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SOUTH SUDAN*



GOVERNING SOUTH SUDAN

Opinions of South Sudanese on a Government That Can Meet Citizen Expectations

Findings from Focus Groups with
Men and Women in South Sudan

Conducted November 3-28, 2011

By Traci D. Cook and Dr. Leben Nelson Moro

March 22, 2012

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs



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Findings from Focus Group Discussions with Citizens in South Sudan

Conducted November 3-28, 2011

By Traci D. Cook and Dr. Leben Nelson Moro
With the Assistance of Dr. Henry Kenyi Lomoro and Mr. Onesimo Yabang Lo-Lujo

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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

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization that responds to the aspirations of people around the world to live in democratic societies that recognize and promote basic human rights. Since its founding in 1983, NDI and its local partners have worked to support and strengthen political and civic organizations, safeguard elections, and promote citizen participation, openness and accountability in government. With staff members and volunteer political practitioners from more than 100 nations, NDI brings together individuals and groups to share ideas, knowledge, experiences and expertise. Partners receive broad exposure to best practices in international democratic development that can be adapted to the needs of their own countries. NDI's multinational approach reinforces the message that while there is no single democratic model, certain core principles are shared by all democracies. The Institute's work upholds the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It also promotes the development of institutionalized channels of communications among citizens, political institutions and elected officials, and strengthens their ability to improve the quality of life for all citizens. For more information about NDI, please visit www.ndi.org.

PREFACE

Following independence, the question that now interests South Sudanese most is how to govern and unite a country with such immense ethnic diversity and such a troubled history of ethnic conflict. This study, based on 44 focus group discussions conducted from November 3-November 28, 2011, with 545 participants across all 10 states in South Sudan, asked South Sudanese to explore the answer. In it, they provide their thoughts on creating an inclusive and fair government that would resolve tribal tensions and suggest ways in which that government can increase their confidence in its ability to deliver a better life for all.

Focus Group Results and Usage. Focus groups are semi-structured group discussions directed by a moderator and follow a pre-set guideline. Unless otherwise noted, the conclusions presented here represent views commonly and repeatedly cited during the group discussions. The interaction between participants in a focus group provides insight into how citizens think and feel and is a powerful means of understanding why those attitudes exists. 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.

A Qualitative Research Tool. Focus groups are a qualitative, not a quantitative, research instrument. Although focus groups are a superior method of understanding the meanings behind commonly-held attitudes, the total number of participants in a focus group study is always relatively small. Attempts are made to ensure the groups represent a broad cross-section of society, but the participants in the study are not statistically representative of the larger population. Thus, this report reflects the opinions of those citizens of South Sudan who participated in this study. The Focus Group Locations and Participant Demographic chart, as well as the Methodology Notes appearing at the end of this study 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 development progress overall in the country may differ from the reality, in part, because their view is narrowly focused on their own areas. Also, communication in South Sudan is difficult, and current information is not always available. 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. To ensure participants feel comfortable in fully stating their views, the focus group discussions are conducted among single ethnicity groups, where possible. Quotations from those groups 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 participants.

This study is a collaborative effort between several University of Juba staff, Dr. Leben Nelson Moro, Ag. Director of External Relations and Assistant Professor, Dr. Henry Kenyi Lomoro, Assistant Professor at the College of Community Studies and Rural Development, and Mr. Onesimo Yabang Lo-Lujo, Lecturer at the School of Management; and the National Democratic Institute (NDI). Sixteen students from the University of Juba were also employed as moderators for the group discussions. NDI's ongoing citizen participation program in South Sudan is funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) through a multi-year co-operative agreement. The inclusion of 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 thirteenth public opinion study NDI has conducted in Sudan, with most of those conducted in the now independent South Sudan, since late 2004.

The post-independence South Sudan faces many challenges, but participant responses in this study indicate they are not insurmountable if close attention is focused on making all feel represented and served by the government. We are pleased to present the ideas of South Sudanese citizens for how to accomplish that to government, civil society and the international community.

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THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

The call from South Sudanese for an inclusive and representative government that meets the expectations of the country's citizens comes through clearly in this study. Their insight into how to achieve that is reflected in the sampling of quotations below.

He [President Kiir] must fulfill the needs and desires of citizens, and then people will feel they are represented.

The President can make everyone feel included in his government by providing services, such as hospitals and education.

An inclusive government is one that comprises all tribes and ethnicities. If the government excludes some of these tribes and ethnicities, there is no inclusiveness. Representation is the symbol of inclusiveness.

Fairness in a community is brought about when the winner equally treats the supporters of the loser. Leadership is for overall community benefit, not for individual supporters. I think a party that loses should also have its members in the government.

This [appointing the national cabinet based on a regional approach] has reduced conflicts and tensions in South Sudan. It assures the citizens that something good has been done as far as representation is concerned.

It [the regional balance approach] is to calm the current tribal problems only...This is just a first aid remedy for South Sudan, not permanent. In the future, we want meritorious appointments.

It [exceeding the quota for women in government] is a good idea from the President because women are naturally good people. If they are given a position in the government, they will serve people equally like their children.

They [youth] are our future. They should be a part [of government] in all government institutions...Youth brains are active, while the aged is slow...It is like a suicide mission for youth not to be employed in government.

This contradiction [among South Sudanese of saying they do not like tribalism but practicing it] comes because the government officials are not fair in their offices...I only think of my own tribe when someone discriminates [against] me.

If we are given all kinds of services, especially the basic ones, I don't think we shall rely on this cheap tribal representation.

The government could first send a committee to the state before developing any part of the state so as to examine the needs of the people; this may assure us that with time, development will come...The government can first tell the people what kind of basic development is given to each state.

If the government implements a project in one state, that same project should be implemented in all the other states of South Sudan to avoid people being jealous, and the development budget should be equally distributed to all states.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The conclusions drawn below are from 44 focus group discussions conducted from November 3-November 28, 2011, across all 10 states in South Sudan. A total of 545 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. Public Mood

- **A greater proportion of participants than in past studies¹ are negative about the country's direction due to dissatisfaction with the state of development, the rising cost of living, and insecurity in some states.** A large majority of participants in this study say South Sudan is headed in the wrong direction, with this view especially prevalent in the Greater Upper Nile and Greater Equatoria regions. Lack of development and poor management of what there is – overall, but also specifically in health and education – are most often cited as justification for deeming the country on the wrong track, with poor road networks and scarcity of clean water also factors in some areas. Participants also report that higher prices for commodities are significantly reducing their quality of life. Hunger problems, due to rising costs and food shortages, are mentioned as a predominant theme for the first time since 2006. Persistent insecurity is a key reason for participants' concern about the current situation in the country primarily in five states: Eastern Equatoria, Jonglei, Western Bahr el Ghazal, Unity, and Upper Nile. Participants who are hopeful about the country's current track highlight the achievement of gaining independence, say development is beginning, and express their belief that the best is yet to come.

II. Inclusive Government

- **The most effective strategies for making everyone feel included in government, according to participants, are to deliver basic services equitably, to ensure tribal balance in government, and to treat everyone equally.** The delivery of basic services to all South Sudanese will cure many of the country's problems, say participants. Education and employment opportunities are the two areas they mention most often as important for promoting a feeling of inclusion. However, any goodwill the government builds through development efforts will be lost, participants warn, if development is not delivered equitably. Tribal balance, both in positions of power and in civil service employment, is an essential ingredient in reassuring South Sudanese they are a part of the government. As one participant notes, "Representation is the symbol of inclusiveness."² Equal treatment for all South Sudanese, regardless of ethnicity or economic status, is an important part of the equation as well.
- **The decision to ensure the latest national cabinet represents a balance between South Sudan's three regions is widely supported, but participants have mixed views about whether it should be a permanent approach.** Participants believe President Kiir's actions in balancing the cabinet regionally had a positive impact on perceptions of tribalism and

¹ See *Building a Nation: South Sudanese Share Their Thoughts on the Creation of a Successful State*, available at www.ndi.org.

² Quotation is from a middle aged Dinka man in Jalle Payam, Jonglei.

representation in the country and helped reduce tribal tensions and reassure citizens they are included in government. There is much less consensus, on whether the regional balance approach should be permanent, with about half of participants saying it should be considered only a short-term solution to help South Sudan get past its current tribal tensions. Many others, though, want regional balance maintained to address the high level of tribal division in South Sudan and to help maintain stability in the future.

- **Participants want the South Sudanese government to be as inclusive as possible and support measures to include women, youth, and even certain losing political parties in government.** There is strong support for the women's quota in government, and most participants react positively to the news that President Kiir exceeded the mandated quota for women in the most recent cabinet. Men and women alike say the President's action empowers women to improve their status and will improve governance in the country because of qualities that women tend to display, such as a strong work ethic and honesty. Likewise, participants see a need to promote youth participation in government because they will be energetic in their duties and will gain experience that will be needed to run the country in the future. Education, training, and employment are suggested as the best ways for government to help youth prepare for full participation in government. Adding losing parties to government appeals to participants' sense of fairness and their desires for South Sudan to be an inclusive nation that treats all with respect and equality. After all, they contend, the winning party did not win all the votes and therefore cannot properly represent all the people. The inclusion of losing parties in government also is viewed as the most effective mechanism to prevent an outbreak of violence following elections and to promote better functioning of government through the checks and balances that other parties would provide. Though supportive of the inclusion of losing political parties in government, most participants also believe there should be some criteria developed to determine which losing parties are worthy of being part of the government.

III. Tribalism

- **Participants blame unfair government employment and service delivery distribution practices for causing South Sudanese to support tribalism, even though most abhor it. Most say that if service delivery distribution were equitable, it would lessen calls for tribal representation in government.** Although participants say illiteracy and poverty contribute to tribalism among South Sudanese, they contend it is the action of those in power that most pushes citizens to demand their own tribesmen in government. Tribalism in government work is pervasive, they indicate, even though often denied. They report seeing others with tribesmen in government receiving basic services and believe qualified candidates are turned down for government employment by members of other tribes. Participants say that because their government officials practice tribalism, they have no choice but to support their own tribesmen in the hope of getting services and jobs. One solution they offer for reducing tribalism is for the government to ensure service delivery is equitable. That act alone, they say, will end most calls for tribal representation in government because most will feel adequately represented.
- **Tribalism concerns remain prevalent enough for almost half of participants to insist on tribal diversity in civil service employment over merit-based hiring. They are evenly divided on whether tribalism problems would benefit from a commission to air civil war**

crimes and conflicts that occurred between tribes. Just under half of participants state that even a fair hiring process based on qualifications does not override the necessity of having tribal diversity in the civil service at this time because the domination of any tribe in any government office will raise suspicions and be misunderstood by the population, thus increasing rather than reducing tribal divisions. They do not believe that civil service employment based solely on merit should be implemented at this nascent stage of the country's development. As a solution for tribalism problems in South Sudan, a truth and reconciliation commission or something similar, receives mixed reviews. Some believe it would help the country move forward, while others fear it would only increase problems and encourage acts of revenge.

IV. Managing Development Expectations

- **Public consultation and extensive communication, as well as demonstrating accomplishments in critical development areas, are the keys to managing development expectations, participants say. Announcements about development without details on targeted locations and implementation are counter-productive.** While there is a definite desire to see physical signs of development by participants, many also indicate that communication and consultation about development are just as, if not more, important. They say greater knowledge among the public about government development plans and more information about development progress and accomplishments – especially in education, health, and road construction – will increase public confidence that the government is working hard to bring development, even if it is not visible in their area yet. Consultation with the public on development is viewed as equally important. Participants believe that citizen involvement – through frequent meetings with local officials and involvement in local development distribution – in development planning and implementation in their areas will increase satisfaction with government development work. Announcements of large-scale government development plans that do not detail where the projects will be implemented or provide proof they are being implemented are viewed as political statements and met with a high degree of skepticism from participants. They warn that empty promises on development will lead to an erosion of trust in the government.
- **Raising public confidence in the government's ability to distribute development fairly can be best achieved through tribal balance in government, increased public consultation, and development of objective distribution criteria, participants indicate.** Tribal balance in government and the civil service reassures the public that their views will be represented in development distribution decisions. In addition, citizens who are consulted on development projects will not question the equity of them, participants say. Beyond consultation and tribal balance, participants believe the surest way to build confidence that the government is treating everyone fairly in development distribution is to devise distribution criteria that will be accepted by all as objective. Equal division of development, based on regions or states, is suggested by some as an appropriate distribution criterion, while others focus on distribution by need or population.

V. Permanent Constitution

- **Participants do not yet have strongly defined views about the appropriate division of powers and roles between the state and national governments, and there are mixed views**

when specific topics are raised, such as presidential powers to remove a governor or control of the police. Some participants find discussing the roles and powers of the government a hard topic to understand or do not feel well-informed enough to express their views confidently. Thus, there is no strong view about whether control of certain basic services or functions should lie with the states or the national government, although some designate the national government as the policy-maker and the state governments as the implementers. Participants are more confident in talking about specific issues related to the assignment of powers, such as the presidential power to remove a governor or control of the police, but there is no consensus among these participants on where those powers should lie. Some believe elections, by vesting power in the public, mean that only citizens can remove a governor, while others see a benefit to providing that power to a president so that an underperforming, corrupt, or tribalistic governor can be sacked. Some want the state government to control the police because states understand their constituents better and can respond faster, while national government proponents say states do not have the resources to support effective forces or national control will prevent misuse of police by governors. Likewise, participants hold mixed views about the schedule for the next national elections. More believe a 2015 election is the appropriate timing, but many indicate that is too long a time to wait for the next election and few say it is too short.

