provisions to ensure the rule of law; bride price controls; anti-corruption measures; and the death penalty for murder.

[The constitution should articulate a] respect for human rights…For example, one should not be tortured or arrested before an investigation is done. (Dinka Agar Man, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

The rights of the citizens should be included in the constitution, such as freedom of speech. (Avokaya Man, Mbalindi, Western Equatoria)

Women's rights should be added in the constitution because there is so much suppression [of women] in all dimensions of development. (Madi Woman, Pageri, Eastern Equatoria)

It [the constitution] must protect girl children. It must prohibit girl rape…It must ensure free education for girls. It must prohibit early marriage. (Two Men, Hai Wara, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

Tribalism practices must be punished in the constitution. (Dinka Malual Woman, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

On behalf of the rights of citizens, the constitution should have justice and equality. People must be equal and no favoritism. Respect for the citizen and everybody is valuable. (Fertit Man, Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

The constitution should state that all qualified [South] Sudanese citizens should be given the priority to work in all the government key positions and not that they should be handled by foreigners or by one tribe. We are tired and fed up with that. (Woman, Rajaf, Central Equatoria)

Since the constitution is the instrument guiding the people, democracy should be included so that people are ruled democratically. (Man, Juba Town-Gumbo, Central Equatoria)

2. Public meetings, media and traditional and local authorities are the best way to consult citizens in the development of a new South Sudan constitution, according to participants, who strongly endorse the idea that citizens must be part of the process.

Participants are clear in their desire to be consulted on the development of a new constitution for South Sudan. They believe that is it not only the duty of the government to involve citizens in constitution-making, but that they as citizens have valuable contributions to make. There is also a thirst for information about any constitutional developments. The comment of one participant reflects this wish, "We want the government to use all possible means of passing information…to make sure that we are aware of the new constitution developments."[31] The most popular participant suggestions for methods to consult citizens on the constitution are in public debates and/or meetings, via various media outlets and through local and traditional authorities. Some participants, particularly women and youth, argue that these groups should be given special consideration during the public meetings or throughout the constitution-making process as a whole. While multiple channels are mentioned, participants most often point to radio as the appropriate media mechanism to consult citizens about their views on a new constitution because of its reach. Despite this, some participants note that current radio coverage in South Sudan is not adequate for citizen consultation and should be expanded to assist with information dissemination on the constitution. Local and traditional authorities have the most intimate knowledge about the wants and needs of the people, so many participants approve of consultation on the constitution through these representatives. The expectations of a significant number of participants are that, regardless of the method, the consultation process will be extensive in nature. Some talk of meetings with citizens down to the county or even boma level, while others suggest that professional research be undertaken to determine public opinion on important constitutional matters. Only a few participants mention consultation through members of the state or national assemblies as an appropriate method to collect citizen opinion on constitutional matters.

> *As a citizen of Southern Sudan, I would like to know what is in the constitution so as to decide and include something that I know can help my community, not only the government deciding alone.* (Zande Woman,

[31] Quotation is from a Zande woman in Yambio Town, Western Equatoria.

Yambio Town, Western Equatoria)

It is very important the citizens are involved in the drafting of the constitution. Since it was the citizens who voted the government in power, the government should not forget to ask the will of the people. (Woman, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

If at all the government values our views on the constitution, it has to find a way of consulting with us. (Nuer Lek Man, Rubkona Town, Unity)

I can contribute to the development of the constitution if am called into the meeting. As citizens, our views will equally be collected if the government calls us in a meeting to discuss about the development of the constitution. (Dinka Gok Woman, Mayath, Lakes)

We need to be consulted through public forums where different groups, such as women's groups, youth groups and elders, should be consulted to give a proper view without fear. (Madi Woman, Pageri, Eastern Equatoria)

I can be consulted through radio, but the problem is our radio does not cover long range. Government needs to extend the radio waves such that we get the daily programs and respond to them. Radios need to be given also. (Dinka Atwot Woman, Yirol West Town, Lakes)

Our leaders, for example commissioners and chiefs, have to be asked on our behalf since they are familiar with what we have and what we would wish to put in the constitution. (Dinka Twic, Pawel, Jonglei)

The best way to be consulted [on a new constitution] is for the government to carry out a consultation process in the counties to find individual views. (Dinka Gok Woman, Mayath, Lakes)

3. **While participants support the SPLM's role as the lead political party in constitution-making, most voice a clear desire for the inclusion of all political parties in the constitutional development process.**

Participants offer a variety of reasons for their preference for an inclusive approach to the development of a new constitution. Some simply view it as only fair to include other political parties because South Sudan is a democracy and the constitution is meant to be national document for all. Illustrating this point, one participant notes, "one party can't represent all the South Sudan communities."[32] Others believe more eyes on, and contributions to, the constitutional process will produce a better and more balanced document that will serve South Sudan well. Concern about obstruction of the process is a third reason some give for supporting the involvement of all political parties. This group of participants fears shutting out smaller parties will result in either lack of support to pass a final constitution or will prompt smaller party defections from the government. The lesser number of participants who support a primarily SPLM constitutional process base their opinion on either the belief that the party deserves to be in control because of their liberation credentials or on their concern about their lack of knowledge of other parties' positions and motivations.

> *The SPLM should play the leading role in the constitution review, meanwhile respecting the views of the other political parties.* (Nuer Lek Man, Rubkona Town, Unity)

> *The role of the SPLM as a leading party is to sit with other political parties to draft and endorse the permanent constitution. SPLM should also accept the opinions of other parties for the sake of Southern Sudan.* (Fertit Man, Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

> *The constitution is ours; it is not a party issue. The SPLM must cultivate the act of balancing other parties' interests and contributions.* (Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

> *SPLM should sit with other political parties to draft a new constitution of a new nation. If the SPLM does it alone, then it is omitting the public opinion that should have been presented by other parties, as now they accept democracy.* (Dinka Twic Man, Turalei Town, Warrap)

[32] Phrase is from a quotation by a Zande woman in Yambio Town, Western Equatoria.

The SPLM political party should consider and include other political parties to take part in drafting the new constitution. As far as this opportunity is given for the other political parties, they will invest in putting more ideas for running this country. (Acholi Woman, Nawai Messer, Eastern Equatoria)

SPLM should spearhead the development of new constitution in relation with other parties because when SPLM only handles the issue of constitution, other parties may refuse the passing of the constitution. (Dinka Malual Man, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

SPLM should have an upper hand in constitutional development because they are the liberators. (Madi Man, Moli Tokuro, Eastern Equatoria)

SPLM is the only party that struggled for our freedom, and their role should be making a good constitution for their people. (Nuer Jegai Woman, Hai Chot Yiek, Unity)

We do not know other parties. It is only SPLM that should write the constitution. SPLM fought for our freedom, and we only acknowledge its role in constitutional development. (Dinka Twic Chief, Panyagor, Jonglei)

4. The adoption of any new South Sudan constitution should be by referendum, say most participants.

A constitutional referendum is the most popular choice among participants because they view that method of constitutional approval as the best way to promote the participation of South Sudanese and to ensure their interests are protected. Some participants also prefer a referendum because they do not trust that their representatives in the Assembly will adequately understand and lobby for items citizens would want included in a new constitution. A few say a referendum would prevent people from claiming they were not part of the process and then refusing to abide by the constitution. Participants in approximately one-third of the groups are comfortable with either the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly (SSLA)[33] or a broader constituent assembly

[33] Following independence, the name of the SSLA was changed to the National Legislative Assembly.

adopting a new constitution for the country. Those who believe the SSLA should vote to adopt a constitution note the parliament is a representative body empowered to act upon their behalf. Constituent assembly supporters consider such a body adequately inclusive to make a determination on a new constitution.

It [adoption of a permanent constitution] should be people voting on the constitution so that we feel we are also involved in the making of our policies and laws. (Dinka Twic Woman, Pawel, Jonglei)

I prefer that people vote directly in a referendum such that we know it [a new constitution] reflects the people's interest. (Nuer Lou Woman, Akobo Town, Jonglei)

It [the method of approving a new constitution] should be people voting through referendum because those are our issues, and nobody can pass a law on our behalf. They do not know or are not used to our problems in the villages. (Dinka Malual Woman, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

Parliament representatives, women and youth will not take our views, so I second voting in a referendum…The South Sudan Members of Parliament have only gone there to get cars and forget to represent the needs of the local people. (Two Men, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

There is a great need to allow the parliament to decide on the fate of the constitution because we elected the Members of Parliament to represent us and decide on some [things] like the constitution. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

I think the best way is when the constituency assembly made up of the South Sudan parliament plus representatives of civil society [vote on the constitution] because it involves all the community. (Fertit Woman, Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

5. **Participants strongly support presidential term limits to provide opportunities for all to rule and to guard against leaders who may want to remain in power too long.**

Most suggest that the total number of years a president should serve be limited, with answers ranging from four to ten years. Two popular suggestions among participants are that an appropriate presidential period of service is two terms with either four or five years per term. Participants believe limiting the total number of years a president serves will encourage power sharing, prevent power struggles, lessen dictatorial tendencies and inject "fresh blood"[34] into the political process.

> *There should be a limit [on years a president can serve] so that it reduces on rebellions. You know those who rebel against the leadership are eager to lead as well…This is the chair of the nation and should be shared. There should be a limit of ten years of two elections [terms].* (Two Jur Chol Women, Mapel, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

> *Yes [limit the number of years served] because the position of president is only one, and we have many leaders looking for that position, so dominance can cause a problem like what happened in Libya and Egypt. So my idea is only two terms and five years each term.* (Dinka Rek Man, Kwajok Town, Warrap)

> *There should be a term limit for all leaders including me as a chief. It is really very bad to be in power until your child grows and you handover the power to him. We should make a law that gives a leader only 8 years like in America.* (Dinka Twic Chief, Panyagor Town, Jonglei)

> *A term should be four years, and a President should serve for not more than eight years. Leaders who take long in power turn dictatorial, so there must be a limit.* (Dinka Man, Renk Town, Upper Nile)

6. English or English and Arabic should be official language(s) of the new South Sudan, participants say.

The largest number of participants indicates that English should be the official language of the Republic of South Sudan. The benefits of English they list are that it is widely spoken, particularly by youth, in South Sudan, is an international language, including that of the country's African neighbors, and is a break from the past. The next largest number of participants believes that

[34] Phrase is from a quotation by a woman in Yei Town, Central Equatoria.

English and Arabic must both be designated as official languages. The justification for adding Arabic is the large number of South Sudanese who speak it, and the need to include the portion of the population that studied in the Arabic system. Participants in Central Equatoria and Western Bahr el Ghazal states are more likely than others to support the use of both English and Arabic. Dinka and Nuer participants are also more likely than others to suggest their mother tongue be recognized as an official language as well.

> *English should be the official language because most people know English in South Sudan.* (Dinka Gok Man, Cueibet Town, Lakes)

> *The official language should be English because the young generations speak it.* (Nuer Jegai Woman, Hai Chot Yiek, Unity)

> *The official language should be English because there are many countries using English as an official language like Uganda, Kenya, America and many other countries in the world.* (Madi Woman, Pageri, Eastern Equatoria)

> *Both Arabic and English are important languages…I cannot choose only one [official] language. If one language is chosen the people who do not know it well will be affected. That means Southern Sudan should have two official languages.* (Two Women, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

> *It [South Sudan's official language] should be both English and Arabic because if we use only English other South Sudanese who have studied in Arabic may be neglected in the system.* (Dinka Malual Man, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

VII. POLITICAL SYSTEMS

1. **Participants overwhelmingly support democracy as a good system of government for South Sudan**.