VI. Border Areas

- **Trouble along the Sudan-South Sudan border is causing significant hardship across South Sudan, according to participants who want it re-opened quickly. They also believe South Sudan has a moral obligation to help resolve the Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile conflicts as well as a duty to ensure Abyei becomes part of the new country, even if by force.** Participants describe significant food, medicine, fuel, and currency shortages and skyrocketing prices, especially for food, throughout the country due to the Sudan-South Sudan border closure. The impact is particularly severe along the border where hunger, famine, and starvation are words that participants in those areas use relatively often. In the short term, participants want the government to negotiate to have the border re-opened as soon as possible, and in the long term to undertake measures, such as support for agriculture and promotion of industry, to ensure that South Sudan reduces its dependency on others. The partial cause of the border closure – the Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile conflicts – evokes an empathetic response from most participants, particularly those in border states. Because many in those states fought alongside South Sudanese in the civil war, there is a widespread belief that the country should help to resolve the conflicts. There are mixed views on whether South Sudan's assistance should focus on negotiating peace, providing humanitarian aid, engaging militarily through provision of arms and soldiers, or some combination of those. On the other major border issue, Abyei, views have not changed³ about the importance of incorporating it into South Sudan. There is near universal support for the government to take any action necessary, including the use of force, to have Abyei as part of South Sudan.

³ See *Building a Nation: South Sudanese Share Their Thoughts on the Creation of a Successful State*, available at www.ndi.org.

PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

The findings outlined below are based on 44 focus group discussions conducted from November 3–November 28, 2011. The discussions were conducted in both rural and urban locations across all 10 states in South Sudan, and a total of 545 South Sudanese citizens 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 change in Appendix A for further information on group composition.

1. Dissatisfaction with the state of development, the rising cost of living, and insecurity in some states drives a greater proportion of participants than in any previous study⁴ to say South Sudan is heading in the wrong direction.

A large majority of participants in this study say the country is headed in the wrong direction. Although the last two public opinion studies in this series have shown a decline in positive evaluations of the situation in South Sudan, this study reveals a significant drop even from those levels. These negative views were expressed consistently across the country, though more participants in the Greater Upper Nile and Greater Equatoria regions hold this view than in the Greater Bahr el Ghazal region.

There are no regional differences, however, in the reasons given by participants for their views. Lack of development – overall, but also specifically health and education services – is most often cited as justification for deeming that the country is on the wrong track. Like in past studies more schools and hospitals are requested by participants. However, in this study, comments focus on the poor management of existing facilities, such as clinics or schools, as well. Participants voice frustrations about the absence of a uniform curriculum⁵ and insufficient number of qualified teachers in the education sector. In the health sector, participants complain about the severe shortage of basic pharmaceutical drugs and the lack of qualified health care professionals. Poor road networks and the scarcity of clean water also contribute to a poor outlook, according to participants in certain locations.

Beyond development, the rising cost of living is the most common reason participants cite for believing the country is heading in the wrong direction. They say higher prices for commodities are significantly reducing their quality of life and note that higher prices and food shortages, due in part to the closed Sudan–South Sudan border and the rising prices of basic goods in the East Africa region, are causing hunger problems for many. In seven out of 10 states, at least one group says food security is a problem in their area. It is striking that hunger and food security are significant themes of this study, as neither has been in any previous study since 2006.

Insecurity in South Sudan – described mainly as urban criminality, militia attacks, and violence linked to cattle rustling – concerns all. However, security concerns are cited as a key reason for holding negative views on South Sudan’s current situation primarily in five states: Eastern Equatoria, Jonglei, Western Bahr el Ghazal, Unity, and Upper Nile. Corruption and tribalism in government

⁴ The first public opinion study in South Sudan in this series undertaken in August 2004, and additional studies at regular intervals have been conducted since that time. All reports are available at www.ndi.org.

⁵ Participants indicate some schools are using the Sudan curriculum and some the South Sudan curriculum, resulting in disparities in the education children are receiving.

employment do not figure prominently in participants' responses to questions about the direction of the country, with the exception of some groups, most notably in Central Equatoria where the national capital is based. A few participants also express concern about a government they feel is distant from the average citizen and, hence, unaware of local concerns and needs.

Participants who are hopeful about the country's current track cite the achievement of gaining independence, say development is beginning, and express their belief that the best is yet to come.

Our country is going in the wrong direction because we have got our independence, but nothing has changed since the signing of the CPA until the end of the six interim years. That is why most of the citizens are unhappy. In fact, we want the government to keep their promises, but they have disappointed us. (Older Shilluk Man, Kodok Payam, Upper Nile State)

Things are going in the wrong direction. There is corruption in the country, no roads, no good or better schools, there is lack of teachers in schools, no good medication and hospitals are poor, and no drugs for treatment of many patients. (Older Nuer Gawaar Man, Mogok Payam, Jonglei)

Things are going in wrong direction here in Udichi. Now we are an independent nation, and we are begging from our government to focus and look into needs of Udichi Payam in this year. There is famine all over, prices are rising all over the state...There is no food...food is the burning issue. (Two Younger Jur Women, Udichi Payam, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

Things are not going in the right direction. The security in our area is deteriorating day-by-day. We cannot work because insecurity is high, and the government is quiet about it...The Arabs are gone, which is good, but now we are lacking roads, clean water and safety for our children from the local militia. (Middle Aged Nuer Gawaar Man, Kuachdeng Payam, Jonglei)

Things are not going in the right way. I voted for secession to be able to return to my motherland. In my motherland, I found that people are running because of insecurity. When I turned around, I realized that those who are a threat to our security are not Arabs; they are black like me. (Older Shilluk Man, Kodok Payam, Upper Nile)

Things are going in right direction because we have an independent nation and development in the south; for example, we have food, roads, and schools. (Younger Dinka Malual Woman, Udhum Payam, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

Things are going in a right direction because one who establishes a house today cannot be compared with one who owned a house a year ago. We thank our leader Salva Kiir for what he did, as we can be called an independent nation. What the president is doing to us is great...this is just the beginning. (Two Older Jur Men, Udichi Payam, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

When asked what President Kiir could do to get the country on a better track, participants' advice responds directly to their stated reasons for saying the country is headed in the wrong direction. Most recommend a focus on improvements in basic services, with education and health cited as citizens' top priorities. In some areas, participants note that addressing the food shortage is a critically important task for President Kiir. In the Greater Upper Nile and Greater Bahr el Ghazal regions, improving security, with some specific recommendations for greater attention to civilian disarmament and the problem of militia attacks, is another popular piece of advice. Participants also

urge President Kiir to put greater effort into encouraging investors and industries to come to South Sudan. They see this as a way to create jobs and reduce the costs of goods, which would no longer have to be imported. More government investment in agriculture is desired as well. Reducing corruption, mentioned most often by participants in the Greater Equatoria region, and increasing unity among South Sudanese, mentioned most often by participants in the Greater Bahr el Ghazal and Greater Upper Nile regions, are both viewed by these participants as key areas of work for the President. A few participants also urge the President to visit their areas and be more attentive to local concerns, especially relating to those most vulnerable in society, like widows and orphans.

I will advise the President to implement his decrees. The President should put an effort into ensuring that the basic needs are provided to all citizens. I also will tell him that corruption is an enemy that can affect all sectors of the government. (Older Lotukho Man, Hiyalla Payam, Eastern Equatoria)

I would tell the President, "You are our President. Your people have come to their motherland. We want schools and a better life as we struggled to liberate this country. I want nobody to be afraid of; let no one rob my cattle. We want hospitals and clean water." (Older Shilluk Man, Kodok Payam, Upper Nile)

I will tell him [President Kiir] to help people with drinking water and food so that people will have equal living standards...There is no Arab anymore that will finish people, but hunger will finish people this year. If he is not serious on the hunger issue, he will see his people dying like rats. (Two Younger Jur Women, Udichi Payam, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

I would advise him to improve the living standard of citizens by controlling inflation in the country. (Younger Nuer Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

If I meet President Kiir, I will tell him to remove all the guns in the hands of civilians...If the President disarms all the guns...then everything will come here. Our problem is only one. Kiir Mayardit has to improve on security such that we have enough rest because insecurity is keeping us up and down. (Two Older Jurabel Women, Wulu Payam, Lakes)

I would tell the President to think of more industries in the country so that we produce locally and prices will be reduced. (Middle Aged Kuku Woman, Pomoju Boma, Central Equatoria)

He should put much effort on agriculture, since agriculture is the backbone of the country economically. Agriculture helps us a lot in building our country and supporting local people financially to enable children to be sent to school from the money earned from agriculture. (Younger Madi Man, Olikwi Boma, Eastern Equatoria)

I will advise him to work to chase out tribalism in order to allow people to work as one people and develop the country. Right now, tribalism dominates the whole South Sudan...Cultivate a spirit of nationalism that we are one people representing parts of the human body. One person can be the head, others can be the foot, and all of us should love South Sudan as our motherland. (Two Middle Aged Shilluk Women, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

I will tell him [President Kiir] not to rely on politicians but to come and see things practically on the ground. (Older Lotukho Man, Hiyalla Payam, Eastern Equatoria)

If I meet him [President Kiir], I would tell him thank you so much for giving us an independent state.
(Younger Dinka Malual Man, Malou Awer, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

2. The best way to create an inclusive government is to deliver basic services and development to all equitably, ensure tribal balance in government, and treat everyone equally, according to participants.

In offering advice to President Kiir on ways to make all South Sudanese feel included in government, participants say development and basic services for all is the most effective strategy. As one participant notes, “There will not be many problems [if] I will be moving on roads, my children are going to school, and when I am sick, I go to hospital and get sufficient services and proper medication.”⁶ Two areas of development are mentioned most often as important for promoting a feeling of inclusion. The first is education. Participants say free education for every child would signal a serious commitment by the government to inclusiveness. Jobs is the second area of focus for participants who say sufficient employment opportunities for all would reassure the public the government is being inclusive. Any goodwill the government builds through development efforts will be lost, participants warn, if development is not delivered equitably. The perception of inequitable development already exists in some areas and is contributing to feelings of alienation, as demonstrated by the comment of one participant, “Other places are more developed than our area, and as a result we feel neglected. We shall feel included if this imbalance is addressed.”⁷ The theme of equality also runs through participants’ other main suggestions for creating an inclusive government. Tribal balance, both in positions of power and in civil service employment, is an essential ingredient in reassuring South Sudanese they are a part of the government. As noted in a quotation from Jonglei below, “Representation is the symbol of inclusiveness.” Equal treatment for all South Sudanese, regardless of ethnicity or economic status, is an important part of the equation as well, with some participants highlighting fairness in the rule of law and freedom of speech as especially important.

He [President Kiir] must fulfill the needs and desires of citizens, and then people will feel they are represented.
(Middle Aged Shilluk Women, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

The President can make everyone feel included in his government by providing services, such as hospitals and education. (Younger Dinka Rek Man, Alek West Boma, Warrap)

How can people feel included in government when people are not educated? The best way is that government should open free education for all. (Younger Jur Woman, Udichi Payam, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

The best way to do that [create an inclusive government] is to have jobs created. We need jobs to every South Sudanese equally without discrimination of people, for example Nuer, Dinka, Bari, Kakwa, etc. (Middle Aged Dinka Malual Woman, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

He [President Kiir] should make sure that in any projects or government work, all the different tribes of South Sudan are represented fully...He should form a committee that should always look into every activity

⁶ Quotation is from a middle aged Zande man in Yambio Town, Western Equatoria.

⁷ Quotation is from an older Dinka Bor woman in Lual Dit Boma, Jonglei.

of the government [to determine] whether it is fairly based on ethnic lines. (Two Younger Nuer Jegai Women, Bentiu Payam,⁸ Unity)

An inclusive government is one that comprises all tribes and ethnicities. If the government excludes some of these tribes and ethnicities, there is no inclusiveness. Representation is the symbol of inclusiveness. (Middle Aged Dinka Man, Jalle Payam, Jonglei)

All tribes should be represented from the top to the bottom...He [President Kiir] should always ask himself which tribes are in top positions and give the other posts to others who have not gotten any posts...He should make sure that every program that is to be implemented reflects the participation of the various tribes. (Three Middle Aged Women, Nuer Lek, Bentiu Town, Unity)

All tribes should be included as civil servants because what I see is one tribe dominating or one family. (Older Zande Woman, Nagori Boma, Western Equatoria)

The President also can make everyone feel comfortable and included in this government by making people equal, no favor and segregation in government. (Younger Dinka Rek Man, Alek West Boma, Warrap)

In South Sudan, laws affect the weaker ones, so the President should give equal treatment to all citizens of South Sudan. One who is having to hunt money should be treated the same like one who is very rich, and tribalism and bribes should be avoided. (Middle Aged Dinka Agar Man, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

The opinion of the citizens is to be respected, especially their choice when electing their representatives to the national or state assembly. (Younger Nuer Lek Man, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

3. Most participants believe it is important for any political party that wins an election to include other political parties in the make-up of the government, though they also say there must be some type of criteria to define which other parties are eligible to participate.

There are both idealistic and practical reasons to include losing political parties in government, participants say. A broad-based government appeals to participants' sense of fairness and their desires for South Sudan to be an inclusive nation that treats everyone with respect and equality. After all, they contend, the winning party did not win all the votes and therefore cannot properly represent all the people. Participants see this government-for-all approach as necessary to guarantee democracy, since a one party state is not their democratic ideal, and to ensure everyone is pulling together to tackle the critical issue of development. While the ideals are important, more participants focus on the practical benefits of including other parties in government. First and foremost, they see the inclusion of losing parties in government as the most effective mechanism to prevent an outbreak of violence following elections and to unify the country. The lesson of the Athor rebellion and others after the 2010 elections is clearly front-of-mind for participants on this issue. Beyond security, participants believe government will simply function better with the inclusion of losing political parties. They see opposition as a key part of government and, indeed, say that "without

⁸ Although conducted in Bentiu payam, participants in this group were citizens who had been displaced from Koch County due to insecurity.

opposition, there is no government.”⁹ Opposition serves the useful purpose of providing checks and balances to the dominant party, according to participants, and losing parties bring additional abilities and contribute valuable ideas to the government. In other words, the view of most is that two heads are better than one.

A few participants disagree with the idea of including losing parties in government, primarily because they believe that election results alone should determine representation in government or that mixing parties together in the government will not work well.

Fairness in a community is brought about when the winner equally treats the supporters of the loser. Leadership is for overall community benefit, not for individual supporters. I think a party that loses also should have its members in the government. (Middle Aged Dinka Bor Man, Jalle Payam, Bor County, Jonglei)

The party that won the larger number of votes should share with other political parties the key national positions in order to avoid the winning party dominating the government. That is not representative of all people. (Younger Jurabel Man, Wulu Payam, Lakes)

South Sudan is one nation, and therefore a party which won election should share key ministries with other political parties because one party alone cannot meet the demands of the entire citizens in the country...There is a need to involve other parties because we work together for this nation so that others feel they also are taking part in the development of our nation. (Two Younger Jur Women, Udichi Payam, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

The winning party should share key positions with other parties because development needs cooperation of various political parties or else it will be hard to achieve development with the dominance of one political party. (Younger Nuer Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

There is no democracy in the country if only one party has dominated all the government positions. This will lead to dictatorship. (Middle Aged Woman, Wau Town, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

Other political parties should be included in government because we are in a democratic country. That means anything political should be collected from many sources. This will reflect democracy and diversity. (Middle Aged Shilluk Woman, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

Government should share the powers with other political parties so as to bring peace and harmony within communities and the country at large. (Younger Madi Man, Olikwi Boma, Eastern Equatoria)

The ruling party should share key national positions with other political parties. All are South Sudanese people, and if they are neglected they can mobilize their fans and spark off rebellions, just as in the case of George Athor in the recent elections. (Older Dinka Bor Woman, Lual Dit Boma, Jonglei)

They [the winning political party] should share the key national positions because if one party is doing the work alone, it will not do it effectively since no one will correct it. It is good that there is an opposition to detect the mistakes of that ruling party. (Middle Aged Nuer Lek Man, Bentiu Town, Unity)

⁹ Quotation is from a middle aged man in Juba Town, Central Equatoria.

It is important to include different parties with different ideas and experience to promote cooperation and development. (Middle Aged Jurabel Woman, Wulu Payam, Lakes)

Share [government positions] so you gain from other parties. We all have different abilities even in this room now...I stand with that idea. Just share: more heads, more brains. (Two Older Bari Women, Juba Payam, Central Equatoria)

It [the winning political party] should not share any positions with other political parties because they lost in the election. They should not be included [because] why they lost in the elections is according to their political objectives for the nation. If they represented the interests of the citizens, they would be voted into the country's political environment. (Younger Nuer Jegai Woman, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

It is not possible [for the winning party to share positions in government]. How can you mix sesame with stones? (Younger Madi Man, Mugali/Masindi Boma, Eastern Equatoria)

Though supportive of the inclusion of losing political parties in government, most participants also believe some minimum criteria should be met. Many suggest that criteria be based on the number of votes losing parties win during the election. For some participants, the criteria should be quite difficult to reach – such as receiving a relatively high percentage of votes – but others suggest a relatively low bar – for example, simply participating in the election or receiving a relatively low percentage of votes. Still, others say that participation in government should be decided based on the qualities and capabilities of the losing parties.

The establishment of criteria for inclusion of losing parties in government is offensive to a smaller number of participants. They support the inclusion of all registered political parties in government in the interest of fairness, stability, and a better functioning government.¹⁰

They [losing parties] should meet some criteria first because they will do nothing if they are just included without meeting some criteria. (Younger Dinka Ngok Woman, Baliet Payam, Upper Nile)

They [losing parties] should have a certain number of votes before they are included in the government because maybe their programs of action are not clear enough to qualify them to take over the political environment of the country. (Older Nuer Jegai Man, Bentiu Payam,¹¹ Unity)

Parties that are not popular should not be included in the government – election results should tell which parties are popular, so they are included in government. (Middle Aged Dinka Bor Man, Jalle Payam, Jonglei)

I think 25 percent [of votes] is fair [to use in determining which losing parties participate in government]. (Younger Kuku Man, Wudu Boma, Central Equatoria)

¹⁰ Participants in Unity state are unanimous in their rejection of criteria for political party inclusion in government, but they offer a different reason. They say they fear the winning party would use the criteria to block the participation of other parties in government.

¹¹ Although conducted in Bentiu payam, participants in this group were citizens who had been displaced from Koch County due to insecurity.

[Let] those who got a few votes be given positions because they have knowledge. (Middle Aged Moru Man, Kobbi Payam, Western Equatoria)

The [losing] party must be included and selected according to the work they do because we cannot select a party that is not going well with the people. (Younger Jurabel Man, Wulu Payam, Lakes)

All [losing] parties should be included [in government] because we are all South Sudanese. (Younger Dinka Rek Woman, Kwajok Town, Warrap)

All political parties should be included [in government] for the sake of peace and unity in the country. (Older Nuer Jikany Woman, Jigmir Payam, Upper Nile)

All registered political parties shall be included without criteria, such that they cannot go to the bush against the government. (Younger Dinka Rek Man, Alek West Boma, Warrap)

All South Sudanese political parties should be included because we want to work and develop this country, therefore collective work is the best way to achieve quick development. (Older Shilluk Man, Kodok Payam, Upper Nile)

Those parties which are owned by family members should not get a share. (Older Dinka Malual Man, Aweil Town Outlying Area, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

4. There is widespread support for the regional balance approach used to determine the make-up of the latest national cabinet. However, there are mixed views on whether this approach should be temporary or made permanent.

The vast majority of participants view President Kiir's decision to ensure his latest cabinet represented a balance between the country's three major regions – Greater Equatoria, Greater Bahr el Ghazal, and Greater Upper Nile – as a very positive development. The primary benefit most cite for such an approach is its impact on improving perceptions of the government's fairness related to tribalism and representation. Participants say the move reduces tribal tensions, unites the country, reassures citizens they are included in government, and demonstrates fairness and equality. Some participants, especially those in the Greater Equatoria region, are more cynical and say the regional approach was taken to prevent complaints.

The acute sensitivity of tribal balance in government is reflected in the number of comments made by participants about the one additional minister appointed from Greater Equatoria. While not all participants are against the appointment, their comments demonstrate an attempt to rationalize why such a decision was made, such as the assumption by some that the extra ministry will be rotating among the regions in future cabinets.

Those who object to the method of appointment for the national cabinet fall into two main categories. The first group wants to see the cabinet appointed based on qualifications. The second group does not believe that fair regional balance has been achieved and claims one of the regions was cheated in the distribution. Interestingly, at least one participant cited this objection about each of the three regions, though the reasons for the perceived slight differed. Another group of participants says they are not unhappy with the regional approach in principle but object to the way the approach was used to return underperforming ministers to government.

It's [appointing the national cabinet based on regional balance] a good beginning. This is a great idea for now to calm us. (Middle Aged Man, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

Regional balance to me is the fairest way of distributing meager ministerial positions. (Younger Nuer Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

This [appointing the national cabinet based on a regional approach] has reduced conflicts and tensions in South Sudan. It assures the citizens that something good has been done as far as representation is concerned. (Older Lotukho Man, Hiyalla Payam, Eastern Equatoria)

President Salva Kiir did this [appointing a regionally balanced cabinet] to get rid of tribalism...The decision was good. In the struggle everybody was participating, so there is a need for balance such that every region gets the same number of ministerial positions. (Two Middle Aged Dinka Agar Men, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

It is a right thing that President Kiir has done to distribute [the cabinet] according to regions to restore our unity. (Younger Dinka Rek Woman, Kwajok town, Warrap)

Our president has done a very good work and he put it in the right direction, which is the system of equality...Well done, the President has put his words in action where he said he wants all to feel included in government. (Two Older Nuer Gawaar Men, Mogok Payam, Jonglei)

It [regional balance in the cabinet] is good because there is not any inequity in the government. All the states are being represented in the national government. (Younger Jur Woman, Udichi Payam, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

He did that [appointing the national cabinet based on regional balance] to avoid people challenging him on the grounds that he is selecting his brothers or tribesman to the government. (Younger Jurabel Man, Wulu Payam, Lakes)

This appointment is correct because nine from each greater state is representative. Why Greater Equatoria was given 10 positions is because there might be special consideration as it is hosting the capital city. (Older Man, Wau Town, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

He gave more ministerial positions to Greater Equatoria because he is from Dinka, and he doesn't want people [of Equatoria] to blame him. (Younger Moru Man, Kobbi Payam, Western Equatoria)

That [regional balance in the cabinet] was a nice decision, even if Greater Equatoria got 10 positions. That is normal and next time it will rotate. (Younger Dinka Rek Man, Alek West Boma, Warrap)

We are against that [the regional balance approach to appointing the cabinet]. We need those who are capable. (Middle Aged Dinka Malual Man, Malau Awer, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

It [the regional balance approach to appointing the cabinet] is not fair because the President should have given 12 positions to Greater Upper Nile for their big population. (Younger Nuer Jegai Woman, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

Wonderful job [in regionally balancing the cabinet], but what he [President Kiir] has done wrong is he returned those who were before in the government to the same positions in the pretext of fair representation. (Middle Aged Dinka Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

This is a fair distribution regionally, but still there is doubt that the same people came back to their positions, and some of them cannot deliver services, instead they are corrupting the public funds. (Younger Nuer Jegai Woman, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

While regional balance approach used in selecting the national cabinet is widely supported, there is much less consensus on whether it should be a permanent fixture. About half of participants say it should be considered only a short-term solution that can help South Sudan get past its current tribal tensions. In fact, these participants believe extended use of the regional approach would actually encourage the continuation of tribalism over time. Also, this group of participants argues that in the future, especially as tribal problems lessen and people become more educated, the only criterion for ministerial appointment should be qualifications. However, many other participants would like to see regional balance maintained. They view it as a fair way to address the high level of tribal division in South Sudan, to help maintain stability, and to ensure all feel included.

It [the regional balance approach] should be temporary because it creates division based on regions. (Younger Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

It [the regional balance approach] is to calm the current tribal problems only. In the future, it will not work well as people more educated and these ethnic issues diminish...This is just a first aid remedy for South Sudan, not permanent. In the future, we want meritorious appointments. (Two Older Bari Women, Juba Payam, Central Equatoria)

It [the regional balance approach] should be temporary. As per now, people have that mind of representation in the government, but with time it should be stopped because it encourages tribalism. (Middle Aged Dinka Malual Man, Malau Awer, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

It [the regional balance approach] should be temporary because things will change as we develop, where ministers will be selected on their qualifications and capacity. (Younger Nuer Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

[The regional balance approach should be] temporary. Qualification should be used instead of regional balance. Only those capable should be appointed ministers. Some communities that have the most qualified people end up having one minister because of regional balance. This interferes with public service delivery. Why prefer regional balance to qualification? (Middle Aged Dinka Bor Man, Jalle Payam, Jonglei)

It should not be permanent because the same officials from the same community will always come to power neglecting the other communities in the same geographical location. (Younger Nuer Jegai Man, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

This method of regional representatives [in the cabinet] should be permanent to ensure what is so-called power sharing...It should be kept permanent because if not kept permanent, this will bring rebellions against the state. (Two Middle Aged Dinka Agar Men, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

It [the regional balance approach] has to be permanent since everyone wants their people to be in government. (Younger Dinka Rek Woman, Kwajok Town, Warrap)

It should be permanent because it is fair regionally, and there will never be another better technique of distributing positions which will solve our problem. (Younger Nuer Jegai Woman, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

5. Participants strongly endorse the President's decisions to fulfill, and even exceed, the quota for women's representation in his latest national cabinet.

Participants' reaction to the news that President Kiir exceeded the mandated quota for women in his new cabinet is mostly positive. Men and women alike say the President's action empowers women to improve their status and provides encouragement for girls to pursue their educational goals. They also believe the time to promote women's participation in government has come, given the long history of marginalization and their sacrifices during the civil war. In other words, they view including more women in government as just and beneficial for society. Involving more women in government will improve governance in the country as well, according to some, because of special qualities, such as a strong work ethic, honesty, and treating all fairly, that they believe will make women better public servants. These character qualities are why some participants (mostly, but not exclusively women) call on the government to enact an even larger quota. Some participants note as well that more women are becoming educated and so deserve to be part of government. While supportive of the idea of a women's quota in theory, a few participants note that the quota must only be filled or exceeded if educated, qualified women are available.

Participants who have a negative view of exceeding the 25 percent quota in the national cabinet cite two primary reasons. Some men and women reject the quota altogether because they believe cabinet appointments should be competitive and based on qualifications only. There is a concern as well that "free" appointments for women will encourage laziness. A few participants, all men, object to the exceeding of the quota, saying that women in government are already too many.