Participants say democracy is what they fought for and confers all the rights and freedoms they desire. They also see a plethora of benefits to the system of government. Democracy will ensure all have equal rights, equal opportunities and be given an equal chance to participate in development, especially important, participants note, because of South Sudan's ethnic diversity. To participants, democracy means that the people can choose the leaders they believe will be most effective and replace them if not. But most important to participants is the connection that democracy can help forge between government and the people. They believe with democracy citizens become an integral part of the government and a special relationship develops between leaders, who will listen to and respect citizens, and citizens, who will have the ability to critically assess and hold their government accountable. Some participants note, however, that they do not believe democracy is fully practiced in South Sudan because some leaders are serving their own interests and do not demonstrate democratic behavior.

> *That [democracy] is the government that we want. We want a government that respects everyone's rights.* (Nuer Jikany Woman, Ulang Town, Upper Nile)

> *With democracy all will be given the chance of participation equally in the nation's development.* (Kakwa Chief, Mugwo Payam, Central Equatoria)

> *Democracy is a good system of government because it gives equal opportunities to all tribes and clans.* (Avokaya Man, Mbalindi, Western Equatoria)

> *Democracy is really good…this principle of choosing leaders by every citizen is already our way of doing things, and we like it. During last year's general elections, we were able to choose from our sons who were competing to go to Wau and Juba and chose the best. Now that we have seen some of them have not come back to start doing what they promised to do for us, so we shall be able to choose others next time.* (Jur Chol Woman, Mapel, Western Bahr elGhazal)

> *Democracy is a good system because this would make citizens feel part and parcel of the government.* (Dinka Malual Woman, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

Democracy is a good system of government because it allows people to talk to their president and governors. For example, I can ask my [representatives], what have you done this year? We have voted for you, what have you done well and what have you done wrong? (Toposa Chief, Kapoeta Town, Eastern Equatoria)

Democracy is a good system of government for the new South Sudan because it promotes the values of inclusivity, and it can make leaders to be accountable. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

We have no problem with democracy, but those who want to rule us do not respect the principle of democracy. (Dinka Malual Man, Mayom Adhel, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

2. There is near unanimous agreement among participants that the best way to choose a leader for South Sudan is through direct election.

Participants cite three primary reasons for strongly supporting direct election as the appropriate method for choosing a leader for the country. First, they trust their own judgment and have confidence they can choose the best person for the job. Participants also believe selecting a leader through citizens' votes will make that leader more attentive and accountable to those who elected him or her. The third reason given for preferring direct election is that participants do not trust their elected representatives in the National Assembly to make an unbiased or worthy choice for leader.

I want people to vote directly for their leader because we know who can lead and who cannot. (Dinka Malual Woman, Majack Akoon Payam, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

There is no leader chosen by a few individuals. A leader is chosen by everybody through voting him or her into the office. A leader who is chosen by everyone cares for all the people who brought him to power. Also, a leader chosen by everyone listens to advice given to him by the people when he goes off track in leadership. (Dinka Gok Woman, Mayath, Lakes)

It will be better if people are to vote for a leader directly because a leader elected by people will work for people. But if a leader is chosen by Members of Parliament he may bribe Members of Parliament so that they can nominate him. (Fertit Woman, Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

Direct voting is good because you need who you are voting for. You cannot trust your representative in the parliament to vote for a leader you would like. (Nuer Lou Man, Deng Jok, Jonglei)

3. **Most participants desire a political system that allows them to choose a national representative with strong ties to their geographic area. Many believe it is important to maintain the current system of voting for a party list representative as well.**

In expressing their preference for representatives with close ties to their home areas, participants talk about the importance of knowing the person they will send to Juba and of the person being loyal to the community. They believe someone with that profile is more likely to work to improve their quality of life than someone from a party list who may only show allegiance to the party and not to the people. Almost an equal number of participants, though, think the best option for representation in parliament is to elect someone from both a constituency and someone from a party list. This group cites two reasons for wanting to keep the current mixed political system. First, they calculate that having two representatives is better than one because it increases the chance they will receive an adequate level of attention for their area. The other reason these participants want to vote for both a constituency representative and a party list representative is that it allows them to demonstrate loyalty to their party without forgoing the benefits they see in maintaining a national representative that is dedicated to their geographic area.

For me, I want to vote for a person who I know his or her background and behavior and a person who has love towards his people and not a political party. (Zande Man, Rangu, Western Equatoria)

I prefer voting for a person to represent your geographical constituency in parliament because [you are] voting for somebody you know will do something. (Dinka Gok Man, Cueibet Town, Lakes)

The best way [to elect members of parliament] is through geographical constituency. This system can allow you to vote for a member of parliament who you know and who can give good services to the people in that constituency. (Dinka Agar Man, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

To me it is okay to send both [a constituency representative and a party list representative] because if you get one that has personal interest or is lazy, the other one may be hardworking and ready to serve the people by presenting their views in the parliament. (Woman, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

I prefer voting for political party and constituency [representatives] because someone from the constituency is the one to represent me and at the side of party I would need the party [to which] I belong to pass in the elections. (Fertit Man, Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

4. There is no consensus among participants on how to divide power between the national and state governments in key policy areas.

Overall, participants provide no clear indication of their preferences for decentralization in four policy areas: health, education, police and judiciary. Some participants prefer the national government to have more power in these areas, while others prefer the state government to have greater control. Slightly more appear to lean toward greater national government influence, primarily because of its access to more resources to fund policy decisions and/or its ability to guarantee policy uniformity and higher quality implementation. Those advocating more state involvement in policy feel that level of government is best suited to understand local challenges and needs. Of the four policy areas, participants feel most comfortable with the national government having the greatest say on education. They note that, in addition to the national government having greater resources, national control is important to ensure there are consistent standards, including a uniform curriculum and examinations, across all ten states and to guarantee quality education is available everywhere. In the other policy areas, participants are almost equally divided about whether they want the national or state government to preside over policy. Participants in some states tend to lean toward national government policy control. These reside in Central Equatoria, Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Warrap and Jonglei states. Those that tend to prefer that state government guide policy are from Eastern Equatoria, Western Bahr el Ghazal, Lakes and Unity states. There are no strong correlations based on ethnicity, though slightly more Dinka participants appear comfortable than other participants in choosing national government as the primary policy-maker.

Healthcare policy should be left for the national government so as to improve all our health centers within town and other remote areas just because the national government has the power to support [it]. (Zande Man, Rangu, Western Equatoria)

National government [should have power over policing] for the maintenance of the police is financially expensive and beyond the standard of the state. (Dinka Bor Woman, Makuach Payam, Jonglei)

The powers should be given to national government to have control over the courts for uniform solving of cases. (Woman, Yei Town, Central Equatoria)

More powers should be given to the state because the state knows all the bad and the good things in Bahr el Ghazal here. (Man, Hai Wara, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

The state government should have more powers on health care policy because the government in the state is very close to the people in the state and knows what people want in that state. (Dinka Atwot Chief, Yirol West, Lakes)

More power should be given to the national government to decide on education policy for uniform examination policy and planning across the country. (Kakwa Chief, Mugwo Payam, Central Equatoria)

The national government should have more powers to decide education policy, more especially the curriculum. There should be one unified curriculum in the country. (Shilluk Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

5. **Traditional authorities should play an integral role in governing South Sudan by serving as a link between communities and government, according to participants. They support the empowerment of traditional authorities, particularly in matters related to peace and local governance.**

Participants place great faith in traditional authorities to understand their issues and communicate their problems, saying they "are the ones who best know the community and the issues facing

them"[35] and are the "voice of the people at the grassroots level."[36] As such, they believe traditional authorities have an important role to play in governance. Most often participants talk of that role as a bridge between citizens and government and the primary function as passing information from citizens to government and from government to citizens. Some participants stress that the conveying of information should not be a passive act, and instead the government must actively consult with and listen to traditional authorities on key issues like development. An area that participants view as necessary for traditional authorities to have a particularly robust role is peace and reconciliation, both locally and nationally. They believe peace can best be achieved in South Sudan through the efforts of traditional authorities. Participants also view traditional authorities as the most effective means for resolving community-level issues and want them to have the power to do so in areas such as the resolution of legal disputes, the collection of local taxes and the enactment and enforcement of customary law. While most participants focus on local roles and are not explicit about whether they want a more formalized government role for traditional authorities, some feel strongly they should be involved, including at the national level. Suggestions from these participants include a role for traditional authorities in parliament and formal inclusion in constitutional development and other law-making processes.

> *The traditional authorities should be given powers in the coming government.* (Woman, Warrap Camp A, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

> *The role of traditional authorities is that they are the connecting agent between the public and the government.* (Fertit Man, Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

> *They [traditional authorities] are the ones who give the vital information about the communities under them and should continue that way to feed the government with the news they want about us.* (Nuer Jikany Woman, Ulang Town, Upper Nile)

[35] Phrase is from a quotation by a man in Juba Town-Gumbo in Central Equatoria.
[36] Phrase is from a quotation by a woman in Yei Town in Central Equatoria.

[Traditional authorities] enlighten the citizens on government policies. (Dinka Malual Man, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

They [traditional authorities] should form a [national] committee to handle issues on peace and reconciliation among all the tribes of Southern Sudan. (Dinka Agar Man, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

Chiefs have a bigger role in tax collection especially at the lowest level of government. (Nuer Lou Woman, Akobo Town, Jonglei)

They [traditional authorities] should be enforcement agents for customary laws….They should be a link between the traditional authorities and the national government for customary law enactment by the parliament. (Dinka Bor, Makuach Payam, Jonglei)

The constitution is composed of rules to lead the nation, and the traditional leaders should play a role in constitution-making. (Lotukho Man, Torit Town, Eastern Equatoria)

[The role of traditional authorities should be] giving advice to the government officials and representing public views in parliament. (Dinka Malual Man, Mayom Adhel, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

VIII. GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE

1. **The combination of persistent insecurity and lack of significant development leads most participants to declare that, despite the vote for independence, the new country is not heading in the right direction.**

When asked about development or security individually, most participants indicate each area is improving, albeit slowly and slightly. However, when asked to evaluate the overall direction of the country, most participants say the significant development challenges facing the new South Sudan and the uptick in local conflict cause them to have a dim view of the path the country is on. They note that there has been little to no change in the poor state of education, health care and other basic services during the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) interim period; that infrastructure

improvements, such as roads, are not anywhere close to meeting the need; that prices for food and other essential items have risen over the last year, causing hunger to remain a problem; and that jobs are scarce. In addition, although they were hopeful the CPA would bring peace and security, participants say instead one kind of insecurity has been replaced with another due to the recent rebellions, increased cattle raiding and a rising crime problem. Participants from the Equatorian states, Upper Nile, Unity and parts of Jonglei and Lakes are more likely to have a negative opinion about where South Sudan is headed. About one-third of participants maintain a positive outlook in this study,[37] saying they have seen improvements in development, even if they are not yet up to needs and are only centered in towns. To this group, independence alone is enough reason to believe the country is on-track to improving the lives of its citizens. Some participants in more secure areas also laud the improvement in peace and stability.