This [exceeding the 25 percent mandate in the national cabinet] is a very good idea to encourage women to improve...Women have been neglected in the country for too long; that's a beautiful idea. (Two Younger Kuku Men, Wudu Boma, Central Equatoria)

Good [to exceed the 25 percent mandate in the national cabinet] so as to encourage ladies in the schools. (Younger Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

The President has done something which is correct. The empowerment of women can ensure gender balance. Women should be empowered; without woman no man. (Middle Aged Dinka Agar Man, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

Women have always been neglected in government. I feel very happy to hear women represented. We need more than 25 percent...It is great. Women participated a lot in the liberation war. We contributed food, carried it and encouraged our children to join the army. We did a lot; we deserve that much when it comes to sharing the dividends of peace. (Two Older Dinka Bor Women, Lual Dit Boma, Jonglei)

It [the women's quota] is good because some women are even more educated than men. (Younger Nuer Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

I am very grateful because I thought that we were going to remain with 25 percent, but as it's increasing, that shows we have total independence of South Sudan and in future we shall be fine...Most of us women give much thanks to our government that gives freedom to women to do what men can do. (Two Older Zande Women, Nagori Boma, Western Equatoria)

It is very good indeed because women are good thinkers and therefore adjust the minds of men. Now we shall have no more problems in South Sudan. (Younger Dinka Agar Woman, Abin-Ajok Boma, Lakes)

It is a good idea from the President because women are naturally good people. If they are given a position in the government, they will serve people equally like their children. (Younger Nuer Lek Man, Bentiu Town, Unity)

Sincerely, women are not like men who can corrupt with public funds. They are the kind of people who can be trusted and given positions of high value because they fear. There are women who are more compatible than men; you find their ministries well organized. It is good that they are given 25 percent in the government. (Older Man, Wau Town, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

They should be given more than 30 percent because they always have fair leadership...It's okay for them to even reach 30 percent of government jobs because they are never corrupt and respond to our cry quickly. (Two Middle Aged Nuer Gawaar Men, Kuachdeng Payam, Jonglei)

This women's representation according to percentage is not good; it should be according to capabilities. (Middle Aged Woman, Wau Town, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

I totally disagree with that decision because there are some ladies who are not educated - even the majority of them are not educated. Women should compete with men, not just to give them a certain percentage. This may spoil them. (Older Dinka Rek Man, Kuac North Payam, Warrap)

I think it is good to have gender balance, but this is beyond the limit. The number of women is becoming increasingly high in the army and organized forces. Their number should be reduced to the 25 percent affirmative action...Most women are illiterate and incapable. I don't see any reason for them to exceed 25 percent representation in government. (Two Middle Aged Dinka Bor Men, Jalle Payam, Jonglei)

It should not have been increased because 25 percent is enough for them. Like us youth, we don't even have one percent, so if it is increased to 30 percent, then youth later will not get even five percent. (Middle Aged Dinka Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

The government is biased. Not many women participated during the war, but now they are outnumbering men who died in battle? This percentage should not be increased. (Middle Aged Dinka Bor Man, Jalle Payam, Jonglei)

6. Participants urge a government focus on youth through education, training and employment to guarantee a strong future. Some suggest political interventions as well, such as a youth quota.

Almost all participants express a strong desire to see the government invest in the country's youth and to promote their participation in government. They say youth deserve consideration because they were on the frontlines during the civil war. They also highlight two key advantages to involving

youth in government: youth will be active and energetic in carrying out their duties, and youth can benefit from on-the-job training and experience to become good workers and leaders who take over running the country at the appropriate time. Failure to employ youth, some argue, could threaten the future health of the nation. A number of participants note, however, that they only want youth who are educated and qualified in government.

When asked how best to include youth in government, most participants indicate the government must make a serious commitment to promoting youth in three areas – education, training and employment – for full youth participation to become viable. Employment is important in both the private and public sectors, but participants are particularly keen to have more youth numbers in the civil service and security organs, where their energy and modern outlook may contribute to building the nation. Some participants, especially those in Greater Equatoria, believe special political mechanisms are needed to increase youth participation in government. Suggestions from this group include a youth quota for government, much like the current women's quota, youth representation in parliament or the establishment of parliament specific to youth, and appointment of youth to positions at all levels of government.

Yes, they [youth] should be included in the government because they fought fearlessly in order to liberate this country; therefore they should be rewarded. (Older Dinka Malual Man, Udhom Payam, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

The war was fought by young people and for youth, the future generation, so it is right time to be in the government to work and predict their own future...Youth are energetic, active, and are the leaders of tomorrow as well as for today...Youth are good leaders now that these old people in the government have expired and their mind set is old. (Three Younger Dinka Agar Women, Abin-Ajok Boma, Lakes)

They [youth] are our future. They should be a part [of government] in all government institutions...Youth brains are active, while the aged are slow...It is like a suicide mission for youth not to be employed in government. (Three Middle Aged Lotukho Women, Torit Town, Eastern Equatoria)

Youth are active, and they can implement things in no time. If we old men die, who will succeed us are youth, whom we are denying. That is why we want to bring youth closer and teach them so that they become good successors in the government. (Older Man, Wau Town, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

There should be inclusion of youth in the government because they are active and of sound mind. The right way to include them should be based on their qualifications. (Older Dinka Rek Man, Kuac North Payam, Warrap)

Youth should be involved in the government because they are the key foundation of government, and the best way they can be involved in the government is when they are educated. (Older Jur Man, Udichi Payam, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

Youth can be included through education and employment of young graduates that have great potential. (Younger Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

The best way to include them [youth] in the government is to equip them with the needed skills to allow them to work properly in the government. (Middle Aged Dinka Rek Woman, Alek Rural Area, Warrap)

Youth also should be appointed to government positions since youth are the future of the nation, and they should be engaged in all institutions in the country...Youth should be trained in such institutions, such as security organs like police. (Two Younger Nuer Lek Men, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

There should be a law to give youths a kind of percentage like women got, the 25 percent, to be involved in government. (Middle Aged Kuku Woman, Pomoju Boma, Central Equatoria)

Youth should be involved in the government by appointing them into the parliament. (Older Nuer Jegai Man, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

7. Participants say South Sudanese abhor tribalism but engage in it because of unfair government employment and service distribution.

Participants admit that citizens' frequently stated objection to tribalism and their desire to see their own tribesmen in government are inconsistent. They offer numerous explanations for this contradiction. A few focus on relatively recently developed cultural reasons, such as inter- and intra-tribal hatred and jealousy, which participants describe as new and abnormal in South Sudan's culture, and a few cite the colonization experience as having forced unnatural divisions into the culture. Most believe, however, that it is current economic and social circumstances that force South Sudanese who do not like tribalism to support or engage in it. Participants say the high level of illiteracy makes South Sudanese mistrustful of anyone outside their tribe and that extreme poverty makes them more inclined to favor tribesmen as a way to survive and better their economic status. But it is the actions of those in power that get the most blame for pushing South Sudanese to demand their own tribesmen in government. Participants say that because government officials practice tribalism, they have no choice but to respond in kind. Even though often denied by officials, tribalism in government work is pervasive, they indicate. They report seeing others with tribesmen in government getting services, while they are left out and treated unfairly because they do not have a representative. This discrimination causes many to retreat to their own tribal groupings and encourages the desire to "practice the same against those who oppress us."¹² Similar feelings are generated when what are believed to be qualified candidates are turned down for government employment by members of other tribes. Participants say they have no choice but to advocate for their own tribesmen in government when that is their only hope to be employed in the civil service. Several participants note that tribalism will be difficult to eradicate, but most hope for a future without it. They urge the government to invest in programs and education that will teach South Sudan's children to reject tribalism. In the meantime, participants want the government to adopt laws banning tribalism, deal harshly with those that practice tribalism, and in the short-term ensure tribal balance in all its work.

This is the common propaganda where people say they are not practicing tribalism, but they find themselves deeply involved. (Older Man, Wau Town, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

They [people] are lying because they are all practicing tribalism and nepotism. (Middle Aged Dinka Malual Woman, Aweil Town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

It is just because of illiteracy, illiterate people don't trust themselves. If everyone was educated, this level of mistrust would have not existed. (Younger Dinka Agar Woman, Abin-Ajok Boma, Lakes)

¹² Phrase is from a quotation by an older Bari woman in Juba Payam, Central Equatoria.

This happens due to poverty. I mean the person who employs their own relative is poor; they are from a poor background and so want to enrich themselves. (Older Dinka Rek Man, Kuac North Payam, Warrap)

Such contradiction comes as a result of discontent in leadership...They opt to have relatives in key government positions. Leaders should serve people equally. (Two Older Dinka Bor Women, Lual Dit Boma, Jonglei)

This contradiction comes because the government officials are not fair in their offices...I only think of my own tribe when someone discriminates [against] me. (Two Older Nuer Jikany Women, Jigmir Payam, Upper Nile State)

If you do not have a brother in a government position you are marginalized because you cannot get services delivered by the government adequately, since every person only cares about his or her tribe. (Younger Nuer Lek Man, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

I don't like tribalism in the line that when a person is put at a high position, the person only recruits relatives and people from the family. That is why in the other hand, I need my own tribe to be in an important position because as I am his or her sister, my husband can easily get employed because of me. (Older Zande Woman, Nagori Boma, Western Equatoria)

This is a disease that we are finding hard to fight because it is involving our leaders at the top, so this is not a surprise contradiction and it will go on for some good years. (Older Bari Woman, Juba Payam, Central Equatoria)

The tribal concept is something which is addictive in our lives and nobody could reject his tribe. This is the understanding which we don't want to be defused to our younger generation, but we have to make them aware about the spirit of patriotism...Another mechanism to eradicate tribalism is law. We need it to be followed by everybody not to practice tribalism. (Two Older Men, Wau Town, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

Tribalism will destroy our nation if we are not taking it seriously. The government of South Sudan must put it in its program that in any project that has to be accomplished, it should balance all the tribes of South Sudan. (Middle Aged Woman, Bentiu Town, Unity)

8. Tribal balance in government representation is less important than equitable service delivery in resolving the tribalism problem, participants indicate.

Participants were asked to explore further the practicality of one of their suggested solutions to ending tribalism: tribal balance in appointed government positions. For example, what is the solution to making all feel represented if the number of national ministerial posts is far fewer than the number of tribes? And, how could a state government official engender trust in all the citizens he or she serves, many of whom inevitably will be from other tribes? The vast majority point to one simple answer. They say the delivery of basic services to the population in an equitable manner will increase support for government officials, regardless of tribe, and will end most calls for tribal representation in government. Some also say they will feel more reassured about being adequately represented if people are appointed or hired for government jobs based on merit. When speaking about state level officials, some participants add that leaders should consult and communicate often with communities, particularly those from different tribes. Despite a strong feeling among most that equitable and extensive service delivery will resolve tribal representation issues, there are some

participants who insist that accommodation must be made for all tribes. These participants suggest creating more high level government positions for additional tribes, rotating government positions, or expanding tribal balance initiatives through all levels and positions in government, so that all can have at least some type of involvement.

If we are given all kinds of services, especially the basic ones, I don't think we shall rely on this cheap tribal representation. (Older Lotukho Man, Hiyalla Payam, Eastern Equatoria)

I think we are all crying for services period...If you serve people they will not complain [about tribal representation in government]. (Two Middle Aged Men, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

Services are what is needed. If a person from another tribe comes and builds for me roads, schools, hospitals, and clean water, there is no need to think of my tribe if it can be done the way I want. (Younger Nuer Jegai Woman, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

To me, what is important is the provision of services no matter which tribes these ministers come from...If the ministers can give services like schools, hospitals, and roads to all the citizens, I will definitely feel represented in the government. (Two Younger Nuer Men, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

I will feel that other people from different tribes served me as their own tribe when services are distributed equally with justice. (Younger Jur Woman, Udichi Payam, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

The government should make sure that every official is appointed on the basis of his or her qualification and should carry out their duties fairly. (Younger Nuer Lek Man, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

He [a state official from a different tribe] should take up his duties without any discrimination, as well as employ people according to qualification. (Younger Kuku Man, Wudu Boma, Central Equatoria)

The first thing is talking. If the person [government official] talks with us all the time, at home or on the way so as to know the problems people face, such a person will be trusted. (Older Zande Woman, Nagori Boma, Western Equatoria)

In the state and national governments, the positions should be rotated [among tribes]. (Older Nuer Gawaar Man, Mogok Payam, Jonglei)

The government should create another 31 ministries so that all the tribes are represented in the government. (Middle Aged Woman, Bentiu Town, Unity)

Ministries are not the [entire] government, the vices and other government parts should be given to remaining tribes not represented in the ministries. (Younger Jurabel Man, Wulu Payam, Lakes)

9. Tribal balance in government employment is still viewed as important to many, though just over half of participants would choose to hire on qualifications alone if the hiring process is demonstrably fair.

In the last public opinion study in this series,¹³ participants initially indicated a strong preference for civil service employment based on qualifications and merit. However, when presented a scenario in which members of one tribe could occupy the top four positions in an office if merit-based hiring were strictly enforced, about half insisted that tribal balance be considered in hiring as well. This study explored participants' reaction to a similar scenario but with the addition of an independent body, composed of members from different tribes, mandated to make hiring decisions. The goal was to assess whether the introduction of a hiring process that most would view as fair (due to the involvement of multiple tribes) would change attitudes about the need for tribal balance in civil service employment.

There is little difference in the results from the last study. Just under half of participants in this study again state that even a fair hiring process based on qualifications does not override the necessity of tribal diversity in the civil service. Whether chosen through a fair process or not, some participants contend the domination of any tribe in any government office will raise suspicions and be misunderstood by the population, thus increasing rather than reducing tribal divisions. Civil service employment based solely on merit that completely ignores tribal diversity is an idea that cannot be implemented at this nascent stage of the country's development, they say. There are also participants in this group who say they simply could not accept that a fair hiring process could not produce a more diverse pool of qualified candidates, and those who believe having a tribe dominate an office inevitably leads to corruption, whereby resources and development are diverted only to that tribe, even if they were hired based on merit.

Just over half of participants, though, are convinced if the hiring process is fair (as demonstrated by the inclusion of multiple tribes in hiring decisions) then basing hiring decisions on qualifications alone is the appropriate way to proceed. They say this approach will improve service delivery, which is their number one priority, and provide incentive for other candidates to pursue similar qualifications.

Impossible, it [top positions in a government office taken by one tribe] can't happen like that. At least find one [from another tribe] who is average and mix them up to stop suspicion...If you allow this, it will cause lots of suspicion, and it's too early to go such a direction. Many people's hearts are still bitter about others. (Two Middle Aged Kuku Women, Pomoju Boma, Central Equatoria)

One tribe cannot be given the top positions because it is not true that qualified people can only be found in one tribe...It is not okay since others will get angry with the government, and the government will be seen as belonging to one tribe. (Two Younger Dinka Rek Women, Kwajok Town, Warrap)

It is bad [top positions in a government office taken by one tribe] even if they are all qualified. At least there is one with better qualifications and from another tribe that should also be included. Otherwise, such acts will bring misunderstanding in the future within the country. (Younger Madi Man, Olikwi Boma, Eastern Equatoria)

It [top positions in a government office taken by one tribe] is not okay. These people would automatically fall into the system of corruption and tribalism because those who are corrupt are advised by their tribesmates to favor them. They could easily be influenced to favor their people. (Younger Dinka Malual Woman, Udhum Payam, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

¹³ See *Building a Nation: South Sudanese Share Their Thoughts on the Creation of a Successful State*, available at www.ndi.org.

It [top positions in a government office taken by one tribe] is okay because it is based on qualification. Government cannot be run by unqualified persons, so it is good to recruit those who are qualified to do government works, even if they are from one tribe. (Middle Aged Dinka Agar Man, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

It is okay for qualification to be the basis of appointing officials or officers into positions because what is needed is not sitting doing nothing in offices but providing services that are needed by the people. I think it is good to recruit people of the right qualification for the right job. (Younger Nuer Jegai Woman, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

Why should I object when I have been craving for services since before the war? I think that [top positions in a government office taken by one tribe] is reasonable, especially if the [independent hiring] panel is mixed with the tribes; that is valid. (Two Older Middle Aged Men, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

If they [civil service employees of one tribe in a government office] have come based on qualifications, that would be fair. This, I believe, would make others go to school. (Middle Aged Nuer Gawaar Man, Kuachdeng Payam, Jonglei)

10. There are mixed views on whether South Sudan should organize a commission to address crimes and conflicts that occurred between tribes during the civil war.

The topic of organizing a truth and reconciliation type of body in South Sudan divides participants almost evenly. Some believe it would be a good idea. They argue that reconciliation and forgiveness are a necessary step for the country to move forward and believe that ignoring the past will only cause additional problems in the future. Other participants, however, are strongly opposed to any attempt to air past hatreds and hostilities between tribes. They fear such an effort would only increase problems between tribes and encourage more conflict and acts of revenge. This category of participants also believes it is best for South Sudan to focus not on its past, but on its future.

Yes, we need a cleansing ceremony to have a healthy future...How do we pretend that we don't know anything? It will come up one day and when it does it will be worse than what we are seeing now...I don't want to sugarcoat it for the rest of the generations. Tell them the truth and let them face it early. (Three Middle Aged Men, Juba Town, Central Equatoria)

Wounds of the war are still fresh in people's hearts. The government should form a committee to reconcile communities so that people forgive and forget the bitter past. (Middle Aged Dinka Bor Man, Jalle Payam, Jonglei)

The reconciliation commission should be organized so that people have to discuss issues and events that took place during the war or among tribes so that they can reconcile and forgive each other. If it's not done, any slight issue between or among tribes will make them recall the past and conflicts will begin. (Middle Aged Zande Man, Yambio Town, Western Equatoria)

There is no need to remind people of bad things because this will bring back that memory and revenge will take its place again. (Older Nuer Jegai Man, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

Such a commission can't be formed to solve the problems that happened because other problems will arise in the process of solving them...We have to forget the past and begin a new life. (Two Younger Dinka Rek Women, Kwajok Town, Warrap)

If these issues are opened once more, it would be problems invited forever which nobody would be able to solve. We better leave them and begin with new era where the pasts are forgiven. (Older Jur Man, Udichi Payam, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

11. Announcements of development plans without specifying targeted locations, demonstrating implementation, or communicating accomplishments create more negative than positive views of government.

Participants' reactions to the presentation of parts of President Kiir's announcement of the government's 100 days plan¹⁴ are highly skeptical, though most note the goals stated in the plan are laudable. Some view the outlined activities – such as beginning construction on 50 new police stations and 34 new schools, initiating training of 7,000 teachers and the vaccination of 600,000 children – as overly ambitious promises that are simply unachievable within the stated timeframe. This leads them to dismiss the plan as “just a political saying.”¹⁵ Others have no faith the plan will be implemented given the lack of progress over the last six years; they describe the plan as yet another empty promise. One participant laments, “Why are we harming ourselves with words which we cannot implement?”¹⁶ These participants warn that empty promises will lead to an erosion of trust and confidence in President Kiir and his government. For them, words alone will no longer suffice; only actions matter. It is important to note that some participants do not blame President Kiir, but instead the weakness of his ministers for frustrating implementation of the plan. Other participants judge the 100 days plan to have been an empty promise because they have not seen any progress on the items mentioned in the plan in their areas. Although it was not stated in the question, these participants automatically assume that the plan is targeted for their areas and when they do not see the development, they view the plan as a failure. In contrast, a few participants who saw vaccination campaigns in their areas express more faith that the plan would ultimately be implemented. Many participants also take a wait-and-see approach. They say they need to understand whether the plan has been implemented. More than anything, they want to hear about the government's accomplishments so they can have faith that more is to come.

It [the 100 days plan] is a good program because it aims to develop the country and as it concentrates on education as one of the weakest points in South Sudan. If this program is implemented, that will be a good job. (Middle Aged Shilluk Woman, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

This idea from the President, I think, is not true because these projects cannot be accomplished in 100 days. We spent six years; none of these projects has been accomplished so far, I think he was just joking. (Younger Nuer Lek Man, Bentiu Town, Unity)

¹⁴ Shortly after independence, President Kiir outlined a set of development goals that his administration would achieve in its first 100 days.

¹⁵ Phrase is from a quotation by an older man in Wau Town, Western Bahr el Ghazal.

¹⁶ Quotation is from an older man in Wau Town, Western Bahr el Ghazal.

I appreciate him [President Kiir] for what he said, but now we are about three months and nothing tangible has happened. I don't blame him; I blame the ministers who are under him because they are the people who can implement what the president said. (Middle Aged Dinka Agar Man, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

There are no signs of such a development announcement because we have not seen any construction here in Eastern Equatoria state. People have realized it [the 100 days plan] was an empty promise given by the President, and there is already a beginning of losing confidence in whatever the President could say publicly. (Middle Aged Lotukho Woman, Torit Town, Eastern Equatoria)

Action speaks louder than words. It's [the 100 days plan] a lie. We haven't seen anything in Jonglei state for the last one month and half of the 100 days. (Younger Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

We are building a nation, and we cannot build it with words but with actions. (Older Man, Wau Town, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

These days children are being immunized, and I think it is very good. For the other promises, I believe the President will fulfill them. (Older Dinka Bor Woman, Lual Dit Boma, Jonglei)

I will believe [the 100 days plan goals] when I see them implemented on the ground. (Younger Nuer Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

12. Concentration on key areas of development, public consultation on development, and communication about plans and accomplishments will convince citizens the government is committed to development progress, participants say.

In response an open-ended question about how citizens could be assured that the government is working hard on development, even if it is happening gradually, a few participants steadfastly insist that they must see change, even gradual improvements, with their own eyes. Seeing change would indicate the government is serious about development, fulfilling its promises, and meeting the needs of citizens. A larger group of participants indicates that accomplishment in one to three priority areas would demonstrate that the government is investing significant time and resources in development and would win the public's trust. Most often, education, health, and roads are listed as the key signposts of development progress, though agriculture, clean water, and food security are mentioned in some areas. Government promotion of private industry is another important sign of government commitment to development. Other participants, however, say physical signs of development are less important than consultation and communication about it. This group believes that citizen involvement in development planning and implementation in their areas will increase satisfaction with the government's development work. They also are convinced greater public knowledge about government development plans, including facts about equitable distribution of development, and information about progress and accomplishments will make most confident the government is doing a good job in this area.

I will not trust something will happen [in terms of development] unless I see it done physically. (Older Nuer Jikany Woman, Jigmir Payam, Upper Nile)

They must keep their promises – not just saying we are going to do this and that, when in fact nothing is done. (Middle Aged Shilluk Woman, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

Nobody can deny and doubt the fact that development is a gradual process, but the citizens will believe their eyes if they see a few things progressing. (Middle Aged Lotukho Woman, Torit Town, Eastern Equatoria)

If roads connecting the counties were constructed, I would know the government is bringing development...If roads, schools, and health facilities are built by the government, I will be confident that development will surely come. (Two Older Dinka Bor Women, Lual Dit Boma, Jonglei)

I can make sure that government has been trying hard to bring development when there is much concern on the economy of the country, when government is improving the agricultural sector and supporting the private sector because petroleum alone cannot be the source of income for South Sudan. (Middle Aged Woman, Wau Town, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

The government could first send a committee to the state before developing any part of the state so as to examine the needs of the people; this may assure us that with time, development will come...The government can first tell the people what kind of basic development is given to each state. (Two Older Dinka Rek Men, Kuac North Payam, Warrap)

Inform and make people aware of their plans...Even if they spend one year without reaching the target people and they keep on promising [informing] that they are coming, then we definitely know that the government is working hard for development. But when they disclose their plan and remain silent, then it was better not to talk. (Two Younger Dinka Ngok Women, Baliet Payam, Upper Nile)

Equal distribution of resources assures us of hard work towards development. (Older Zande Woman, Nagori Boma, Western Equatoria)

[To increase confidence in development progress] the government can first ask people's needs before bringing any kind of development...Our government can also assure us that development will emerge in the country if we hear of development going on somewhere in the country, but if it is silence countrywide, that is not good. (Two Younger Dinka Rek Men, Alek West Boma, Warrap)

Participants also were asked to identify the specific types of consultation and communication that would build their confidence in the government's development efforts from among several options.¹⁷ Overall, information and consultation are viewed as almost equally important. Participants say that understanding the government's development plans and having regular and frequent discussions with local government officials about how those plans affect their areas are the key to increasing their faith that the government can be successful on development. Beyond general consultation, participants indicate that having a say, even if it is small, in how development is distributed at the local level also will raise their trust in the government's development action. Next most important to participants is having knowledge of the amount of the budget dedicated to development projects. Understanding the development progress being made in the country and involvement in determining how local development money would be spent are important to a lesser number of participants.

¹⁷ The options presented to the participants were: understanding the government's development plans, understanding the budget amount dedicated to development, hearing about development progress in the country, meeting with government officials to discuss development plans, involvement in determining how money for development will be spent at the local level, and involvement in determining how development is distributed at the local level.

13. Participants say confidence in the government's ability to distribute development fairly among people, tribes, and areas can be increased through public consultation, tribal balance in government, and/or use of objective distribution criteria (equal division, need, and/or population).

Many participants emphasize the importance of distributing development projects fairly among people, tribes, and areas. When asked to name any government action that could make them feel more comfortable that development is being distributed fairly, participants offer many suggestions. Five recommendations are mentioned most often. Some participants contend tribal balance in positions of power and diversity in civil service employment will reassure them that development is being distributed fairly. Another group says that knowing that development is distributed based on population or need is enough. Some indicate if the government simply consults with them on development projects, there will be no questions about equity. Others, though, think that concern about fair development distribution can only be set aside when there are basic services for all or when each state or county is given equal amounts of development.

Equal distribution of powers of government to different tribes [will increase confidence in the equitable distribution of development]. (Older Nuer Jegai Man, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

The government should distribute job opportunities in a transparent way to avoid doubts [about equitable distribution of development]...The government should employ capable people from my tribe and others also. (Two Younger Dinka Rek Women, Kwajok Town, Warrap)

There are states that are high in terms of population, but when it comes to distribution of development they are treated equally, which is not fair. (Middle Aged Dinka Agar Man, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

I think the best thing to [increase confidence in the equitable distribution of development] is to prioritize areas and distribute development according to need. (Older Bari Woman, Juba Payam, Central Equatoria)

I can trust the government if they have meetings [on development distribution] with us. (Younger Nuer Gawaar Woman, Ayod Town, Jonglei)

All tribes may feel comfortable in distributing development when most priorities are covered like hospitals and schools. At least each and every tribe should get these two things, though missing the rest. (Younger Dinka Rek Man, Alek West Boma, Warrap)

If the government considers all states and regions equally that means development is fairly distributed. (Middle Aged Zande Man, Yambio Town, Western Equatoria)

If the government implements a project in one state, that same project should be implemented in all the other states of South Sudan to avoid people being jealous, and the development budget should be equally distributed to all states. (Older Shilluk Man, Kodok Payam, Upper Nile)

When asked where they would build the 30 primary and four secondary schools anticipated in the 100 days development plan, participants view dividing them equally among the states or regions as the fairest method of distribution. Need also is seen by many as a legitimate method for distributing development, though there is some indication that participants in almost every state view themselves as having few or no schools and being the neediest. Distributing development based on population

wins the support of some participants, but fewer than either equal division or need. The number of primary schools was easily distributed equally by state or region – three per state or 10 per region – and participants most often opted for that option. The solution most presented for the uneven number of secondary schools is to give one to each region and have the fourth distributed based on either population or need. However, a significant number of participants suggest population or need as the appropriate criteria for distribution of all four schools, perhaps prompted to do so by the uneven number. A few participants place the fourth secondary school in Juba as a way of solving the dilemma of the unequal number because of its unique position as the nation's capital. For some, simply dividing the schools equally by geographic region is enough to satisfy them that development is being distributed equitably, but others suggest the government can remove suspicion about development distribution if it consults with citizens or local authorities, demonstrates a use of facts and data in determining distribution, and/or keeps the public informed about its activities and the reasons behind development distribution decisions.¹⁸ A few participants also suggest forming a development distribution committee, so that distribution decisions are perceived as fair and independent.