> *Things are still in the wrong direction because of roads and water, and hunger is still major concern for everybody.* (Dinka Twic Chief, Turalei Town, Warrap)

> *We still lack proper infrastructures like school, hospitals, good roads, so for me there is nothing good yet*. (Zande Woman, Yambio Town, Western Equatoria)

> *Things are not going in the right direction. All the prices of food in the market are going high. Hatred among us still exists, and we are killing each other.* (Acholi Woman, Nawai Messer, Eastern Equatoria)

> *Things are going in the wrong direction because I don't see the difference between those days of war and these days of peace; we are in the same situation. You should know that life isn't good without education and food…We voted for secession hoping that life would turn good. We are now at the margin exposed to cattle raiders and militias.* (Two Dinka Twic Chiefs, Panyagor, Jonglei)

> *Death is high everywhere now in South Sudan. It's really worrying…Things are not going well. There are a lot of tribal clashes, and civilians are in possession of firearms. We are scared because of the frequent killing among us.*

[37] A similar number of participants had a positive outlook in the last South Sudan public opinion study. See Andrea Levy and Traci D. Cook, *Southern Sudan at the Crossroads: Citizen Expectations, Aspirations and Concerns about the Referendum and Beyond*, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, September 2010 at www.ndi.org.

The government is quiet; we are just praying for the best. (Two Nuer Jikany Women, Nassir Town, Upper Nile)

Things are going on well. Here in Mapel, I should appreciate what our government has done in the last six years of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. (Jur Chol Woman, Mapel, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

Things are changing for the better. The situation of this town was not like this before, but now it has improved. There was no electricity, no water and the roads were not like this, but now we can see development. (Shilluk Man, Renk Town, Upper Nile)

Things are going in the right direction because security situation here in Aweil has improved a lot unlike before. People are not tortured, the right of humanity is respected and freedom of speech and expression is paramount. (Dinka Malual Man, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

2. **Most participants rate the performance of the Government of South Sudan (GoSS) as good-to-fair. The GoSS is praised for conducting a peaceful referendum and achieving independence, but it gets lower marks from some who are concerned with corruption, tribalism and lack of development.**

Performance ratings for GoSS have remained steady over the past several years.[38] Participants who rate the work of the GoSS as "excellent" or "good" are grateful for their hard-won independence and point to signs of development – such as schools, roads and health facilities – as proof the government is working hard and trying its best. "I can see a lot of good things,"[39] is the comment of one participant. Lesser ratings from other participants reveal a frustration with the slow pace and/or limited reach of development and, in some locations, with increasing insecurity. Participants who express concerns about corruption and tribalism often give the lowest ratings. Participants in greater Bahr el Ghazal tend to rate the government's performance the highest, while those in greater Equatoria, particularly in Central Equatoria state, the lowest. The comments of a few participants

[38] NDI's past public opinion studies in South Sudan can be found at www.ndi.org.
[39] Phrase is from a quotation by a Shilluk man in Renk Town, Upper Nile.

suggest that expectations for government performance in the post-independence era will be much higher.

The government has done a good job; that is why we have freedom today. (Woman, Warrap Camp A, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

They [the government] have done a good job because they have implemented CPA properly…They have controlled properly the referendum when the whole world thought that people would go to war. (Two Dinka Malual Men, Yargot Payam, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

The work of GoSS is fair because when the CPA was signed, the development was not at this stage. The development has a bit increased…What we are experiencing today has not happened before. (Fertit Man, Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

[Government performance is] very poor. What has it done exactly here in our place? Nothing, you can even see with your eyes. Our place is still down compared to other places. (Mundari Woman, Terkekea Town, Central Equatoria)

The job the GoSS is doing is very poor…We have no proper hospitals for our people, our roads are still very poor, schools have not been put in place, our own security is worsening every day, so with all this I don't see any good thing from GoSS. (Zande Man, Rangu, Western Equatoria)

GoSS is doing poorly because there is still rampant corruption. (Nuer Lek Woman, Pulkuai, Unity)

It [government performance] is fair because of corruption and nepotism or tribalism. (Dinka Bor Man, Paleek Payam, Jonglei)

The work of the government is good because the government has many challenges and yet we are still in the hand of our enemy, hence we hope for excellent work after independence. (Dinka Man, Renk Town, Upper Nile)

3. **Participants are disappointed in the performance of their elected representatives in the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly (SSLA),[40] saying they have not performed as expected, have not maintained contact with their constituents and have failed to fulfill their election promises.**

Lack of communication with and information from their SSLA representatives are among participants' biggest complaints. Typical of this sentiment was the comment by one participant, "no one has come back here to say a word of thanks."[41] Some participants express disillusionment with their representatives and the electoral process, declaring the elected officials do nothing but collect their salaries and so the people have voted in vain. A few participants are less categorical in their criticism of SSLA representatives or even credit their representatives for doing a good job. These participants give SSLA representatives credit for helping to educate the public on the referendum and recognize that it may be difficult to demonstrate accomplishments at this point.

> *They [SSLA representatives] made a show that if you vote for me, I will do this and that. They passed and sat in their offices in Juba. They are doing nothing…We are thinking that we regret we voted for them because they left to enjoy and are not thinking about community.* (Two Shilluk Men, Malakal, Upper Nile)

> *We know we voted but in vain. Before the elections were conducted, we sat down with our leaders and laid all our plans for them to implement. All we needed was for them to be our voice in the Assembly, but none of them implemented what we had agreed upon.* (Zande Man, Rangu, Western Equatoria)

> *They [SSLA representatives] did not work well because they did not come back to the people with feedback. We voted for pictures not persons.* (Madi Man, Moli, Eastern Equatoria)

> *They [SSLA representatives] are not doing well—our community is in dire need of some basic services, yet they can't even come and listen to our concerns.* (Dinka Twic Woman, Pawel, Jonglei)

[40] Following independence, the SSLA was re-named the National Legislative Assembly.
[41] Phrase is from a quotation by a Zande woman in Yambio Town, Western Equatoria.

They [SSLA representatives] are doing well. They educated us on how to vote in the referendum. (Dinka Gok Woman, Mayath Payam, Lakes)

They [SSLA representatives] are doing well, only that the situation in Southern Sudan is not favorable. (Nuer Jegai Woman, Hai Chot Yiek County, Unity)

4. Ideas about the roles of the various levels of government are not well defined among participants. Satisfaction with performance of those government levels varies considerably state-to-state as well.

Participants offer a variety of answers when asked to define the roles of the national, state and local governments. Some say they cannot differentiate between the levels of government. Others describe the national government role as primarily national security and international relations or speak of the national government only in terms of major development projects, such as roads. Some participants in more urban areas talk of the national government as having a policy-making and supervisory role and the state and local government as implementers. Likewise, there is no consistent response among participants about the performance of the various levels of government. Across states and within states, participants offer differing assessments with some feeling the national government performs at the highest level and others saying state or local governments are much more effective. Eastern Equatoria is the only state where most participants are clear that they believe the best government work is done at the state and local level.

I don't know the difference between the national and state or local government. I just call them government. (Nuer Lek Woman, Pulkuai, Unity)

It is all one government, and there is no difference in their job. (Man, Juba Town-Gumbo, Central Equatoria)

The Juba government controls over security in South Sudan. (Nuer Jegai Man, Bentiu Town, Unity)

The national government should oversee issues that are of national concern…The national government keeps relationships with neighboring countries. (Two Dinka Agar Men, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

The national government is the policy-maker. The state and local governments do implementation of the policies. (Woman, Yei Town, Central Equatoria)

The state government knows more of our problems than the national government, so if anything it's the state government that is ahead of the national government. (Zande Woman, Yambio Town, Western Equatoria)

The state government is doing nothing at all and same thing to local government, but GoSS is doing well. (Fertit Man, Lokloko, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

Local government is doing a good job in the county [better] than both the state and national government. They have payam administrators and work closely with people compared to the state and national government. (Dinka Bor Man, Paleek Payam, Jonglei)

The job of the state government is good because they work with local authorities in conjunction with the communities. (Toposa Chief, Kapoeta Town, Eastern Equatoria)

5. **There is a high level of dissatisfaction among participants about the lack of information, especially related to development, available from the government.**

The vast majority of participants say they receive little or no information from the GoSS. They blame the lack of communication on a number of factors. Foremost among them is the poor communications structure in South Sudan, particularly the lack of radio stations and mobile networks in rural areas. Other participants mention the lack of contact with elected government officials and language barriers as obstacles to effective government communication. Participants especially want government information they view as relevant to their daily lives, such as progress on development projects and security updates. A number of Central Equatoria participants would also like the government to report more on corruption. The participants who express some level of

satisfaction with communication from the government reside in urban areas with good radio access, yet they also often characterize the amount of information coming from the government as not sufficient.

There is no information because we are staying in a remote area…It is only at the state level where the information is found, but at the county level, we are like the blind. (Two Dinka Gok Men, Cueibet Town, Lakes)

We are getting nothing. We don't know what has been done and what is to be done… We need radio services here to hear what the government is doing. (Two Nuer Jikany Men, Nassir Town, Upper Nile)

We don't hear from the government. We should hear what the government is doing about the security. We want to hear issues concerning development…We want to hear that the government wants to do this and that, but we don't hear from them. (Two Dinka Twic Chiefs, Panyagor Town, Jonglei)

I am not getting information from the government because the representatives that we voted for are not coming to talk to us. (Avokaya Man, Mbalindi, Western Equatoria)

We don't get enough information because the radios use Arabic and English. (Kakwa Chief, Mugwo Payam, Central Equatoria)

We need them to report whatever is happening in the government and whatever they are doing negatively like corruption we need to know because it is our government. (Bari Ma, Na Bari, Central Equatoria)

We are getting information from the Southern Sudan Radio about the government. However, we want more information on education, health, socio-economic and other important issues…We are getting information most of which is political, but we need information on development. (Two Nuer Lek Men, Rubkona Town, Unity)

IX. RELATIONSHIP WITH SUDAN

1. A good relationship with Sudan is important to most participants, who want a "soft" border with relatively free trade and movement. However, some are worried the reality will be more similar to places with hostile or disputed borders.

Many participants see the value of maintaining a good relationship with Sudan to facilitate trade and movement along the border. They believe both countries will benefit economically if there is a "soft" border with low tariffs and few restrictions on crossing. Some participants, though, predict that Sudan-South Sudan relations will be difficult, particularly along the border which they believe will remain in dispute. They cite multiple reasons for their concerns. Some point to Sudan's support for militias operating in South Sudan or Sudan's continued need for South Sudan's resources. Others focus on unresolved issues like Abyei and border demarcation as possible triggers for persistent insecurity. There are also participants who believe history proves that South Sudan should cut all ties to Sudan because of its potential to disrupt and harm the new country.

> *What we are hoping for is a peaceful relationship, economic growth and economic integration [between Sudan and South Sudan].* (Lotukho Man, Torit Town, Eastern Equatoria)

> *The relationship between the two [Sudan and South Sudan] should be good since the two will still benefit from each other and need each other.* (Woman, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

> *Business will make the [Sudan-South Sudan] relationship stronger. The North*[42] *will seek for goods that are not found in the North and likewise for South Sudan.* (Dinka Atwot Woman, Yirol West, Lakes)

> *The border should be free for anyone to pass through to the North or South [Sudan] using the legal procedures.* (Kakwa Chief, Mugwo Payam, Central Equatoria)

[42] Participants sometimes use the term 'North' to refer to Sudan.