Divide the 30 [primary schools] equally to the ten states. (Middle Aged Kuku Woman, Pomoju Boma, Central Equatoria)

The primary schools should be divided equally to all states, that is three each. The secondary schools should be distributed based on the data collected from the field as to which area is more populated and has no [secondary] schools. (Middle Aged Dinka Man, Malual Town, Upper Nile)

Government should distribute this number of schools according to states which lack schools and should be given more in order that there should be an equal level of development in the country. (Older Jur Man, Udichi Payam, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

Distribution [of the schools in the 100 days plan] should be based on the population of an area. (Younger Dinka Rek Woman, Kwajok Town, Warrap)

I would allocate three primary schools per each state and three secondary schools to each of the greater regions and one secondary school for Juba as the capital of the country. (Older Nuer Jikany Woman, Jigmir Payam, Upper Nile)

If the distribution is done as I said earlier, that each state gets three primary schools and the secondary schools are divided considering which state has had previously some secondary schools and which ones don't have, then I think all will be convinced [the distribution is fair]. (Older Nuer Jegai Man, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

The government should consult on how to distribute these schools, and the people will give their views on the distribution criteria. (Middle Aged Lotukho Woman, Torit Town, Eastern Equatoria)

The government can do statistics. This can convince the people of South Sudan in the distribution of these schools. (Older Dinka Rek Man, Kuac North Payam, Warrap)

¹⁸ The question relating to the conclusion in this last sentence was misunderstood by some participants. Therefore, the conclusions drawn in this sentence are based on less data than in the rest of the paragraph.

If they [the government] meet us first and explain to us the method they used to distribute these facilities [it will] remove doubts from us...There should be regular updates on the progress of distributing these facilities. (Two Middle Aged Nuer Gawaar Women, Kuachdeng Payam, Jonglei)

14. Participants do not express uniform views on the division of powers and roles between the national and state governments. There also is a lack of a strong consensus on presidential powers to remove a state governor and control of the police.

Participants do not yet have strongly defined views about the appropriate division of powers and roles between the state and national governments. Some find it a hard topic to understand or do not feel well-informed enough to express their views confidently. This may be in part due to the recent development of the transitional constitution; a few participants complain they have not been fully informed on the matter. Many times, participants assign control over basic services, such as education and health, to state governments, but others view those as national powers. Security and rule of law are more often allocated by participants to national government control, though some want state police and courts within the state governments' powers. Some participants describe the appropriate relationship between the national and state government as policy-maker versus implementer. Many participants believe the national government should have greater authority over state governments, but there are also those who say the state governments should run their own affairs with minimal national government interference.

The constitution up to today has not been released and brought to media so that citizens can discuss about it. (Older Man, Wau Town, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

The state government [should be responsible for] health care, the police, and education. National government [should be responsible for] for security and road construction. (Middle Aged Nuer Gawaar Man, Kuachdeng Payam, Jonglei)

The national government [should be responsible for] the development of roads, schools, and hospitals. There is too much corruption in the states. (Younger Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

The state government should only be implementing, and the national government should be in charge of policy-making and custodian of everything in the country. (Middle Aged Dinka Malual Man, Malou Awer, Northern Bahr El Ghazal State)

The constitution should give powers to the national government to rule over the state governments. (Younger Jurabel Men, Wulu Payam, Lakes)

Let the state govern itself without interference from the national government. (Younger Kuku Man, Wudu Boma, Central Equatoria)

When asked about specific issues related to the assignment of powers and roles in South Sudan's permanent constitution, participants are more comfortable responding and are able to provide more confident and specific answers. However, two topics explored further in this study – presidential power to remove state governors from office and control of the police – do not produce a strong consensus. On the first issue, more participants believe that a president should not have the power to remove a state governor because the governor's mandate was bestowed by the citizens through elections and not by presidential appointment. These participants say they most trust their own

opinion about the performance of the governor, and it is up to them to remove him or her if they deem the governor unworthy. Some in this group also say that a governor's removal by a president would not be democratic. Almost as many participants, though, want a South Sudan President to have the power to remove state governors or have mixed views on the issue. These participants see value in having a president who can sack underperforming, corrupt, or tribalistic governors. Some also believe that as head of the government, a president has that right. Noteworthy is that some participants in both groups suggest that if a governor is to be removed, there must be consultation with citizens and/or the process must be conducted through the state parliament.

We are the ones who voted the president and the governor. If the governor is misbehaving, we citizens are the ones to raise this issue and vote against him in an upcoming election, so a president has no such power to remove the governor. (Middle Aged Moru Man, Kobbit Payam, Western Equatoria)

We will not let a president have such powers, if we know what democracy is all about. (Middle Aged Lotukho woman, Torit Town, Eastern Equatoria)

The [South Sudan] President should remove governors if governors are not performing well...If a governor is a tribalist and favors his people, he must be removed by the president...They [governors] are to be removed [the president] if they are corrupted. (Three Younger Dinka Malual Women, Udhum Payam, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

If the president is not given powers to remove the governor, it would mean the state is a government separate from the government of the Republic of South Sudan, and this name would be meaningless. (Younger Nuer Jegai Woman, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

A president should not just remove a governor, but only on request from the state's citizens. (Middle Aged Dinka Agar Man, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

Yes, governors are under supervision of the president, so he has the right and power to dismiss any governor who does contrary to the will of the people...However, the president should dismiss the governor in consultation with the civilian population. There must be consensus on this matter. (Two Middle Aged Dinka Bor Men, Jalle Payam, Jonglei)

A strong consensus is also lacking on the issue of whether the state or the national government should control the police function. In the groups where there is a clear consensus, more preferred state control, but there are an almost equal number of groups in which there are mixed views and some that desire national control. Those who believe state governments should direct police operations say that state-controlled police will understand citizens and their problems better and respond more quickly than if control is centered in Juba. Proponents of national control of police contend that states do not have the resources to support effective forces or that national control will prevent potential misuse of police by governors.

State government should be given the police responsibility because the state is nearer to its people than the national government. (Middle Aged Dinka Rek Woman, Alek West Boma, Warrap)

The police should be under the control of the state government because it will make it easier to deal with the local crimes and possibly shorten the time of government response to such crimes. (Younger Nuer Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

Police should be under the national government because the governor has no budget to pay the police. The governor also cannot make increments in salaries or pay out pensions. (Middle Aged Zande Man, Yambio Town, Western Equatoria)

Police should be under the Internal Affairs ministry in Juba because governors may misuse the police forces for their own interest. (Middle Aged Dinka Malual Man, Malou Awer, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

15. There are mixed views on the appropriate timing for the next national elections.

A slight majority of participants think the current timeline for the next national elections is about right. They believe an election in 2015 will allow enough time for elected officials to demonstrate whether or not they can be effective, especially in delivering development, and enough time for citizens to examine their elected officials' work. Some also say the 2015 timing allows the current government to concentrate on development and not on elections. Almost as many participants, though, would like the elections held sooner, and there are a number of groups in which there was no consensus. Those advocating an election before 2015 focus mostly on the poor performance of the current government, either at the national or state level, and express a desire to change those officials sooner rather than later. A few participants hold the opposite view, saying the country needs a longer time to address its problems, to concentrate on development, and to solidify peace, before an election is scheduled.

It [a 2015 election] is the right time such that any elected person can be able to implement his or her manifesto. (Older Dinka Rek Man, Kuac North Payam, Warrap)

It [a 2015 election] is good because the citizens will have enough time to see how the current government is doing. (Younger Madi Man, Olikwi Boma, Eastern Equatoria)

The timing [2015 elections] is reasonable because the length of time is appropriate so that people can concentrate on development and other things other than elections. (Older Zande Woman, Nagori Boma, Western Equatoria)

[Holding an election in 2015 is] too long [from now] and bad because there are many problems that need to be solved now, especially there are many officials in the government who are not able to deliver basic services to the people. If the election time is shortened, these officials would be changed with capable people. (Older Nuer Jegai Man, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

This period [of scheduling the election in 2015] is too short because we have a lot of things to do, and if we schedule elections closer, we will not develop our country as we want. (Older Jur Man, Udichi Payam, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

[Scheduling the election in 2015] is too short. There are still many rebellions that should first be brought to an end before we go for elections. It is important to realize peace before people go for elections. Four years are not enough to realize these. (Middle Aged Dinka Bor Man, Jalle Payam, Jonglei)

16. The closure of the Sudan-South Sudan border is causing significant hardship in South Sudan, participants say. They want the government to negotiate an opening of the border quickly and to increase investment in industry and agriculture to decrease dependency on Sudan in the future.

Participants from all over South Sudan describe dire effects of the Sudan-South Sudan border closure. They talk about significant food, medicine, fuel, and currency shortages, and skyrocketing prices, especially for food, throughout the country, even in the Greater Equatoria region where there is greater access to other markets. Concern about relatives who are now trapped in Sudan and increased tension and insecurity in border areas are also described as negative effects of the closure. While participants in all states say the closure has had a major impact, those in the Sudan-South Sudan border states speak of it in more severe terms. Food shortages are reported to be much more severe in those states, and hunger, famine, and starvation are words that participants in those areas use relatively often, particularly in Unity state. Most participants want the border re-opened and urge the South Sudanese government to negotiate with Sudan to make that happen as soon as possible. The crisis also has focused the public's attention on the acute lack of industry and food production in South Sudan. Participants want the government to work hard to bring industries and investors to South Sudan, especially those that produce foodstuffs like sugar, so the country can decrease its dependence on others. Similarly, they believe the government should step up its efforts to promote agriculture in the country so its citizens can feed themselves. In the near term, participants suggest the government enter into agreements with other neighboring countries to increase the flow of food and goods into South Sudan and to build road networks to those countries to ease that flow.

[The border closure has caused] very high prices of goods in the market, high cost of living, and poor standard of living...Shortage and high prices of fuel also. (Two Older Zande Women, Nagori Boma, Western Equatoria)

Many bad things have happened [due to the border closure] because most of the things that sustain life are in the Sudan markets. (Younger Dinka Rek Woman, Kwajok Town, Warrap)

There is no food in the market. Things are not there in the market, and it is sometimes hard to receive goods from Uganda because it is far...There is starvation all over the country as the result of the Sudan-South Sudan border being closed by the government. (Two Younger Jur Women, Udichi Payam, Western Bahr el Ghazal)

It has brought about hunger in the state and the little food that comes by river from Malakal is not affordable now...Hunger has become rampant, insecurity has worsened, and there are not enough food commodities coming to Bentiu because of the shortage and the price has risen. (Two Middle Aged Nuer Lek Women, Bentiu Town, Unity)

The effect is so bad because of worsening of insecurity in the area, and hunger has become the main problem due to the shortage of food. (Younger Nuer Lek Man, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

Many South Sudanese are still in the Sudan, and they were not able to return to the South when the border was closed. (Older Nuer Gawaar Man, Mogok Payam, Jonglei)

South Sudan should find a peaceful solution for this problem [of the border closure] because we still need each other. (Middle Aged Lotukho Woman, Torit Town, Eastern Equatoria)

The government should build factories and industries to solve the problem of high food prices. (Younger Dinka Malual Woman, Udhum Payam, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

We can no longer rely on Sudanese regarding the closure of border. The only action is to concentrate on agriculture and forget about them. (Younger Dinka Rek Man, Alek West Boma, Warrap)

We can find another way from neighboring countries to bring in different types of goods. In addition government should be planning for long-term solutions, such as building industries. (Middle Aged Shilluk Woman, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

It [the border closure] is good because it is going to teach us hard work to develop the economy so that we won't be dependent on Sudan. (Younger Dinka Rek Woman, Kwajok Town, Warrap)

17. Most believe it is South Sudan's duty to help resolve the Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile conflicts, but there are mixed views on whether the country's assistance should focus on dialogue, humanitarian relief, and/or military aid.

Most participants are sympathetic to the plight of black Africans¹⁹ now caught up in the conflicts in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile in Sudan. They also believe that South Sudan has a moral obligation to support resolution of the conflicts because many in those states fought alongside South Sudanese during the civil war. This sentiment appears strongest in the states bordering Sudan, which naturally have close connections to Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile. Some also urge the government's involvement because of a fear the conflict could spread to South Sudan. There are mixed views, though, about exactly what form the government's involvement should take. The largest group of participants says the best course of action is for South Sudan to take the lead in initiating dialogue on the conflict and enlisting the help of the international community. Many in this group of participants, and especially those in Greater Equatoria,²⁰ oppose any type of military assistance or intervention. Other participants focus on humanitarian interventions, saying South Sudan's main obligation is to provide relief to those affected in the two states and to the displaced who come to South Sudan. Another group of participants, though, wants South Sudan to provide military assistance, either through the provision of arms and/or by sending South Sudanese soldiers to participate in the fight. Participants in border states, particularly those in Northern Bahr el Ghazal and Unity, are more likely to hold this view.

Both the Nuba and Funj were part of us during the liberation struggle. I feel sympathetic to them. (Older Dinka Bor Woman, Lual Dit Boma, Jonglei)

The people of South Kordofan and Blue Nile were our partners in the liberation period, so as we have gotten our independence, let's not forget them. Therefore, let's be involved to find a solution for their problems. (Middle Aged Shilluk Woman, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

The people of Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan are our people. We have been fighting the same Arabs who are now denying them their rights. We need to support them because we were fighting the same cause in the past. (Younger Nuer Jegai Woman, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

¹⁹ Black Africans is a generic term used here to refer to Nuba in Southern Kordofan and Funj and others in Blue Nile.

²⁰ Many participants in Central Equatoria state feel the government should have no involvement in the Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile conflicts.

Let the South Sudanese government cool down the fighting in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile because it may affect South Sudan, the newborn nation. (Younger Kuku Man, Wudu Boma, Central Equatoria)

South Sudan should respond to this issue [the Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile conflicts] through peace, by negotiations, not by fighting. (Older Dinka Rek Man, Kuac North Payam, Warrap)

South Sudan should look for a peaceful solution [to the Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile conflicts]...The government should not intervene directly but can give relief, though not military assistance. (Middle Aged Lotukho Woman, Torit Town, Eastern Equatoria)

It is unfortunate for Sudan to attack the two areas. However, South Sudan should not involve in fighting but should mobilize international support for dialogue with Sudan. (Younger Nuer Man, Malakal Town, Upper Nile)

The government of South Sudan should give assistance in terms of food and medical aids to those who are affected by this war. (Middle Aged Dinka Agar Man, Rumbek Town, Lakes)

South Sudan should support them [black Africans in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile] indirectly by giving ammunitions, guns, foods, and logistics. (Younger Nuer Jegai Woman, Bentiu Payam, Unity)

They [black Africans in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile] should be supported by the SPLA²¹ because they fought with us in the past. (Younger Dinka Malual Woman, Udhum Payam, Northern Bahr el Ghazal)

18. Resolution of the Abyei issue is of paramount importance to participants, who say they will accept no less than its inclusion in South Sudan and who, if negotiations fail, will support the use of force to obtain that result.

While participants are concerned about Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, those conflicts do not evoke the same intense emotions that arise when Abyei is mentioned. And, unlike Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, there is no geographic difference in how participants feel about the problem of Abyei and its solution; those in the Equatoria states support the Abyei cause just as much as those in other parts of the country. Participants everywhere describe Abyei as part of South Sudan and as a territory they are not willing to cede. “Abyei is part of our country; nobody will take it away,”²² as one participant notes. The strong feelings about, and strong support for, Abyei have not changed since the last study in this series.²³ Some participants even say their happiness depends on a positive resolution of Abyei because South Sudan cannot be whole without it. As in the previous study, negotiation remains the preferred method to resolve the Abyei issue, but there is no hesitation to support the use of force if necessary. Some participants believe force will be necessary due to the intransigence of Sudan.

²¹ The Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan, 2011 provides for the transformation of the army into the “South Sudan Armed Forces.” Participants in this study still refer to the army as the SPLA.

²² Quotation is from a younger Moru woman in Kobbi Payam, Western Equatoria.

²³ See *Building a Nation: South Sudanese Share Their Thoughts on the Creation of a Successful State*, available at www.ndi.org.

If we think we need to fight the Sudan, this [Abyei] is the right reason, not Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile. (Younger Kuku Man, Wudu Boma, Central Equatoria)

I think of Abyei as an inseparable part of South Sudan. It [Abyei] should be annexed to South Sudan by all means. (Middle Aged Dinka Bor Man, Jalle Payam, Jonglei)

My feelings about Abyei are bad because if one part of you is free and another part is not, will you feel comfortable? Take for example your body. If your finger is wounded, will you feel relaxed or comfortable? That is how the Abyei issue is to me. (Younger Dinka Rek Man, Alek West Boma, Warrap)

It pains me a lot when I hear the civilian population has been displaced in Abyei. It reminds me that the inhumane treatment we were subjected to during the war is still being imposed on fellow citizens. (Younger Dinka Bor Man, Bor Town, Jonglei)

Abyei is our land. We need to fight for it, and let the Arabs know that it belongs to us either on [the negotiating] table or by force. (Middle Aged Nuer Gawaar Man, Kuachdeng Payam, Jonglei)

Let the president discuss this issue with Omar al Bashir. If he [Bashir] refuses to resolve it, we will fight him immediately. (Middle Aged Moru Man, Kobbi Payam, Western Equatoria)

Arabs don't want negotiations; instead, it [bringing Abyei to South Sudan] should be through gunpoint. (Older Dinka Rek Man, Kuac North Payam, Warrap)

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

With independence achieved, South Sudanese are focused on shaping their new country and government. The themes South Sudanese in this study return to time and again are inclusiveness and fairness. They believe these are the keys to governing well. It is why they want losing parties involved in government at some level and why they believe, in the short term, that tribal balance in government and employment are necessary. Participants feel strongly that inclusiveness and fairness will improve government performance and reduce the likelihood of future insecurity. They also speak of inclusiveness and fairness as South Sudanese values they want reflected in their government. In short, these are the values that represent their idea of democracy. A challenge for the government, however, is that participants in this study also define their idea of inclusiveness and fairness as basic services provided to all. Participant responses indicate that, while independence is greatly valued, the ultimate goal of the liberation struggle was a better life. Their comments demonstrate deep disappointment that they have yet to see this come to pass. Managing these expectations while at the same time ensuring all feel included and represented in government are essential ingredients to guaranteeing the stability and vitality of the new South Sudan. The task is complex, but participant contributions in this study point to actions that can help put the country on the right track. Recommendations, based on these contributions, are below.

Promote a Feeling of Inclusiveness

What participants in this study suggest as the best way to make all South Sudanese feel included and represented in government – delivery of basic services to all – is not likely to be realized in the near future. The government, then, must work hard to find other ways to promote the belief among all South Sudanese that they are a part of, and represented, in the government. According to participants, there are several actions the government can take beyond the delivery of services to accomplish this:

- *Tribal Balance:* Their view is that the best solution, at least in the short-term, is tribal balance in all government activities. As the comment by the participant who called representation the symbol of inclusiveness indicates, tribal balance is a powerful means of demonstrating all are included in government. The power of this strategy can be seen in the comments of many participants who indicate that the single act of announcing a national cabinet based on regional balance has reduced tribal tensions in the country. Similarly, participants' desire for tribal diversity in civil service employment indicates at this point in the country's development, tribal balance may be needed to build up trust in the government as a fair arbiter of a better life for all. However, as the participants themselves note, there also are dangers in using tribal balance to promote inclusiveness. Most South Sudanese profess a dislike of tribalism and want the government to use everything in its power to fight it so that it does not afflict future generations. Tribal balance in government reeks of tribalism to many, and they only want it employed as short-term strategy to help the country get past its current tribal divisions. In short, using tribal balance as a strategy for inclusion is not where South Sudanese want to be, but it is where they feel they are in the country's development. Whether tribal balance is an appropriate strategy for South Sudan is a topic that should be discussed and debated openly between the government and its citizens. However, the government should calculate into its decisions the validity many South Sudanese believe the strategy has at this time. The only other option suggested by the findings in this study would be a hard stand against tribalism in all its forms, including in civil service employment,

through the enactment of laws, and strict enforcement. With the high degree of skepticism among South Sudanese at the moment, this approach would have to be accompanied by extensive action and communication demonstrating that all are being treated fairly for most to accept it as legitimate. From participant responses, it appears that they either do not know about or do not trust the role of the National Legislative Assembly (NLA) to act as an overseer of the executive, and from past studies, it is apparent that there is little trust in NLA members to represent them fully. The public may benefit, then, from additional civic education that stresses the role of the different branches of government and communicates that it is the responsibility of all elected officials, including NLA representatives, to represent all of their constituents, not just those from his or her ethnic group.

- *Equitable Treatment in Development:* Some participants suggest that if the government could demonstrate it was delivering development equitably, it would do more to promote the feeling of an inclusive government than tribal balance. Seeing their tribesmen in government certainly raises citizens' confidence they will be treated fairly in development distribution, but the findings in this study indicate any distribution strategy that either on the face of it is viewed as fair or can be demonstrated as fair will satisfy most that they are included and represented in government. Equal division of development, by region, state, or county, is the easiest way to convince the public development distribution is fair, but there is also evidence that a development distribution criteria, for example based on need or population, would be supported, as long as it is well-explained and the locations chosen for development are based on data. The perception of inequitable development already exists in some areas, however, and if any strategy other than equal division is chosen, the government will have to communicate its plans well to reassure the public all are being treated fairly in development distribution. Government and civil society also should develop additional mechanisms for monitoring service delivery distribution and accomplishments as a way to increase public confidence. For example, members of the NLA could monitor and report on their constituencies, and/or civil society could join together to provide continually updated monitoring reports from the grassroots level.
- *Fairness:* An inclusive government to participants is one that spreads as large a tent as possible. Including losing political parties in government, for example, appeals to their sense of fairness and their desire for South Sudan to treat all equally and with respect, in addition to enhancing stability and security because losing candidates are less likely to resort to violence. Their desire to have all included in government also prompts their support for the women's quota and their entreaties for the government to focus on youth. How to include various segments of society and the political spectrum in government are issues that the government and its citizens must discuss in the development of the country's permanent constitution.
- *Citizen Consultation:* Participants say they will feel there is an inclusive government when they are included. Perhaps the simplest way to ensure that South Sudanese feel represented in government is to talk to them about the government's plans and to involve them in decision-making at the local level. Questions about equity disappear, for example, in the distribution of development when citizens are consulted about their views.

Manage Development Expectations through Consultation and Communication

As demonstrated in past studies,²⁴ expectations held by the public on the pace of development are unrealistically high at this stage in South Sudan. The question, then, is how can the government reassure the population it is working hard on development, even if those efforts are not yet meeting their expectations. While there is cynicism in this study about the government's ability to deliver development, there is also evidence that citizens can be convinced the government is seriously committed to developing the country as quickly as possible. Participants suggest two key strategies:

- *Communication...in the Right Way:* First, the government must dramatically increase its openness and communication about development if it wants to increase satisfaction with its effort in this area. Even one participant who had positive views about the government indicated it has failed thus far in this regard, "They don't tell people what they are doing."²⁵ For communication to be successful, though, the answers in this study demonstrate that it must be done in the right way. The government should acknowledge the deep development deficits that exist in South Sudan to indicate empathy with the population and an understanding of their daily challenges. Master plans for development progress should be shared with the public, including facts about how the development in the plan will be distributed equitably. The government should avoid any announcements of development projects that are overly ambitious within the timeframe offered to avoid having them labeled as empty promises and to prevent an erosion of confidence in the government's development abilities. Even if projects are realistic but may appear not to be to the general public, the government should ensure that it verifies publicly after the fact the project was accomplished, and on time. Announcements of development projects also should specify the targeted locations for those projects to prevent an assumption by the listener that the development is for their area. Talking about development accomplishments, especially in education, health, and road construction, will reduce the cynicism of those taking a wait-and-see approach, but government communication should not be exclusive to the end of a project. Progress reports on the development projects, even if delayed, helps increase belief they eventually will be completed. Naturally, most citizens are focused on what is happening in their local areas, so greater attention should be paid to strengthening communication between national, state, and local governments and to assisting local government in boosting their communication capabilities.
- *Citizen Consultation:* As noted above, consulting citizens is an important part of creating feelings of an inclusive government. Citizen consultation also is a tool that can be used by the government to increase confidence in their ability to deliver development. When citizens understand development plans, especially for their areas, and when they are asked their opinion in the distribution of that development however small, there is a good chance many of the unrealistic expectations will reduce. Thus, if the government wants to raise the public's trust in its development abilities, the quickest and cheapest way for it to do that is by encouraging local officials to frequently consult with their constituents on development needs, plans, and timelines to address those, even if it is not in the future.

²⁴ Visit www.ndi.org for all past public opinion studies conducted in South Sudan.

²⁵ Quotation is from a middle aged Shilluk woman in Malakal Town, Upper Nile.

Undertake Civic Education to Increase Citizen Participation in Constitutional Development

Participants demonstrate time and again in this study that they have a strong desire to be involved in their own government. One significant upcoming opportunity is the development of South Sudan's permanent constitution. Participants in this study are able to provide some insight into their wishes for the constitution, but the scope and depth of those opinions are limited by their lack of experience with democratic forms of government. For citizens' participation to be meaningful in the upcoming constitutional development process, greater effort must be made to ensure the public has a wider understanding of basic governance options, especially those relating to decentralization concepts and the divisions of roles and powers between different levels of government.

Demonstrate Caring Now and a Vision for the Future

Feeling represented in government is, in part, about how responsive that government is to your needs and concerns. Participants in this study talk about "begging" the government to focus on their needs or say they feel the government does not care about their struggles. This is a particularly acute feeling when it appears the government is ignoring life and death issues, such as hunger and insecurity. Citizens are looking to their government to communicate and take action on these issues by offering both short- and long-term solutions. For example, in the short-term, they expect the government to provide emergency hunger relief and/or increase the flow of goods into the country to reduce prices and in the long-term to express a vision for how to increase South Sudan's self-sufficiency. For some citizens living close to the Sudan-South Sudan border, this also involves cultivating better relations with Sudan to ease restrictions on cross-border trade. Only then can the public have confidence they are well represented in government.

APPENDIX A: FOCUS GROUP LOCATIONS AND PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE ²⁶	LOCATION	ETHNICITY	RELIGION ²⁷	AGE GROUP	EDUCATION
11/11/2011	15	Female	CE	Juba Payam	Bari	Christian	40+	Primary
11/09/2011	15	Male	CE	Juba Payam	Mixed ²⁸	Mixed ²⁹	26-40	Secondary - University
11/04/2011	15	Female	CE	Wudu Boma	Kuku	Christian	26-40	Primary
11/05/2011	15	Male	CE	Pomoju Boma	Kuku	Christian	15-25	Primary
11/04/2011	11	Female	EE	Mugali/Masindi Boma	Madi	Christian + TB	40+	None – Early Primary
11/05/2011	12	Male	EE	Olikwi Boma	Madi	Christian + TB	15-25	Primary
11/05/2011	9	Male	EE	Hiyalla Payam	Lotukho	Christian	40+	Primary
11/06/2011	7	Female	EE	Torit Town	Lotukho	Christian	26-40	Primary - Secondary
11/07/2011	9	Male	WE	Yambio Town	Zande	Christian	26-40	Primary - Secondary
11/05/2011	16	Female	WE	Nagori Boma	Zande	Christian	40+	Primary
11/05/2011	15	Female	WE	Kotobi Payam	Moru	Christian + TB	15-25	None – Early Primary
11/04/2011	15	Male	WE	Kotobi Payam	Moru	Christian + TB	26-40	None – Early Primary

²⁶ Abbreviations used for the states are: CE=Central Equatoria, EE=Eastern Equatoria, WE=Western Equatoria, WBEG=Western Bahr el Ghazal and NBEG=Northern Bahr el Ghazal.