Why should we be in a good relationship with the people who killed us? (Avokaya Man, Mbalindi, Western Equatoria)

The border will not be peaceful because the North will still create problems at the bordering states. Therefore, I don't expect any trade between the two nations…I think our border will not be a soft border. (Nuer Lek Man, Rubkona Town, Unity)

Peace was made and still there is a problem in Abyei. Here I see borders will not be okay. Arabs will still claim parts of South [Sudan] near the border as theirs, even though the demarcation will be done. (Dinka Gok Man, Cueibet Town, Lakes)

The relationship [between Sudan and South Sudan] will not be good because the North needs our land…How would you expect them to be happy in our relationship when they were once masters of our resources? (Two Dinka Gok Women, Mayath Payam, Lakes)

I don't believe that we will have good relations with the North because they will still support our rebels. (Nuer Jegai Man, Bentiu Town, Unity)

There is nothing we shall go for in the North because our border shall be like that of Israelis and Palestinians. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Ulang Town, Upper Nile)

2. **Most participants have come to accept the necessity of paying a fee to transport South Sudan's oil through Sudan. A strong minority, however, remains opposed and believes another means must be found.**

In contrast to findings in the last South Sudan public opinion study,[43] the majority of participants in this study say they understand South Sudan has no immediate alternatives to transporting its oil through Sudan and to refuse to do so would have devastating economic consequences. These participants are reassured by the thought that the fee is just a business arrangement and not revenue-

[43] See Andrea Levy and Traci D. Cook, *Southern Sudan at the Crossroads: Citizen Expectations, Aspirations and Concerns about the Referendum and Beyond*, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, September 2010 at www.ndi.org.

sharing and hope that the arrangement could foster better Sudan-South Sudan relations. Some, though, note that they want any transactions to be reasonable and closely monitored and that their patience with this arrangement will be short-lived. This group wants their government to embark immediately on developing options for transporting the oil through Kenya or Ethiopia. A strong minority of participants remains staunchly opposed to any oil arrangement that benefits Sudan. Those with this view believe Sudan will use a fee arrangement to continue cheating South Sudan on oil revenues and to keep South Sudan dependent upon Sudan. The feeling that Sudan does not deserve to benefit further from South Sudan's oil is reflected in the comment of one participant who said Sudan, "should not have even a pinch of what we have in South [Sudan]."[44] This group believes methods must be found to divert the oil to other countries or, absent that, it would be better to close down oil production than to transport it through Sudan. Rural participants and those living in states on the Sudan-South Sudan border are slightly more likely to reject a fee arrangement.

> *It is okay to pay [a fee to the Sudan to transport oil] because both the North and South [Sudan] are going to benefit from this oil…This will create a healthy relationship and mutual understanding between the North and South [Sudan].* (Two Women, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

> *It is good to hire the pipeline because we don't have any other immediate options…It is a wise decision [to pay a fee to Sudan to transport oil] from our government because our economy could easily collapse since we depend on oil revenues.* (Two Nuer Luo Men, Deng Jok, Jonglei)

> *That [paying Sudan a fee to transport oil] is a good idea. It is a trade relation. We are doing business, and they have no share in our oil like before. We are just paying for transporting it there, which is okay.* (Dinka Rek Man, Tonj South Town, Warrap)

> *I need GoSS to pay the fee for the meantime and later on, we should transport our oil through Port Mombasa in Kenya or Malindi because my friends, I cannot trust Arabs' dealings.* (Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

[44] Phrase is from a quotation by a Nuer Jikany Woman in Ulang Town, Upper Nile.

It is really sad for us to pay fees, but we can still do it for the meantime…The fees can be paid but our government has to start constructing its own pipeline. (Two Nuer Lek Women, Pulkuai, Unity)

It's not a good thing [to pay the Sudan a fee to transport oil] because they will steal some oil….They will spoil and contaminate our oil because Arabs are not good people. (Two Jur Chol Chiefs, Mapel, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

It [the oil pipeline] should be cut and dig another one to Kenya because it will lead us to conflicts and connect us with Arabs…It is better to close down the oil [production] if there is not any other alternative [to paying a fee to Sudan]. (Two Dinka Twic Women, Ajak-Kuach, Warrap)

We need not to be associated with the North again. We can divert the pipe direction to Ethiopia, and other countries…We have suffered long enough from them. (Two Nuer Jikany Men, Nassir Town, Upper Nile)

X. ABYEI

1. Prior to the May 2011 conflict in Abyei, most participants felt the then-Government of Southern Sudan was handling the negotiations as well as could be expected in a difficult situation.

During the March-April fieldwork period of this study, participants applauded the efforts of the GoSS to resolve the Abyei issue and mostly blamed "Khartoum" for the lack of progress. These participants expressed strong support for the government to continue to "stand firm with the Abyei people"[45] and were particularly appreciative of the government's commitment to serious negotiations. Criticisms of the government's Abyei activities were based on its failure to secure the referendum outlined in the CPA and the continued loss of life in the area.

It is handling it well since the Government of Southern Sudan uses a diplomatic approach like dialogue and negotiation because Abyei belongs to Dinka Ngok. (Dinka Malual Man, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

[45] Phrase is from a quotation by a chief in Kapoeta Town, Eastern Equatoria.

GoSS is working very hard on Abyei, and I really appreciate their commitment…GoSS is doing very well on Abyei as shown by the intensive negotiation that have been taking place. (Nuer Jegai Man, Bentiu Town, Unity)

The government is actually trying very hard, but the problem is with the Khartoum government. (Mundari Woman, Terekeka Town, Central Equatoria)

Abyei issue is not handled well by GoSS…Now people are getting killed in Abyei every day. Do you think they will not finish? Our government needs to speed up the negotiation of Abyei with the North. (Dinka Gok Man, Cueibet Town, Lakes)

Our government is not doing enough on Abyei because Abyei referendum was not conducted. (Nuer Lek Woman, Pulkuai, Unity)

2. Though negotiation is their first choice, most participants are supportive of using any means necessary, including a return to war, to have Abyei join the South.[46]

There is strong support for Abyei among the study participants. The similarity in culture, language and skin color proves Abyei is part of the South and "part of us,"[47] they say. For this reason, they feel Abyei is just as important as any other part of the South and should not be abandoned as the rest of the South celebrates independence. Most Central Equatoria participants and some, mostly female, participants in other locations have a different view. They support negotiation as the only viable option to resolve Abyei and believe war would "take us back to where we ran from."[48]

If it means going back to war with the north to have Abyei join South Sudan, that is fine with me. If we leave Abyei like that, the Arabs will take it. (Lotukho Man, Torit Town, Eastern Equatoria)

We can go back to bush as women because of Abyei. Abyei belongs to the South. I need to be trained and given a gun to go back to war because of Abyei. (Dinka Atwot Woman, Yirol West, Lakes)

[46] The fieldwork for this study was undertaken prior to the recent conflict in Abyei.
[47] Phrase is from a quotation by a Jur Chol woman in Mapel, Western Bahr el Ghazal.
[48] Phrase is from a quotation by a man in Juba Town-Gumbo, Central Equatoria.

We cannot leave our land to the Arabs. If peace talks have failed, we shall use violence to get Abyei…Abyei is part of us. We shall fight for it at all costs. (Two Nuer Jikany Women, Nassir Town, Upper Nile)

Abyei is the land of our grandfathers and mothers and because of that I can support the idea of war. (Dinka Rek Woman, Yithliet Payam, Warrap)

I would support going back to war if it was necessary to bring Abyei back to South Sudan…Abyei is clearly our land as the name indicates. If there is no option left, then we have to fight. (Two Nuer Lek Men, Rubkona Town, Unity)

We cannot go back to war because of Abyei. We have just gotten peace, and we would not like to see war again. (Woman, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

I will not accept to go back to war because we are tired of war…The problems of Abyei should be solved through dialogue. (Mundari Man, Muni, Central Equatoria)

For me, I can't support going back to war because negotiation is the only solution to Abyei. (Dinka Malual Woman, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

XI. ELECTIONS

1. About half of the participants judge the April 2010 elections to have been conducted unfairly, though some base that conclusion on complaints or rebellions among defeated candidates and not on first-hand observations.

The participants who view the April 2010 elections as fair say that people were allowed to vote for the candidates of their choice freely and without intimidation. They also point to a lack of irregularities and the peaceful electoral environment in their areas in applauding the conduct of the vote. The primary complaints from participants who feel the elections were unfair are intimidation and "forced" voting. Participants refer to the latter when describing situations where people were instructed or pressured to vote a certain way by party leaders, government officials or traditional

authorities. Cases of rigging, specifically in the vote count, are also mentioned in some locations. The conclusion that the elections were unfair is based in part not on personal observation but on what participants consider *prima facie* evidence of cheating: complaints by defeated candidates, rebellions over election losses and the overwhelming success of SPLM candidates. In referencing the current rebellions one participant notes, "Something must have not gone well [with the elections] somewhere."[49] It is also clear that many participants' concerns about the elections center on the SPLM candidate nomination process and not the general election voting. Some feel that the SPLM process resulted in the nomination of candidates for their areas that were not the choice of, or in the interest of, the community, but instead were the choice of, and in the interest of, the party.

Dissatisfaction with the election does not appear to be strongly correlated with ethnicity; instead, participants with the highest number of complaints are concentrated in several states, namely Central Equatoria, Western Equatoria and Northern Bahr el Ghazal states. Male participants were also significantly more likely to declare the April elections unfair. There appears to be general, if reluctant in some quarters, acceptance of the elections, but a few participants highlight the need for future elections to be of a higher standard as reflected in the comment of one participant, "It [the April 2010 election] was good for the people of Southern Sudan then, but from now on we will need more democratic elections."[50]

> *To me, the election was free and fair because anyone was allowed to go and cast his vote without interference...I have not seen or heard any irregularities especially in my county.* (Two Nuer Luo Chiefs, Akobo Town, Jonglei)

> *Elections were fair. None of our candidates doubted about the elections. If elections were not fair, people would have fought on the spot.* (Dinka Gok Man, Cueibet Town, Lakes)

> *The April 2010 election from our side here was conducted fairly because there were no cases of fighting or any wrong-doing.* (Acholi Woman, Nawai Messer, Eastern Equatoria)

[49] Quotation is from a Dinka Twic woman in Pawel, Jonglei.
[50] Quotation is from a Dinka Rek man in Tonj South Town, Warrap.

The election in April was not really well because of party observers were detained by police and intimidated…The independent candidate was given a hard time for them to hold rallies; it was a very big problem in Bor. (Dinka Bor Man, Paleek Payam, Jonglei)

It [the April 2010 election] was not the best way how democracy is practiced worldwide because we were forced to vote unwillingly. (Dinka Malual Man, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

The elections went well, but the results were not fair because of malpractices done by the government giving free votes to someone of their choice who is not the people's choice. It still remains a wound in the hearts of many…Such small things will cause wars one day. (Two Women, Rajaf, Central Equatoria)
The April 2010 elections were not conducted fairly because if it was fair we would not have rebellions like Gorge Athor. (Avokaya Man, Mbalindi, Western Equatoria)

They [the April 2010 elections] weren't fair because one party entered parliament and government. (Dinka Twic Chief, Turalei Town, Warrap)

The elections were not conducted fairly because some people were denied [SPLM] candidature. (Kakwa Chief, Mugwo Payam, Central Equatoria)

We don't want what happened in April elections to happen again. (Dinka Malual Woman, Majak Akoon, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

2. **The next elections in the newly independent South Sudan should be conducted in the next four or five years, according to most participants. However, a significant minority prefers much quicker elections.**

Holding the next election after four or five years, participants say, will give the current government, elected in April 2010, a chance to plan for and deliver development and to demonstrate whether or not they can succeed. A few also say allowing a longer time before elections will strengthen the stability of the new country. A significant minority of participants disagrees with this view, however. They want, and some expect, elections to be conducted within a year or two. This group of

participants believes either new leadership is necessary or it is important to give others a chance at leadership, thereby reducing the potential for conflict. Participants in Western Equatoria, Upper Nile, Unity and Jonglei, particularly in the Nuer groups, are somewhat more likely to voice support for elections in a shorter timeframe.

Our president Salva Kiir Mayardit should finish what we voted him to do. You cannot just do elections all the time without seeing what those people you have elected last time have done… Now it is too early to tell whether those MPs have failed or succeeded. (Two Jur Chol Women, Mapel, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

No election could be held immediately because we need to rest first…No [quick] elections in any position because we need development first in our places. (Two Dinka Malual Women, Majak Akoon, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

Elections should be done after five years. That was the official term given to the people we have elected...Election brings problem, let us stay without one for now. (Dinka Rek Man, Tonj South Town, Warrap)

Elections should be immediately after independence; that is, dissolving the whole of the current government. (Nuer Jegai Woman, Hai Chot Yiek, Unity)

[Hold elections in] two years. Holding elections before long will avoid rampant rebellions. (Dinka Man, Renk Town, Upper Nile)

If possible, elections should be done as soon as possible because it would be a new country that needs a new government…We have already given them five years to bring about changes in the country, and now that we are independent and a new country, we need new leaders. (Two Women, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

XII. RETURNEES AND LAND

1. **Many participants express no concern about the large number of expected South Sudanese returnees, saying "they are our brothers and sisters"[51] and "it is our**

[51] This phrase is from a quotation by a Madi woman in Pageri, Eastern Equatoria.

responsibility to welcome them."[52] The impact on already strained resources raised questions for some participants, however.

Participants say that the returnees have a right to be in South Sudan and that citizens and government should work together to ensure they are integrated and their needs met. Some also believe returnees will hasten the pace of development because many are returning from Sudan with skills not yet in abundance in South Sudan. Those who profess some fear or concern about the influx of returnees are mainly worried that already stressed areas, such as housing, education, health, land, employment and food security, will not be able to accommodate the needs of those arriving. A few add that their primary concern is the returnees will return with "bad" cultures, such as alcohol consumption or loose morals, or with Arab/Islamic ideas that will disturb the local social order. Almost all Unity state participants express some level of concern about returnees, perhaps because the state is already host to many returnees.

They [returnees] are free to come and settle anywhere in South [Sudan]. They have the right to have what we have now. The government should give them incentives to settle them. (Nuer Jikany Man, Nassir Town, Upper Nile)

We are really grateful that our people who were displaced are returning to their homes. We shall do everything to help integrate them in the communities. (Dinka Rek Man, Tonj South Town, Warrap)

They [returnees] are very important because some of them might be teachers, doctors and engineers. We need them in South [Sudan]. (Man, Hai Wara, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

What concerns me most is the issue of hunger and shelter since most of them do not have relatives in the South. (Dinka Malual Man, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

My concern is unemployment. Some of them [returnees] are qualified and will not easily find jobs here. (Nuer Lou Chief, Akobo Town, Jonglei)

[52] This is a quotation from a Dinka Rek man in Tonj South Town, Warrap.

Khartoum has spoilt our people. Most of them are not married, and they are indoctrinated by Islam. (Dinka Twic Chief, Panyagor Town, Jonglei)

My concern is insecurity because they will need to be absorbed in the government. Otherwise, they will create problems. (Nuer Lek Man, Rubkona Town, Unity)

2. Most participants believe the government should own the land in South Sudan because that will be more beneficial to the country.

More participants now support government ownership of land than in a public opinion study conducted in South Sudan in 2004.[53] Government ownership, they say, would reduce tribal conflict and land disputes, would ensure fairer land allocation to citizens and would encourage development. Participants with this view also support government control of land to attract investors and exploit natural resources for the good of the nation as a whole. The strong exception to this view, however, is among participants from states in the Greater Equatoria region. Most participants from those states say community ownership of land is a natural right of the citizens who were born to it and have earned it through long-term settlement. These participants, who include some outside of Greater Equatoria, believe communities are best placed to ensure proper usage of the land and will handle land issues without corruption. They also make clear that government use of land, even if for development, must be requested of and approved by the community.

Our people are fighting because of land, and this can only be solved if the land is given to the government…People of Twic have learned from experience because most of these clans have in the past fought over land ownership. The land should be given to the government. (Two Dinka Twic Chiefs, Panyagor Town, Jonglei)

Land belongs to the government. We need development. If it is left in the hands of the locals, they will not give it to foreigners and investors. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Ulang Town, Upper Nile)

[53] In the 2004 study there were mixed views of whether government or the community should own the land. See Traci D. Cook and Thomas O. Melia, *On the Threshold of Peace: Perspectives from the People of New Sudan*, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, December 2004 at www.ndi.org.

The land should be owned by the government. If a natural resources is found in an area, it is going to be considered a national resource if the land is owned by the government. (Dinka Man, Renk Town, Upper Nile)

The community must own the land not the government because land is a natural resource given by God…The community must own the land because it is the community that settled in that land, not the government or an individual. (Two Avokaya Men, Maridi Town, Western Equatoria)

The land should be owned by the community because government ownership may give way for corruption. (Nuer Lek Man, Rubkona Town, Unity)

The land is the community's property, and it must be owned by the community. Whenever the government wants land to do any kind of development in that area, then they should consult the community leaders so as to give them permission first before anything is allocated in that place. (Zande Man, Rangu, Western Equatoria)

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The ideal nation participants describe in this study – democratic, peaceful, developed, responsive, transparent, fair, equitable and united – is one they fervently want to come to fruition. They have faith it can happen but also say they face significant odds due to unresolved and fundamental issues that currently exist in the new country. In this study, the participants clearly outline much of what is required to ensure South Sudan does not become a failed state. Concentrating the work of the government, civil society and the international community on the four key issues they highlight – underdevelopment, insecurity, tribalism and justice – as well as listening to their calls for a close relationship between citizens and government offer the best chance to build a nation that will realize the aspirations of ordinary South Sudanese citizens. Recommendations for actions in those key areas are outlined below.

Take Nation-Building Seriously

Participant responses in this study demonstrate a strong desire among South Sudanese to view themselves as one people, but the participants also acknowledge there is much work to be done before that can be achieved. Thus, there is perhaps no task more important in the newly independent South Sudan than instilling a sense of nationhood and unity among its citizens. Without an intense nation-building effort, it should not be assumed South Sudanese will be able to overcome a history of tribal competition, animosity and conflict that may be exacerbated in the post-referendum period by power struggles, low levels of development and stress on already very limited resources from returnees. The eagerness participants display to help build their new nation, including full acceptance of the benefits of paying taxes, also represents an opportunity that is likely fleeting and should not be wasted. The fragility of the new nation demands that all concerned with the future of the country, including government, the international community and civil society, make every effort to develop an atmosphere of inclusion and transparency and to create and change cultural attitudes so that everyone regardless of tribe is viewed as, and feels like, a first class citizen.

Recommendations:

- Define uniting values for the country based on a national philosophy that embodies equality, fairness and inclusion; citizens should play a lead role in defining these values through an effort that asks them to contribute their thoughts on what it means to be South Sudanese.
- Undertake a widespread, intensive and long-running public campaign highlighting the country's defined values and the benefits of peaceful co-existence and cooperation.[54]
- Engage all groups and citizens in the development of national symbols and symbolically important national decisions, such as re-naming the country if that is to be considered, or in key nation-defining moments, such as the creation of a permanent constitution, so that all can feel a part of building their nation.
- Develop a civics curriculum for schools that educates the population about South Sudan's system of government and its values and encourages children to view each other as equals, regardless of tribal affiliation.
- Harness citizens' enthusiasm to be part of building the new nation through economic incentive programs that encourage self-reliant activities, such as farming or business, and by demonstrating taxes are being used for tangible improvements in development.
- Govern in a manner that emphasizes inclusion and transparency – particularly on sensitive issues like civil service employment and distribution of development – so that all tribes feel equally invested in, and served by, the government and fully part of the nation.

Handle Development Issues Realistically and Transparently

Because it directly impacts their quality of life, development is the top concern for participants. Frustration with the slow pace of development is already significant, and sky-high expectations following independence of major development progress in a short timeframe increase the likelihood of a dissatisfied and disgruntled citizenry on a large scale. It is unrealistic to expect the Government of South Sudan to improve development in the country to the extent and with the speed citizens desire, but out-sized promises or poor communication from the government on development will

[54] South Africa's promotion of itself as the 'Rainbow Nation' is an example of the type of campaign that would be beneficial in South Sudan. The SPLM launched a nation-building campaign in August, but a broad, non-partisan and inclusive effort led by the government and supported by civil society and the international community is needed as well.

result in a loss of faith among citizens that the country can become a successful nation. Just as concerning as high expectations on development progress are citizens' sensitivity to how it is distributed. Their tendency to compare development in their areas to what they believe others are receiving represents a substantial threat to stability because any perception of unfairness immediately raises the specter of tribalism. Appropriate communication and transparent handling of development decisions can go a long way toward increasing citizen satisfaction and diffusing a potential trigger for conflict.

Recommendations:

- Present to the nation a plan for development that is realistic, offers a rationale for its choices (addressing specifically issues of fairness and equitable distribution) and explains how the aspirations of citizens will ultimately be achieved through the plan.
- Communicate about development progress honestly by offering realistic timeframes for tangible improvements and publicize and celebrate any progress in development as a step in the right direction.
- Manage development expectations by bringing citizens and government together to discuss development plans and progress, to increase citizen understanding of the development process and to encourage citizen participation in and contribution to the process.
- Initiate a public discussion about equitable development distribution and solicit citizen input on distribution criteria they would find acceptable.
- Establish a reporting mechanism through which the government can demonstrate it is distributing development fairly and transparently and through which civil society organizations and citizens can access information related to development distribution easily and in a digestible, understandable form.

Confront Issues of Tribalism Directly, Aggressively and Publicly

Tribalism in all its various manifestations was the dominant theme of the participant discussions, and they identified it as likely the biggest threat to the South Sudan's immediate future. As much as they feel a common bond following years of oppression and joint sacrifice, South Sudanese judge all aspects of life and governance through the prism of tribes. Harmful prejudices and stereotypes

reinforce a feeling of disunity among South Sudanese and create an atmosphere of distrust. Local conflict over resources and cattle raiding only add to fuel to the fire. In addition, the entrenched belief is each tribe, section or clan, and their representatives in government, will only serve their own interests and not work for the common good. This belief heightens sensitivities about whether there is a commitment to equal opportunities and equitable distribution of resources and development in the new country. That is why the largest single complaint participants have about government is tribalism in civil service employment and why tribal imbalance in positions of power make many feel like they are being marginalized. Concerns about tribalism are one possible explanation for why participants in the study fully endorse a democratic system of government where elections determine winners and losers, but at the same time say they want an inclusive government and appear uncomfortable with having hard lines drawn about who participates. South Sudan must find its own answers in determining how to incorporate the population's views of tribes as sources of political and economic power while at the same time ensuring its governing structures promote the common good. It would be a mistake, however, not to acknowledge the significant challenge tribalism poses to the nation and not to confront all of the issues related to it head-on, with vigor and full transparency. Ignoring, trying to deny or delaying action on the tribalism issue will create a toxic, and potentially explosive, atmosphere in relatively short order and from which it would be hard for the new nation to recover.