²⁷ TB refers to Traditional Beliefs.

²⁸ Participants were Bari, Kuku, Pajulu, Madi, Acholi, Lokoya, Kakwa and Moru.

²⁹ Participants were Christians and Muslims.

GOVERNING SOUTH SUDAN

11/05/2011	12	Male	WBEG	Jou Boma	Mixed ³⁰	Muslim	40+	Primary - Secondary
11/06/2011	16	Male	WBEG	Udichi Payam	Dinka Jur	Christian	40+	Primary
11/06/2011	13	Female	WBEG	Udichi Payam	Dinka Jur	Christian	15-25	None – Early Primary
11/05/2011	13	Female	WBEG	Wau Town	Mixed ³¹	Mixed ³²	26-40	Primary - Secondary
11/08/2011	8	Male	Warrap	Naivasha	Dinka Rek	Christian	40+	Primary
11/06/2011	13	Female	Warrap	Alek West Payam	Dinka Rek	Christian + TB	26-40	None – Early Primary
11/07/2011	11	Male	Warrap	Alek West Payam	Dinka Rek	Christian + TB	15-25	None – Early Primary
11/09/2011	11	Female	Warrap	Kwajok Town	Dinka Rek	Christian	15-25	Primary
11/04/2011	13	Female	Lakes	Rumbek Town	Dinka Agar	Christian	15-25	Primary
11/07/2011	13	Female	Lakes	Wulu Town	Jurabel	Christian + TB	40+	None – Early Primary
11/05/2011	14	Male	Lakes	Wulu Gedim Boma	Jurabel	Christian + TB	15-25	Primary
11/03/2011	11	Male	Lakes	Rumbek Town	Dinka Agar	Christian	26-40	Primary - Secondary
11/08/2011	13	Male	NBEG	Aweil town	Dinka Malual	Muslim	25- 40+	Primary
11/04/2011	15	Female	NBEG	Aweil Town	Dinka Malual	Christian + TB	26-40	Primary
11/06/2011	15	Male	NBEG	Udhum Payam	Dinka Malual	Christian + TB	40+	None – Early Primary

³⁰ Participants were Kara, Ronga, Housa, Nyegola, For Ndogo, Youlu, Balanda, Forege, Kuresh and Youbu.

³¹ Participants were Banda, Kakua, Ndogo, Umarab, Balanda, Munda, Jur, Bornu, Keresk and Golo.

³² Participants were Christians and Muslims.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

11/07/2011	14	Female	NBEG	Udhum Payam	Dinka Malual	Christian + TB	15-25	None – Early Primary
11/07/2011	10	Male	Unity	Bentiu Town	Nuer Lek	Christian	15-25	Primary - Secondary
11/09/2011	10	Female	Unity	Bentiu Town	Nuer Lek	Christian	26-40	Secondary
11/08/2011	10	Male	Unity	Bentiu Town (IDPs from Koch County ³³)	Nuer Jegai	Christian + TB	40+	None – Early Primary
11/09/2011	7	Female	Unity	Bentiu Town (IDPs from Koch County)	Nuer Jegai	Christian + TB	15-25	Primary
11/09/2011	15	Female	Upper Nile	Balliet County	Dinka Ngok	Christian	15-25	None – Early Primary
11/07/2011	14	Male	Upper Nile	Malakal Town	Dinka Mixed ³⁴	Christian	26-40	Secondary
11/24/2011	9	Male	Upper Nile	Malakal Town	Nuer Mixed ³⁵	Christian	15-25	Secondary
11/08/2011	10	Female	Upper Nile	Malakal Town	Shilluk	Christian	26-40	Secondary
11/28/2011	8	Female	Upper Nile	Jirmir Payam	Nuer Jikany	Christian + TB	40+	None
11/09/2011	10	Male	Upper Nile	Kodok Payam	Shilluk	Christian + TB	40+	None – Early Secondary

³³ Due to security issues, group discussions could not be conducted in Koch County. Instead, discussions were conducted among internally displaced persons (IDPs) from Koch County currently residing in Bentiu Town.

³⁴ Participants were Dinka Tuec, Dinka Bor, Dinka Ngok and Dinka Ciec.

³⁵ Participants were Jikany Nuer, Lou Nuer, Fangak Nuer and Bentiu Nuer.

GOVERNING SOUTH SUDAN

11/14/2011	15	Male	Jonglei	Magok Payam	Nuer Gawar	Christian + TB	40+	None – Early Primary
11/10/2011	15	Female	Jonglei	Ayod Town	Nuer Gawar	Christian + TB	15-25	Primary - Secondary
11/08/2011	11	Male	Jonglei	Bor Town	Dinka Bor	Christian	15-25	Secondary
11/09/2011	15	Male	Jonglei	Jalle Payam	Dinka Bor	Christian + TB	26-40	None – Early Primary
11/06/2011	13	Female	Jonglei	Lual Dit Boma	Dinka Bor	Christian + TB	40+	None – Early Primary
11/13/2011	14	Male	Jonglei	Kuachdeng Payam	Nuer Gawar	Christian + TB	26-40	Primary

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 participants 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 Sudanese context, a chief's 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 in South Sudan 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. 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 levels, religions, and geographic areas are captured. The number of focus 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.

Group Composition: Focus groups are recruited to be as homogeneous as possible to enhance the comfort level of the participants and to clarify the views of a particular sub-group. To the greatest extent possible, the focus groups in this report were stratified by gender, ethnicity, age, religion, and education. Men's groups and women's groups were held separately, for example, and most groups were comprised of a single tribe and section. In areas where smaller tribes reside, mixed ethnicity groups were sometimes held. In addition, groups were organized by three broad age categories. Based on experience from past research in South Sudan, the age categories used were broadly defined as younger (up to age 25), middle (ages 26-40), and older (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. With religion, participants were mainly divided into two categories: Christians and those holding traditional beliefs together in one category and Muslims in another. Although separate group discussions were organized for Muslim participants in most instances, in select areas, such as certain urban areas, groups with a mixture of Christian and Muslim participants were allowed. Participants sampled in the focus groups had widely varying degrees of education, ranging from none through university. As much as possible, participants were placed in focus group discussions with other participants of relatively similar educational backgrounds.

Authority Participation: All focus group discussions in this study were conducted with ordinary South Sudanese citizens. No traditional authorities or local government officials were allowed to participate or sit in on the discussions, even as observers.

Ethnic Composition by Location: Participants in the focus group discussions are generally drawn from the largest ethnic population of a particular area.

Staffing: All focus group discussions were led by trained South Sudanese moderators who conducted the discussions in languages appropriate to the local area. 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 these groups did not differ from the ones in which female moderators conducted the groups, suggesting the use of a male moderator did not impact the quality of the data.

Facilities: In most 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 only conducted in locations that are reasonably accessible by air and/or vehicle. Efforts are made to penetrate deep into rural areas, but due to poor road networks and insecurity, the number of groups conducted in very remote areas is 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 rare cases when disclosure is required to proceed with the research. Also, the participants are gathered in as randomly as possible, based on local conditions. 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'S GUIDELINE

South Sudan Focus Groups November 2011

I. INTRODUCTION

Hello, my name is _____. I am working on a research project that is collaboration between the University of Juba and the National Democratic Institute, a non-governmental organization (NGO) based in Juba. We are trying to learn more about what citizens of South 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, and it is for educational purposes.
- 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.

Any questions before I begin?

Now let us begin.

II. GENERAL DIRECTION

1. Overall, how are things going in South Sudan – are they going in the right direction or the wrong direction? [FOLLOW-UP] What is the reason for your answer?
2. If you could speak to President Salva Kiir directly, what advice would you give him for making South Sudan a better country?

III. INCLUSION AND POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION

1. President Salva Kiir has said he is committed to making everyone feel included in government. What are the best ways for him to do that?
2. If a political party wins the largest number of votes in an election, can that political party appoint only its party members to key national government positions (such as ministries) OR should that political party share key national positions with other political parties? [FOLLOW-UP] Please explain the reasoning for your answer.

3. If the government must include more than one political party, should all registered political parties be included in the government OR should there be criteria that political parties have to meet – such as receiving a certain number of votes in the election – before they are included in the government? [FOLLOW-UP] Please explain.
4. After independence, President Salva Kiir named nine (9) people from Greater Bahr el Ghazal as ministers, nine (9) people from Greater Upper Nile as ministers, and ten (10) people from Greater Equatoria as ministers. What do you think of this?
5. Do you think this method of selecting ministers in the national government based on regional balance should be permanent OR do you think it should only be used as a temporary measure? [FOLLOW-UP] Please explain your answer.
6. After independence, President Salva Kiir appointed more women as ministers in the national government, so that now women make up more than 25% of the ministers. What do you think of this?
7. Should there be special measures to include youth in the government OR not? [FOLLOW-UP] Please explain your answer. [IF YES:] What would be the best way to include youth in government?

IV. TRIBALISM

1. Most South Sudanese say they don't like tribalism in government, but at the same time many want their own tribe in important government positions. How do you explain this contradiction?
2. There are only 29 minister positions in the national government, and the number of tribes in Southern Sudan is much higher than that. What actions can the government take to make all citizens feel they are represented, even if a member of their tribe is not a minister in the national government?
3. If a person in your state government is not from your tribe, what are specific things they could do to make you trust that they will serve you in the same manner as the people from their tribe?
4. If the recruitment process for government jobs included an independent panel with people from different tribes, and that panel recommended the four top positions in a government office be given to one tribe based on qualifications, would that be okay OR not okay? [FOLLOW-UP] Please explain.
5. Should South Sudan organize a truth and reconciliation commission whereby all tribes can air their grievances on problems that occurred between tribes during the liberation struggle OR should South Sudan close that chapter of its history and move to the future?
6. What are the best ways to unite South Sudanese and bring them together as one people?
7. If you could take part in a radio program aimed at uniting South Sudanese, what would you talk about?

V. MANAGING EXPECTATIONS

1. After independence, President Kiir announced he would start construction on 34 schools and 50 new police stations, begin training 7,000 teachers, and vaccinate 600,000 children in the government's first 100 days. He also said that 100 health clinics would be built in the first year. What do you think of this?
2. Development never happens as quickly as everyone would want. What could the government do to help assure you that they are working hard to bring development to the country? [PROBE ACTIONS **OTHER THAN** SEEING ACTUAL DEVELOPMENT IN THEIR AREA]
3. Of the following, which **two** would make you feel more confident that the government was working hard to bring development in the country?
 - Understanding what the government's plan is for development
 - Understanding how much of the budget is being spent on development
 - Hearing about the development progress being made in the country, even if not in your area
 - Government officials meeting with citizens regularly to discuss development plans
 - Being involved in planning how money for development will be spent in your local level, even if only a small amount of money is available
 - Being involved in how development is distributed in your local area, even if it is only a small amount of development
4. What actions could the government take to make you feel more comfortable that they will treat all tribes fairly in terms of distribution of development?
5. Let's take the example of the schools in the 100 days plan. The government said it will build 30 primary schools and 4 secondary schools. How would you distribute these schools so that everyone feels the decision was fair?
 - a. What should the government do to convince South Sudanese that it is distributing these schools fairly?

VI. CONSTITUTION

1. For South Sudan's permanent constitution, what role and powers do you want it to give the state governments and what role and powers do you want it to give the national government?
 - a. In the permanent constitution, should the President have the ability to remove governors if he thinks they are not doing a good job? [FOLLOW-UP:] What is the reason for your answer?
2. In the permanent constitution, should the police be under the control of the national government or the state government? [FOLLOW-UP:] What is the reason for your answer?

3. Let's say the next national election takes place in 2015, four years from now. Is that the right timing for the next election, is it too short a time for the next election or too long a time for the next election? [FOLLOW-UP:] What is the reason for your answer?

VII. BORDER AREAS

1. What has been the effect of the closure of the Sudan-South Sudan border?
 - a. What actions should be taken regarding the closing of the border?
2. What is your opinion of the conflict in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile?
 - a. How should South Sudan respond to the Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile conflict?
3. What are your feelings about Abyei?

Thank you very much for your time and participation.

APPENDIX D: ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Traci D. Cook is the Senior Advisor and Regional Director for Focus Group Research for the National Democratic Institute's Southern and East Africa team. An experienced opinion researcher, 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 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 City. Ms. Cook also led a parliamentary and civil society strengthening program as Country Director for NDI in Malawi. Complementing her work in the field of international development and in the private sector is her experience as Political Director for the Mississippi Democratic Party, legislative work on Capitol Hill, and research work for various U.S. House and Senate campaigns.

Dr. Leben Nelson Moro is an Acting Director of the Directorate of External Relations at the University of Juba and teaches graduate courses at the University's Center for Peace and Development Studies. He primarily conducts research on displacement and resettlement, focusing on oil-induced displacement in South Sudan, and conflicts in the Sudan-South Sudan border area. Some of the findings of his studies appeared in the *Journal of Refugee Studies* (Oxford University), *St Anthony's International Review* (Oxford University), *Forced Migration Review* (Oxford University), *New Internationalist* and *Pambazuka News*, as well in Luke A. Patey and Daniel Large (eds) *Sudan Looks East: China, India and the Politics of Asian Alternatives*, James Currey, 2011.



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