Recommendations:

- Organize a public dialogue on tribalism to acknowledge the issue is a critical one that must be addressed and to collect citizen views throughout the country on how to mitigate its negative influence on South Sudan society and government.
- Consult with citizens, perhaps during the development of a permanent constitution, on the appropriate governance systems or other mechanisms for ensuring all feel represented in government and on the best way to balance their strong support for democracy with their desire for all tribes to participate in government.
- Develop a comprehensive civic education campaign, either separately or in combination with a national unity campaign, that promotes the ideals of tolerance and acceptance, highlights the benefits to all of cooperation and peaceful co-existence and reduces cultural biases; include key tolerance messages in a civics curriculum for schools.

- (The two recommendations for a public discussion on the equitable distribution of development and the establishment of a mechanism for reporting on development distribution listed above in the point on development also are relevant to responding to citizen sensitivities related to tribalism and development.)
- Engage in a public dialogue with citizens about civil service employment criteria and investigate views on ethnic balance versus merit-based hiring.
- Announce civil service criteria, procedures and other measures, such as a review of civil service employee qualifications, based on the outcome of the public dialogue on civil service employment.
- Increase public confidence in civil service hiring through greater transparency of the process and development of new methods for demonstrating the process has been fair, such as multi-ethnic review panels or publication of final stage candidate qualifications, exam scores or any other criteria used for employment.
- Develop and publicize a reporting system for citizens to alert government when they believe procedures have been violated in the civil service employment process; investigate and resolve any legitimate concerns.
- Publish and make widely available data on civil service employees, including names and information on qualifications.

Tackle Corruption Vigorously and Concretely

The scale of government corruption described by participants, whether factual or a misperception, is crippling confidence in the government's competence and willingness to deliver development and is contributing to an atmosphere in which citizens begin to believe there are tribal winners and losers. Citizens who are unable to find employment in government without connections feel disenfranchised, and reports and rumors of financial corruption cause citizens to become impatient with the pace of development. Participant responses also indicate South Sudan is at a turning point in how corruption is viewed by the population. Currently, most see corrupt acts as unpatriotic and harmful, but they also say that other citizens find engaging in corruption acceptable because they see no reason that only certain groups should benefit from it. Until strong, credible, tangible and public

steps are taken to address government corruption, citizens will not believe government protestations that development is proceeding apace, will not feel fully invested in or represented by the government and cannot be expected to withstand the temptation to follow the corrupt example they believe is being set by their leaders.

Recommendations:

- Empower independent anti-corruption institutions to address corruption by providing adequate and consistent funding and granting them all the necessary investigatory and prosecutorial powers.
- Tighten financial controls and increase financial accountability at all levels of government, including the state, counties and payams.
- Increase transparency on financial matters and publicize national, state and county budgets so that citizens are better able to hold their officials accountable.
- Enforce existing laws and adopt any necessary additional laws to reduce financial corruption.
- Demonstrate seriousness on financial corruption by publicly identifying wrong-doers and assigning stiff punishments, including dismissal, restitution and/or prosecution.
- Undertake a civic education campaign that highlights the cost of corruption and encourages values that can help prevent corruption from becoming firmly entrenched in the culture; include in the school curriculum.
- (All civil service employment recommendations listed above in the point on tribalism are also relevant to resolving citizen concerns about corruption as it relates to that sector.)

Strengthen Security and Justice Urgently

Insecurity negatively affects participants' perceptions of South Sudan's ability to thrive whether or not they are experiencing problems themselves. The multi-faceted nature of current insecurity in the country – rebellions, crime/banditry, proliferation of arms, cattle raiding and tribal clashes – also raises concerns that citizens may be more exposed and vulnerable to insecurity, and it may be more difficult to resolve than they had hoped and expected following the end of the civil war. Thus far, the government's efforts to address insecurity are viewed as limited and inadequate relative to the

problem. Participants generally support the army and want it to have even greater resources, but police are viewed as insufficient in number and quality, and a weak and corrupt legal and judiciary system is seen as aggravating, rather than moderating, conflict. The participants note time and again that nothing can be achieved without security, so they expect the government to prioritize reducing insecurity and emphasize improving the police force and the legal system without delay.

Recommendations:

- Launch a national reconciliation effort that can serve as a foundation for improving tribal relations.
- Support local peace conferences and other local peace mechanisms to reduce tribal clashes in areas where there has been a history of conflict.
- Address the root causes driving tribal conflict, including resource scarcity, low development and harmful traditional practices that increase the likelihood of cattle raiding.
- Devise and implement an effective disarmament strategy that does not disadvantage one community versus another and does not result in the reintroduction of the weapons collected or in an influx of new weapons.
- Create a legal framework and design enforcement strategies that help to diminish the use of guns by civilians.
- Train and deploy in sufficient numbers a professional, vibrant, disciplined and well-equipped police force that can play a lead role in reducing crime and banditry and in containing tribal conflict; ensure one tribe, section or clan is not overly represented in a local police force when that force is expected to protect citizens and administer justice in a multi-ethnic area.
- Confront and reduce corruption and bribery in the police and legal system to prevent a further loss of faith in law and order in South Sudan and to reduce access to justice issues as a trigger for conflict.
- Ensure equitable distribution of resources and equal access to economic opportunities for all tribes, sections and clans to reduce tribal animosities.
- Embrace an inclusive approach to governing at all levels that removes incentives or excuses for rebellions and power struggles.

Embrace Citizens' Desire for a Close Relationship with Government Sincerely and Consistently

When participants in this study highlighted having a responsive government as one of their primary aspirations, it signaled they expect a different and much closer relationship with their government than South Sudanese have ever known. They value close government-citizen ties because they believe that is the best way to ensure government officials will work hard to improve their quality of life and to increase the chances government officials will respect citizen views. In addition, the support participants offer to democracy, direct elections for president, single-member geographic constituencies and traditional authority involvement in governing is rooted in their desire to empower citizens to hold their government accountable and to participate fully in their own governance. On the latter point, participants are confident they are capable of making valuable contributions to government and are enthusiastic to help define the country's destiny. Their clear demand that they be consulted on the development of a permanent constitution and be allowed to approve that constitution through a referendum is proof of this. As the world's newest country, the South Sudan government has a unique opportunity to develop a robust, fruitful and mutually respectful relationship with its citizens. Ultimately, the success of the country may very well be measured by how well or poorly government and citizens interact.

Recommendations:

- Conduct extensive consultations, through elected officials, traditional authorities, media and various fora, with citizens on all major issues facing the nation, such as development, tribalism and political systems.
- Undertake a wide-reaching and wide-ranging consultation effort for the permanent constitution and demonstrate seriousness and respect for citizen views by incorporating citizen input into the final document.
- Respect citizens' desire to protect their interests by participating in the approval of any permanent constitution, whether through referendum or another means.
- Increase opportunities for citizens or their representatives to meet with and/or communicate their concerns and ideas with elected officials; regular traditional authority consultations, increased travel by elected officials, increased media appearances, especially radio, and

technological solutions such as SMS or telephone hotlines should be among the actions considered.

- Support members of the National Assembly, financially and technically, to return to their constituencies at regular intervals for consultations with citizens and to demonstrate citizens' concerns are being addressed.
- Create additional mechanisms for citizens to be involved in government decision-making, especially at the local and state level, for example through select engagement with community-based organizations or others on locally relevant issues like development and resource distribution.
- Use the media to increase government communication with citizens dramatically from current levels and to solicit citizen feedback; the medium of radio is well-suited for this task and should be leveraged as much as possible.
- Demonstrate through words and deeds that the opinions of all citizens will be solicited, respected and considered, regardless of state, tribe, religion, gender, age or economic class.

Appendix A: Focus Group Locations and Participant Demographics

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY[55]	RELIGION[56]	AGE GROUP[57]	EDUCATION
03/16/11	14	Female	Central Equatoria	Juba Town	Mixed[58]	Christian	Younger[59]	Secondary to University
03/17/11	12	Male	Central Equatoria	Juba Town	Mixed[60]	Christian+TB[61]	Middle[62]	Late Primary to Secondary[63]
03/18/11	12	Female	Central Equatoria	Juba (Rajaf)	Bari	Christian	Older[64]	None to Early Primary[65]
03/19/11	16	Female	Central Equatoria	Juba Town	Mixed[66]	Christian	Middle[67]	Primary
03/21/11	14	Male	Central Equatoria	Juba (Gumbo)	Mixed[68]	Muslim	Older[69]	Primary[70]

[55] Names of ethnic groups and/or tribes are listed as recorded by moderators, but the spellings may be incorrect or alternate spellings may exist.
[56] TB refers to traditional beliefs.
[57] Younger refers to participants up to age 25; middle refers to participants age 26-40; older refers to participants more than 40 years old.
[58] Six participants were Bari, two were Pojulo, two were Mundari, two were Lotukho, one was Nyagwara and one was Shilluk.
[59] Four participants were slightly younger at age of 17.
[60] Six participants were Bari, five participants were Pojulo and one was Nyagwara.
[61] Three participants were Muslims and the rest of the participants were Christians.
[62] Six participants were younger than the age of 40 at 18, 19, 22, 24 and 23.
[63] Three participants had attained university level of education.
[64] Eight participants were younger than 40 at the age of 31, 39, 30,29,38,33 and 25.
[65] One participant had attained secondary level of education.
[66] Five participants were Bari, six participants were Pojulo, one was Zande, one was Lafon, one was Shilluk, one was Kuku and one was Moru.
[67] One participant was slightly younger at age of 24, and three participants were older at age of 45, 48 and 41.
[68] Six participants were Nuba, four were Funj, two were Bari, and two were Furs.
[69] Four participants were younger than 40 at age 29, 30 and 38 respectively.
[70] One participant had secondary level of education and two participants had no level of education.

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY[55]	RELIGION[56]	AGE GROUP[57]	EDUCATION
03/22/11	15	Male	Central Equatoria	Juba (Na Bari)	Bari	Christian	Younger[71]	Primary
03/18/11	15	Male	Central Equatoria	Terekeka (Muni)	Mundari[72]	Christian	Younger	Primary
03/19/11	15	Female	Central Equatoria	Terekeka Town	Mundari	Christian	Middle[73]	None to Early primary
03/17/11	15	Female	Central Equatoria	Yei Town	Mixed[74]	Christian[75]	Younger[76]	Primary[77]
03/20/11	7	Male	Central Equatoria	Yei (Mugwo)	Kakwa	Christian	Chiefs	Any
03/17/11	15	Female	Eastern Equatoria	Magwi (Pageri)	Madi	Christian	Middle	None to Early Primary
03/19/11	15	Male	Eastern Equatoria	Magwi (Moli Tokuro)	Madi	Christian	Younger	None to Early Primary
03/23/11	7	Male	Eastern Equatoria	Kapoeta Town	Toposa	Christian	Chiefs	Any

[71] One participant is slightly younger at age 17.
[72] One participant was Lokoya.
[73] Four participants were younger than 26 at age of 19, 20, 22 and 25.
[74] Seven participants were Kakwa, four were Dinka, one was Nuba, one was Bari, one was Pari and one was Bongo.
[75] One participant was Muslim and one practiced traditional beliefs.
[76] Five participants were younger than 18 at the age of 16 and 17.
[77] All participants were of secondary level of education.

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY[55]	RELIGION[56]	AGE GROUP[57]	EDUCATION
03/27/11	15	Female	Eastern Equatoria	Kapoeta (Atlabara)	Toposa	Christian	Middle[78]	Primary
03/18/11	12	Male	Eastern Equatoria	Torit Town	Lotukho	Christian	Middle[79]	Primary -Secondary
03/19/11	14	Female	Eastern Equatoria	Torit (Nawai Messer)	Acholi	Christian	Older	None to Early primary
03/24/11	15	Male	Western Equatoria	Maridi Town	Avokaya	Christian+TB[80]	Middle	Primary
03/25/11	15	Female	Western Equatoria	Maridi (Mambe)	Avokaya	Christian+TB[81]	Younger	Primary
03/24/11	15	Male	Western Equatoria	Yambio (Rangu)	Zande	Christian	Older[82]	None to Early Primary
03/25/11	15	Female	Western Equatoria	Yambio Town	Zande	Christian	Middle[83]	Primary to Secondary
03/23/11	12	Male	Western	Jur River County	Mixed[84]	Mixed[85]	Middle	Primary to

[78] Two participants were slightly younger at the age of 25.
[79] Two participants were slightly younger at the age of 25.
[80] Ten participants were Christians and five participants practiced traditional beliefs.
[81] Nine participants were Christian and six practiced traditional beliefs.
[82] Three participants were younger than 40 at the age of 33, 36 and 37.
[83] Three participants were slightly younger at the age of 23, 24 and 25.

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY[55]	RELIGION[56]	AGE GROUP[57]	EDUCATION
			Bahr el Ghazel	(Hai Warap Camp B)				Secondary
03/24/11	13	Female	Western Bahr el Ghazel	Jur River County(Hai Warap Camp A)	Mixed[86]	Mixed[87]	Younger	Secondary to University
03/24/11	14	Female	Western Bahr el Ghazel	Wau County (Mapel)	Jur Chol	Christian	Middle	None to Early Primary
03/25/11	10	Male	Western Bahr el Ghazel	Wau County (Mapel)	Jur Chol	Christian	Chiefs	Any
03/25/11	15	Female	Western Bahr el Ghazel	Wau Town (Lokloko)	Fertit	Muslim	Older[88]	None to Early Primary
03/25/11	9	Male	Western Bahr el Ghazel	WauTown (Lokloko)	Fertit	Muslim	Middle[89]	Early Primary
03/24/11	13	Female	Jonglei	Akobo Town	Nuer Lou	Christian	Younger	Primary to Secondary

[84] Nine participants were Dinka and three were JurChol.
[85] Six participants were Christians and six were Muslims.
[86] All participants were JurChol.
[87] All participants were Christians.
[88] One participant was younger at age 38.
[89] Two participants were younger at age 22 and 24.

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY[55]	RELIGION[56]	AGE GROUP[57]	EDUCATION
03/25/11	5	Male	Jonglei	Akobo Town	Nuer Lou	Christian	Chiefs	Any
03/27/11	10	Male	Jonglei	Akobo (Deng Jock)	Nuer Lou	Christian	Middle	Primary
03/22/11	12	Male	Jonglei	Bor Town	Dinka Bor	Christian+TB	Middle	Primary to Secondary
03/24/11	12	Female	Jonglei	Bor (Makuach)	Dinka Bor	Christian+TB[90]	Middle	None to Early Primary
03/26/11	12	Male	Jonglei	Bor (Paleek)	Dinka Bor	Christian	Young	Primary
03/24/11	5	Male	Jonglei	Panyagor	Dinka Twic	Christian	Chiefs	None to Primary
03/25/11	10	Female	Jonglei	Pawel	Dinka Twic	Christian	Younger	Primary
03/19/11	15	Female	Northern Bahr el Ghazel	Aweil Town	Dinka Malual	Christian	Younger	Primary to Secondary
03/20/11	15	Male	Northern Bahr el Ghazel	Aweil Town	Dinka Malual	Christian	Middle[91]	Late Primary to Secondary[92]
03/21/11	12	Male	Northern Bahr el	Aweil East (Yargot)	Dinka Malual	Christian+TB[93]	Younger	Primary

[90] Three participants practiced traditional beliefs and nine participants were Christians.
[91] One participant was younger at age 24.
[92] One participant was at University level.
[93] One participant practiced traditional beliefs.

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY[55]	RELIGION[56]	AGE GROUP[57]	EDUCATION
			Ghazel					
03/22/11	15	Female	Northern Bahr el Ghazel	Aweil East (Majak-Akoon)	Dinka Malual	Christian	Older[94]	None to Early Primary
03/23/11	15	Male	Northern Bahr el Ghazel	Aweil North (Mayom Adhel)	Dinka Malual	Christian+TB	Older	None to Early Primary
03/24/11	15	Female	Northern Bahr el Ghazel	Aweil North (Mayen Uliem)	Dinka Malual	Christian+TB	Middle	None to Early Primary
03/25/11	15	Male	Northern Bahr el Ghazel	Aweil Town	Dinka Malual	Muslim	Older[95]	None to Early Primary
03/23/11	15	Male	Lakes	Rumbek Town (Ageer Gum)	Dinka Agar[96]	Christian+TB	Middle	Primary
03/24/11	16	Female	Lakes	Cueibet (Mayath)	Dinka Gok	Christian+TB[97]	Older	None to Early Primary
03/25/11	13	Mae	Lakes	Cueibet Town	Dinka Gok	Christian	Younger	Primary
03/26/11	7	Male	Lakes	Yirol West	Dinka Atwot	Christian	Chiefs	Any

[94] Five participants were younger at the age of 35, 36, 38 and 39.
[95] Three participants were younger at the age of 28, 30 and 38.
[96] Four participants were of a different clan, two were from Dinka Gok and two from Dinka Rek.
[97] One participant practiced traditional beliefs.

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY[55]	RELIGION[56]	AGE GROUP[57]	EDUCATION
03/27/11	18	Female	Lakes	Yirol West Town	Dinka Atwot	Christian	Younger[98]	Primary
03/29/11	14	Female	Lakes	Rumbek Town	Dinka Agar[99]	Christian	Middle[100]	Primary to Secondary
03/22/11	11	Male	Warrap	Kwajok Town	Dinka Rek	Christian	Younger[101]	Primary to Secondary
03/23/11	16	Female	Warrap	Kwajok (Yithliet)	Dinka Rek	Christian	Middle[102]	None to Early Primary[103]
03/22/11	12	Male	Warrap	Tonj South Town	Dinka Rek	Christian	Middle[104]	Primary to Secondary
03/23/11	12	Female	Warrap	Tonj South(Romii)	Dinka Rek	Christian	Younger	Primary
03/24/11	11	Male	Warrap	Twic County (Turalei)	Dinka Twic	Christian	Chiefs	Any

[98] Ten participants were younger than 18 at the age of 15, 16, and 17.
[99] Two participants were Dinka Gok and Zande.
[100] Two participants were younger at the age of 25.
[101] One participant was older at the age of 27.
[102] One participant was slightly younger at the age of 25.
[103] Four participants were at higher primary education levels of P6, P7 and P8.
[104] One participant was slightly younger at age 25.

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY[55]	RELIGION[56]	AGE GROUP[57]	EDUCATION
0325/11	15	Female	Warrap	Twic County (Ajak Kuach)	Dinka Twic	Christian	Older	None to Early Primary
03/24/11	17	Female	Unity	Rubkona (Pulkuai)	Nuer Lek	Christian	Middle	Primary to Secondary
03/26/11	18	Female	Unity	Guit (Hai ChotYiek)	Nuer Jegai	Christian	Older	None to Early Primary
03/28/11	14	Male	Unity	Bentiu (Bimour)	Nuer Jegai	Christian	Younger[105]	Primary
03/29/11	14	Male	Unity	Rubkona Town	Nuer Lek	Christian	Younger	Primary
03/24/11	7	Female	Upper Nile	Malakal Town	Nuer Mixed[106]	Christian	Middle	Late Primary to Secondary
04/2/11	10	Male	Upper Nile	Malakal Town	Shilluk	Christian	Younger	Primary to Secondary
04/6/11	9	Male	Upper Nile	Malakal Town	Dinka Mixed[107]	Christian	Middle[108]	Late Primary to Secondary
03/26/11	15	Male	Upper Nile	Ulang Town	Nuer Jikany	Christian	Younger[109]	Primary[110]
03/28/11	10	Female	Upper Nile	Ulang Town	Nuer Jikany	Christian	Older[111]	None to Early

[105] Two participants slightly younger at the age of 17
[106] Six participants were from Nuer Jikany and one participant was from Nuer Gawaar.
[107] Four participants were Dinka Ngok, three participants were Dinka Dongjol and two were Dinka Bor.
[108] Two participants were slightly younger at the age of 25.
[109] Thirteen participants were older than 25.
[110] Fourteen participants were graduates.

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY[55]	RELIGION[56]	AGE GROUP[57]	EDUCATION
								Primary
03/30/11	10	Female	Upper Nile	Nassir Town	Nuer Jikany	Christian	Younger	Primary
04/01/11	18	Male	Upper Nile	Nassir Town	Nuer Jikany	Christian+TB[112]	Older	Primary to Secondary
04/04/11	10	Male	Upper Nile	Renk Town	Shilluk	Muslim	Middle [113]	Primary
04/04/11	11	Male	Upper Nile	Renk Town	Dinka Mixed[114]	Christian	Middle	Late Primary to Secondary
04/05/11	10	Male	Upper Nile	Renk Town	Dinka Mixed[115]	Muslim	Older	Late Primary to Secondary

[111] Five participants were younger at the age of 34,37,38,39 and 36.
[112] Twelve participants practiced traditional beliefs and three were Christians.
[113] Nine participants were slightly younger at the age between 19 and 25.
[114] Three participants were Dinka Bor, three were Dinka Abiliang, two were Dinka Ngok, two were Dinka Ciech, one was Dinka Rek and one was Dinka Agar.
[115] Three participants were Dinka Abiliang, three were Dinka Bor, one was Dinka Malual, one was Dinka Ngok, one was Dinka Agar and one was Dinka Rek.

Appendix B: Methodology Notes

Focus Group Research: Focus group discussions 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 8-12 per group. However, depending on the situation, groups may be slightly smaller or larger than the ideal. In the South Sudan context, a chiefs' group, for example, may work better with a smaller number because they 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. Given South Sudan's diversity, NDI's methodology in the country is to conduct a relatively large number of focus groups to ensure the views of different ethnicities, genders, age groups, education level, religions and geographic areas are captured. 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, and not a quantitative, research tool.

Group Composition: The focus groups in this report are stratified by gender, ethnicity, age, religion and education. Single ethnicity groups are conducted where possible. However, in areas where smaller tribes reside, mixed groups are sometimes held.

Age: Based on experience from past research in South 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 ages 26-40 and older refers to participants over age 40. Given the difficulty of gathering participants in largely rural areas and since some people in South Sudan do not know their ages, the categories are used as a general guideline rather than a strictly enforced criterion.

Religion: Groups are normally conducted separately with different religious groups. In South Sudan, most participants identify themselves as Christian or as holding traditional beliefs or both, and they are allowed to participate in the same group. In general, separate groups are organized for Muslim participants, though in select cases, such as in some urban areas, mixed groups of Christians and Muslims may be allowed.

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 so that participants with relatively similar educational backgrounds were in the same group.

Leadership Roles: Groups are conducted separately with area leaders and ordinary citizens to prevent undue influence. In addition, traditional authorities and government officials are not allowed to sit in on the discussions with ordinary citizens, even as observers. On the rare occasion when an area leader demands to be part of a group in which they were not meant to participate, that data is either excluded from the analysis or compared to the data from other groups to see if it is at variance.

Ethnic Locations and Designations: Participants in the focus group discussions are generally drawn from the largest ethnic population of a particular area. In areas where there is a large population of different ethnicities, attempts are made to hold groups with each of those, such as Nuer, Shilluk and Dinka in Upper Nile state.

Logistics: The logistical challenges of conducting research in South Sudan are immense. Travel outside of the major towns is difficult and sometimes impossible due to poor road networks and insecurity. Pre-planning for the groups requires labor-intensive coordination to organize transport

and accommodation in each location. These difficulties occasionally impact the number and type of groups that can be conducted.

Staffing: It is a challenge to find moderators in South Sudan who are fluent in English and local languages. As a result, some of the women's groups were conducted by male moderators, but the data for those groups did not differ from the ones in which female moderators conducted the groups.

Group Locations: The 67 focus groups outlined in this report were conducted in 52 locations through Southern Sudan. (See Appendix A for a list of focus group locations.)

Facilities: In more rural areas, there are few structures appropriate for focus group discussions. As a result, groups are sometimes conducted in open-air settings, although this reduces the privacy of the group.

Remote Areas: Groups are primarily conducted in locations that are accessible by air and/or vehicle. Efforts are made to penetrate deep into rural areas, but due to poor road networks and insecurity, groups conducted in very remote locations are limited.

Outside Influence: In some cases, local authorities are informed of the research activities before they begin. However, every effort is made to ensure there is no undue influence exerted on the participants in the groups. The focus group guideline is not shared with local authorities prior to the group, except in the rare cases when disclosure is required to proceed with the research. Also, in the majority of instances, the participants are gathered in some random fashion. In this study, there was no case in which the findings from one or more groups differed radically from findings in the groups overall, which suggests that any local influence that may have occurred did not impact the research.

Appendix C: Moderator Guideline

Southern[116] Sudan Focus Groups

March-April 2011

I. INTRODUCTION

Hello, my name is _____, and I work for the National Democratic Institute, a non-governmental organization (NGO) based in Juba that is trying to learn more about what citizens of Southern Sudan think about the important issues in this area. I am neutral and am **NOT** working for the government or any political party. 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.

[116] The fieldwork for this study was conducted after the self-determination referendum vote but before independence, so the term 'Southern Sudan' was used instead of 'South Sudan' during the fieldwork.

II. GENERAL DIRECTION & NATION-BUILDING

1. How are things going in Southern Sudan these days? Are they going in the right direction or wrong direction? [COUNT]

2. Southern Sudanese voted to become an independent country. What kind of nation do you want Southern Sudan to become?

3. What is the best way to begin to build this new country that you describe?

    a. What is the role of the citizen in building a successful Southern Sudan?
    b. What is the role of government in building a successful Southern Sudan?
    c. What is the best way to make sure that all tribes and clans take part in the building of the new Southern Sudan nation?

4. What could prevent Southern Sudan from becoming the country you want it to be?

5. Let's think 5 years into the future to 2016. How will you judge in 2016 if the Southern Sudan government has succeeded or failed?

III. DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

1. Is democracy a good system of government for the new Southern Sudan OR not? Please explain.

2. Tell me about the development situation in your area. Is it improving, staying the same or getting worse. Why? [COUNT]

3. I will read you a list. Please tell me which would be the first area you would want the government to address, the second area and the third area? [TRY TO GET THE GROUP TO AGREE ON THE TOP THREE PRIORITIES]

Clean water
Electricity
Jobs
Roads
Housing
Healthcare
Education
Any Other Area of Development [NAME THE AREA.]

4. Which do you think is more important for the government to focus on first – making sure that Southern Sudan is a democracy OR making sure that development is happening as fast as possible? Please explain the reason for your answer.

5. What is your role as a citizen in bringing development to your area?

6. How soon after independence do you expect to see major changes in your area?

7. Has the distribution of development been fair since the CPA was signed? Why or why not?

8. Every area in Southern Sudan needs a lot of development, but the government has limited resources. What is the best way to determine which areas receive some form of development first?

9. If there is a natural resource – like oil or gold – found in one state, how much of the revenues from that resource should the state get and how much should be sent to the national government, some of which would be shared with the other Southern Sudan states? Explain.

10. Out of 100 people, how many would you expect to be employed by government, how many by business, how many by agriculture and how many in other jobs?

IV. SECURITY

1. Is the security situation in your area improving, staying the same or getting worse? Why? [COUNT] [PROBE SOLUTIONS FOR INSECURITY]

2. After the April 2010 elections, several rebellions sprung up in certain areas of Southern Sudan. Tell me what you think about that? [PROBE FOR SOLUTIONS TO END REBELLIONS]

3. Should those involved in the rebellion be given amnesty (forgiven) and not be prosecuted OR should they be tried in a court of law? Please explain your answer. [COUNT]

4. Are legal disputes in your area handled fairly? Please explain.

5. What do you think of the job the police in your community are doing? [PROBE FOR SOLUTIONS]

6. Southern Sudan has a very large army of over 150,000 soldiers. Most of money the Government of Southern Sudan has currently goes for the upkeep of the army. Is that a good thing OR not a good thing? Why? [COUNT]

V. TRIBALISM/NEPOTISM

1. Do you consider yourself a Southerner first and a member of your tribe second OR do you consider yourself a member of your tribe first and a Southerner second? Please explain. [COUNT]

    a. It is important in an independent Southern Sudan for people to think of themselves as Southerners first OR not?

2. Currently, how much of a problem is tribalism in Southern Sudan: Very Much, Somewhat, A Little, Not At All. What is the reason for your answer? [COUNT]

3. What can be done to reduce tribalism in Southern Sudan?

4. What can be done to improve recruitment and employment in government?

5. Let's think of one government office. If you saw that the top four people in that office were of the same tribe, but you knew that they had been hired because they were the most qualified for the job, would that be okay OR not okay? Why?

6. Why do you think it is important to have your tribesmen in government?

7. If your tribesman was in a government position, would you ask to be hired by him, even if you were not qualified for the position? Why or why not?

8. If someone from one region is best qualified for a position that is not in their home area, should they be hired for that job OR not? What is the reason for your answer?

VI. CONSTITUTION

1. What should be the role of traditional authorities in the new government after independence? [PROBE ROLE AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL]

2. As a new country, Southern Sudan will be developing a new constitution. A constitution defines the type of government for a country. A constitution is also the strongest law of a country that everyone, even government officials, must follow. What are the things you think are most important to be included in the constitution? [PROBE RIGHTS OF CITIZENS]

3. As a citizen, how do you want to be consulted during the development of the new constitution for Southern Sudan?

4. What should be the role of the SPLM versus the other political parties in developing the new constitution?

5. There are different ways to agree to a new constitution. Which would you prefer:

    - The Southern Sudan parliament voting on the constitution;
    - A Constituent Assembly made up of the Southern Sudan parliament plus representatives of civil society like youth and women voting on it; OR
    - People voting on it in a referendum? [COUNT]

6. In a decentralized system of government, a national government has some powers and state governments have some powers. Which you like to have more powers in the following areas: [ASK ONE BY ONE]:
    a. To decide health care policy – more power for the national <u>or</u> state government? Why? [COUNT]
    b. To decide education policy – more powers for national <u>or</u> state government? Why? [COUNT]
    c. To have control over the police – more power for national <u>or</u> state government? Why? [COUNT]
    d. To have control over the courts – more power for national or state government? Why? [COUNT]

7. There are different ways to choose a leader for a government. One way is by people voting directly for the person they want to lead the government. Another way is for the people to vote for members of a parliament and those members choose the government leader. Which of these systems do you prefer? [COUNT]

8. There are also different ways to election members of parliament. In the April 2010 elections, you voted for a member of parliament from your geographical area (also called a constituency) on one ballot. On another ballot, you voted for a political party that you wanted to represent you in parliament. Members of parliament elected in this way do <u>not</u> represent a geographical constituency. Which of these systems do you prefer:

    - Voting for a person to represent your constituency in parliament;

- Voting for a political party to represent you in parliament; OR
- Voting for both a person to represent your constituency and a political party to represent you in parliament. [COUNT] Please explain your answer.

9. The new constitution will list the official language or languages of Southern Sudan. The official language or languages will be the language(s) that government business is conducted in. What do you think the official language(s) should be?

10. Southern Sudan currently has 10 states. Is that the correct number? Please explain.

VII. ELECTIONS

1. Do you think the April 2010 elections were conducted fairly? Please explain.

2. How soon after independence should an election be held to elect a president and parliament?

3. Should there be a limit on the total number of years a president can serve? [IF YES]: What is that limit?

4. In the April 2010 elections, you elected a representative to the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly. What do you think of the job they have done?

VIII. GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE AND ACCOUNTABILITY

1. Please tell me how you would rate the job the GoSS is doing in governing Southern Sudan – excellent, good, fair or poor. What is the reason for your answer? [COUNT]

2. Do you feel you are getting enough information from the government? Why or why not? [PROBE WHAT TYPE OF INFORMATION THEY WANT]

3. What do you see as the job of the national (Juba) government in comparison to the job of the state government and the job of the local government?

4. Tell me how much of a problem, if at all, corruption in government is in Southern Sudan – Very Much, Somewhat, A Little, Not At All. What is the reason for your answer? [COUNT]

5. What could be done to improve anti-corruption efforts? [PROBE CITIZEN ACTIONS]

6. Some people say they are against corruption, but then when their relative or tribesman gets into a government position they ask for government money or jobs to be given to them. How do you explain that?

XII. POST-REFERENDUM ARRANGEMENTS

1. What should the relationship between North and South be after independence?

2. The Government of Southern Sudan has said that it will pay a fee to the North to transport oil from the South through the pipeline that runs to Port Sudan. What do you think of this?

3. Tell me what you think the border between North Sudan and Southern Sudan should be like after independence? [PROBE TRADE, CUSTOMS TAXES AND PASSPORTS]

XIII. ABYEI & OTHER ISSUES

1. What do you think of the Government of Southern Sudan's handling of the negotiations on Abyei? Why? [PROBE FOR SOLUTIONS]

2. If it was necessary to go back to war with the North to have Abyei join the South, would you support that OR not? [COUNT]

3. More than 500,000 Southerners are expected to return to Southern Sudan before independence. What concerns, if any, do you have about these returnees?

4. What is the best system of land ownership – the government owns the land, the community owns the land or individuals own the land? What is the reason for your answer

Appendix D: About the Author

Traci D. Cook is a Senior Advisor and Regional Director for Focus Group Research for the National Democratic Institute's Southern and East Africa team. An experienced opinion research, Ms. Cook has designed and authored public opinion studies in Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Zimbabwe and the Caribbean nation of Grenada. 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 SS+K in New York. Ms. Cook also led a parliamentary and civil society strengthening program as Country Director for NDI in Malawi in 1995-1996. 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 twelfth study of citizen opinions and attitudes in Sudan and South Sudan.

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